CHAPTER-V

The Pasupatas and the Mattamayuras

V.1 The Pāśupatas

Pāśupati, one of the most widespread forms of the Śaiva faith, was essentially a practice of asceticism and Yoga disciplines which depended more on each local Pāśupata master than on a canonical institution. Not exactly a philosophical school, it nevertheless produced several philosophical works of a high level during the early medieval times. The essence of the Pāśupata movement was their devotion to Śiva Pāśupati, probably an ancient manner of understanding the divine Person. Pāśupati represented an admixture between indigenous conceptions of the virile male power of creation and the concept of fertility represented by the universal Mother, with the Śiva-Rudra of Aryan origin. In the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is one of the oldest Purāṇas, the Pāśupata Yoga is represented systematically. In the Varāha Purāṇa which is more recent, Śiva Pāśupata is equated with Jīvātman — the Supreme Soul — in an attempt by the Pāśupatas of that time (eighth century A.D.) to raise Śiva over Viṣṇu.

The Pāśupata movement acquired vigorous dimensions although its genesis goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Lakulīśa or Nakulīśa, who lived in the first or second century A.D. was its founder. Not much is known about him except
that he was born at Kryan in the Lāṭa maṇḍala, south Gujarat. But the Pāṣupata tradition, always intent upon competing with the Vaiṣṇavas, wove a legend around Lakulīśa — that the merciful and benevolent spirit of Śiva entered a dead body which came to life again as Lakulīśa at Kāyāvarohana. The legendary Lakulīśa, as opposed to the real one, lived at the time of the Bhārata war, i.e., 3100 B.C. It was also said that the holy Pāṣupata teaching was started by Śrīkanta, the husband of Umā and son of Brahma. The legendary foundation of the Pāṣupata school is mentioned in the Tantrāloka, the Śivadṛṣṭi, the Brhadyāmala, the Piṅgalāmata and the Śiva Purāṇa.

Lakulīśa's system, like the Vedānta, Tantra and other early medieval Śaiva doctrines, was founded on the Patañjali system, but was closer to the Nyāya philosophy as the Śaivas in general were inspired by the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Bhā-Sarvajña, who wrote Ratnaprabha (a commentary on the Gaṇa-Kārikā), was a Pāṣupata teacher.

Some of Lakulīśa's main postulates we know from Mādhava's Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha, where he synthetized the Pāṣupata darśana in a separate chapter. Lakulīśa considered the Supreme Soul as a non-manifested One (Paramātma Śiva) and the manifested Jīvātman as the elemental substance of the universe. Pāṣupati is the protective eternal Presence which unites the non-manifest and the manifest and leads creation to the final resolution.
is the end of Yoga, and is equivalent to Brahman of Śaṅkarāśa's monism. Thus, the Lakulīśa formulation is a dual-nondual monistic system. Lakulīśa distinguished five categories or pañcartha: cause (kārana), effect (kārya), religious practice (vidhi), yoga, and liberation (mokṣa). Cause is in association with the Pāśupata theology where Pāśupati is the prime cause (kārana). He possesses sakti and created the universe as efficient cause (nimitta) and in that process Śiva revealed the Vedas (pauruṣeya). Effect is the amplification and complication of the universe from the first cause, like the expansion of the Vedas from the first mantras. Their ritual (vidhi), involves vratas, upaharas, japa, pradakṣīṇā and the disciplines which anyone who is devoted to Pāśupati must accomplish. Yoga in the Pāśupata system comprises, just like Patanjali's yoga, niyama, prāṇāyāma and samādhi.

The Pāśupata Yoga is described in various Purāṇas. The Vāyu Purāṇa, composed during the ninth and tenth centuries, describes its practice around that time. It was a daily routine of the ascetics, performed preferably at dawn and sunset. They started with purificatory rituals. The external purificatory rituals consisted of taking a dip in water and then besmeasuring the body with holy ashes (āgneya) and the repetition of holy words (mantras). This purification was enough for a man whose desires were not polluted by evil thoughts. The internal purificatory ritual (ācamana) was performed after the salutation to Śiva and formed the core of the Pāśupata ascetic's dharma,
conducive to the highest goal. The practice of \textit{prāṇāyāma} introduced one to the next stage. The work in \textit{prāṇāyāma dharma} or control of the breath (and of life) "is equal to all the penances and rites performed for years and years".\textsuperscript{16} The objectives of \textit{prāṇāyāma} are: \textit{santi} or cleaning the inherited karma, \textit{prasauti} or cleaning covetousness, \textit{prasada} or sublimating of the five sense organs, and \textit{dipti} or obtaining the vision of the past, present and future. Correctly performed \textit{prāṇāyāma} was of three kinds: \textit{manda} or first exercise consisting of one stroke of twelve moments; (a \textit{matra}, approximately equivalent to a second); \textit{madhyā} or medial exercise, consisting of two strokes of twenty-four moments; and \textit{uttama} or final exercise with three strokes of thirty-six moments. \textit{Manda} and \textit{madhyā} bring quiet to the mind and total control of the body, \textit{uttama} gives the sweetness, languour and exhaustion necessary to go into meditation. Then the \textit{yogin} (Pāśupata monk) sat in the \textit{svastika} or \textit{ardhapadma āsāna} (position of seated), firm and quiet, the eyes half closed, intently observing the tip of the nose. By covering \textit{tamas} with \textit{rajas} and enveloping both with \textit{sattva} (i.e., transcend the gross level of the mind) he reached the subtle level of the Self. His endeavour was to remain established in \textit{sattva} with pure mind. Controlling the sense organs and the objects of the senses, he had to begin \textit{pratyāhāra} (withdrawing into himself), (until) he was consumed (completely) in the Self. Fixed in the Self, he saw the Self in his self. From that state the \textit{yogin} had to breathe
and start the process of withdrawing from the navel to the throat
doing two dhāraṇas (or prāṇāyāmas, each one of twelve moments),
with retention of the breath (concentration and disconcentration)
in the umbilicus, heart, chest, throat, mouth, in the tip of the
nose, eyes, between the eyebrows and head.

The yogin had to observe certain restrictions in the
diet. Living totally absorbed in his practices, he thus ascended higher and higher. If the yogin was regular in his
practices, doing the right prāṇāyāma and the right meditation, he
could withdraw himself from the sense objects (pratyāhāra) and
achieve equilibrium of the mind (dhāraṇā). The primary signs of
progress in yoga were strength, health, indifference to sensual
objects, lustrous complexion, good and gentle voice, auspicious
smell and less quantity of urine and faeces. When the yogin saw
himself and the heart blazing and one entering the other, the
time of accomplishment of Yoga was near.

The following places were ill-suited for the practice of
Yoga: near a fire, in a forest, on a heap of dry leaves, a place
infested by low creatures or a crowded site, a cremation ground,
a dilapidated cowshed, at the crossing of roads, a noisy or
terrifying place, near a tomb (or Buddhist or Jain shrine),
ear a well or a river because they all produced disturbance.
Neither was the practice of Yoga advised when the yogin felt
excessively hungry, displaced or excited. A series of treatments
were prescribed for overcoming such distractions.\textsuperscript{10}

For the undisturbed practice of Yoga, away from distractions, temptations and worldly concerns, it was necessary to have safe, established and comfortable places where the yogins in quest of perfection could congregate. Thus arose the Pāśupata monastery, from a natural process of association for better self-protection, observation of the vows and total attention to the teaching of the master.

The aspirants in a Pāśupata monastery had to live with a preceptor for a year, keeping the vows.\textsuperscript{11} The major vows (yama) were: non-stealing, absolute celibacy (of action, desire and thought), non-covetousness, renunciation; and the minor vows (niyama) were: truthfulness, peacefulness, service to the master, purity of the body, light diet, daily study of the Vedas. For any sannyāsin who indulged in sexual desire, violence, theft or in any way strayed from the path of purity, a series of expiatory rites were prescribed\textsuperscript{20} coinciding with those prescribed for Paramahamsas, Buddhist and Jaina bhikkhus. Like the other monastic movements, the Pāśupatas also had a phase of mendicancy. The Pāśupata mendicants were exorted to seek their victuals "when smoke no longer rose out of the kitchens" (indicating that everybody in that house had had his meal and the bhikkhu could take with proud humility the rest), always going to different houses but only those of modest, decent, faithful,
learned and noble people.

The Pāśupata tradition was obviously the result of exchange with other Śaiva and non-Śaiva schools, including Buddhism and Jainism. The monastic organization was probably inspired by the earlier Buddhist establishments. Lakulīśa’s four disciples — Kuśika, Gārga, Mitra and Kauruyya21 — adopted mendicancy, used to smear their bodies with ashes and worshipped the Sivalinga. They spread the teachings of Lakulīśa, a revision of the traditional Śaivism. Gārga was successful in Gujarat where the sect was known as Gārgyas, and they received the support of the Solāṅkis (the Caulukyas of Gujarat).22 The Pāśupata teachers occupied a prominent place in the Solāṅki regime.23

V.1.1 The Pāśupatas of western India and the centre at Sōmanātha

The Cītra Praśasti,24 which is an inscription of the reign of King Śāraṅgadēva who belonged to the Caulukya-Vāghelā branch of Gujarat and reigned from the royal capital of Aṇahillapāṭaka approximately between A.D.1276 and 1296, contains the spiritual genealogy of the head of the Pāśupatas of western India, Śrī Tripurāntaka. This ācārya, like his predecessors, had his pontifical seat at the Sōmanātha tīrtha (Junagadh district, Kathiawar). In this record is traced the sacred history of the Pāśupata sect from Śiva, who incarnated himself as Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Lakulīśa.25
Pāśupata ācāryas of Sūmanātha, a reconstruction of their spiritual genealogy

1. Dīrghācārya (c.A.D.940-1000)
   ↓
2. Ajapāla (c.A.D.1000-1080)
   ↓
3. Gāṇḍa Śrīmad Bhāva Bhṛhaspati (c.A.D.1080-1160)
   ↓
4. Viśvēśvararāśi (c.A.D.1160-1200)
   ↓
5. Durvasu (c.A.D.1200-1220)
   
5. KārttiKarāśi (c.A.D.1220-1240)
   ↓
6. VālmīkiKarāśi (c.A.D.1240-1250)
   
7. Tripurāntaka (c.A.D.1250-1280)
   
8. Vimalaśīvamuni (c.A.D.1280 - )
   
9. Gāndha Śrī Vīrabhadra (?)
   
10. Gāndha Śrī Śrī Bhṛhaspati (?)
   
* Down to the ninth person in the list, the sequence is according to the CINTRA Praṣasti [EP.IND., 1, no.32, pp.280-87].

But for several centuries after Gārgya no notice was taken of the Pāśupata sect in western India until, in the early medieval times, various Pāśupata ācāryas came from Kanauj --- which became an important centre of Pāśupatism --- to teach the fundamentals of the doctrine to the cradle of the sect, Gujarāt.
That movement is proved by the Balera Plates of Mūlārāja in which is mentioned "the illustrious Dīrghacārya, son of Durlabhacārya, who had come from Kānyakubja, who was accomplished in all kinds of lore and (who was) a treasure of austerity". Mūlārāja I was the Solānki king who reigned at Anahillapātaka (c.A.D. 942 and 995). Dīrghacārya perhaps occupied the pontifical seat at Sōmanītha tīrtha and would have been the supreme ācārya at the end of the tenth century. After him apparently continued in the main position of the Pāśupata sect the ācārya Mangala Śiva Suta Bhaṭṭaraka Ajapāla, who is known through the grant of the Caulukya-Solānki King Bhīmadeva I. This king reigned in Gujarat about A.D.1035. The inscription of the Bhadrakali temple in Prabhāsāpata of c.A.D.1170 gives the life history of Parama Pāśupatācārya Gaṇḍa Śrimad Bhāva Bṛhaspati, who hailed from Kānyakubja and

"who travelled over all India converting kings to the Pasupata doctrine and making them undertake the protection of religious places (dharmasthāna-rakṣā) and (thus) earned the title of anektīrthakaropavana. He stayed at Ghūrapuri, practised penances, took care of the Pāśupata maṭhas and obtained the friendship of Siddhārāja Jayasimha".

Siddhārāja ruled in Gujarat around A.D.1130-44.

The Veraval Inscription (in Junagadh district where also is the Sōmanītha tīrtha) confirms that the head of the Sōmanītha
temple and supreme acārya of the Pāسحبata sect in the second half of the twelfth century was Bhāva Bṛhaspati. This inscription celebrates the fame of this great master who was honoured by the king of Gujarat. Bhāva Bṛhaspati was a contemporary of the Caulukyas-Solāṅkī: Kumārapāla, who reigned c.A.D.1146–72.

Bhāva Bṛhaspati, acknowledged as the authentic representative of the Lakulīśa tradition, also was honoured by the kings of Mālava (Malwa) and Kāśī. His successor and next acārya of the Pāسحبatas of western India was Viśveśvararāṣṭi, who came from Vāraṇasī and married his daughter. Viśveśvararāṣṭi occupied the pontifical seat during the reign of the Solāṅkī King Ajayapāla (c.A.D.1173) who entitled this acārya as Gaṅgatīrthēśvara. Viśveśvararāṣṭi lived long and also received the support of the next two Solāṅkī rulers, Mūlarāja II and Bhīmadeva II. His successors were, respectively, Śrī Durvāsu,Śrī Tripurāntaka and Śrī Vimlaśivamuni, who was acclaimed as "Bhūpālakula saiguru". His successors, who made Śomānātha their seat, were Parama Pāسحبatācārya Mahāpaṇḍita Gaṅḍā Śrī Virabhadra, who is mentioned in the Harasiddhamatia Temple Inscription at Veraval. He was followed by Śrī Bṛhaspati and Śrī Tripurāntaka. The Cintra prāśasti of the Vāghēlā King Sāraṅgadēva (c.A.D.1276–96), however, cites two predecessors to Tripurāntaka, namely Kārttikarāṣṭi (c.A.D.1225) who was the abbot (sthānādhipa) of a local Pāسحبata maṭha and was acknowledged as the authentic representative of the Gārgya line, and Vālmīkarāṣṭi who was the
direct master of Tripurāntaka and a contemporary of Sāraṅgadēva.

There is thus an apparent confusion in the ācārya’s genealogy. One way of solving this riddle is to take Kārtikaraśi as a minor abbot of a local maṭha who, despite his spiritual authority, did not occupy the pontifical seat; nor did his disciple Vālmīkiriśi. But Tripurāntaka was the supreme pontiff, as the Cintra prāṣasti makes clear. Majumdar proposes that this Tripurāntaka was the sixth ācārya and succeeded Śrī Brhaspati to the seat of Sāmanātha. In that case, it would appear that in the approximately thirty years between Tripurāntaka I (c.A.D.1250) and Tripurāntaka II (c.A.D.1280) there were three ācāryas—Vimalaśivamuni, Gaṇḍa Śrī Birabhadra and Śrī Brhaspati. This is implausible, considering the lengthy pontificates of their predecessors.

A second alternative is to put Tripurāntaka’s predecessors between Durvasu and Tripurāntaka. In any event, Śrī Tripurāntaka appears to have been a great master, efficient and energetic. The many donations that he received as head of the Sāmanātha tīrtha were used for building temples, providing better accommodation and facilities for the ascetics and pilgrims. During his travels to the most important tīrthas of north India such as Kedarnath and Prayāga he would have exchanged ideas with other Śaiva ācāryas that he came across and used them to improve upon his performance still further.
Chronological relation among the Cauhukyas of Gujarat and the ācāryas of Śomanātha

VĀGHĒLAS
1. Arṇorāja
2. Lavaṇaprāśāda
3. Viṛadhavāla (c.A.D. 1252-1261)
4. Vimalādeva (c.A.D. 1264)
5. Pratāpadāla (he didn’t reign)
6. Arjunādeva (c.A.D. 1264)
7. Sāraṅgadāva (c.A.D. 1276–1296)

SOLĀNKIS
1. Mūlarāja I (c.A.D. 942–995)
2. Cāmunḍarāja (A.D. 995–1008)
3. Vallabharāja
4. Durlabhārāja
5. Bhīmadēva I (c.A.D. 1030 →)
6. Karṇa Trailokyamalla (c.A.D. 1075–1083)
7. Jayasimha Siddharāja (c.A.D. 1130–1145)
8. Kumārapāla (c.A.D. 1146–1172)
9. Ajayapāla (c.A.D. 1173–1176)
10. Mūlarāja II (c.A.D. 1176–1179)
11. Bhīmadēva II (c.A.D. 1179–1240)
12. Jayantaisimha (c.A.D. 1240–1243)
13. Tribhuvanapāla (c.A.D. 1243)

VĀLMIKIS
1. Kārtikarāsi (c.A.D. 1225)
2. Vālmikarāsi
3. Tripūrāntaka (c.A.D. 1280)

Kānyakubja school
DURLABHĀCĀRYA

Supreme Pāśupata ācāryas at Śomanātha:
1. Durlabhācārya
2. Jayapāla
3. Gandha Srimad Bhāva Brhāspati
4. Vimalāśivamuni
5. Gandha Śrī Viṇabhadrā
6. Śrī Brhāspati
7. Tripūrāntaka (c.A.D. 1250)
8. Tripūrāntaka II
V.1.2 The Pāṣupatas in Madhyadeśa

Pāṣupata mathas and Pāṣupata masters were present in almost all the important cultural and religious centres of north India. Gujarat of course formed the centre of Pāṣupatism. To the north and east of it were other Pāṣupata centres such as at Mandasaur district in M.P. The Indragadh Inscription, which is of A.D. 710, mentions two Pāṣupata ācāryas, Vinitarāṣṭi and his disciple Danarāṣṭi. The latter directed the construction of a temple to Guhēśvara (Śiva) and entrusted its maintenance to the city elders. The inscription proves the presence of the Pāṣupata sect in Malwa country in the early medieval period and the cooperation existing between the Pāṣupata gurus and civil leaders. At Modi village, twelve kilometers west of Bhanpura, Mandasaur district, a group of temples received some donations in the form of land, villages and money from neighbours. The construction was probably supervised by a Pāṣupata ācārya named Mallikārwana. The dimension of the works suggests a long time of residence at Modi of this ācārya and people’s great trust in him. We may conclude from the date of the inscription, A.D. 1258, that local receptivity to Pāṣupatism continued over centuries.

V.1.3 Pāṣupata activities in Rajasthan

More to the west in the same region, at Jalor in Rajasthan, was the old city of Ğrīmāla, the present-day Bhinmal. There, braving the ravages of time, still stands the venerable Jagatsvāmin temple. An inscription on a pillar of the temple,
Distribution of Pāṣupata ascetics and maṭhas in the area corresponding to Jalor-Sirohi-Udaipur-Bhilwara and Mandasaur.
dated A.D.1067,39 records the gift of a number of dramas made by some persons to Jagatesvāmin. The inscription mentions, as very important locals next to the King Kṛṣṇaraja, who was "the servant of the office of religion of the god Śiva" (i.e., the Candisa) and Śrī Jávala, who was the supreme ācārya of the Pāśupatas (of Śrīmāla).

About ninety miles to the south-east of here is village Paldi, close to Udaipur in Rajasthan. From here comes an inscription of A.D.111640 pertaining to the construction of a temple to Śiva by a local Pāśupata master named Valkala. The inscription traces Valkalācārya's spiritual descent to Lakulīśa himself and his disciple Kusika. The local presence of this branch permits us to presume the existence in the area of an important Pāśupata maṭha, probably in the compound of the great temple of Vaiṣṇeśvara, which is eulogized in the text. Even more distant from the main Pāśupata focus, in the present-day Hissar district, Haryana, is an inscription from the times of Bhūjadeva of Kanauj41 praising a Pāśupata ācārya by name Ratnarāśī, "conqueror of kāma, pure and resplendent like Śiva";42 he and his disciple "came down to show the way leading to Śāmkara (Śiva)"43. The activities of Ratnarāśī and his spiritual sons must have covered the area of Sirsa, Hissar district, around the ninth century A.D.
V.1.4 Pāśupati-pīthas in central India and the travels of Tripurāntaka.

In central India, Pāśupatism spread quite early. The Pāśupata ācārvas interacted with other Śaiva ascetics, winning prestige in doctrinal discussion. They became councillors, rājagurus and assistants of the monarchs of north India. The Udikavatika Grant of Abhimanyu, the fourth Raṣṭrakūṭa king who reigned from Mānapurām (the present-day Manpur, Rewa, M.P.), mentions a Pāśupata ascetic by name Jatābhāra. The mahārāja Abhimanyu granted a village some time in the seventh century to the ācārya Jatābhāra as custodian of the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Śiva in the town (pētha) of Panigaraka. The temple, now known as the Mahādēva temple, still stands near Pagarna, four miles north of Pachmarhi. At Jabalpur, the Pāśupatas apparently had an important centre by the eleventh or twelfth centuries A.D. Considering that data exist for the presence of the Pāśupatas in Rewa in the seventh century, it stands to reason that the Pāśupatas were continuously active in Madhyadeśa throughout the early medieval times. We have already seen evidence of it for the area close to Khajuraho; it is obvious, also that the Pāśupatas who came to Raipur-Bastar came there from the interior of Madhyadeśa.

The Cintra Praśasti already cited, relates in verses 23-24 the pilgrimage of Śrī Tripurāntaka, the great pontiff of the western Pāśupatas. He travelled to Kedaṟanātha (Kedāra), Garhwal (both places in the Himalayas), Prayāga (Allahabad),
Pāśupata centres in central-north India, and the route followed by Tripurāntaka
Sripurvata [Sripurvata, the modern Srisailam, in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh] was the seat of Mallikārajuna. This was an important Śaiva pitha and at this place extremist sects such as the Kāpālikas and the Kaulas had one of their most important centres 47, and the Revā river, Tryambaka (or Trimbak, at Nasik), Ramēśvaram and Dēvapaṭṭana (Prabhasa) and returned to Sōmanātha in Gujarat. Going by the order the places cited, this saint made the pilgrimage in one round. En route from Prayāga to the Sripurvata mountain — which is the Srisaila mountain in the Upper Kṛṣṇa (cited in several Purāṇas and also by Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita) 48, he would have passed by Rewa and Jabalpur, which had important Pāśupata maṭhas. Then he turned west, to visit the sanctuaries on the confluence of the medium Narmadā. 49 He must have visited the very holy sanctuaries of Māndhātā and Mahēśvara. Since the lords of dharma protected and supported Pāśupata activities in their dominions, several Pāśupata communities must have existed at the very holy tīrthas of the Narmadā. 50 Tripurāntaka followed the beaten track which connected Madhyadeśa with the Deccan, 51 and stopped at Nasik. On way to Ramēśvaram, in south India, probably he passed by Kolhapura, another Pāśupata centre. Tripurāntaka's pilgrimage is the sole existing record of such nature. We may presume that communications between the various Pāśupata centres existed as a matter of course. Tripurāntaka's recorded pilgrimage would have included a pontifical visit to a chain of Pāśupata centres. The Bheraghat
Inscription, by the banks of the Narmadā in Jabalpur, corroborates this surmise. Queen Ālhaŋadēvi, wife of King Gayākarnaŋadēva, founded a Śiva temple plus a maṭha, a hall of study and gardens for the sanctuary, and granted the income from two villages to the maintenance of this religious complex. The Pāṣupata master Rudrarāsi, who belonged to the Pāṣupata lineage of the Lāṭa country — Pāṣupata tradition of Gujarat — was entrusted with its management. This inscription is of A.D.1155. If Tripurāntaka visited this maṭha one century after, it was because this monastery followed orthodox Pāṣupatism as in Gujarat, for the gurus visited places where the same line of knowledge was practised and conserved. Even if Tripurāntaka never visited the Bharaghat-maṭha, at least we know that this monastery was linked spiritually with the Gujarat school. Also, with Queen Ālhaŋadēvi’s generous grant, this Pāṣupata monastery must have sheltered a considerable number of Pāṣupata novices who followed the teachings of Rudrarāsi.

In the area of Kolhapur-Miraj-Athn in Maharashtra was a concentration of Pāṣupata institutions which probably were known to the ācāryas of Gujarat. Perhaps Tripurāntaka visited these spots. It is also possible that there was constant interaction between the Pāṣupatas of Maharashtra, Kathiawar and Madhyadeśa. Ascetics and ācāryas travelled over the routes of eastern Deccan and maintained high sectarian enthusiasm in the dispersed maṭhas. The Miraj Plates of Narasiṃha, already cited, record the grants
made by the Śilāhāra king to the monastical institution under the stewardship of the Pāśupata master Cikkadeva. The date of the inscription being A.D.1058 implies that the Pāśupatās were active in that area at least since then. To sum up our conclusions:

1. The Pāśupata movement was born in Kathiawar, Gujarat, from where it expanded during the first centuries of the Christian era mainly towards Uttara and Madhyadesa. In these regions the Pāśupatās flourished under the Gupta rule and in the great cultural centres of Kanauj, Ayodhyā, Prayāga, Vārāņasī, Daśapura, Ujjain, Akota, Bagh, etc. The several local dynasties that succeeded the Guptas also were sympathizers of the Śaiva movements. Thus the Pāśupatās everywhere received their share of support.

2. A major Pāśupata centre during the Gupta period was Mathurā, as it is reported by the Mathurā Pilaster Inscription of Candragupta II of the year c.A.D.380. In this inscription was recorded the raising of two memorial structures by the Ārya Uditācārya — a Pāśupata master — to his gurus in the "Teachers' shrine" (guru [pratimā yutau] pratiṣṭhāpita). What is relevant here is the presence of Pāśupata activities in an area which also was an important Vaiṣṇava centre of the Kṛṣṇa—Gōpala cult and had, down to the Gupta period at least, been a major centre of Buddhism and Jainism as well.

3. Pāśupatism maintained a low profile and was confined to
Gujarat during the heyday of Buddhism. But once Buddhism started on its course of decline, Pāśupatism began to assert itself. In this it was also assisted by the establishment of the Pratihāra empire, which brought together the vast territories of north India and permitted the free and easy traffic of commerce, people and ideas, from Kathiawar to Vārānasī. That phenomenon started in the eighth century and reached its peak at the end of the tenth century.

5. In Gujarat, the Caulukya-Solāṅkis and then the Vāghelās gave them considerable encouragement. Thanks to them, the Pāśupatas of Gujarat attained a high level attracting Pāśupata masters from other centres. With the prosperity of the region (the commercial development in Gujarat-Maharashtra during the ninth-eleventh centuries) the income of the Pāśupata tīrthas and mahās was augmented considerably, which made it possible for a large number of ascetics to stay at one centre to prepare them as teachers and invigorate the Pāśupata movement not only in Gujarat and the neighbouring countries but to send ācāryas to far away Jatalpur ad thence to Raipur, Bastar and Orissa, or to the south to Maharashtra and Karnataka.

6. Gujarat, traditionally the cradle of Pāśupatism, was also its centre of gravity. Under the direction of its illustrious gurus, it activated a chain of foundations of
Pāśupata monastic institutions in eastern India, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

7. Another major Pāśupata centre was Ekāṅgaji, from where Pāśupatism became a strong movement in Mewar, in Rajasthan (vide, Map Section, the map of the Holy Places in Rajasthan during the early medieval period). The Ekāṅga Stone Inscription is the first major source for the genealogy of the Pāśupatācāryas of Ekāṅgaji, which connected them with Lakulīśa.

V.2 The Mattamāyūras

The Mattamāyūra ascetics were a variety of Śaiva sect which flourished in the early medieval period first in central Madhya Pradesh and then expanded to Daksīṇa Kōśala in the south-east and south-west to the Kōṅkan, receiving support from the Śilāhāra kings in the latter direction. The Mattamāyūra philosophy did not differ substantially from the general frame of medieval Śaivism. It represented also an orthodox Śaiva path, and a Sanskrit revival and expansion. It emphasized too the practice of Yoga methods, austerity, chastity and simplicity of life and the development of supernatural powers (siddhis). There are reasons to consider that this school had affinity with the somasiddhāntins, and that it took inspiration from the Vaiśeṣika darsana, but it was a somewhat sectarian and closed system. It is possible that, like the other Śaiva sects, in their formative process the Mattamāyūras also were motivated by a reaction
against the excessive formality of monastic Buddhism and Jainism, but became, in their turn, a very sophisticated monastic movement. There were three main branches of the sect, namely the Mālava branch, the Kadvāhā branch and the Deccan branch.

V.2.1 The Mālava and Kadvāhā branches

The Caulukya King Avanivarman (or Avantivarman) may have reigned in some moment between the last quarter of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. He was son of Sadhanva and grandson of Sīmāhavārman, corresponding to an unknown branch of Caulukyas who reigned over some areas of the Avanti-Mālava country. He was a great Mattamayūra patron, and probably the first ruler to wholeheartedly support the sect. Queen Nōhalā, the great benefactor of the famous Šaiva monastery of Gōlakī-maṭha in Dāhala maṇḍāla, was his daughter. Avanivarman's capital Mattamayūra (the present-day Kadvāhā near Tirahi, M.P.) became the centre of gravity of the sect. The Bilhari Cedi Inscription mentions Kadambaguhā where there was an old monastery that gave rise to "an uninterrupted line of saints". "From this line of Kadambaguhā ičāryas descended Rudrasambhu, who had as disciple Mattamayūranātha, who received from King Avantivarman the city (of Mattamayūra) and transformed it into the headquarters of the sect." The line of ācāryas is as follows:
Rudrasambhu (at Kadambaguhā)

Māttamayūranātha (moved to Māttamayūra)

Dharmasambhu

Sadasiva

Mādhumateya Pavanaśiva

Cūḍāśiva

Hṛdayaśiva

they continued as heads of the sect at Māttamayūra

Hṛdayaśiva was invited to the Cedi country by King Lakṣmaṇa who put him at the head of the Vaidyanātha monastery.67 Lakṣmaṇarāja was the Kalacūri king of Tripura (or Tripurī), son of Yuvaraṇa I and Queen Nāhalā. Hṛdayaśiva accepted the position and ceded his headship of the holy monastery of Nauhaleśvara to his favourite disciple Aghoraśiva.68 A closing verse spells this monastery as Nāhalēśvara.69 Apparently, the pious Queen Nāhalā founded this maṭha.

The Bilhari Inscription permits us to deduce that the Māttamayūra monasteries in the Caulukya kingdom were:

(a) The Kadambaguhā-maṭha

(b) The Māttamayūra-maṭha

(c) The Nāhalēśvara-maṭha

(d) The Vaidyanātha-maṭha
The Śiva temple built by Queen Nāhalā, where this inscription was put up, was endowed with the revenues from seven villages. Three Mattamayūra ascetics are cited: Mādhumateya Pavanaśīva, his disciple Sabdaśīva, and the latter's disciple Īśvaraśīva. To Īśvaraśīva the queen gave two villages "as a reward for his learning." It is not clear whether Īśvaraśīva had anything to do with the Śiva temple (or maṭha?) so richly endowed. Perhaps he was in charge of that religious complex and the new land grant was for another monastery, perhaps the Nāhalēśvara monastery. Or perhaps the Nāhalēśvara monastery was the single religious centre in which was erected the new temple built by the queen.

The Nāhalēśvara-maṭha must have been built not far from the imperial capital of Tripūrī and from the prestigious Gōlakī-maṭha in the Dāhala maṇḍala. Such a distribution gives the impression that early medieval kings established their capitals at holy places or surrounded their capital with tīrthas, maṭhas, temples, shrines, etc. The Vaidyanātha-maṭha could also, therefore, be in the same area, these three forming a well-knit holy maṇḍala around Tripūrī. The inscription clearly expresses the pride of the kings for the royal Śaiva complex at Nāhalā. Such an important place could not have been built far from the capital.

Avantivarman reigned in the last quarter of the ninth...
century. The ācārya Mattamayūranātha was his contemporary. Avantivarman's daughter, Nōhalā, was married to Yuvarāja sometime in the closing years of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth. Laskṣmanarāja, their son, defeated the king of Kōśala and then visited the Sōmanātha tīrtha at Kathiawar around the first quarter of the tenth century. Therefore, the time span between Mattamayūranātha and Ĥṛdayaśiva was not more than fifty years. Īśvaraśiva, Sabdaśiva's disciple, and Mādhumateya Pavaṇāśiva, perhaps were a collateral branch of the Mattamayūras, which we would call "Mādhumateyas". They would have installed their centre in the Kalacūri dominions since the times of Yuvarāja's grandfather, Kōkkalla, the founder of the dynasty. Mādhumateya could have been a contemporary of Mattamayūranātha and perhaps hailed directly from the "Mattamayūra cradle at Kadambaguhā".

V.S. Fathak thinks that Mādhumateya Pavaṇāśiva came to the Kalacūri kingdom and founded there a monastery with the help of these kings before the tenth century. In that case, Sabdaśiva would have been a contemporary of Yuvarāja's brother King Balaharsa, or their father Mugdhatuṅga. Īśvaraśiva, in any event, was a contemporary of Yuvarāja and Nōhalā.

Though this chronology is hypothetical, we obtain from these conjectures some working conclusions:

1. The Kadambaguhā matha (or maṭhas in the neighbourhood of the town of Kadambaguhā) existed before the last quarter of
the ninth century A.D. Apparently this was the earlier Mattamayūra centre — "the Kadambaguhā Mattamayūra cradle".74

2. The Mattamayūra city and maṭha (s) at that holy city became the great Mattamayūra centre of the Avanti country in the last quarter of the ninth century. Between A.D. 870 and 890, the movement spread from here in the direction of the Cedi country.

3. Possibly, there existed in the Kalacūri dominions even earlier, at least a Mattamayūra-maṭha descending directly from the "Kadambaguhā cradle". In the early tenth century, a reintegration of the Mādhumateya-Mattamayūra-Kadvānā branches took place.

4. The Nōhalēśvara-maṭha existed much before Nōhalā gave it her benefactions. The maṭha took on her name in acknowledgement of the fact.

5. The Vaidyanātha-maṭha came to be founded after the Nōhalēśvara-maṭha, c. A.D. 900-930.

These hypotheses can be compared with the data given in the "Stone Inscription of Ranod" (or Narod) of the tenth century.75 The inscription mentions Prince Avanivarman, the Mattamayūra ācāryas and their maṭhas. The site where this inscription was found represents the ruins of an old Hindu monastery. It consists of an open cloister with rooms at each end, which forms the three sides of a courtyard; there are also deep square steeped tanks. The inscription gives the mythic origin of the Mattamayūra sect
they are said to have descended from the sacrifice of Śiva to Brahma. The venerable masters of the Mattamayūra lineage, according to this inscription were:

Kadambaguhādhivāsin ("he, who lived at Kadambaguhā")

Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati ("head of Śaṅkhamaṭhikā")

Tērambipāla ("protector of Tērambi")

Āmardakatīrthanātha ("lord of the Āmardaka-tīrtha")

Purandaka (the guru of Avanivarman)

King Avanivarman, the inscription says, wanted to be initiated in the Mattamayūra way of knowledge of Śiva. He knew about the great holiness of the Purandaka ācārya and brought him to his own country, founded a maṭha for his master at Mattamayūra, his own capital, and another at Ranipadra. Purandaka's successor, in the following order were:

Kavacaśiva

Sadasiva

Hṛdayeśa

Vyomaśiva, or Vyomaśambhu, or Vyomeśa, the most learned person of his time
Vyōmaśiva was at the head of the Ranipadra monastery. "He conducted repairs on it, enlarged the maṭha of Ranipadra,... he dug and made a tank." Vyōmaśiva ruled that the ascetics "do not sleep on beds and do not allow women to pass the night within the maṭha". 76

Kielhorn, who edited this inscription, opined that Ranipadra was at Ranod, and that the ruins of a monastery there are the remains of the Mattamayūra Ranipadra-maṭha, with the tank excavated by Vyōmaśiva still there. This would be the maṭha founded by Avantivarman. The sacred city of Mattamayūrā must, in that case, also have been near Ranipadra. The theory of localizing Mattamayūrā at Kadvāhā would then be correct. Ranipadra-maṭha, as an institution, was different from Mattamayūra-maṭha; however, both were quite close to each other, situated in the area of Kadvāhā. Kadvāhā is the name of a place which, from different accounts, appears to have been situated in western Bundelkhand. We have sometimes referred to "the maṭhas of Kadvāhā" to mean the two Mattamayūra-maṭhas of this centre.

Comparing the lineage given in both the Bilhari and Ranod inscription, we get the following scheme:
We would intend organizing a single genealogy, considering that the separation of around fifty years between Purandaka and Hṛdayaśīva was on account of these ācāryas probably being heads of several different maṭhas.
The Mattamayūra genealogy would then work out as:

1. Kadambaguhādhivāsin — lived at Kadambaguhā;
2. Saṅkhamaṭhikādhipati — head of a monastery named Saṅkhamañḍaṁaṭha, perhaps in the same Kadambaguhā settlement;
3. Terambipīla — Terambi must have been a tīrtha associated with Kadambaguhā;
4. Rudrasaṁbhū or Āmardaka-tīrthanātha — Āmardaka would be another tīrtha in the area or in Kadambaguhā;
5. Mattamayūranātha or Purandaka — came from Kadambaguhā to Mattamayūra. Perhaps the title "Mattamayūranātha" was conceded after living at Mattamayūra;
6. Dharmaśaṁbhū and idem
7. (perhaps emigrated to Cedi and assumed the headship of mathas in that area)
8. Sadgāśīva — (Supreme ācārya of Avanti and Cedi mathas);
9. Mādhumatēya (*)
   (?) 10. Cūḍāśīva
10. Mādhumatēya  (?) 10. Cūḍāśīva
11. Hṛdayaśīva or Hṛdayeśa — (Supreme ācārya of the region and head of Vaidyanātha matha);
12. Aghoraśīva (seated at Nāhalēśvara)  13. Vyōmaśīva (seated at Ranipadra)
The simplest thesis is that all the ācāryas were in a direct line of succession (i.e., a vertical sequence of names) and that in the Ranod Inscription, the names of Madhumateya and Cudāśīva were omitted.

Till now we have the names or titles of thirteen Mattamayūra ācāryas of a certain "central trunk" and a branch which settled early at the Kalacūri kingdom, with three masters. That branch or school we have named "Madhumateya". The first four masters of that central Mattamayūra trunk lived in Kadambaguhā or near it. Purandaka hailed from Kadambaguhā and settled in the capital (or nearby) after Avantivarman's invitation. This Purandaka built at least two maṭhas — at Mattamayūra and at Ranipadrā. The city of Mattamayūra perhaps attained that name because it was the regional headquarters of the sect. The Prayāścitta-Samuccarya mentions the monastery of Ranipadrā as Ranipadrā-maṭha and its head as the ācārya Lambakarna, who does not seem to be identical with any of the names given in the inscriptions. The two disciples of Purandaka, Dharmasambhū and Kavacaśīva, would have started the expansion towards the Cedi country. One of them may have been the head of the area Mattamayūra-Ranipadrā, and the other moved east and south-east, keeping touch with the maṭhas supported by the Kalacūris of Tripurī. This would have been at the beginning of the tenth century. Ther came Sadāśīva who was considered to be the disciple of both perhaps, because he headed the movement after its
reunification. Sadāśiva may have been succeeded again by two ācāryas looking after the twin focus of Mattamayūra activities: Mādhumatṛaya, perhaps in charge of the Kalaśūri holy area, and Īśvaraśiva as head in the Avanti-Mālava countries. Their successor again would have been a single individual as supreme pontiff for all the Mattamayūras of the region, which indicates good linkages within and integration of the sect. The different maṭhas spread over the area apparently maintained a good level of exchange and contact which made possible the maintenance of a general doctrinal standard and the acceptance of Hṛdayaśiva or Hṛdayesā as a common supreme pontiff. It is not clear where the seat of that supreme pontiff was. The inscriptions imply that Hṛdayaśiva came to Yuvarāja’s country from elsewhere but the reason for the change is not clear. Hṛdayesā’s supreme capacity, however, is demonstrated by his ceding the seat of Nīhalēśvara-maṭha to his disciple Aghorīśiva and Ranipadra to another disciple, Vyōmaśiva.

In verse 55 of the Bilhāri Inscription it is said that Hṛdayaśiva descended from the Mādhumatṛaya lineage. This would mean either of the two things:

(a) Mādhumatṛaya Pavanaśiva = Mādhumatṛaya
   Sabdāśiva = Īśvaraśiva
   Iśvaraśiva = Hṛdayaśiva

In other words, the "Mādhumatṛaya lineage" was not a direct branch of the original Mattamayūra trunk or the roots in
Kadambaguhā, but is just a derivation from the Mattamayūras of Kadvāhā — one of the lineages of emigration of ācāryas from Mattamayūra who went to found new monasteries in the Kalacūri country. This assertion, however, does not cancel the possibility of a very early movement of ācāryas from the "Kadambaguhā cradle" — in which case the Kalacūri country witnessed the coming together of both branches, the older one of Kadambaguhā and the missionaries from Kadvāhā. (b) The two Mādhumateyas were not the same person. The lineage of Mādhumateya Pavanāśiva is a separate one, derived from the original "Kadambaguhā cradle".

Both possibilities (a) and (b) have two consequences which resolve some previous questions:

First, both possibilities indicate that the Nōhalēśvara-maṭha existed before Yuvarāja's reign. Queen Nōhalā would have merely improved it.

Second, Ṣṛdayaśīva must have been a supreme pontiff over all the maṭhas because the acclamation "of Mādhumateya lineage" had the sense of reunification. He, as the great ācārya of the whole Mattamayūra sect, had the authority to unify the different branches. Ṣṛdayaśīva thus appeared as the reincarnation or symbol of the foundational spirit of the movement, the sakti of the first masters of the sect.
The Gurgi Inscription of Prabhōdhaśīva,\textsuperscript{80} which was discovered among the ruins of a great temple at Gurgi, near Rewa, and the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabhōdhaśīva,\textsuperscript{81} c. A.D. 972 and discovered at the site of Chandrehe, also in Rewa, throw more light on our hypothesis. The Gurgi Inscription, which is undated, puts the Mattamayūra movement in close relation with the Kalacūris of Tripūrī (or Haihaya dynasty). The main subject of the inscription is the many pious works of the great ācārya Praśāntaśīva who built a Śiva temple near the palace of Yuvarājadēva I.\textsuperscript{82} He also constructed two abodes for Siddhas (siddha-sthānam), one at the river Śoṇa and the other at Kāśi. Praśāntaśīva was the disciple of ācārya Prabhāvasīva, alias Hṛdayaśīva of the Bilhari and Ranod inscriptions. Prabhāvasīva, it is said in this Gurgi Inscription, was placed by Yuvarājadēva I as head of the new Vaidyanātha monastery.

The Mattamayūra lineage given in the Gurgi Inscription is as follows:

1. Mādhumati – an old founder of the sect, "the abode of the Saiddhāntikas". (It is mentioned that Cūḍāśīva descended from this lineage but it is not unlikely that he was a direct descendant of Mādhumati);

2. Cūḍāśīva – acclaimed as a great sādhu, but no maṭha is related with him. He was the master of Prabhāvasīva;

3. Prabhāvasīva – he was invited by Yuvarāja I to accept the command of a monastery which this king built at great expense. That maṭha is Vaidyanātha. He was the guru of Praśāntaśīva;
4. Praśāntaśīva — he was the second abbot of Vaidyanātha-maṭha. He was great in austerities, an example for the young ascetics. He was a protector of the sādhus and administrator of large properties of the sect. It is possible that Īśanaśambhu, next in the list, was his disciple.

5. Īśanaśambhu — the third abbot of Vaidyanātha monastery.

6. Prabhōdaśīva — he was the fourth abbot of Vaidyanātha-maṭha at the time the Gurgi Inscription was engraved.

In the record are mentioned the Kālcūri kings Yuvarājadēva II and Gaṅgēyadēva II. Thus, this inscription and consequently Prabhōdaśīva’s time are in the eleventh century.

The Gurgi Inscription details the list of the properties of the Vaidyanātha monastery, which were administered by its abbot. Since the times of Yuvarāja I, the monastery had accumulated the rights and incomes coming from thirteen villages — which are mentioned by name — which transformed the monks into landlords. A large number, indeed, of ascetics could be maintained with such available resources.

The Chandrehe Inscription was discovered at the small village of Chandrehe, which lies on the banks of the Śoṇa close to its confluence with Banās (this Banās is a tributary rivulet of the Śoṇa. Vide, infra Chapter VIII, the location of this Chandrehe complex). A slab on the veranda of a fine monastery, now in ruins, contains this inscription. Next to the maṭha is a Śiva temple, also in ruins. The main object of the inscription is
to record the construction of a Śiva temple by the ācārya Praśāntaśiva and a maṭha by his disciple Prabhodaśiva. The maṭha was completed in A.D. 972. The lineage given in this inscription of the Mattamayūra ācāryas is as follows:

1. Purandara
2. Sīkhaśiva
3. Prabhavaśiva (Prabhāśiva)

"Lord of Madhumatī", he was invited by Yuvarāja to his territory giving him lands, and building for him a beautiful monastery.

4. Praśāntaśiva - Surrounded by many ascetics, he built a hermitage and a Śiva temple on the Śoṇa river, at the foot of the Brahma hills.

(He had many disciples, among them the foremost was Prabhōdaśiva).

5. Prabhōdaśiva - He built the tank excavated by Praśāntaśiva and constructed a new maṭha next to the one made by his master (Praśāntaśiva).

Prabhavaśiva or Prabhāśiva, who evidently is the same Hrdayaśiva of the Bilhari and Ranod Inscriptions, is entitled here as "Lord of Madhumatī" and also celebrated as "worshipped by many kings". It is evident once more that Prabhāśiva-Hrdayaśiva was acknowledged as the head of the "Madhumateyas". Even more, here is implied a specific monastery (Madhumatī) where that branch was continued. Prabhāśiva, it is said, was famous and accepted (as supreme ācārya) by different kings as head of the holy Mattamayūras. This confirms our supposition of Prabhāśiva-Hrdayaśiva as the supreme pontiff of the Mattamayūra sect for the
BILHARI and RANOD Inscriptions

Kadambaguhādhīvāsin
Śaṅkhāmathikādhhipati
Tērampāla
Rudrasambhu Amardakatīrthanātha

Mattamayūra Purandaka
Dharmasambhu
Kavacaśiva

Sadāśiva
Mādhumatya
Cūḍāśiva
Hryayaśiva or Hryayesa
Aghoraśiva
Vyomaśiva

Sadāśiva
Śaṅkarāśiva
Gaṇapāśiva

A.D. 850
A.D. 930
A.D. 950
A.D. 972

The Mālava–Kadvāhā Mattamayūra parampara

and the maṭhas founded and administrated by this branch
whole region of Avanti-Mālava and Cedi countries. He was the highest authority of the Mattamayūras, superior to the abbots of other maṭhas. And the supreme pontifical seat was at Vaidyanātha monastery.

"Madhumati", probably refers to the Nāhalēśvara-maṭha.

Our conclusions now are that the Mattamayūra sect had its cradle at or around a place named Kadambaguha, probably on the border of Mālava and Avanti. From these primeval monasteries descended a line of masters who expanded over the Avanti and Cedi countries from the end of the ninth century. A branch, which was present in the Cedi country quite early, used to be called "Mādhumateyas" and possibly the Nāhalēśvara-maṭha was their headquarters. Purandakācārya founded a strong Mattamayūra centre in the area of Ranod-Mattamayūra. From there also was a rippling out to the neighbouring areas. The prestige of some of these acāryas was accepted universally by all the Mattamayūra gurus. Sadaśiva was one such. He may well have been one of the supreme Mattamayūra pontiffs and the head of all the maṭhas in the region. Hṛdayaśīva, also called Hṛdayesā, Prabhāśīva and Prabhāvasīva was another. Yuvarāja I of the Kalacūri family invited him to his dominions urging him to shift the supreme throne of the Mattamayūras to the Vaidyanātha-maṭha, which he had built luxuriously for the purpose. He intended the Vaidyanātha monastery to be something of a sacred foundation to inaugurate a
new time, his time. The Mattamayūra sect had until then a twin focus: Mattamayūra-Ranod and Nōhalēśvara. To produce a stronger effect in his political projects, Yuvarāja wanted the supreme ācārya in the centre of his own territory. Hṛdayaśiva's supreme authority is proved by his capacity to nominate the new heads of both major Mattamayūra centres. He distributed his senior disciples between two centres: Vyōmaśiva at Ranipadra and Aghoraśiva at Nōhalēśvara.

At Nōhalēśvara continued a separate branch but always in the Mattamayūra tradition and accepting the supremacy of the great ācārya of Vaidyanātha, so also at Ranipadra. The new great centre of the Mattamayūras, Vaidyanātha, started a new epoch for the movement, the association with the royal house of the Kalacūris bringing to the monks riches and prestige. A greater doctrinal effort was, however, needed now to maintain the purity of the philosophical principles, which alliance with the political power and material affluence could corrupt. That the enlightened ācāryas succeeded in this endeavour is proved by the spiritual paramountcy of the sect for about two and a half centuries in the region, always in close association with the Kalacūri kings. The Kalacūris believed that they owed their power, invincibility and grandeur to their preceptors (the Mattamayūras). The monks maintained their spiritual enthusiasm by means of a strong missionary effort and pious works, even in faraway tīrthas like Kāśi where they established a monastery.
The Mattamayūra monasteries which existed in the region of Avanti-Mālava and Cedi country between ninth and twelfth centuries would be identified as follows:

1. Kadambaughā, perhaps in northern Mālava country. It included the monasteries and tīrthas of:
   - Saukamaṭha
   - Tērambi
   - Āmardaka

2. Mattamayūra, at Kadvāhā, one of the first great Mattamayūra centres, possibly having more than one maṭha.

3. Ranipadra, at Ranod, also an important monastery.

4. Vaidyanātha, the new great maṭha and the seat of the supreme pontiff, founded by Yuvarāja I and centrally located in the Kalacūri dominions.

5. Nōhileśvara, a primeval setting of the Mattamayūras in the Kalacūri dominions, perhaps near Tripurī; known also as Madhumati because there continued the Madhumateya line of the sect.

6. The monastery at Chadrehe, founded by Praśāntāśiva, repaired and enlarged by Prabhūdasiva.

7. The four main maṭhas of Mattamayūras, Ranipadra, Vaidyanātha and Nōhileśvara must have continued functioning for a long time.
MATTAMAYŪRA MAṬHAS in CENTRAL MADHYADEŚA, nineth–tenth century
Even at the zenith of their power and pre-eminence the Mattamayūras had to be wary of the rivalry and competition of the Pāṇḍavas, also very strong in Madhyadeśa, and the shadow of Buddhism, albeit declining, and Jainism. Their virulent attacks against the Buddhists and the Jainas betrayed the sectarian character of the Mattamayūras and the fears of its leaders for a loss of its pre-eminence.

The later Mattamayūra ācāryas and the Kalacūri princes with whom they were associated, are:

* Puruṣaśiva ———— * Yaśākharanadēva (A.D. 1070) 88
* Śaktiśiva ———— * Gayākarṇadēva (A.D. 1149) 87
* Kṛtiśiva ———— * Narasiṁhadēva (A.D. 1160) 70
* Vimalaśiva ———— * Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1170) 71

Vimalaśiva, son of Madhusūdana and Umā, belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra. After doing all the religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gokāraṇa, Gayā and other tīrthas, he was initiated into the Śaiva doctrine by Kṛtiśiva, in whose honour Vimalaśiva named a new temple that he built (Kṛtiśvara temple). Vimalaśiva also founded various other religious institutions. It may be presumed that these ācāryas continued to operate from the proximity of the Mattamayūra centre at Vaidyanātha-māṭha.

V.2.2 Mattamayūras in Maharashtra and the northern areas of the Deccan: the antecedent of the Kālāmukha movement

The Mattamayūra expansion to the southern regions was in two directions: towards Orissa and Andhra, and towards the north-
western coast of the Deccan.

The movement toward Ōḍra and Kōśala is indicated by the Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions. The inscriptions record the construction of a temple by ācārya Gaganaśīva who came from Uttara Tēramba. The area of Rewa where Praśantāśīva/Prabhōdaśīva, -- the head of the Vaidyanātha-maṭha -- founded the "Monastery of Chandrehe" was already a place of Mattamayūra activity. Inscription "B" from Maihar speaks of a Mattamayūra poet named Sāmbaśambhu, the author of its praśasti. He describes himself as "the terror of the Cārvāka School of philosophy and an adept in the Buddhist and Jaina doctrines as well as in the Āgamas of the Śaivas" not quite characteristic of the Mattamayūras. Sāmbaśambhu was a sympathizer of the Buddhists and the Jainas. For his time he was an eccentric intellectual, greatly inspired by Bāṇabhaṭṭa's syncretic style, advancing a synthesis which was achieved by the Mattamayūras in Maharashtra and north-west Deccan.

Mattamayūras were still favoured by the Kalacūris even in the last quarter of the eleventh century and the present-day Jabalpur, M.P., was their centre of activity. The Jubbulpore Stone Inscription of Vimalaśīva, dated A.D.1174-75, records the construction of a temple to Śiva by the preceptor of the Kalacūri King Jayasimha, the Mattamayūra ācārya Vimalaśīva. The inscription delineates a Mattamayūra line of teachers who were the gurus of the Kalacūri kings.
Mattamayūra Monasteries in Kōṅkan (Coast of Maharashtra) During ~9th - 12th Centuries AD (The region represented here corresponds to)
Vimalaśīva came from Tērambi, the old cradle of the Mattamayūras. The editor of the inscription, B. Ch. Chhabra, identifies Tērambi as Terahi, five miles south-east of Ranod. If correct, this clarifies the approximate location of the maṭhas from where came the ācārya founders of Mattamayūra and Ranipadra maṭhas. Chhabra also thinks that Gaganaśīva is the same as Vyōmasīva of the Ranod Inscription. The supposition is feasible, but the cited Ranipur Jharial Inscription is undated to compare the times.

The missionary movement of the Mattamayūra ācāryas was simultaneously towards the western coasts of the Deccan. There they received the support of the local dynasties under the paramount power of the Rastrakūtas. Thus, the Karhad Plates of Kṛśna III, dated A.D.959, record the grant of village Kaṅken (Karahāṭa viṣaya) by Kṛṣnaraṇa III or Akālavarsa or Vallabha, belonging to the Rastrakūtas of Mayūrkhand, to the Mattamayūra master Gaganaśīva. This Gaganaśīva is not the same Gaganaśīva just mentioned, who went from Ranipadra to evangelize Udra and Kōśāla. The Karhad Inscription informs us that the present Gaganaśīva was trained in some local convent under his master Īśānasīva of Karahāṭa. Obviously Īśānasīva had settled here long enough to prepare a generation of disciples. We would deduce that Īśānasīva came from the central Mattamayūra area of Avanti-Cedi around the first quarter of the tenth century — among the first to settle at Karahāṭa. The timing fits well with the time when
the expansion of the Mattamayūra movement commenced. Gaganaśiva is described as "well versed in all the Śivasiddhāntas" which gives us an additional piece of doctrinal information. Gaganaśiva was managing a convent, a Mattamayūra- maṇḍha. The grant was specifically given "for the maintenance of the ascetics that lived at the place". That maṇḍha was, therefore, at Karahāṭa, and the village granted — Kaṅken — corresponds to the modern Kanki, in that district.

The Śilāhāra kings of Thana appear to have been very helpful to the Mattamayūra acāryas in their work of evangelization. The Kharepata Inscription of the Śilāhāra King Raṭṭarāja, dated A.D.1003, registered the gift of three villages to the preceptor of this Raṭṭarāja chief, the Mattamayūra acārya Ātrēya. Ātrēya was a disciple of the master Ambhūjasambhu, belonging to the Karkarōṇi branch of the Mattamayūra sect. Ātrēya was in charge of a religious complex named Aṃvēśvara (Siva)-tīrtha comprising a great Śiva temple and a Mattamayūra monstery. The three villages were given to him "... for keeping the temple of the god Aṃvēśvara in proper repair, providing food and raiment to the ascetics and for the use of disciples (the novices), learned men, and visitors".

Some points of interest in the present inscription may be noted:

(a) The Karkarōṇi branch of the Mattamayūras derived from a
certain founder whose name apparently was Kārkā. Unless the inscription is exaggerating the extent of the lineage, we would suppose there were several Kārkāṇḍi masters before Ātrēya's master Ambhōjaśambhu. The date of the inscription, A.D. 1006, would be about half a century after the Kārkāṇḍis came to the place. In other words, Kārkā, the supposed founder of the lineage, came from the Mattamayūra cradle region (Avanti-Cedi) to the Śilāhāra state just when the movement was in the process of expansion.

(b) The sources of income of this Kārkāṇḍi-Mattamayūra monastery or Āvāśvara complex were from three kinds of grants and gifts, which make it conform to a typical early medieval monastery:

(i) Income from villages was the most usual source in the period for temples and maṭhas.

(ii) Located in a commercially active area, the religious complex received a regular income in cash from the customs: "... a gadyāṇa of gold from every vessel coming from foreign lands, a dharana of gold from every ship coming from Kandalamūliya, excepting Chāmulya and Candrapura..."[104]. The maṭha thus benefited from the prosperity of the region.

(iii) This monastery and temple were also provided with permanent service of "families of female attendants (devaḍāsīs), oilmen, gardeners, potters and washermen
as permanent staff attached to it. The inscription is not clear about whether this attachment was some form of remuneration for these people — considering the prosperity of the complex — or whether they were attached as servicemen. The case of dēvadāsis is more frequent in Brahmanical temples of the period, in our case a paradoxical mixture of ascetic life in the maṭha and holy prostitution in the adjoining Avvēśvara temple. The harlots would not have been at the service of the Mattamayūra ascetics but their presence in the complex must have meant a constant headache for the ācāryas.

The details of the three gifted villages cited in the inscription imply that this site was on the coast of southern Kōṅkan, probably where the inscription was discovered — Kharepatan, in the Devagad taluka, Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. Apparently, this Mattamayūra settlement had to compete hard with the Pāsūpatas, who were in the vicinity in the inland towns in the Kolhapura-Miraj area.

The Kharepatan Inscription, as we have noted, is dated A.D.1008. The next epigraphical evidence that we have is dated A.D.1034, recording the gift by the Śilāhāra King Chittarāja (or Chhintarāja) of a field in village Kunde (in Bhiwandi taluka, Thana district, Maharashtra) to the Mattamayūra ascetic
Jñānasīva, a disciple of the holy Vadācārya who belonged to the western Āmāya. The grant was meant to provide food and clothing for the ascetics dwelling in the temple of holy Bhāiyapāśvara, for the worship of the god and maintenance of the temple. The temple was named after its builder Bhāiyapa, the local lord.

In the same area is the Bassein Stone Inscription of the Śilāhāra King Mallikarjuna,\textsuperscript{110} dated A.D.1162. It mentions the rāja gurū of this prince, the Māttamayūra ācārya Vēdasīva, and eulogizes the bhōpaka (high official) Vyōmaśīva, and records (a) the repairs of a Śiva temple by these ācāryas, (b) the excavation of a tank at the house of Vēdasīva (which, perhaps, was their maṭha), and (c) the gift of village Lōnavātaka, in the Paṭālasaka division, Kalashadī viṣaya, to a brāhmaṇa by name Lāsana Upadhyaya. Lōnavātaka is probably the present-day Lonad, in the Thana district.

Also from Lonad is another inscription dated A.D.1184, from the times of the Śilāhāra King Aparāditya II.\textsuperscript{111} It records the gift of a field in Vēharalī village, Dahasagrāma, Shatshashti viṣaya, made by bhōpaka Vyōmaśāmbhu\textsuperscript{112} with the king’s permission, in favour of Vyōmaśāmbhu plus the gifts of some "pōruthi dramas for the mahābhoga and other services of the Śiva-liṅga". Śatṣaṭi is the modern Sashti or Salsette and the village of Vēharalī would be Viharoli, half a mile south of Kondivate, Thana district.
Bhōpa or bhōpaka Vyūmaśiva seems to have been a very important and influential senior officer of the Śilāhāra state. He appears again in the Parel Stone Inscription, dated A.D.1187, of the same King Aparāditya II,113 this time as mahāpradana. The inscription records the grant by the prince of twenty-four drammas out of the proceeds of an orchard in the village Mahāvāli in the Śatāṣṭi viṣaya (=Salsette) in favour of the divine Vaidyanātha (temple) of Darbhāvāṭī.

Bhōpaka Vyūmaśiva was at the service of the Śilāhāra kings for at least a period of twenty-five years (A.D.1162-87). We would therefore distinguish three consecutive periods for the Mattamayūra sect in the western Deccan: (a) the period of evangelization, approximately A.D.950-1000. In this period, the first ācāryas coming from the Mattamayūra area in Mālava/Avanti spread in this region, obtaining some support from the ruling families and forming the first generation of disciples. (b) The second period, approximately A.D.1000-1150, is when the Mattamayūras earned the reverence of the princes and the people, received important donations, founded great monasteries with a large number of disciples, and acquired influence on the region and economic power. (c) A third period would be that since A.D.1150 onwards, when the powerful ācāryas were called to participate in affairs of the state.

Besides the Deccan, the Mattamayūra ācāryas moved in
several other directions as well. Around A.D.1220, at the great Sāmanātha temple in Vēravāl, Gujarat, was a Mattamayūra master by name Vimalaśiva, who appears to have been the spiritual head of the Śaiva ascetics of that tīrtha. The Badaun Stone Inscription of Lakhanapāla gives proof of the presence and influence of Mattamayūras in north-west India and Kaśmīr. It records the erection of a Śiva temple, locally known as Vodāmayuta, at Badaun by a Mattamayūra ascetic named Īśanasāiva who also endowed the temple with the revenue of a place called Bhadanauliya.

Īśanasāiva's spiritual genealogy, as given here, is:

1. Varmaśiva, who came from Aṇahilapāṭaka. He moved to Kaśmīr where he proved his superhuman powers. He went to Vodāmayuta, where Dēvapāla's minister Ruha appointed him head of a maṭha in the town.

2. Mūrtigaṇa succeeded Varmaśiva. He was the rāja-gurū of the next prince, Suraparaladēva.

3. Īśanasāiva, disciple of Mūrtigaṇa, was born in Gauḍa and belonged to the Vatsabhārgava gotra. He was the eldest son of the twice born Vasavana, resident of Siṁhapalli, in the Hariyānadeśa (Haryana).

Īśanasāiva's example shows how the fame of the Mattamayūra Mūrtigaṇa attracted learned brāhmaṇas, inspired by the sanctity and excellence of Mūrtigaṇa ācārya.
V.2.3 Some additional doctrinal features of the Mattamayūras

The philosophical works of the Mattamayūra masters represented a category of the Vaiśeṣika system which may be called Siddhānta Vaiśeṣika.\textsuperscript{116} The Ranod Inscription\textsuperscript{117} mentions some of the works of Vyōmaśiva, the abbot of the Ranipadra monastery. The Mattamayūra masters also followed the instructions given in the Āgamas,\textsuperscript{118} which lay stress on the performance of pious works, such as construction of temples, shrines, tanks, mathas and other religious buildings. Besides the daily ritual, the adoration of images, use of yantras, and celebration of festivals were part of the recommended sacred routine.

The cult of the Pentad (pañcādevopāsanā), which is accepted in the Āgamas, gained currency during this period. Commonly, Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti, Gaṅga and Viṣṇu formed the Pentad. The cult was developed by the Pāṇḍupatas; the Mattamayūras accepted it on account of Siddhānta tolerance. The Ranipur Jharial Inscription\textsuperscript{117} mentions that the Mattamayūra ācārya Gaganaśiva inaugurated a temple in which were installed images of Somēvaradēva (Śiva), Svāmin (Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva), Lakṣmī, and Siddhēśvara (Buddha) — an unusual combination deriving, perhaps, from the Buddhistic traditions of the region, and absorbing into the Hindu corpus the tradition of the Buddha as an incarnation of Śiva or Viṣṇu. A usual combination of deities was the Trimurti or Trideva (Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva),
especially in the central area of the Mattamayūra in the Cedi country. Another form of pañcadēva with Śiva as the central symbol was the representation of a Liṅga (Śiva) together with faces of the other four deities — Viṣṇu, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya. The Mattamayūra Ācārya Praśāntaśiva of the Gurgi Inscription¹²⁰ put the images of Śiva, Umā, Durgā, Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati in the temple he built on the Śōṇa at Chandrehe.
NOTES


2. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Purānic Records, on Hindu Rites and Customs, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975, p.13; the Vayu Purāṇa included for the first time, among the Purāṇas, a chapter about Pāśupata Yoga. The Vāyu Purāṇa was compiled about A.D.400.


5. Reference to this area in the cited Ghatiyala Inscription of Kakkuka, EP.IND., IX, pp.278-80.

6. The legend is in the Vayu and Liṅga Purāṇas.


10. Liṅga Purāṇa, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.392-402. The creation of the Devas or Pasus by Pāśupati is the creation of the elemental substances of the universe.

11. pāñcherthikā Kula is the favourite school or subject of the Pāśupatas, vide "pāñčārthakula-amnaya", in Harsha Stone Inscription, EP.IND., II, no.8, p.122.


15. Śiva Purāṇa, Tr. by a Board of Scholars, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1988, Vol.I, pp.154-63, about the use of holy ashes.


17. The Pāśupatas were in general, strictly vegetarian and avoided any type of rich and stimulating food which could disturb the quiet of the mind and control of the body. Vāyu Purāṇa, op.cit., vol.I, p.111.


23. For religious life in Gujarat and interaction between rulers and the Pāśupatas, vide Majumdar, Asoke Kumar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, A Survey of the History and Culture of Gujarat, from the middle of the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956, pp.292-95.


27. Ibidem, p.78, lines 6-10.
37. The inscription gives an idea of the functions of the early medieval city administration in Malwa in the Rastrakūṭa regime.
39. Bhinmal Stone Inscription of the time of Krishparāja, CORP.INSC.INDIC., VII, no.93, pp.323 ff. Vide, Ibidem, Inscription no.92, which also is from Bhinmal and with a difference of six years.
41. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhājadēva, EP.IND., XXI, no.44, pp.294-96.


43. Ibidem, verses 18-20, Ratnaraśi had various disciples; the one referred to here apparently came with him from the other maṭha.

44. Undikavatika Grant of Abhimanyu (undated), EP.IND., VIII, no.16, pp.163 ff; IND.ANTIQ., XXX, pp.509 ff.

45. The Kalėṇjara Inscription, A.D.1090, EP.IND., XXXI, no.22, pp.163 ff.

46. EP.IND., I, no.32, pp.280-87.

47. For the Kāpālika sect, vide infra, chapter VI; for the Kaula sect, vide the article of Chandra, Pramod, "The Kaula-Kāpālika cults at Khajuraho in Lalit Kalā, nos. 1-2, April 1955 — March 1956, Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, pp.98-107. The Kaula and the Kāpālika cults were both quite ancient, nevertheless, they underwent a revival with the advent of Matsyendranāthācārya. For this ācārya vide the article of Karambelkar, V.W., "Matsyendranāth and his Yoginī cult", in Indian Historical Quarterly, no.31, 1955, pp.362-74; also there are texts of Matsyendranātha in the work edited by Mohan Singh (Tr.), Goraknath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism; including text and translation of Macchendra — Gorakhgoshti padas and shlokas of Gorakh; shlokas of Charpatnāth, Lahore, 1937; the foundation of the Yogini-kaula (a new school into the Kaula cult) in about the tenth century A.D., vide in Bagchi, P.C. (ed.), Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya and some Minor Text of the School of Matsyendranātha, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934, quoted by Chandra, Pramod "The Kaula-Kāpālika cults...", in Lalit Kalā, op.cit., p.101. The Kāpālikas were very influenced by Kṛṣṇapāda (or Kāṃhapa), a powerful Kāpālikācārya who still taught a doctrine based in elevated principles and without the licentiousness that the sect took in some areas lately. The Kaula and Kāpālika cults extended all over India. Several Śaiva-pīṭhas of these sects are mentioned in their literature. Some of these favorite centres where located in the Dahālā-mandala which was under the rule of the Kalacūri dynasty of Tripuri. From there they may have extended to the neighbouring dominions of the Candellas, as it would be proved going through the abundant sculptures with erotic motifs which were included in the Candella religious foundations at Khajuraho. This point is well studied in the referred study of Pramod Chandra.
The Kaula doctrine have many common fundamental concepts with the Śaivasiddhānta and Śākta schools. They had as the highest goal the achievement of the state of Kula or the union (samāraṣya) with the Supreme Being (who is Kula-Akula or Siva and Śakti in perfect eternal embrace or balance). The process through which such a goal is reached is the Kaulaṁārga. However, contemporary rival sects accused the Kaulas for their indiscriminate indulgence in using wine, women and song. It is not clear when the Kaulas extravagated their own limits. Kṣemendra, the famous Kāśmīri poet of the eleventh century A.D. was an eyewitness of such a process. He, himself an ardent Śaiva, describes the lecherous and immoral practices of sects like the Kaulas and Kāpālikas. These critical descriptions are in his work, the Deśopadeśa and the Narmamāla. Vide, Dattaray, R., A Critical Survey of the life and works of Kṣemendra, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1974; also Shastri, M.K. (ed.), Deśopadeśa and Narmanāla of Kṣemendra, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 1923, quoted by Chandra, Pranod, "The Kaula-Kāpālika cults...", Lalit Kala, op.cit., p.102.

The quotations in Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, 1984, p.181.

A general view of the religious developments in Malwa would be seen in Jai, Kailash Chand, Malwa through the Ages, from the earliest time to 1305 A.D., Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1972, about the Pāṣupata activities and their connections with other movements, pp.410-14; about the sanctuaries of the medium Narmadā, vide Cousens, Henry, Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar, Indological Book House (Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, Vol.XIX), Varanasi, 1971, "Mandhata", pp.40-1.

Vide, "F. note on the Halayudha Stotra in the Amaraśāvara temple", EP.IND., XXV, no.18, pp.183-85; p.185, lines 51-53 give the names of several Pāṣupata masters in the next terms : "... in the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmeśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Nāmidīyada, was the Pāṣupata teacher Bhāṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhāṭṭāraka Śrī-Bhāvasanudra". This Sōmeśvaradēva matha perhaps was erected at Dhar, the capital of the Paramāras.

Vide supra, Ch.II, for routes which for centuries permitted transit from the central plains to the coast of the Deccan and towards southern India.
52. Bhara Ghat Stone Inscription of the Queen Alahanadēvi, EP.IND., II, no.2, pp.7-16.

53. Ibidem, extract of the text in relation with the foundation of the maṭha, pp.13-4, verses 27-32: "The queen ordered the construction of the temple of Vaidyanātha (the Siva enshrined there) with a cloister, a hall of study and a long line of gardens in two ranges adjoined to this Sambhu temple. She gave the village Nāmāundī, together with every income in the Jauli Paṭallā, and the Makarapataka village", verse 31: "May the Pāśupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lāṭa lineage, arrange comfortably to rule for the management of this place...."

54. Map of this area, Infra, p.434-A.

55. CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.43, pp.200 ff.

56. Our statement would be corroborated also by the opinion of Banerjea, J.N., "Lakulīśa — the founder or the systematiser of the Pāśupata Order", in Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the 14th session, Jaipur, 1951, pp.32-6; also vide Bhandarkar, D.R., "Lakulīśa", in Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Annual Report, 1906-7, op.cit.


58. CORP.INSC.INDIC., III, no.6, p.240. Here is mentioned the next Pāśupata lineage: Kuśika (who would be identical with Lakulīśa), from whom descended the personage of the inscription, Uditācārya, being the tenth of the line. Uditācārya — it is said here — was fourth from the Bhagavat Parāśara, was disciple's disciple of the Bhagavat Upamita and disciple of the Bhagavat Kapila, all them Pāśupatācāryas.


60. The genealogy of this branch of Caulukya kings have been constructed by V.V. Mirashi as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avanti Varman</td>
<td>A.D.825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avanivarma</td>
<td>A.D.850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadharmanva</td>
<td>A.D.875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simhavarma</td>
<td>A.D.900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narasimha</td>
<td>A.D.950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesarin</td>
<td>A.D.975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vide in Pathak, V.S., History of Saiva Cults in Northern India, op.cit., p.33; Cf. with the history of the dynasty as given in the Bilhari Inscription, EP.IND., I, no.31, pp.254-62, so the genealogy of Mirashi should be corrected in the next order:

1 - Simhavarma ... c.A.D.825
2 - Sadharmanva .... c.A.D.850
3 - Avanti Varman/... c.A.D.875

61. The Gôla-mâtha was a famous Saiva centre which had a much earlier presence in the area than the later Mattamayûra foundations. This monastery was affiliated to a Telugu tradition, the Āmaruddakatîrtha-mâtha school. Vide The Pushpa-giri Inscription (discovered at Kurnool), South Indian Inscriptions, 1905. Also at Alugrajupalle, Guntur district, was discovered another inscription of the Kâkatîya King Gaṇapatidēva which mentions that mâtha.

62. In the area there are a large number of old buildings, temples and monasteries. Mirashi, V.V. is one of the experts who defended the thesis of an original place for the Mattamayûra sect in this area, i.e., west Bundelkhand - Shivpuri.

He thought that the Mattamayûra city and the great monastical centre was at Kadvâhā. Indian Historical Quarterly, vol.26, 1950, p.9.

63. Published by F.Kielhorn, EP.IND., I, no.31, pp.269 ff.

65. Usually the Mattamayūra masters had names ending in "Sambhu", or "Śiva".


68. Ibidem, verse 58.


72. The Gōjakī-maṭha was part of the spiritual plan for the promotion of Saivism launched by the Kalacūris. For donation of villages to the Gōjakī-maṭha, vide Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, (J.A.H.R.S.), Vol. IV, op.cit., p.153 (also, infra, chapter VIII-2).


74. Nevertheless, in the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, XXXIII, it is said that the Mattamayūras came from the Punjab, Edgerton, Franklin, (ed.), The Sabhāparvan, The second Book of the Mahābhārata, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944, pp.165-67.

75. EP.IND., I, no.41, pp.351 ff.

76. EP.IND., I, p.359, verse 67.

77. Mattamayūra — "those who are like mad peacocks" — was a nickname. Followers of the sect got that name on account of their ecstatic madness which turned them into happy dancing human peacocks.

78. Ṣaśāna Śiva Gurudēva Paddhati, Trivandrum, Vol.II, Preface, quoted by Pathak, History of Śaiva Cults, op.cit., p.34.

79. Sadasiva/Suḍasiva present some similarities in the pronunciation. (Perhaps there are two ways of writing the same name).
80. EP.IND., XXII, no. 21, pp. 127 ff (Slab stone with the Gurgi Inscription).

81. EP.IND., XXI, no. 23, pp. 148 ff.

82. The palace in question was not the main palace. It could have been:
   (a) A local palace built by the king when visiting the area;
   (b) A religious establishment built by the prince.

83. It is not clear if Īśānaśambhu was the guru of Prabhōdasīva. It could be that Īśānaśambhu and Prabhōdasīva were both disciples of Praśantāśīva.

84. Chandreha is twenty miles south of Rewa, Bundelkhand. There are the remains of several religious buildings, the Śiva temple (of Praśantāśīva) and a monastery (of Prabhōdasīva) being clearly identifiable.

85. In the next five inscriptions are given (by comparison) the uninterrupted line of rājagurus of the Kalacūrī kings, the real authors of the latter’s greatness:
   (i) The Malkapuram Inscription of the Kākatiya king Rudrādēva, J.A.H.R.S., IV, pp. 147 ff.
   (iv) The Jubbulore (on Kotawali) Inscription of Jayasiṃha, EP.IND., XXI, no. 15, pp. 91 ff.

Vide the scheme prepared by Pathak, V.S., op.cit., p. 50, about the rājagurus and the Kalacūrī kings.

86. The Cedi country had been an important Buddhist centre in ancient times. Law, B.C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, op.cit., p. 313.

87. "Ranod Inscription", EP.IND., I, no. 41, p. 356, line 22 and ff. Vyōrēśa is described as surpassing all types of devotees and learned men; referring to the Buddhists, they are compared to elephants, and the Jainas, equalled to jackals.

88. Vide the Jubbulore Stone Inscription of Vimalaśīva, of the year A.D. 1174, EP.IND., XXV, no. 33, pp. 311-15.

90. Ibidem (in both).

91. Ibidem (in both); also in the Jubbulpore Plates (Kotawali Inscription) of Jayasimha, EP.IND., XXI, no.15, pp.93-6; the Rewah Plates of the time of Trailōkya Malladēva, of A.D. 1212, EP.IND., XXV, no.1, pp.5-6.

92. EP.IND., XXIV, no.32, pp.239 ff. Ranipur Jharial is a village about 21 miles to the east of Titilagarh, Dathar district, Driesa. It has the remains of many old temples and other buildings.

93. EP.IND., XXXV, no.22, pp.172 ff.


95. EP.IND., XXV, no.33, pp.309 ff.

96. Ranod Inscription cited above अचार्य तेरंबिपाला was the lord of that तिर्था or माठ in the ninth century.

97. The argument of Chhabra, Ranipur Jharial Inscription, op.cit., p.241, is that Vyomaśiva is also called Vyoma-śambhu, Ąnganeśa, and Gaganaśasimauli.

98. EP.IND., IV, no.40, pp.278 ff. These plates were found at Karhad, Satara district, Maharashtra.

99. Ibidem, pp.282-83, verses 7-24, describes the Raṣṭrakūṭa family, founded by Dantidurga, continued by Kṛṣṇarāja I, and Gōvindarāja. From Nṛpatungadēva onwards they reigned from the imperial capital of Mānyakhēta. They described themselves as deeply devoted to Śambhu (Śiva). Mānyakhēta or Morkhind probably was the hill fort in the Satnāma or Ajanta range close to Saptāśrigī, Nasik district, Maharashtra. Vide, Buhler, IND.ANTIQ., VI, p.64. Cf. Altekar, A.S., "The Raṣṭrakūṭa Empire", in The Imperial Kanauj, op.cit., p.10; he opines that Mānyakhēta was founded by Amogavarsa and corresponds to the modern Malkhed in Gulbarga, 90 miles south-east of Sholapur, and the first capital was Mayūrkhand.


102. The "Kharepata Plates of Rattarāja" are published in CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.41, pp.183 ff; and in EP.IND., III, no.40, pp.292 ff.

103. Ibidem, CORP.INSC.INDIC., IV, Text: pp.187-90, in synthesis: Ātreyā, disciple of Āmbhūjaśambu, of the Karkaroni-Mattamayūra lineage, received villages Kushmandi, Āsanavira and Vadaṅgula, and a portion of the local customs income, plus the (free) service of certain persons and a piece of land.

104. Kharepata Plates, CORP.INSC.INDIC., p.189, lines 56 ff.

105. Ibidem, the gifts are described in lines 56-62.

106. Dēvadāsīs or dancing girls were in many cases attached to the Brahmanical temples and sometimes even to a Buddhist monastery: vide EP.IND., XXXV, no.12-13, pp.97 ff. "Dēvadāsīs in Buddhist temples", which is a note about the "Ratnagiri Copper Plate of Karna Sūmavamśi", king of Orissa (twelfth century A.D.), which speaks about the concubine of this king, the Rani Karpūraśrī, who was the daughter of a harlot (a māhārī in medieval Orissa), a dancing girl attached to a temple. Another case is from Gayā, vide in IND.ANTIO., X, p.341 : An Inscription in a Sūrya Temple of c.A.D.127).


108. CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.11, pp.64 ff.

109. CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.29, pp.154-55.


112. Vyōmaśambu of this Lonad Inscription is the same Vyōmaśiva of the Bāsein Inscription.

113. CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.32, pp.161 ff.


115. EP.IND., I, no.10, pp.61 ff. It says that the royal family from which this prince Lakhanapāla descended, belonged to the Raṣṭrakūṭa clan (connected with the Rāthors of Kanauj).
116. The style of the subsystem can be identified by the openings with invocations to Śiva, as it is seen in the Bilhari inscription and in the Chandrehe inscription.


118. Ganganaśiva, the master mentioned in the Karhad Plates, EP. IND., IV, no.40, pp.278 ff. is described as expert in Śivasiddhāntāes.

119. EP.IND., XXIV, no.32, pp.239 ff.

120. EP.IND., XXII, no.21, pp.127 ff.