CHAPTER—VI

Tantrism and Saktism,
Kapalikas and Kalamukhas
and their role in the Early
Medieval Brahmanical Monasticism

VI.1 Tantrism and Saktism

Tantrism always appears surrounded by a mysterious cloud. That is caused by the mysterious and secret character of this tradition. Tantrism was not exactly a school of thought. It was a tradition of immemorial antiquity containing many elements which were mixed and formed a type of wisdom. In many cases this tradition was opposed to the Brahmanical one; nevertheless in several periods of Indian history there was an exchange of elements and mutual influence.

The roots of the Tantric tradition go back to the agrarian culture of the pre-Vedic times. Some of the beliefs of the time, antedating the second millennium B.C., were common to other high primitive civilizations. The cult of the Great Mother Goddess was one such phenomenon which prevailed in the whole Mediterranean and Middle East region. All of them developed mysterious cults of fertility, with many variants, but basically with a weltanschauung that corresponded with their technological advances in food production through agriculture and cattle raising. Propitiation and control of the natural forces was urgent for a civilization that depended on the fertility of the
soil, the water resources and the climatic conditions of each region. Mircea Eliade's work in this field throws a good amount of light on man's first attempts at understanding the mysteries of life, of infinite creation, reproduction and extinction, by way of imitation and magic propitiation. Weaving a social structure that harmonized with their economic activities, these archaic societies suffused it with a complex system of beliefs and practices — "the religion of the Great Mother Goddess". Some authors have described these societies as "matriarchal" because of the special status conferred to females in general, as reflected or mundane versions of the Great Mother Goddess.

The origin of Tantrism is a complex and controversial subject. Without going deeper into it, we would accept the evidence of an indigenous background for the Tantric tradition, being directly related with the first agricultural civilization of India. That primitive, elemental, mysterious culture appeared from time to time in the course of history, interspersed with its general flow, like the "Śramanīc culture" analysed earlier. The Tantric movement represented an early medieval revival and triumphant eruption of that primitive substratum on the flow of the three high religions — Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism — brought on in counter-reactions to the strong Brahmanical revival in the post-Gupta period.

At this stage it is necessary to underline the interconnections between developed forms of Buddhism, Tantrism and the
concept of sahaja as was formulated and practised by the Sahajiyas.

The Sahajiya sect was a form of Buddhism which, in course of time, developed their own formalities and rituals, adopted magic formulas and a complicated system of worship — the vajrayana or convention of mantras and ceremonies. The final goal remained the same, and that gave extension to the movement and doctrinal strength to disseminate it among other groups with affinitive tendencies. The Sahajiyas were seekers of the stage of sahaja, the ultimate nature of all creation, the quintessence (svarūpa) of all dharmas. All the world, they said, is made of sahaja. The human stage of sahaja is the perfection and sublimation of mind and body, both in harmony, and it is achieved by the self through the merit of serving at the feet of the guru. The knowledge which leads to perfection comes from within and Truth is obtained by personal intuition. That truth is not for ordinary mortals, not even for learned and intellectual men, but for disciples who have abnegated everything and surrendered themselves to their guru. Thus, the old tradition of making the guru all important. The guru is God, the incarnation of Intelligence. Crucial in a young aspirant’s quest of perfection was the choice of the right preceptor — the truly enlightened one. Once found, the new disciple must surrender totally to him, forgetting himself, his past, and his name. The guru gave him a new name, and showed him the way. The guru was the light, the
way, the goal, the life.

The body was an instrument to reach perfection (siddhi) which brought all kinds of boons. Accordingly, bodily practices received great emphasis and yoga techniques were considered of paramount importance.

Tantra, to repeat the point made earlier, percolated not only into Brahmanism but transformed the character of other doctrines and rituals as well.

All philosophical principles were metamorphosed into an esoteric knowledge and practice, secretism, initiatic rituals, magic elements, searching for mystic powers etc. Tantrism assailed the formal religions as a wave. None was left untouched. The entire religious scene of the early medieval times was in for a change.

In Tantric doctrine, Śiva occupied the place of Brahman like that this last had in the Upaniṣads. Śiva was the one eternal Being — immanent, neutral, unqualified. But as soon as He manifests Himself the Being appears under a dual form of Śakti and Śākta. 

In a schematic manner, these two appearances represent a pair of opposites:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śākta is the subjective aspect of the Being</th>
<th>Śakti is the objective aspect of the Being</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He is positive, static, quiet and restful. He nivṛtti.</td>
<td>She is negative, active, produces action. She is pravṛtti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both aspects of creation of the Primeval being are complementary and necessary. If at any time they separate or are in disharmony, there immediately is suffering. The goal of life is to realize the perfect union of both aspects. Human tendency is to banish all duality (which implies disharmony) and through correct Yoga reach the state of perfect union of both personal aspects. That stage of non-duality is called advaya, maithuna, yugananddhana, yamala, sama-rasa, yugala, sahaja-samādhi, and samādhi. Sādhana, the striving to reach that stage, consists in the destruction of all the principles of dualism to attain such final unity.

The human body is the microcosm, the universe in miniature, containing in it all the qualities or tattvas. Individual consciousness is the light of life, oriented by nature joy and happiness. Consciousness in duality obtains only the shadow of reality and of happiness. If, however, permitted (by correct Yoga) to obtain a little taste of the real joy, which is the proximity of God, the inner God, the Light — consciousness reaches deeper and faster to sahasrāra, the Śiva-loka (the inner abode of Śiva or Śākta) which is at the level of Pure Consciousness. Simultaneously, the process goes on with the reorganization of the nervous system (the six cakras and ten nadis) and the awakening of the Mūlādhāra cakra, where sleeps the infinite power of creation, Śakti, coiled like a serpent (the Kundalinī). One who has attained the success in sādhana has in
himself the union of both aspects of creation. Śiva and Śakti are in infinite to embrace, as it were in a Supreme maithuna (coitus), and the yogī feels within himself the tremendous electrical and continuous joy of sexual orgasm. His Pure Consciousness, thoroughly inflamed in ecstatic Love, is nourished by the power of the universe activated into his nervous system. Śakti flashes through the body of the yogī like lightning. That union of Śiva — Pure Consciousness — and Śakti — total energy — in oneself is the end of Yoga. This is the core of Tantrism. The yogī in such a stage of realization is a man-woman (yugananadha). That stage is represented by the iconology of the period as Siva Ardhanārīśvara, the Śiva half male, half female.

On the other hand, also Buddhism adopted ideas like this. In the Buddhist context the individual’s realization of Supreme Bliss is also a great bliss for the world. Having divested himself of duality (advaya), the individual lives in a state of perpetual sexual joy or supreme love, which permits the appreciation of reality without distortions. Oneness has been achieved through the full control of oneself. This final stage of sublimation of desires and emotions is called sūnyata-karunā, or prajñā-upaya, or vajrayāna.

Tantric literature started with the Dhāranis, produced in the ambient of the Mahāyana Buddhism, between the fourth and
eighth centuries. The Dhāranis glorify Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, the couple forming the One Being. These laudatory verses are supposed to have magic power of propitiation. This magic poetry was also known as Mantrapadas and was produced in quantities in the northern regions of India, from Kāśmīr to Bengal. As they evolved, the Mantrapadas turned more complex, creating multiple forms of Tārā, represented doing different mahāmudras. Tara was considered the mother of all the Buddhas and the eternal companion of Avalokiteśvara. Tārā represented love (maitri) and Avalokiteśvara compassion (karunā).

Brahmanism received the Tantric principles but came up with different symbols and a complete system which would be called Tantra Yoga. The tendency grew towards sectarian clustering, the end result of which was the appearance of Brahmanical monasteries. Tantric Brahmanism was based on Brahman, the primordial cause, unmanifest and neuter. That Eternal One expressed itself as creation generating the duality Śiva/Śakti. Śiva is the cause of bondage (samsāra) and Śakti or liberation (mokṣa). Both are necessary and complementary. The Tantric tradition formed part of the Śrauta Sūtras, Harivamsa, and Sāmkhya philosophy but after the fifth century took the form of a religion, which may be called Śaktism. Tantric literature was its sacred text. Śaktism is the maternal conception of life, based on the belief that everything comes from Śakti or Eternal Creative Power which is a female principle, sometimes called Jaganmata or
the Universal Mother, the mother of gods, siddhas, Gandharvas, men and all beings. The personification of that abstract principle were the goddessess Pārvatī, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Rādhā. In a more philosophical conception she was Prakṛti or Mahāmāyā.

Saktism was the re-emergence of popular beliefs, of all that which was telurian, popular, elemental, but suffered a process of refinement at the hands of the high castes. The brāhmaṇas saw in the Śakti movement a grave threat to the social order and traditional structure. The caturvarṇāśrama system was being turned topsy-turvy with Śaktism specially favouring women and the low castes, giving to the former the highest status and to people who laboured in productive duties an almost sacred character. The admission of Tantrism into the Purāṇas and the writing of Tantric canonical texts indicate the brāhmaṇas' acceptance of Tantrism after they selected, adopted and refined the elements convenient the Brahmanical society. Hazra14 has well-explained the Brahmanical regulation of the new spiritual forces through the Purāṇas.

On the other hand, R.S.Sharma15 has made clear the relation between the origin and widespread of Tantrism and the milieu in which this movement emerged. That relation must be explored in the following five interconnected phenomena: (i) the acculturation of peripheral areas through land grants to brāhmaṇas and religious institutions, given in large scale since
fifth century AD, which meant the penetration of brāhmaṇas and the Brahmanization of tribal areas. The mutual interaction permitted a reciprocal acceptation: tribal people had a place into the Brahmanic social structures, receiving social and cultural rights as well as brāhmaṇas were accepted by the tribal groups as landlords and frequently as leaders. (ii) However, tribal people had older as well as very substantial traditions where the cult to the Mother Goddess had central and prominent position. The tribal societies had a matriarchal character, women as well as the agricultural works or other activities which deal with "fertility", occupied a high status and enjoyed respectability. (iii) The Brahmanical expansion affected the tribal culture and its religious expression in several manners, at the same time that Brahmanism was slowly penetrated by tribal elements. Most of the Tantric texts had its origins in the tribal areas nevertheless they were written in Sankrit. Such texts were the expression of the tribal world, like the Mātāṅga Pāramēśvara Tantra.10 (iv) From the tribal areas these text and the Tantric practices were radiated all over India (about seventh to eighth century A.D.) influencing equally Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. From Andhra Pradesh and Kaliṅga was an expansion of Buddhist Tantrism over Vaṅga and Maghada where flourished the University of Nālandā in which also Tantrism was studied as a scholastic discipline. In the area of Bengal flourished the Kaula school with Candravīpa as celebrated Tantric centre. Also in
Orissa, since eighth to ninth century, Tantrism spread out after producing important Tantric local texts. In Kaśmīr, Tantrism arrived around eighth century A.D. and in Gujarat, about the same time, was registered a permeation of Tantric elements into Jainism. Tantrism had its origins in the outer tribal circle of the region where had occurred the Brahmanical revival since Gupta period onwards, i.e., Madhyadeśa and the Upper country. (v) The ample distribution and great importance of the Sakti pīṭhas or holy places for worshipping the Mother Goddess helped in this fast popularization of Tantrism.17

One of the matters discussed by R.S.Sharma is extensively treated in the recent publication of M.N.Srinivas18 about the cohesive role of Sanskritization in the promotion of the variated elements which flowed into the complex cultural mainstream of India. The book gives a light on the comprehension of this problem, the alliance between Brahmanism and Tantrism through the Sankrit link.19

But the "Tantric wave" was a juggernaut and Brahmanical orthodoxy could not possibly control it. Besides, many elements of Tantrism violated the ethical basis of Brahmanism. That frontier of knowledge, flaunting occultism, licentious rituals, moral laxity, enigmatic language and other extravaganza, was the fertile land for the growth of the early medieval sects. The gathering around a guru, who gave the initiation (dīkṣā) to the
aspirants (sādhakas), gave them the sacred mantras and the instructions was related with the ascetic life with its need of the guide (the guru) to betray the secret knowledge. Tantrism occupied the niche which was earlier created by Mahāyānism. Not able to resist the inroads of Tantrism, Brahmanism in the end responded with its own brand of monasticism.

Śaktism or the Tantric religion claimed to be the only and final path in the Kali Yuga. It was said that it could elevate the simple and ordinary man (pāśu) to a higher stage (vidvāj) of awakening of the superior consciousness, until the state of perfection or attainment of the unity of Brahman (dīv) was reached. Mantras (natural and sacred sounds), bijas (ways of communication with the personal deity), yantras (mystical diagrams), mudras (especially positions of hands and fingers), and nyāsas (adoration of the deity by touching him/her) were the means to it.

The main Brahmanical Tantric texts are the sixty-four Kaula Tantras; Abhinavagupta's Tantraloka which is a compendium of these Kaula Tantras plus the eighteen Śaiva Tantras; and the Pañcarātra Saṃhitās, which included the sixty-four Kaulas and totalled 224 Tantras. The earlier Pañcarātra Saṃhitā probably were compiled in Kāśmīr and the later ones in south India.

The Pārānandasūtra, which was compiled around the beginning of the ninth century, is an exhaustive collection of the Tantric
theories current in the eighth-ninth centuries. Pārānandasaūtra is about kuladharma or the best of knowledge. It declares that (a) the Supreme Being is One plus seven main deities; Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Śakti and Bhairava; (b) the three ways to perfection are dakṣiṇa (inferior), vama (medium), uttara (high); (c) the initiation (dīkṣā) must be given only by a guru who is already free of duality, a jivan-mukta. The guru gives five makaras to the new adept — a bowl for drinking wine, a sudrā, a yantra, a mantra, and a woman (courtesan) who will be his Śakti.

Many Brahmánical sects were affected by Tantrism. Śaṅkara said that the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kārūkasiddhāntins and the Kāpālikas were followers of the Āgamas.22 The Śiva Purāṇa mentions as practitioners of Tantric disciplines Siddhāntas and Kālāmukhas (or Mahāvratadharas). The Liṅga Purāṇa says the same of the Vamas, Pāśupatas, Sōmasiddhāntas and Langalas.23

Pāśupatas and Mattamayūras were much influenced by the Tantric principles and practices but there is no proof available about their taking to the use of the five makaras or other extravagant practices. Apparently both sects maintained a moderate position, but their literature in general is included among Tantric works.24 Kaśmīr Śaivism, too, absorbed the Tantric principles early and transformed them into a sophisticated philosophy. A school of Śaiva Tantrism in Kaśmīr, which developed itself as a complete system, was the Krama Tantrism of Kaśmīr.
In Karnataka, Vīraśaivas or Liṅgayats are the latter-day representatives of such Tantric current. Though Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas frequently show very similar extreme derivations of Pāṣupatism, Lorenzen has demonstrated well why both Śaiva sects must be considered separately as sectarian developments.

The cult of the Mother Goddess spread all over India. Inscriptions from the regions where both Buddhism and Hinduism benefited from their interaction suggest a common Tantric element at the time. The commonality facilitated understanding. The Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bhara King Bhagadatta dated between the third and fourth centuries A.D. in the pre-Gupta times, shows something of these common elements; and more important, it mentions a very early Śaivite sect which perhaps already was preparing the way for the Śaktism that ensued. The inscriptions records the dedication of a slab with footprints (pājugāpaṭī) by King Bhagadatta of the Bhara clan. This custom of engraving footprints of the deity is a tradition which appeared in both religions, Hinduism and Buddhism (and also Jainism) and which was related to the Tantric beliefs in cakras and mudrās. The footprints of Buddha or Viṣṇu are considered sacred as their iconographic representations. The inscription was discovered at Pauni, a town thirty-two kilometers from Bhandara, in the Vidarbha area of Maharashtra.

The land lying between Madhyadeśa and eastern India brings other interesting information, but of several countries later.
Jajpur is an old town on the Vaitarani river in Orissa. Known at that time as Yayatipura, it was an established tīrtha and one of the headquarters of the Sōmāvamśi kings (ruling in the region between the ninth and the early twelfth centuries A.D.). Throughout the early medieval period and later, Jajpur was an important Tantric centre and place of worship of the Mother Goddess. Jajpur was earlier the capital of the Bhaumakara dynasty, who fixed their political centre at the tīrtha or nearby to take advantage of its fame and prestige. Most charters of the Bhumakara period (seventh to ninth centuries A.D.) were issued from that capital, which is called in these documents virājas. Later on, a new capital — Guhēśvarapātaka — was built near the old Jajpur. The earlier Bhaumakaras were Buddhists but the later ones were Saivas, which indicates religious changes in the region. Jajpur still has the remains of several temples of those times. The many images of the Mātrkās are still worshipped. The goddess Cāmunḍā seems to have been the favourite among them, and her images are everywhere. The one on the road to the Trilochana temple had an inscription which was published by D.C. Sircar. The inscription appears to be of the seventh century and apparently refers to the temple of Cāmunḍā where the image was installed. This was the temple of the goddess Cāmunḍā of Jajpur, where the Queen Vatsadēvi installed the image.

Another inscription in the region has an element of the macabre, being a record of the gift of a village to one Mēdipāta
or a churikāra Mēḍipōta, as compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. The Rajapura Copper Plates of Madhurāntakadēva, dated A.D. 1065 say that the sacrifice was offered to the Goddess Dantēśvarī. Mēḍipōta is named as a churikara probably because he provided the victim to be killed with a (ceremonial) knife (churi). The village gifted was the Rājapura village in the Bṛāmarakōlya mandala. The inscription gives harsh testimony to the practice of human sacrifice, which was a custom coming from the local and tribal traditions. The newly emerging cult of the Mother Goddess and the Tantric culture assimilated these traditions.

In the Chhattisgarh region of M.P., which is in the neighbourhood of Bastar, in the village of Pujaripli, twenty-two miles north-east of Sarangarh, was discovered on a slab found in front of a brick temple of Mahāprabhu, an inscription of Gopāladēva. A Kalacūrī king, Gopāladēva was the feudatory of the region around A.D. 1150. The object of the inscription is to praise his charitable deeds, especially the construction of the temple. In the text also appears a theological explanation about the Mother Goddess who evidently was very popular in the region and to whom this prince was very devoted. That Goddess is here called Vaiśṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṅhī, Aindrī, Cāmūndā; the emblems, weapons and vehicles she used in each case are given:

- Vaiśṇavī, the spouse of Viṣṇu, is represented holding a conch, and a discuss and seated an eagle.
- Trayī, a form of Durgā, appears as wearing bracelets of serpents and riding a large bull.

- Vārāhī, the female version of Varāha, is depicted as uttering a terrific cry.

- Nārasimhī, the female equivalent of the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, is described as she "who made the constellations of stars".

- Aindrī is one who has "thousand eyes, who has the thunderbolt in her hand and goes seated on lordly elephant."

- Cāmunḍā "is dark complexioned, rides a spirit and terrifies enemies in battle."

- Tvaritā is "bright like lightning and is similar in complexion to the indragopaka insect."

- Tripurā "is proficient in three arts."

- Māricā is "terrible, of bright form and having three faces; she is also called Samaya."

- Jayā "destroys foes and gives victory."

- Tārā "has an excellent seat in the midst of the dreadful ocean."

- Vindhyavāsinī "dwells on the mountain a form of Pārvatī?); she is Mahāmāyā and Mahākālī."

- Tōtalā also called Carcika, "punishes the faults of the brāhmaṇas."
- Kāmaka, also named Mahālakṣmi "is forgiveness and compassion".\(^{51}\)
- Sarasvatī, also called Gaurī "is success, fame and clear intelligence".\(^{52}\)

The aforementioned pantheon of goddesses combined the female versions of Śiva and Viṣṇu; there also appears Tārā, who would be the same Tārā, the companion of Avalokiteśvara. This suggests the pre-eminence of the goddess even over sectarian differences.

Another inscription discovered in the same area and dated some years after the supposed date of the previous one, is the "Boria Statue Inscription"\(^{53}\) of A.D.1158-59. This inscription was near the ruins of a temple of the goddess Kākāllī, which is in an old deserted fort three miles north-west of Boria.\(^{54}\) The inscription registered the construction of this temple by one Maltu who was the Chief Minister of the King Mahārāṇaka Jasārajadēva (or Yasōrāja, a feudatory of the Kalacūris).

It is clear from the preceding inscriptions that during the tenth to twelfth centuries, in the dominions of the Kalacūris — who were fervent Śaiva devotees and protectors of the Śaiva sects — or in the neighbouring areas, beliefs and practices of the religion of the Mother Goddess was very popular. Many elements of Tantrism were also mixed with the two strong Brahmanical ascetic sects of the region, the Pāśupatas and the Mattamayūras,
who spread these ideas to the other regions.

The adoption of Tantric symbolism by a dynasty of central India is evident in the Candella architecture at Khajuraho. The big temples of Khajuraho were not built by tribal people but by an orthodox dynasty which was praised as "protectors of gods and brāhmaṇas" (vide supra, Ch.III.1.7, pp.181-83) however who accepted Tantric images for decorating the temples. Obviously, such a matter must consider the problem of the hundred workers who realized the works and their cultural background, however, it must also be kept in mind that all these works were made under brāhmaṇa supervision. This subject has been studied by several scholars. Kanwar Lal has presented a complete study of the Candella dynasty, their times and architectural production. There is in the work several plates which represent typical Tantric type of images.

The movement of Tantric symbols from the outer circles towards the core of Madhyadesa would be followed by an analysis of such diffusion of images and symbols. The temples of Khajuraho were built about the eleventh century A.D.

Vārāṇasī is one of the holiest places for Buddhists, Jainas and Hindus alike. From times immemorial, Kāśi was a place where holy men gathered and where religious and philosophical matters were discussed openly. Any deity has at Vārāṇasī at least a shrine, not excepting the great Mother Goddess. The Durgā temple,
which was built in the eighteenth century by the Mahāraṇī of Bengal, probably is the reconstruction of an old one. There are no data about it, but an inscription of the eighth century discovered in the city records the erection there of a shrine to Bhavāṇī. In the inscription is described a specific area of this holy city where perhaps was built that sanctuary in which a consecrated image of Bhavāṇī was installed.

The holy city of Gayā still conserves several sacred clusters of the Great Mother, some of them of great antiquity. Famous is the Gayēśvarī temple where is enshrined the goddess Durgā. The Bagēśvarī and the Manglageurī temples also inspire much respect and devotion. The three are sacred sanctuaries to the Universal Mother.

One inscription in Nepal, of the eighth century, also contains Tantric elements. The inscription, on the lintel of the entrance of the temple of Avalōkitēśvara in Bungmati, says: "Praise to (that deity) bearing the form of Brahmaṇa, whom the Śāktas, (the) best of (the) ascetics call Matsyendranātha and (the) Buddhás (or Buddhists) Lokēśvara". Buddhist and Hindu traditions clearly intermingled in Nepal. The groups of bhikkhus who went to the Himalayan Kingdom in the fifth of sixth century carried a new mixed religion, which contained a thick substratum of Tantric elements. Buddhist monks coming both from Nālanda and Vikramaśīla — two Buddhist-Tantric centres — and the Śaiva
ācāryas brought to Nepal the Śākta religion and Tantric ideas.\textsuperscript{62}

Tantrism spread all over northern India, from east to west, since the beginning of early medieval times. It made considerable inroads into the three main religions of India, but mostly into the Śaiva sects. That very complex process started in some areas earlier, in others later. By the eighth century it was a universal phenomenon. In Rajasthan and west Madhyadeśa Tantrism was on the ascendant since the sixth century. The Vasantgadh Inscription,\textsuperscript{63} apparently of A.D. 625, mentions the very diffused cult of the Mother Goddess in the Vāṭa country (the present-day Vasantgadh, Sirohi district). The text opens with an invocation to Durgā and Kṣemāryā, which is the same goddess, the female aspect of the Universal Lord. Kṣemāryā was the locally preferred form of the goddess and is the central subject in the inscription. Its object is to record the construction of a temple to her by a committee (goṣthi), which also continued as the administrator of the temple of Śrī Mātā, another name for this goddess. The temple was erected at Vaṭākarasthāna or Vasantgadh, which still stands. It is now called Khimel mātā.

From the same area and of a few years later is the Samoli Inscription,\textsuperscript{64} dated A.D. 646. It opens with an invocation to the goddess Candikā and goes on to inform that a community (mahājana) started the exploitation of a mine (āgara) on a hill named Aranyaka-pagiri, ... "which became a source of livelihood
for the group". The head of this community, the mahattara Jēntaka, on behalf of his group, founded at the place a temple of Arāṇyavāsīnī (Durgā). The temple apparently attracted ascetic followers of the cult of the goddess for it is said that "the maṭha was eulogized by the eighteen bards (vaitalikas) who came from different parts of the country (the Vāṭa Country)"; it is also said that the temple was always crowded with wealthy people. The community which built the temple hailed from Vatanagara, the present-day Vasantgadh.

In the same Mewar region there is another mention of Durgā worship. The Labok Inscription,66 which would be dated A.D. 813, records the grant of some fields by Vaidya Giyaka, a resident of Dhavagarta (the present-day Dhor in Mewar), to the temples of Mahāmahēśvara and Ghaṭṭavāsīnī (Durgā), probably built thereabouts.

From Jochpur and of A.D. 1000 is the Kinsariya Inscription of Cacca,67 which was discovered in the temple of the goddess Kēvāymātā. This temple is on a hill, near village Kinsariya, four miles from Parbatsar, Jodhpur. The text opens asking for the blessings of the Mother Goddess, named Kāṭyāyanī and Kālī. In the discussion on doctrine68 is mentioned the "high royal task of building temples".

At village Dhanta, six miles south-south-west of Sirohi, are the remains of temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Dhanta Image
Inscription found there, dated A.D. 1221, speaks about the installation of the image of the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardini, locally called Yogamāyā. The inscription was engraved in the pedestal of the statue which probably was in one of the temples.

More to the south-east, in Ujjain, was registered in A.D. 980 the donation of a village named Sembalapura (the present-day Semlia) belonging to the Mahāsādhani, Mahalika bhukti, to the goddess Bhaṭṭēśvari at Ujjayini. The inscription is one of Vakpatirāja of Dhārā, in favour of this goddess Bhaṭṭārīkā (Durgā), when he visited Bhagavatpura (the present-day Bhagor). Semlia is five miles north-east of Titrod (24°2'75°29'). The donation was for the temple of Bhaṭṭēśvarī or Durgā at Ujjain.

In the western Deccan Śaktism gained ascendancy from the sixth or seventh century onwards. The Aihole Inscription of the Huccimalli temple, A.D. 708, would suggest an early relation between the worship of the Mother Goddess and the sectarian ascetic groups. The inscription is in the temple of Huccimalli, north-west of Aihole, near a Brahmanical cave (a monastery?). Another inscription, of A.D. 733, is in the temple of Durgā on the north-eastern outskirts of Aihole; it registered a grant of the chief priest of the temple.

The Salsette Island in Maharashtra was an active religious centre in early medieval times. The cult of the Mother Goddess was not unknown to the Mattamayūras who were residents there. The
Cintra Stone of Aparāditya I, dated A.D. 1137, records the donation of thirteen houses to the administrators of the temple of the goddess Yogēśvarī. The māthapati or head of the monastery is also mentioned. The inscription was discovered near a cave beside the temple. The cave could have been the mātha of a group of ascetics, perhaps attached to the temple.

Tantric followers wielded influence in the royal courts. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harśacarita, when Harṣa's father fell sick, a sage, by name Rasāyana, expert in Ayurveda, came to attend the king. The "Carita" type of biographies of kings, a literary phenomenon of the early medieval times, treat also of the religious affairs of the time, the intervention of kings in the religious life and the interaction between the temple or monastery and the crown. The Rājatarāṇī, "The River of Kings"), the famous Sanskrit poem of the great Kāśmīri sage Kalhana, composed around A.D. 1148-50, weaves around the history of the kings of Kāśmīr a description of the social and religious life of the people of Kāśmīr. Among the religious works of the kings and queens are mentioned the founding of a mātha at Śrīnagara and another at Vaiśāvala by the Queen Guṇadevi. These kings protected the Buddhists, Śaivas, Pāṣupatas, Śāktas, and Vaiṣṇavas. Donations and endowments to Brahmanical monasteries are frequently mentioned in this poem. The concessions and privileges given to a monastery for students from Āryādeśa and the foundations of fresh māthas are also mentioned. The mention of the Kāpālikas
indicates that they were known in the early medieval Kaśmīr. A number of Brahmanical monasteries are also mentioned and the association of their abbots (maṭhāpatīs) with the royal house. Maṭhas were founded by the kings on different occasions with the general purpose of gaining religious merits for themselves and their parents and also with the consciousness of their responsibility in helping to expand religion.

In synthesis, it would be said that the wide distribution all over northern India of the "Tantric wave" and the strong development of Śaktism, which would be proved by epigraphical, archaeological and literary evidences, created a very favourable condition for the foundation of Brahmanical maṭhas were lived practitioners of Yoga disciplines around their master. These groups frequenly lived at establishments attached to temples of Śiva, Mother Goddess (Durgā, Devī, Śrī, etc.) or other main Brahmanical deities, being these ascetics a fundamental element of the lyturgical rhythm at these tīrthas. Life at these maṭhas consisted in the strict observance of the sectarian practices under the guidance of the omnipotent guru. Tantrism was often the common ideological background for most of them.

Frequently they did not have a specific cannon of discipline, a definable tradition or genuine character but followed the general doctrinal principles of Tantrism. The elements which were general and common to all of them were the
organization around a guru, the practices of Yoga, the routine life around ascetic practices — individually or in groups — and long periods in self-isolation and practice of meditation (sādhana).

Two Śaiva-Śākta sects were specially famous during the period. Both observed extreme rigour in their practices and radical tendency in their doctrines derived from the general Tantric background. They were the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas.

VI.2 Kāpālikas:

The Śaiva sect of the Kāpālikas existed in the first century A.D. but flourished during the early medieval times. The western Deccan apparently was their chief domain but they were present also elsewhere, including the Kaśmīr region. David N. Lorenzen has done excellent work on the Kāpālikas, and has discussed their possible origins, the sources for studying them, their doctrines, their ācāryas, monasteries, centres of worship and movements through the subcontinent. Some of the more important sources for the study of this sect are:

(a) The Maitreya Upaniṣad, VI, where one of the first references to the Kāpālikas occurs,

(b) The Śiva Purāṇa, Rudrasaṁhitā, 19, 22 where Śiva is called Kapālin, because he bears skulls (kapālas) as garlands,

(c) The Mattavilāsa Prahasana by Pallava king Mahiñdravarman,
(d) Bhavabhuti's \textit{Mālatī-Mādhava},
(e) Karpūra-Maṇjari,
(f) Canda-Kauśika,
(g) Rāmāruja's Śrībhāṣya.

The highlight of the Kāpālika sect was the Kāpālikavrata or Mahāvrata. The Tilakawada Copper Plate of the reign of Bhōja well describes this "great vow" or their real "codex disciplinae" (cannon). The mahāvrata possibly consisted of the sanctification of the behaviour and deeds of their most revered masters and their imitation of the acts of Śiva. This is evident in one of their most peculiar vows, the custom of taking their food and drinking of wine in a skull, which they always carried as their most precious belonging. The skull must have been that of a brāhmaṇa or nobleman who was killed in a sacrificial ritual. This ugly custom may have originated in the myth of Śiva who cut Brahma's head like it is related in several major Purāṇas. On the other hand, the myth may have been created for justifying the custom. We must also bear in mind that whatever has been said about the Kāpālikas has been said by their detractors who must have exaggerated and distorted the facts.

We may presume that the Kāpālika philosophy was based on the Tantric principles and the Sōmasiddhānta system, for they were also called Sōmasiddhāntins, Kāpālins, Mahāvratins and Tāntrikas. Their ultimate quest was the mystical union of Śiva
through the emulation of his mahāvrata. Bhakti (devotion, surrender) to the personal god, usually Śiva in his incarnation as Bhairava, was the keystone of his faith. In imitating and propitiating his god the Kāpālika achieved mystical communion with him, which endowed him with superhuman powers in this world, and in the next, final liberation from the transmigratory existence (saṁsāras) and perpetual sexual bliss. Apparently, their doctrine of Karman implied revolting sacrifices, offerings of human flesh, pujas over corpses, etc. Besides, as a Śaivite Tantric sect, they also revelled in the five "Mas", i.e., madya, matsya, māmsa, mudrā and maithuna, the first food items being perhaps intended to charge their sexual batteries.

The terrible and omnipotent Bhairava, whom they sought to emulate, was propitiated through sacrifices, human and animal. The victim had to be of auspicious colour and size and unpolluted, and if human, a virgin or a pre-adolescent boy. The human sacrifices, to appease and gratify a wrathful and blood-thirsty Bhairava or Cāmuṇḍā, were made with "flesh mixed with brains, entrails and marrow". Devī was gratified for a thousand years when she smelt the human blood offered to her. The victim symbolized the self-immolation of the sacrificer who usually accompanied the victim with bits of his own body, such as fingers, ears or slices of flesh. They were apparently common among tribals. The Śākta work Kālikā Purāṇa has a chapter about how to perform human and animal sacrifices.
Śiva was also propitiated by the re-enactment of his penance, which prepared the devotee for union with the deity. The Kāpālikas' orgiastic banquets with overeating of meats and drinking of wine were a holy meal that symbolized the communion. The wine (surā) was Śakti, the meat Śiva. Their union inside the stomach brought about mokṣa (bliss). The bliss was manifested in the devotee in the form (rūpa) of Brahmā. The wine also symbolized the flow from the celestial maithuna (coitus) of Śiva and Śakti.

In all this, the devotee identified himself with Śiva and Śakti, the perfect couple in perpetual coition spreading infinite bliss. The final salvation (mukti) was a stage of undying mental orgasm, and not merely an extinction of the cycle of rebirths. In real life, too, the advanced Kāpālika practised the amatory arts while maintaining his stage of mental ecstasy. Sex was not merely a lascivious relation but a ceremony, an emulation of the embrace of Śiva and Śakti. The Kāpālikas probably practised retention of semen. They are said to have relished drinking copulatory fluids. Sexual symbols were strewn about in their entire philosophy — mokṣa, for example, was obtained by "meditating on the Self as seated in the female vulva".

While mokṣa was the ultimate goal, there was the intermediate attainment of magical powers. Penances or sacrifices earned siddhis from the deity. Like all the other Tantric sects
the Kāpālikas practised hatha-yoga in order to attain spectacular powers. The Sūmasiddhānta doctrine held that a (sūmasiddhāntin) devotee did not have to renounce the pleasures of the senses to gain the eight mahāsiddhis. The Vayu Purāṇa cites among these siddhis the powers of super sensitivity, super knowledge or omniscience, vision of and communication with the celestial beings (yakṣas, rakṣasas, gandharvas, apsaras, gods and goddesses). With this last ability, the yogin would appear to be common folk as talking with the air. The inclusion of the siddhis in the Purānic records, however, would not appear to be another attempt by the shrewd brāhmaṇas to include even the extremist sects among their clientele for the scholar king Bhōjadēva in his commentary on Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras, Rājamartanda, enumerates the "eight super powers" — anīman, laghiman, mahīman, prāpti, prākāmya, iṣitva, vacitva, kāmāvasā-yitva — that a perfect yogī possesses. All sectarian ascetics influenced by Tantrism and practitioners of Yoga sought these powers as a means to their final goal of perfection, but for some extravagant schools this became a means at the cost of the ultimate goal. This was the fate of the Kāpālikas.

The Kāpālikas and Kāpālika practices dominate the scene in Bhavabhūti’s drama Mālatī-Mādhava, Mādhava, lovelorn for Mālatī because her father intends to marry her to someone else, tortures himself by adopting the most despicable profession, that of a vendor of human flesh which he takes from the graveyards and
carries to places where ugly sacrifices are offered. Meanwhile, a 
Kapālika master named Aghoraghaṇṭa sends his female disciple, 
Kapālakundalā, to look for a victim to perform a sacrifice to the 
goddess Karālā. The victim must be a young virgin, and 
Kapālakundalā flies over the city searching from her aerial 
position for an ideal victim. The Kapālika woman discovers 
Mālatī. Both Kapālikas return and kidnap her and prepare 
themselves to sacrifice her. In the nick of time Mādhava visits 
the temple to sell flesh and sees there his beloved in the hands 
of the two terrible Kapālikas. There is a fight and Mādhava kills 
Aghoraghaṇṭa but spares Kapālakundalā because she is a woman. The 
latter, however, thinks only of avenging her master’s death.

Next is shown another Kapālika, a woman Saudāmini in good 
light. She is the one who helps the distressed couple in love. 
She has great powers and helps Mādhava’s friend Makaranda. 
Kapālakundalā has again got Mālatī to sacrifice to the goddess 
Karālā. She is caught red-handed, there is a fierce battle and 
finally Kapālakundalā is punished. The story has a happy-ending, 
with the lovers united.

One of the interesting passages in the text occurs when 
Kapālakundalā explains how she flies through the sky, clearing 
the clouds in front. She claims to perceive the ātman 
manifested in the lotus of the heart as the form of Śiva through 
her power of yogic absorption (layavasāt) and to fix it in the
six cakras by the practice of nyāsa (activation of the cakras by the use of precise mantras). Then, she causes the drawing off of the five elements from the body by means of swelling of the nādis (with the breath restrained by prāṇāyāma) and flies up in the air.

Bhavabhūti's drama is a testimony of the changing times he lived in. The extremist sects were a reality which endangered the traditional Brahmanical order which the author sought to defend. Bhavabhuti presents the traditional Brahmanical society, with its rigid values and customs as the cāturvarṇya system, the sacred laws, the kin marriage, the undisputed authority of the father over sons and daughters, and the superior capacity of the brāhmana priest who could break the customary rules. This world is contrasted with the aberrant ambience of the dark sects, which, nevertheless, come in for criticism for its horrible rituals. The cultivation of the Tantric arts, is, however, accepted as personified in the good Yoginī Saudāmini who claims to "have acquired her miraculous powers through the service of her guru, penances, practice of Tantra, incantations and yoga".107

As an observant brāhmana, Bhavabhūti could see that Brahmanism could not avoid the inroads Tantra was making into its orthodoxy. Tantric ideas had invaded the religious sphere of the time. The ideas of Śaktism could not be combated, hence Bhavabhuti sought to sublimate them in the social sphere. The
Śākta concept of the Ātman as the duality of two opposite divine elements (or complementary forces) is applied to society where that notion is represented by the matrimonial human couple. Man and woman as family are the pillars of Hindu society and the traditional marriage is the most important institution in human life. What Bhavabhūti represented was a warning against the indiscriminate practice of asceticism or vows and a defence of the cāturvarṇya system.

Two inscriptions from Talesvara, Almora, U.P. seem to indicate the wide dispersal of the Kāpālikas through north India at the beginning of the early medieval times. The sect they speak about would correspond to an earlier branch of the Kāpālikas already settled in an Himalayan monastery. The editor of these inscriptions, Y.R.Gupta, dealt in his introduction with the many problems they present. The inscriptions are dated around the sixth or seventh century A.D. If this group was an earlier Kāpālika group, we would suggest a northern formation for the sect instead of a central-southern origin, which is possible, considering the "Tantric wave" that pervaded different parts of India in the post-Gupta period. Grant "A" of Dyutivarman, lines 6-14 say:


"Let it be known to you that whereas the following request has been made by the solitary lord trāta, the mahāsattrapati, the master of the sacrificial session, who superintends the processions of the idols, who is endowed with political wisdom breeding, learning and (having) good behaviour, accompanied by recluses, brahmācārins and the congregation of the gauggulikas and further by the temple congregation, preceded by (the) royal door keeper, the attendants of the sacred fire, the kāraṅkikas, the superintendent of the female (temple), slaves, (and) the minister Bhadraviṣṇu ... etc."

The grant was given "at the feet of the Lord Viṣṇeuśvarasvāmin, the incarnation of Ananta". Lines 13-26 mention several places, including one Ariṣṭāśrama at Kārttikeyapura. Kārttikeyapura was in the valley of the Gomati and near the present-day village Baijnath (or Vaijanath). There was a temple of Kārttikeya in the area, built by either
Dyutivarman or Viṣṇuvarman. Inscription "B" of Viṣṇuvarman also mentions the congregation of gauggulikas, headed by the trāta Bharipati Ṣarman, who resided at the temple. He was granted some fields, one of them on the bed of river Gomatī near the temple of Brahmēśvara. The god Vāmanasvāmī was apparently enshrined in this temple at Durvaśandaka. The "trāta" must have been in charge of a big religious complex with several temples and monasteries, for the title trāta is equivalent to a great yogin or satguru, who was at the head of various kinds of ascetics and religious persons. One of these ascetic groups was the gauggulikas, probably an ascetic order, and another clearly differentiated group was the Kāraṅkikas, which would be a type of Tantrics.

The term kāraṅkika would be a derivation from karaṅka, a cup made of coconut-shell used in measuring liquids (a "karaṅka" measure); karaṅkika also means skull, head. Y.R. Gupte, who edited this inscription also thinks that karaṅkikas would be compared with kapālins. About the gauggulikas, the term would be derived from guggula (bdellium or Commiphora Indica, i.e., aromatic resin burnt in ceremonies; incense) where of gauggulika could be a type of community or perhaps guild of dealers who supplied the temple of guggula, i.e., incense for pujās. Also the term karaṅkika may refer to a kind of workers attached to this religious complex at Almora, whereas karaṅkika perhaps was an officer in charge of the Kāraṅka (i.e., the tambūla-karaṅka or
the king's betel box). If that was the case, any manner we have an interesting document which recorded information about this religious complex at Durvaśandaka, where lived ascetics (but not possible to know of what order, perhaps Saivas). The complex was administered by a trāta (which may be equivalent to a mahāsthamapati or mahāmatthadhipati), who had under his regency a large staff of servants and workers (vide, infra, Ch.VIII, pp.628-31). This last interpretation would cancel the previous supposition on considering the gauggulikas an order of ascetics and the kāraṇkikas a type of Tantrics. The hypothesis is fragile. It is just supported or translating brahmačāri-ggauggulika and associating pariṣat as "a community of (Śaiva) ascetics" with the Kāraṇkikas with "skull" and considering them as porters of skulls, just like the Kāpālikas. The elucidation of this problem wait for more material to be unearthed.

Besides, in the inscription is mentioned the authority (dēvanikāyā) of a certain female (temple), which would indicate the presence in the complex of female slaves of gods (dēvadāsis, also known as vilāsīnīs, gaṇikās and mahārīs). These dancing girls frequently are mentioned in charters from the period and it is known that they often were present in big religious complexes (vide the case of the complexes of Sylhet, in Bengal, and the Gōḷakīmatha, in south-eastern M.P., infra, Ch.VIII)

In the western Deccan, an inscription, coming from the
border area of Maharashtra and Karnataka shows how the Kāpālikas were present also in this region at the beginning of the period. It records a grant by Western Calūkya Nāgavardhana (or Tribhuvanāśraya), nephew of Pulakēśin II (A.D. 608-42), dated probably at the end of the seventh century. Nāgavardhana gave, with full rights, village Balegrāma, the present-day Belgaum-Taralha, twelve miles from Vigatapuri in the Goparastra district, to the establishment of the god Kapalēśvara "who uses a garland of skulls". The gift was for guggula pujā of the temple of the god Kapalēśvara and for the usufruct of the (group) of great ascetics who reside at the temple" (i.e., a maṭha attached to the temple). The group of ascetics must have been Kāpālikas. What precisely "guggula pujā" entailed is not known; what is of greater interest is the relation it shows with the gauggulikas of the Almora inscriptions cited earlier. The gauggulikas may have been priests of the guggula ritual or the word stood for the followers of Śiva Kapalēśvara. If the two indeed are related, we have an important piece of information about the general liturgical element that was present simultaneously in two distant regions, Uttaradeśa and Kōṅkana. That would indicate two possibilities:

(i) either both groups had a common formation before the sixth century A.D.

(ii) or that there was regular contact among the Kāpālika monasteries.
Epigraphical evidence of Kāpālika activities in central India is adduced by the Chhoti Deori Stone Inscription, discovered at village Chhoti Deori, sixteen miles west of Jokahi, Murwara tehsil, Jabalpur district, M.P. Opening with the incantation "Siddhi Namah", the inscription, probably of the eighth century, goes on to praise Śiva as "one who uses a garland of skulls". The temple containing this inscription, therefore, apparently belonged to Śiva Kapālin. The inscription seems to be the record of the gift of a granary to the temple.

The Sōmasiddhānta School, which was one of the sources on which the Kāpālikas based their doctrine, identified the Self with the god Sadāśiva who complemented Himself with the goddess Uma (his consort) leading to perfect equilibrium.

The Sōmasiddhānta ideology was apparently well accepted in eastern India, where the Sēna kings were adept in Śaiva thought. The Tarpandighi Grant inscribed in a copper plate, which was found in village Tarpandighi, Dinajpur district (in north Bangladesh), carries a royal seal with the emblem of the Sēnas. The figure of Sadāśiva in that emblem is an absolutely faithful depiction of the deity as described in the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra. The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, Ullāsa XIV, depicts Sadāśiva as follows:

"He (Sadāśiva) wears a tiger skin, his sacred thread is made of snakes, his body is covered with ashes and he wears
ornaments made of snakes. He has five faces of the following colours: smoke, yellow, red, white, and black. He has three eyes and his head is with matted locks. He holds the Gaṅgā (on his head), he has ten arms, his forehead is beautified by the moon. In his left hand he holds a skull, fire, a noose, a bow, an axe; in his right hand he has a trident, a thunderbolt an elephant goad, an arrow, and (the granting of) a boon. He is praised by all the gods and excellent munis. His bent look is resplendent in granting the highest bliss; he has the appearance of snow, jasmine and moon, he is resplendent with the bull as his seat, he is everywhere, day and night, praised by the siddhas, gandharvas and apsaras. (He), the lover of Umā, the sole refuge, the dear (one)".

Several Śaiva sects in their emblems also represented Sadāśiva of this description. On their selves, too, they carried out these customs such as smearing ashes on the body (Pāśupatas), holding a skull (Kāpālikas) and carrying a staff, which would be a trident. The latter was one of the characteristic emblems of all Śaiva ascetics.

The Kāpālika sect continued in several places in northern India for a long time. An inscription from Rajasthan, dated c.A.D. 1289, which speaks about the foundation of a Kāpāleśvara temple under the auspiices of the famous Cāhamāna prince of
Ranastambhapura (Ranathambore), Hammira (1238-1301), corresponds to the text engraved on a stone built into a niche of the tank in front of the Kavali temple - which is the Kapalesvara temple mentioned above at Balwan, Kotha. It opens with invocations to Ganesa and Kapalesvara Siva, and mentions names of some persons who permitted the erection of this religious complex. The property of the temple is bounded by Cakratin (river Chakrana) and Mandakini (river Mandakana).

VI.3. Kalamukhas (or Karukas, or Karunikas):

The Kalamukha movement is outside the scope of this study both temporarily and spatially. It is being presented here briefly only to analyse the encounter that took place in the northern Konkan between the Pasupatas and the Mattamayuras, both these sects having been prominent in north India in the early medieval times. The Kalamukha sect, which was distinctive in Karnataka between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, played an important part in the renaissance of Saivism in that region. Many Pasupata acaryas seem to have migrated to the south from their strongholds in Madhyadesa, Uttaradesa, Kasmir and Gurjara-desa.

We have seen that the Pasupatas already had their centres in Konkan since the ninth century. Thus, there were enriching interactions between the northern Pasupata school with that of the Deccan which already had two centuries of local development.
Out of these interactions emerged a new style of Pāṣupatism which formed the Kālāmukha school.

R.N.Nandi has studied the case of the Kālāmukhas as a specific development of Śaiva monasticism in western Deccan. He interpreted the Śaiva monkhood as an overgrowth of the bhakti ideology cultivated by the Ālvārs (or Nāyanārs) of southern India. This Nāyanārs melted into the Śaiva monastic orders about the ninth century A.D. producing important new orientations in the Śaivism of Deccan. The first Śaiva monasteries of Deccan appeared by that time and the credit was equally for Kālāmukhas and Pāṣupatas. At the same time, bhakti devotionalism initially had favoured a certain servile attitude and behaviour among the monks and staff members, as well as magnified the superior position of the higher authorities in each religious community. Kālāmukhas just developed in a milieu which obliged them to improve the previous tendency. That condition was the sectarian struggle between Śaivas and Jainas in the Deccan, motivated by the competition on obtaining privileges and gifts from the rulers. Another aspect of that struggle was the Kālāmukhas' attitude towards women, family and castes. They were definitively guided by considerations of sectarian rivalry, however thanks to that they activated important social changes. If Jainas had given admission to women as nuns but in a lower status, Kālāmukhas made women full members of their communities. They developed also a special status for householders interested in given support to
the Kālāmukha community as well as was accepted the marriage for high rank Kālāmukha brothers. Same time, the good understanding between the Kālāmukhas and feudal administration permitted to maṭhas obtain great power, as well as important governmental positions to heads of maṭhas were given. Kālāmukhas appeared as a new force and better option for Śaivas endeavoured in diminishing the Jaina strength. They were "an antidot against Jaina monasticism." On the other hand, the openness and bigger tolerance of Kālāmukhas was manifested given admission to low caste people, incorporating workers and menial labourers into the staff of their maṭhas and entrusting them with vital functions for the monastical life. Kālāmukhas, in their effort for obtaining success, influenced positively the society of early medieval Deccan.

Lorenzen distinguished two main branches of the Kālāmukha sect — the Śakti Pariṣad and the Simha Pariṣad — both sharing a similar doctrinal basis but developing differently. The Śakti Pariṣad was the more influential, widespread and better off (There are about sixty-five inscriptions related to temples and monasteries of this branch.) It flourished in western Kārnātaka while the Simha Pariṣad was strong in Andhra Pradesh (Guntur area) and in Mysore. The most famous monasteries of the Śakti Pariṣad were in Dhāravāḍa (northern Kārnātaka) and one at Pārvatavāli (the Sacred Mountain of Śrī Pārvata or Śrī Śaila) in Kurnool district. Apparently there was a relation between this —
sacred tīrtha and the famous Śaiva enclave at Kedarnātha in the Himalayas. Perhaps the ācāryas who had come from the north wanted to build near their new home a tīrtha resembling one of the holiest Śaiva tīrthas (in northern India). When the temple and monastery of Belagāve was founded, it was also called "Dakṣiṇa Kedārēśvara" of "The Lord of Southern Kedāra". But the purpose at Pārvatavāli was also to concentrate a strong ascetic activity in order to enable the sādhu and the yogīs to perform all their vratas without having to travel to the Himalayas.131 The Kālāmukhas of Dhāravāda (Dharwad), followers of Lakulīśa's philosophy, called their masters kālāmukhācāryas and they named themselves the Kālāmukha order. Their main monastery at Belagāve one, known also as Kodiya matha, was a centre of learning. Exhibiting a tolerance and breadth of mind of the kind found earlier at the great centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Bihar, at Nālanda, the directors of this monastic establishment taught the complete Sanskrit tradition plus some sectarian disciplines such as the Lākula Siddhānta and Patañjala Yogaśāstras. The liturgy and practical exercises followed at the Kodiya matha were centred in the bhakti of Śiva, like the other Śaiva sects, but with their Pāśupata background they stressed the Yoga disciplines.132 Devotion to Pārvatī, the Lady of the Mountain, was another common denominator between the Kālāmukhas and other Śaiva sects.

Sadāśiva, the Primeval Being, emanated from Himself to Śakti, His own power of creation.134 Thus Sadāśiva, the Supreme
Consciousness, was manifested in an eternal dualistic harmony as Śiva and Śakti, creating all the divine features: Viṣṇu, the cause of sustenance; Rudra, the author of dissolution; Brahma, the creator.131 The Great Goddess, usually presented as Durgā, was born as Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa. Satī performed penance as a yogī and worshipped Śiva with absolute devotion until she convinced him that she was the right consort for him both as the symbol of unity and the supreme goal for the yogīs.136 Satī's marriage to Śiva was performed with the consent of Dakṣa137 and the couple retired to the Himalayan region staying on Mount Kailāsa.138 A long time passed. Once Dakṣa performed a sacrifice without apportioning the sacred share to Śiva. Satī felt insulted and burnt herself with her own yogic fire. Śiva roamed about the world crying Satī !, Satī !. He spent his time thinking of Satī and in severe penance. The devas suffered as a consequence of Śiva's abandonment of the world. Himavan, the Lord of Mountain, did penance and obtained a boon from Śiva: he had a daughter from his wife, Mēnā, thanks to Brahma's help. Thus, Pārvatī was born to them as the reincarnation of Satī. Pārvatī by severe penance obtained Śiva again as husband not to be separated any more. She is also called, Umā, Kali or Gaurī.

The Sirpur Inscription of the King Mahāśīvagupta,137 from Madhya Pradesh, of probably the ninth century, speaks of Pārvatī as the goddess who orders society. She, like the Vedas, was the shelter of the four varṇas and she is considered wisdom. In this
case, Śakti is conceived as conforming the Brahmanical frame.

Sirpur, the old capital of Mahākōśala, was an important religious centre, well-connected to central Madhyadeśa. The Pāśupata centres around the present-day Jabalpur, all enjoying the support of a local pre-Kālācūri dynasty of Sirpur, could expand their activities throughout the region. Sirpur must have also been frequently visited by the Pāśupata ācāryas. The Sirpur Inscription would be the result of that influence.

The dynasty of Sirpur declined around the eleventh century and was succeeded in the region by the Haihayas or Kalacūris. Under these great patrons of Śaivism, the Śaiva sect of central Madhyadeśa consolidated itself and started a strong missionary movement. That expansion was particularly intense towards the southwest. That wave of Śaiva ācāryas encountered other ascetics coming from the Upper Country (the most important groups coming from Kaśmīr) in the western Deccan, where flourished the new sect of the Kālāmukhas from the eleventh century onwards.

One of the two Inscriptions from Ron, published by L.D. Barnett, and dated A.D. 1179, confirms the devotion to the Mother Goddess as Pārvatī by the Kālāmukha sect. The Inscription is about some charitable endowments made by Vikramadēva or Vikramāditya, in favour of the ācārya Gurubhaktadēva who belonged to the Pārvatā line of the Kālāmukhas. The gift was made in the presence of the 104 mahājanas of the great agrahāra of Rona, "who
were devoted to major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, concentration, practice of silence, prayer and absorption, attentive of the domestic fire and reverence of brāhmaṇas. Gurubhaktadēva was the head of the Kalla-māṭha (or Stone monastery) of that place prominent and was also a high civil dignitary. His spiritual lineage as:

Koppina Vakhkhanadēva

Rudrasaktidēva

Jñānasaktidēva

Gurubhaktadēva

Koppina Vakhkhanadēva is remembered in the inscription as "renowned as being devoted to the ascetic practice of the Pārvatī Āvali (the Mountain school) of the Kālāmukhas".
NOTES


2. For an early study of the problem of the cult of fertility in India vide in Chanda, Ramaprasad, The Indo Aryan Races, Indian Studies, Calcutta, 1969, vide Ch.IV in which the author discusses the antiquity of the female deities since the Vedic times. An important point is Chanda's explanation on the universality of the Mother Goddess in India relates to the vegetation spirit and Mother nature ... "She took the form of Durgā and Deśā in a long process", pp.65-85.


4. The anthropological approach to these problems should consider the important contributions of Ernst Cassierer, Philosophical Anthropology, Yale (Spanish Edition : México, 1978). The Introduction to The Myth of the State (Spanish Edition, México, 1974), and others.


7. "What Brahma is", in Tantra Śāstra, I, 32-54, Tr. by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodrofe), The Great Liberation, pp.25-29; Cf. Lakṣmī Tantra, a Pāñcarātra text, Tr. by Gupta, Sanjukta, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1972, Ch.XIV, "The True nature of Śakti (Lakṣmī), pp.73-78.

9. "The six centres and the Serpent Power", in the Śaṭ-Cakra Nirūpaṇa, Tr. by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe), The Serpent Power, pp.320 ff. Various other Tantric works hold that the yogī must practise his sādhana sitting on the vulva. This explanation is related to the localization of the Mūlādhāra cakra and the mystic ecstasy of the liberation of Supreme Energy. But some sects understood the instruction in an erotic way. Vide, infra, Kāpālikas.

10. Cf. this description with the definition of the Yogic Tapas of the first Śrāmanic period. Supra, Chapter I.

11. The union of Śiva and Śakti also is called idā-pingalā or praṇa-apāna. Vide, the Śaṭ Cakra Nirūpaṇa, op.cit., "The Serpent Power".


Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp.1-108.). It gives a critical view (with the original text included) of the Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpāṇa which is a short treatise of the late period describing the fifty one pilgrim spots associated with the Mother Goddess under some of her several names. Each pīṭha is mentioned along with a particular form of the goddess and that of Siva associated with it. The Introduction by Sircar is a notable synthesis on what is known about the pīṭhas : places identified as spots where the most important legends and myths about Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Goddess took place.


20. When man reaches the unity of Brahman (dīv) becomes a divyapurūṣa or divyamānuṣa. Vide Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1931, p.479.


(a) These 24 Tantras can be divided, by type as :
- Agama-Tantras
- Mantra-Tantras
- Tantrāvaras
- Siddhāntas

by topic as :
- Jñāna Tantras
- Yoga Tantras
- Kriya Tantras
- Carya Tantras

(b) The most important of these for knowledge of Tantric doctrine are : The Ahirbudhanya Samhitā (secret teachings about sādhana) and The Śaiva Āgamas, which are a series of scriptures of Śaiva groups and schools.

religion in which Viṣṇu, Śiva or Śakti is equated with the Highest Reality. After the great Śaṅkara, others thinkers tried to reconcile the Śaivism based on the Vedas with that of the Āgamas and, this manner, include all in the orthodoxia of Vedānta. One of them was Śrīkanṭha who declared that Vedas and Āgamas were of equal authority. Vide Radhakrishnan, _The Brahma Sūtra, The Philosophy of Spiritual Life_, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1960, pp.67-8.


28. The footprints of Rāma are worshipped at Chitrakoot (Chitrakūṭa, Banda District, U.P.). It is said that Rāma visited the place on his way to Lankā. The tradition of this tīrtha is of early medieval times.

29. This old town was the ancient Pāmāvati or Padmapura, Vide, Law, B.Cr., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Oriental Reprint, New Delhi, 1984, p.325.

30. The Vaitaranī river is the demarcation between the old Utkala and Kaliṅga countries. Japur was cited supra under "Śaivism".


33. Sircar, D.C., "Two Inscriptions from Jaipur", (B) "Chāmunda image Inscription of Vatsadēvi", EP. IND., XXVIII, no.32, pp.184-85; Vide, the Introduction of the editor to both Inscriptions, pp.180 ff.

34. EP.IND., IX, no.23, pp.174 ff.

35. The region of Kaliṅga was criticized in the earlier Aryan literature as a place of evil people and demoniac tradition. Apparently these customs were conserved until early medieval times in spite of the spread of Brahmanism. Vide, Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra I, 1, 13-16, quoted by Sircar, EP. IND., XXVIII, pp.179-180.


37. There are two Gopāladēvas: one is Rāṇaka who reigned c.A.D.1068, and who appears in the Chhapri Statue Inscription, CORP. INSC. INDIC., Gopāladēva who also appears in the genealogy of the Kalachūris, given in the Sheorinarayan Inscription, CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, no.98, pp.519 ff.


44. Ibidem, verse 11.


50. Ibidem, verse 16.
53. CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, no.111-2, pp.585 ff.
54. Village Buria is twenty miles from Kawardha, M.P.
57. Aurangzeb demolished the old Viśveśvara temple and with the debris built his Great Mosque. The back and side wing of the main mandapa are, however, still standing. Their decorations are of great beauty and many elements are related to the cult of the Great Mother. There is no way of knowing whether this temple was near a temple to the spouse of Śiva because of the motley construction around.
58. Benaras Inscription of Pantha, EP.IND., IX, no.8, pp.59 ff.
60. In the old towns of Patan, Kirtipur, and Kathmandu there are many representations of the Mother Goddess dated since the first century A.D. The oldest pieces are bulky and less refined. The iconography from the seventh century onwards is much stylized and elegant. The theme basically is the same, but the erotic elements in the temples at Patan are from early medieval times. Apparently, this was on account of an encounter of three tendencies: the local Näga culture of adoration of fertility, the earlier Hinduism and Tantric Hinduism of early medieval times.

61. An inscription of Śrīnivāsa, IND. ANTIQ., IX, no.21, p.192.

63. EP.IND., IX, no.25, pp.191-92.

64. Samoli Inscription of the time of Silāditya, EP.IND., XX, no.9, pp.97 ff.

65. Dabok Inscription of the time of Dhavalappadēva, EP.IND., XX, no.13, pp.123-25. Dabok is a village eight miles east of Udaipur.

66. Kinsariya Inscription of Dahichika Chachcha, EP.IND., XII, no.1!, pp.56 ff.

67. Caeca (Chachcha) was a feudatory of the Kalacūri King Durlabharāja of Sāmbhar. Caeca belonged to the family of rajputs (Dahiyās), who built the old Jalor fort. Pandit Ramakarna, editor of the Inscription, Introduction, Ibidem, pp.56-58.

68. Ibidem, p.59, line 22 ff. It discusses Dharma and duties. The duty of princes is to protect religion, in this case the cult of the Mother Goddess.

69. Dhanta Image Inscription of the time of Sōmāśiṁha, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII, no.77, pp.262 ff.

70. Ujjain Grant of Vakpatirājadēva of Dharā, published by Kielhorn in IND., ANTIQ., XIV, pp.159 ff; also in IND. ANTIQ., XIV, pp.51 ff; and in CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII, no.5, pp.14 ff.


72. CORP. INSC. IND., VI, no.21, pp.127 ff.


75. Taranāga IV, 696.

76. Taranāga V, 404.

77. Taranāga VI, 88.

78. Taranāga Vl, 186 and 299.
79. Taraṅga VII, 44.


81. Taraṅga VIII, 243.


86. Lorenzen, op.cit., pp. 78-81. The author formulates the hypothesis relating the Kāpālikas with Śiva Kāpālin, who was their model and great god. The term Brahmakapāla implies the skull of Brahma, and each Kāpālika imitated the acts of the god Kāpālin.


88. Lorenzen, op.cit., p.83.


90. Lorenzen, op.cit., p.86.


93. Quoted by Lorenzen, op.cit., p.87.

95. The celestial couple in copulation also were known as Soma and Umā, which would be the explanation for the name "Sūmasiddhāntins" (umayā sahitāḥ somasya siddhāntaḥ), those who emulate Soma and Umā. Vide the many representation of the Tantric philosophical principles in Rawson, Philip, *The Art of Tantra*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, in it: "Sex and Logic", pp.30-46, "Mantra and Yantra", pp.69-76.

96. The Vajrālimudrā is explained in the *Haṭhayogaprādīpikā*, which is cited by Eliade, Mircea, *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom*, op.cit., pp.248-49. It says that the yogi, having discharged semen (bindu), can preserve it... Perhaps the sense of the passage is another and had a mystical meaning.

97. Vide, the interpretation of Lorenzen, op.cit., p. 91.

98. Ramanuja, *Śrībhāṣya*, II, 2, 35-37. The "seat on the vulva" may mean the yogic exercise of sitting in *padmāsana*, or in *mahāmudrā*, controlling the breath (prāṇāyāma) and directing the attention from the *samādhi* to the lower *cakra* or Mūlādhāra *cakra*. This process charges the *parabindu* which issues from Sakti or Nirvāṇa-Sakti and enlightened all levels of the Being. Cf. *The Śaṭ Cakra Nirūpaṇa*, 48, op.cit., p.447.


102. Ibidem, 12, 8-10.


104. Ibidem, the eight main siddhis are:

- **Apaniman** = the power of becoming small
- **Laghiman** = the power of levitation
Garīman = the power of becoming heavy.
Mahīman = the power of becoming limitlessly large.
Isītva = Total control of mind and body.
Prākāmya = Capacity to realize all will.
Vacitva = Control of the five elements.
Kāmāvasaytava = fulfilment of desires.


(ii) Karmarkar, Bhavabhūti, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1963.


111. Ibid., pp.115-16.

112. Ananta iś Ādiśeṣa, one of the Prajāpatis, vide in Mani, Vettam, Purānic Encyclopaedia, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, pp.34-35.


114. Cf. the use of the term Kārāṇka in the Bhubaneswar Inscriptions of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga, EP.IND., XXX, no.7, pp.31-2, line 6: kārāṇkākṣayitām na paripālyā.

115. Cf. guggula (=bdellium) in the Anjaneri Plates (I) of Bhogaśakti, CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV, no.31, pp.149-52.

116. This is the opinion of Sircar, D.C., vide his Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966, p.147.
117. An earlier mention to a dēvadāṣī is in the Śilāhāra Cave Inscription, EP.IND., XXII, no.8, pp.31-2. The inscription says that there was a dēvadāṣī, Sutanuka by name, who was loved by Devadinna, a banker (rūpadakṣa) from Vārāṇasī. Another reference to female slaves attached to a temple is in the Bayana Inscription (discovered at Bayana, Bharatpur, Rajasthan) of Cittralekha, of A.D.955, EP.IND., XXII, no.20, pp.126-27.


120. EP.IND., XVII, no.30, pp.171-72.

121. For further details see the bibliography recommended by Pathak, op.cit., pp.23.

122. EP.IND., XII, no.3, pp.8-9. Inked reproduction of the plates where is the royal seal is seen. This is the first inscription of Laksmaṇasena, and corresponds to the third year of his reign, which is A.D.1122.

123. The comparison was made in a paper included in the Aitiḥāsika Chitra cited in Banerji, R.D. EP.IND., XII, pp.6-7. The other royal seals of the Senas in other charter such as the Bakerganj grant of Kāśavasena are similar. There is included the expression "Śaḍāśiva mudrayā mudrayitva". Vide the Introductory study at the Tarpaṇājī Grant just cited, made by R.D.Banerji, editor of this grant, in EP.IND., XII, pp.6-7.


125. Inscription of the time of Hammīra of Ranathambore, published by Halder, EP.IND., XIX, no.6, pp.45 ff.

126. There are also some basic relations between the Kāpālikas ad Kālāmukhas. The Varāha Purāṇa, Tr. by Venkitasubramonia Iyer, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, Ch.97.10-37, pp.224-25, deals with Rudra's vrata called Kāpālika. Also it mentions that the Pāṣupata doctrine was first given to the Kāpālikas. The Kālāmukhas were a late an local development of Pāṣupatism.

127. Vide supra, Pāṣupatas.

129. Śakti Pariṣad means the Assembly of the Goddess. Simha Pariṣad is the Assembly of the Lion.

130. Desai, Dinkar, The Mahāmandalēśvaras under the Cālukyas of Kalyāni, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1951, pp.457-459, makes mention of the maṭhas in Northern Karnataka. He says that the maṭhas played an important educational role, representing a mixture of religious with civil institutions. One of the most exemplary cases of this was the Naiśthika maṭha, where was conserved and taught the best of the Brahmanism of that time, under strict disciplines and rules proper to monastical life.

The most important maṭhas under the Cālukyas were Belagāmi, Kuppatur, Bhandavapura and Sindagere. They constituted the famous group of maṭhas known as Pañcaliṅga Maṭhas. The fifth was the Kōdiya-maṭha (of the Mattamayūras). Cf. Rice, Lewis (Tr.), Mysore Inscriptions, Mysore Government Press, Mysore, 1879, no.43 and no.48. The second inscription (pp.172-73) is the Śīlā Śāsana Inscription at Balagāmi (or Belagāmi) dated AD.1096. In this Śīlā Śāsana Inscription it is informed that the Kālāmukha Cakrāvartī also known as Kaśmiradeva (because he hailed from Kaśmīr) had a disciple called Trilocana Munindra. Munindra’s disciple was Varaśvaradeva, who built a temple at Valligrāme for Lord Sarveśvara (Siva). There are praises celebrating the identity of the Mount where, apparently, was this tīrtha, with the Kailāsa Mountain.

These Kālāmukhācāryas belonged to the Śakti Pariṣad branch of the Kālāmukhas.


132. Cf. Daniélou, Alain, "Les Kālāmukhas", in his La fantaisie des Dieux et l’ aventure Humaine, op. cit., p.182, says that the Kālāmukhas of the Simha Pariṣad recommended a quite life as that of the ascetics of forest, and the devotion to the study of Āgamas.

133. Cf. the myth which is related in the Sirpur Stone Inscription, EP.IND., XI, no.19, p.195, verse 16: ... The God Himachala, obtained great honour marrying his daughter Parvati to the god Mahēśvara (Siva).

135. Ibidem, 2. 11-15, p.279. Śadāśiva manifested Himself, through the power of his Śakti, in three forms: Viṣṇu, Rudra and Brahma.

136. Ibidem, 23. 1-56. Vide the description of the power of Bhakti of Śiva by Śakti. This is a very enigmatic passage which contains evident elements of Tantrism.


138. Ibidem, 20. 52-61. Satī expressed to her husband her wish to live always in the Himalayas.

139. EP.IND., XI, no.19, pp.190-93. Mahāśivagupta belonged to the local dynasty who ruled from Sirpurā, the actual Sirpur, where the inscription was discovered. At the site there are many remains which indicate that a great city stood there.

140. Another sect which also was the result of the local developments plus the immigration of masters coming from northern India to Karnataka, was that of the Liṅgayats. Vide Nandimath, S.C., A Handbook of Viīraśaivism, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1987.

141. EP.IND., XIX, no.38, B, Inscription of the reign of Śaṅkara, pp.229-32.
