In three of his masterpieces — Śakuntalam,¹ Raghuvamsam² and Kumārasambhavan³ — the great poet-dramatist Kālidāsa romanticized ascetic life. Opinion varies on when the inimitable bard lived,⁴ but we can assert conclusively that he lived in or before the fourth century A.D. A citizen of Mālava, Kālidāsa was widely travelled.⁵ Kālidāsa's celebration of the idyllic āśrama of Kaṇva, the superhuman powers that the ascetics could attain and the reverence they elicited, of asceticism as protection of the caturvarṇāśramadharma, of the relation between sacred kingships and the protection of that dharma, is testimony to the crisis through which traditional Brahmanical institutions were passing at the end of the ancient period. Part of the process of Brahmanical renaissance which was trying to reestablish its erstwhile pre-eminence, the poet was also eyewitness to a transformation which reached its zenith during the Gupta period.⁶ Śakuntalā's marriage with Duṣyanta symbolized the relation of mutual dependence between the political power and the spiritual authority. The Śāktas⁷ and the Śaivas' vision of society as formed by male and female forces was another way of looking at the mutual dependence of the ruling power and the spiritual, both opposite but complementary. The small groups of ascetics lived in an environment abounding with flowers, green foliage and content,
where the wild beasts lived in peace. Śakuntalā's candor was the candor of the soul as seeker after Truth, symbol of the ascetic's surrender to God. Buddhist and Jaina literature had previously celebrated these values. As a precursor of the Gupta renaissance, the great poet made these his own. The classical idyllic image of Brahmanical asceticism, also reflected in the works of Bāṇa (seventh century A.D.) must have helped the resurrection of Brahmanism from the Gupta period onward. But the phenomenon of early medieval monastic establishment and their proliferation has to be viewed not only in terms of asceticism as a part of Brahmanical orthodox tradition but also in conjunction with the growth of esoteric sects some of which have been discussed in the previous chapters.

The Pañcatantra, probably originally written in Kaśmīr between the second and first century B.C. is perhaps the first extant text to refer to Brahmanical monasteries or māthas. The later recensions of this collection of tales incorporate contemporary uses and religious phenomena. Among the references in the Hitopadeśa to the hermitic life is the conversation of two recluses in the monastery (mātha) near the city of Campaka and the passage about the hermit Mahātapas, who could assume different forms.

Archaeological evidence dates the first major Brahmanical monastery of India to the fifth century A.D., in Orissa. The
The Jumlagarh site, Mahal mound, Maragoda, KALAHANDI. The place of the first Brahmanical Monastery
Note: This is a hypothetical distribution of buildings according to the preliminary information provided by the ASI, 1986 onwards.

THE GREAT BRAHMANICAL COMPLEX AT
JUMLAGARH, Kalahandi Dist., Orissa
ruins of the monastery, at the Jumlagarh site near Maragoda, Kalahandi district, were unearthed in the fifth ridge (at about 500 feet) from the surface of the river bed. A gigantic complex built in five tiers, the monastery consisted of temples and residential buildings, recreation and meditation areas (the latter, a two-kilometre long plain). Some early king of the Nala dynasty, perhaps of Śaiva affiliation, probably built this complex.

VII.1 Brahmancal monasteries in Upper Uttara India; Kaśmīr.

Himacaladeśa and Vihāradeśa:

VII.1.1 Vihāradeśa or Bihar:

Of about the same time, but no so well-planned like the aforementioned Jumlagarh-maṭha, was the ascetic dwelling in the cave at Mandar. Mandar is an isolated hill about 300 meters high, lying seven miles south of Banka, Bhagalpur district, Bihar. Apparently it was an important tīrtha. On top of the hill, there are two Jaina temples and, on a lower bluff, a ruined Vaiṣṇava temple. On the west side, near this temple, is a cave hewn out of the rock, with an image of Nārasiṁha carved on the rock dominating the scene, and minor images of Vāmana, Madhu and Kaitabha. Two inscriptions here12 dated between the fourth and the fifth century A.D., testify to Vaiṣṇava character of the sanctuary. One mentions a certain Ārya Viṣṇudattā, of Bhāradvaja gotra, who was a pādamūla (a servant of Viṣṇu). It explains that the cave was a dēvakula and a sattra (a free feeding
establishment), probably for ascetics, directed by Vīṣṇudatta, and lists the offerings expected from pilgrims to this sanctuary.

From the Himalayan region comes the Plate of Lalitasuradēva, a.D.854 and issued from Kārttikēyapura, the capital of the rulers of that area. Recording a grant of land to the temple of god Nārāyaṇa, the inscription notes that the temple should get some help from the brahmacārins attached to the tapōvana (cloister) at Badarikāśrama. More likely, this Badarikāśrama was a Śaiva monastery and not Vaiṣṇava since Śaiva activities predominated in that area and the kings of Kārttikēyapura were of Śaiva affiliation. Kārttikēyapura is the present-day Baijanath or Vaidyanath, in Pargana Danpur, Hazur tehsil, Almora district, U.P. The Plate of Padmadēva, also issued from Kārttikēyapura and dated a.D.950, again mentions Badarikāśrama (Badrinath) and Yōśi (Jōśimāṭha, Jyotirdhāma or Jyotirmāṭha).

VII.1.2 Himacaladeśa or Himachal Pradesh:

Baijnātha in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, on river Binuana also abounds in the ruins of old temples. The Siddheśvara and Vaidyanātha temple complexes, however, still stand. The two prāśastis of Baijanath inform us about the foundation of both temples and the endowments they received. The Vaidyanātha temple was built to house a liṅgam that stood at Kīrāgrāma, as the place was then known, from time immemorial.
This place would have been one of the most important centres of northern Śaivism, with a constant stream of ascetics from remote regions. Around the eighth century the tīrtha acquired the form of an organized religious complex where permanently lived Śaiva ascetics, and a Brahmanical monastic college functioned in charge of a hierarchy of Śaiva monks.

The following is interesting data given in some of the verses [v.] of both praśastis [I and II]. Kīragrāma was a large village belonging to the kingdom of Jālandhara [I, v.39; II, v.6,16], or Trigarta [II,10,18] and was situated on the river Kandukābindukā (the Binuana, Binna, Binwa) [II,10]. In that village lived two rich merchants (vaṇikas) brothers, Manyuka and Āhuka [I,27-28;II,26] (the details of their family are given [I,27-28; II,23,28]), both devout worshippers of Śiva [I,30;II,8,9,26,27-29] and their zeal for their faith induced them to build a temple (purī) [II,25] and a maṇḍapa for an ancient liṅga which stood "destitute of a dwelling" [ibidem] at Kīragrāma and was called Vaidyanātha [II,25]. It was adorned with numerous images of the Gaṇas (Śiva's celestial attendants) [I,37]. The architects were Nāyaka of Suśarmanagara (modern Kot Kangra) and Īthodhuka (I,35-37). After the consacration, the temple (Śivapurī) received several endowments to defray the expenses of the religious services and repairs of the building. Such donations were given by:
"A man devoted to gods, brāhmaṇas and gurus, a store of generosity, a friend of the virtuous and liberal, is the brāhmaṇa Ralhaṇa, the son of Āsuka, (living in Suśarmapura (= Suśarmanagara)).' (I,31)

"By that chief of astrologers (gaṇakas) have been given to Siva two dronas of grain from (the village of) Navagrāma, where the surface of his land (has) the measure of one vaha" (I,32); i.e., the right to that amount which had to be delivered annually by the donor's cultivators in Navagrāma. Besides, another brāhmaṇa, Gaṇeśvara by name, inhabitant of Kīragrāma, made a donation of half a plough of land in Navagrāma, where he possessed a field which required four dronas of seed-corn (I,33). And Jīvaka, a rich merchant (vaṇiya), presented his land in Kīragrāma for (the construction of) the court-yard of the temple (I,34). Later, the local chieftain, Lakṣamaṇacandra, and his mother added some further endowments: two drammas daily out of the income of the maṇḍapikā, i.e., the custom-house where the transit, import and export duties were levied (II, 30), plus one plough of land. The founders of the temple, Manyuka and Āhuka, endowed the temple with an oil-mill they had at Kīragrāma, in order to provide lamps for the temple (II,33), also he gave a shop and a piece of land for the bhoga, i.e., the maintenance of the god (II,34).

Thereby, it would be concluded that by the time of the construction of this temple of Śiva, about A.D.800, religious
activities associated with Śaivism reflected the religious following of the people. At Kīragrāma was evident the presence of certain type of Śaiva ascetics as well as also was evident that the Vaidyanātha temple served as a centre of devotional life.

VII.1.3 Kaśmīr or Kashmir:

In the neighbouring valley of Kaśmīr, ascetic life started earlier. Buddhism arrived in the valley not later than the third century B.C. and Śaivism too later grew into a strong force in the region. The Śaiva ascetics picked the notion of monastic organization from the Buddhists. From Kalhana's Rājatarangini we know that the kings and eminent men of Kaśmīr helped the bhikkhus to build vihāras and the brāhmaṇas to erect temples. Among these, mention may be made of the maṭha built for the brāhmaṇas born in the territory (deśa) of Rauhita by Nona, a wealthy merchant (vaṇīk). That was the Nonamathathā which was prominent for piety (mahāgūṇo Nonamathathā ... etc). At the same time, the queen of Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II, the contemporary ruler of Kaśmīr, founded a temple for Śiva as Śrī Narendrēśvara, as a manner to expiate the frivolity of this prince.

Pratāpāditya's successor, Candrapīḍa, was a magnificent ruler and made many pious foundations: he built (the temple of) Tribhuvanasvāmin, his guru Mihiradatta founded various religious institutions, and his officer-in-charge of Śrīnagara (Śrinagar), Chalitaka, founded another temple of Śiva named
Chalitasvāmin (nagarā dhikṛtastasya Chalitasvāmin vyadhāt).

Jayāpīda, who is described as a mighty warrior and terrible conqueror, was also at the same time a compassionate king, founder of cities and temples. He founded Mahānāpura, he built Vipulakēśava and Kamala. He invited scholars (vidyopādhyāya) from other lands; he reinstated the Mahābhāṣya (of Patañjali) in his kingdom (svamāndala), the study of which had been interrupted (vicchinnam). In his kingdom the concern for religion encouraged the construction of pious foundations like those of the minister Jayadatta, who was the recipient of five titles (and) constructed a maṭha in the citadel of Jayapura (the inner fortification of the city of Dvāravatī, near Andarboth, on the Sambal lake).

Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarma and grandson of Utpala, ascended to the throne of Kaśmīr in A.D.884. Many pious foundations were made by him or by his ministers and noblemen: "By the king’s minister Prabhākaravāman was founded a temple (niketana) of Viṣṇu by the name of Prabhākaravāmin"; and "his minister Sūra built at Sūrēśvāra, a temple to Śiva and Pārvatī." This Sūra, after consecrating that Sūrēśvara temple he built the Sūra-maṭha at the same place, for the use of ascetics (tapasvinas). The wife of Avantivarman’s successor Gopālavāman, the queen Sugandhā, "founded Gopālapura, the Gopāla-maṭha, Gopālakēśava and a town bearing her own name for
the advancement of religion\textsuperscript{52}. Gopalavarman's wife Nandā "was the founder of the Nandā-māṭha and Nandākēśava".\textsuperscript{38} Even the immoral king Cakravarman continued the tradition of doing pious works and he contructed the Cakra-māṭha as an āśrama for the Pāśupata ascetics. This Cakra-māṭha was half finished at his death and was completed by his wife.\textsuperscript{36} This was in c.A.D.935.

King Yaśaskara, who reigned between A.D.940 and 949, built a māṭha on a land inherited from his ancestors, for students coming from Āryadesā (āryadesānām) quest of learning (vidyā). "Upon the head (māṭhādhipati) of the monastery, the king conferred privileges of royalty, gay with the parasol and the yak-tail (cowry < Sanskrit camara), barring the mint and the Pure interior".\textsuperscript{37} He helped generously the brāhmaṇas, giving them well provided agrahāras.\textsuperscript{38} Finally he had a pious death, preparing himself, living his last days in one of the māṭhas he built.\textsuperscript{39}

Kṣemagupta (A.D.950-958), who had led a wicked life, sought to end his last days in the tranquility of monastic life and went to die at Varāhakṣetra where, near Huṣkapura, he had founded the Śrīkaṇṭha-māṭha and the Kṣema-māṭha.\textsuperscript{40} Kṣemagupta's queen, Diddā, had their son Abhimanyu, still a boy, crowned king. The mother-son combine faced a civil war during which she sent him to the shelter of Bhaṭṭāraka-māṭha, a well-enclosed place.\textsuperscript{41} When in later years, Abhimanyu died of consumption, "the queen founded, in order to add to her deceased son's pious acts, the shrine of
Abhimanyusvāmin and the town of Abhimanyupura". Further, Diddā founded Diddāsvāmin near Diddāpura and a maṭha (attached to that temple) as a resort for the people of Madhya-desa, Lāṭa and Surāśtra. She built, besides, several other temples and shrines, as a second Diddāsvāmin, and the Siṃhasvāmin complex where also she founded a maṭha for brahmacārīns of the plains. During the time of Diddā's successor, Samgrāmarāja (A.D.1003-28), also many religious works were performed. "The princess Loṭhikā, who had built the Loṭhikā-maṭha constructed another monastery named after her mother Tilottamā-maṭha. Samgrāmarāja's wicked ministerial aide Bhadrēśvara constructed a vihāra which was radiant with pious acts." Commeting on this, the poet says that even sinners have a peculiar longing to do good acts. Harirāja's wife, the queen Śrīlekha also performed her pious deeds. She built two monasteries, one after her husband (the Harirēśvara-maṭha) and the other after her son (the Anantēśvara-maṭha). Ananta and his queen Sūryamatī, also named Subhāṭā, founded the Gaurīśvara temple and erected the Subhāṭā-maṭha on the banks of the Vītastā. She distributed cows, gold, horses, precious stone and the like on the occasion of the consecration of Sadāśiva. She had made large number of brahmaṇas free of poverty. She founded a maṭha with an agrahāra in the name of her younger brother Āsacandra (Āsacandrēśvara-maṭha). And in the names of her brother Sillana and of her husband, this righteous queen built two maṭhas in the vicinity of Vijayēśa and
Amarēśa respectively. And when their son Rājarāja died, the royal couple abandoned their place and went to live in the precincts of (the temple of) Sadāśiva. From that time onwards, abandoning the residence of former royal dynasties (tataḥ prabhṛti satyaya purva-rāja-kula-sthiti(m)), the kings — on account of this which itself became the usage — made their residence in that very place.

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), who ascended the throne blessed by his father Ananta, soon turned to be a depraved man because "he was naturally immoral". He used to be in companionship of evil and lascivious men. Kālaṇa gives an interesting description of a sect which existed in Kāśmīr at that time with which this king was associated. And by the description of their practices it would be presumed that they were a type of Tantrics. It is said that Kalaśa became a disciple of the brahmaṇa Pramadakānta, who was an unscrupulous guru devoted to the worst vices, "who had dismissed the distinction between women to whom there may be access and those to whom is none", who abandoned all scruples and had sexual intercourse with his own daughter. This group in which the king participated had their own rites, and were fearless and proud of their spiritual powers (śakti) to the extent that they "reckoned as naught Bhairava himself." However — continues Kālaṇa — these men were restored to a normal condition by the "black-cat-merchant" (krṣṇabidāla-vanīk) a merchant who always carried a black cat on his lap) who placed
his hand on their heads. And it so happened that this "cat merchant" became the guru of washermen (rajakas) and artisans (śilpinas). However, King Kalaśa continued indulging in all types of excesses, drinking and taking part in immoral sessions. But, during the dark period when was ruling the wicked Kalaśa also lived the great sage Vyomaśiva. The sādhu Vyomaśiva was the superintendent (bhaṭṭāraka-maṭha-dhīśa) of the Bhaṭṭāraka-maṭha. He used a knot of matted hair and in order to assume the title of "khurkhutā" he had taken the vow of constant austerity (grihiṇiyatavrata). Kalaśa never neglected his religious duties if they had relation with any type of sensuality. "When he was busy with the gurus in the ritual services he, giving up decorum, ate the principal offering of flesh (because he needed to be strong to attend his harem). Although he was a sinner, he renovated the town and the stone temple of Śiva at Vijayakṣetra which had been burnt down. He endowed the Tripureshvara temple and built Kalaśēśvara.

The passages about the Kalaśa are extremely important in the context of the present discussion on early medieval sects which developed monastical forms. Kalhaṇa offers here a brutal duality. First, we have the image of the "black guru" and his troop of licentious followers (and among of them the king of Kashmir!). This sinful guru is a brāhmaṇa but one who alters the society because he preached disordered relations, like intercourse with lower castes, incest and adultery. And his best
disciple in forbidden acts is "the protector of the land" (bhūpāla), the king. The piece is a real mordacious critique of a society of contrasts and confused senses. The second significant symbol is the "cat merchant" (bidāla-vānik) who became guru of workers after exorcising the disciples of the black guru, the brāhmaṇa Pramadakanṭha. If Kalhana used deliberately the symbol of washermen (rajakas) as followers of the "cat-merchant guru", we can notice here an interesting problem. The rajakas were a degraded caste, so called by their duty of cleaning or whitening clothes [root rañj/raj = colouring, changing colours; in the Kāvyā literature is used as "to be affected", "to move"]. Whereby, a ridiculous guru plus his despicable band of followers — the rajakas — are an absurd theme to mean another thing: a critique of a corrupt royalty and society, where is permitted the free movement of objectionable sects. This curious guru is capable to clean sins with his hands where was "the powerful odour of cat's droppings", so we can appreciate the type of collyrium (medicine) he used, to bring in this manner the evil-men to normalcy. He and his washermen — the lowest workers — are cleaners of the society. This kind of literary catharsis represented by Kalhana's narrative had a central personage briefly mentioned but of enormous eminence, Vyomaśīva. He is the good ascetic, the real and equilibrated guru, the maṭṭādhipati of Bhaṭṭāraka-maṭha. Vyomaśīva is the opposite of king Kalaśa and his eccentric friends. Vyomaśīva,
being a powerful sādhu, took the vrata of constant austerities to wash the sins of the kingdom; the same work as that of the rajakas but at another level, at the spiritual level. Vyomaśīva is almost immanent, as other good gurus — always related with the mathas founded or supported by the kings of Kaśmīr. The River of Kings of Kaśmīr is full of disasters, excesses, cruelty, immorality; however, the contrast is always there too. These corrupt king founded the vihāras and mathas which were the guarantee for the king's sovereignty (bhūpālana). That is why in the Saga there are constant references to gurus like Vyomaśīva or to the many royal mathas, because they effected balance and equilibrium in Kaśmīr society; they are less frequent in the narrative than ministers and generals, but they are equally or more important. All of them are almost immanent, like the Being in the Kaśmīr-Saivism. Vyomaśīva is the symbol of the Brahmanical monasticism, he represents the institutionalized asceticism and also the higher values, purity and brotherhood. However, Kalhaṇa's sensibility is of sharp perception and his view of "washermen who clean the society" perhaps had relation with a very important contemporary problem which was the problem of social change. We have commented several times on the decisive effect of new forms of religion in which low castes had full rights and privileges. Here there is another concrete case. In the Kaśmīri society of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, ascetic groups gave admission to (or came from) low social strata.
Tantric gurus frequently belonged to low levels; however, high castes also were involved in such new religious ideas, as is illustrated by the case of brāhmaṇa Pramadakaṇṭha of the above passage of the Pājatarāṅgīṇī.

Harṣa, who ascended the throne in A.D.1090 founded many temples and mathas, endowing them richly. The mathas built under the rule of Harṣa were those of Jayavana, Sūryāmulaka, and the matha of Vijayeśvara. He not only founded mathas in Kaśmīr but his acts of piety extended to all places he visited in pilgrimage or in campaign. This will be true of the mathas he founded near Vārānasī. Both king and queen, were inflamed by devotional health and faith. "The queen Vasantalekha founded mathas and agrahāras in Śrīnagara as well as in the sacred Tripurēśvara". In the course of one of his campaign Harṣa passed a night in the matha of Queen Sūryamatī (one of the mathas built by that queen). The description of that convent suggests that it was a Śaiva-Tantric centre, where monks and nuns lived. Uccala, who ousted Harṣa in A.D.1101 and inaugurated a new line of kings, was a pious ruler. "He had the passion for repairing ancient buildings. (Thus) He restored the sacred sites of Cakradhara, Yogēśa and Svayaṁbhū. This king, who was free of covetousness, embellished the temple of Tribhuvanasvāmin". He also built several monasteries. "(He) erected a matha in the name of his father who had gone to heaven, in the site of his ancestral property". This was the Mallamaṭha or Mallēśvara-mathā which,
when was consecrated, the liberal king Uccala celebrated a great festival giving cows, land, gold and clothes. Uccala's queen Jayamati erected a vihara with a matha, and apparently they built several pious foundations. In the narration of the civil war that followed Uccala's reign, is mentioned a jagadguru named Kesava, the superintendent of an important matha (which is not identified). Sussala, who ascended the throne next, once visited the Samgraama-mathā, c.A.D.1118. And a few years later he stopped for some time in the Navamaṭha, when he was campaigning against the rebellion of a group of princes and their armies. When the besiegers of Śrīnagara burned down the city (A.D.1123), temples, maṭhas, shrines and viharas were gutted by fire.

Vijayasiṃha, the last of the Karkota dynasty, was a pious and just ruler. He was of powerful intellect. He was generous with the gurus, scholars, brāhmaṇas, orphans and members of joint families to whom he distributed gifts with due mark of distinction. He restored ancient monuments, repaired shrines, maṭhas, pleasure gardens, ponds, canals, etc. He founded new maṭhas and temples giving them permanent endowments. Vijayasiṃha's best friend and minister was Rilhaṇa, also a very pious man who performed many religious works. "He (Rilhaṇa) embellished the cities of the two Pravarasēnas, with splendid bridges and maṭhas, richly endowed". Rilhaṇa's wife, Sussala, made great charitable works ... " by her Vihāra, which occupied the entire site on which stood the residence of a former royal
dynasty, Śrīnāçara as a whole was transformed into a vision of loveliness. Dhaya was another nobleman in the service of Vijayasiśha. He also founded many mathas and agrahāras. Udaya, the commander-in-chief also did the same. He founded on the bank of the Padmasaras (the Vular lake) a splendid matha together with residential quarters for brāhmaṇas. Udaya's elder brother Śrṅgāra, who was a judge (tantrapati), founded at Śrīdvāra a matha, a garden and bathing pools. Alamkāra, the chief of the High Treasury (bṛhadgañja), also built various mathas, bath houses (snānakūṭa) and residential quarters for brāhmaṇas. These passages show king Vijayasiśha as intoxicated in a blaze (tapas) and inspired to found mathas where would be created a beneficial spiritual influence on the kingdom. He founded and endowed mathas where tapas would be practised and infused his fervour also in his ministers and high officials. Although, many mathas were built and richly endowed being this period a golden era for the Brahmanical monasticism in Kaśmīr, it is said that any particular work was made on the matha of Śrṅgārabhaṭṭa which laid near the Bhaṭṭāraka-matha. The king Vijayasiśha also created his own matha — the Rājamaṭha (Rāja-maṭha) and endowed it with many villages. To that prominent place was given publicity by giving it the appellation of Simhapura. Jayasiśha was never tired of promoting the cause of religion. The convent founded by Ucāla had suffered from the absence of a fixed endowment. Jayasiśha gave it a permanent endowment. Also the
famous maṭha of Sūryamatī (which was destroyed in the battle of Śrīnagara) was reconstructed by him. This magnificent king made sacred works also in other parts outside his kingdom. At Vārāṇasi he installed a Bāṇaliṅga. And near that temple — it is stated — he founded a maṭha "whose ornaments are its anchorites (tapodhanas). Apparently at that same place, Jayasiṁha's minister of peace and war (sāmdhivigrahika), Mankha, "became prominent by the foundation of the temple of Śrīkaṇṭha together with a maṭha". Other maṭhas were erected at Bhūṭesvara and at Trigrāmi by another noble man named Sumanas.

On the basis of the details given above, a few points may be made regarding the nature of monasticism in Kaśmīr. The first pertains to the practice of the royalty of retiring in their later years to monasteries. The Rājatarangini mentions that King Yaśaskara lived his last days in one of the monasteries he built. King Ananta and Sūryamatī, when their son Rājarāja died, abandoned their palace and went to live in the precincts of the temple of Sadāśīva. Their successors followed this practice.

Also clear is the people's horror of the Kāpālikas and their revolting practices. The Rājatarangini compares Bhadrēśvara, one of the ministerial aides of King Samgrāmarāja, to the Kāpālikas and finds him worse. "He who lives on corpses, even the ferocious Kāpālika supports his own kin, but the impious Bhadrēśvara deprived even his own people of their lives." In another
context, when besiegers burned down the city of Śrīnagara in A.D.1123. "The earth, whitened all round by the fragments of fleshless human skeletons and skulls, appeared to conform to the practice of a Kāpālika"."

We are also left in no doubt about the presence of the Pāśupatas in the valley, since King Cakravarmam constructed the Cakra-māṭha as a residence for the Pāśupata ascetics. The number of māṭhas and the frequent endowments made to them imply a high degree of monastic development in early medieval Kaśmīr. The following māṭhas are mentioned in the Rājatarangini.

1. Jayapura(city)-māṭha
2. Śūra-māṭha
3. Gopāla-māṭha
4. Nandā-māṭha
5. Cakra-māṭha founded in the year (circa) A.D.935.
6. Yaśaskara's-māṭha
7. Śrīkhanta-māṭha, in Varahakṣetra near Huṣkapura (Baramula).
8. Kṣema-māṭha, or Kṣema-māṭha, also in Varahakṣetra near Huṣkapura (Baramula).
9. Bhāṭṭaraka-māṭha, abbot (māṭhādhipati) of this māṭha, about year A.D.1060 onwards, it was Vyomaśīva.
10. Diddāsvāmin complex, near Diddāpura.
11. Simhavāmin complex (māṭha and tīrtha).
12. Lothikā-māṭha
13. Tilottama-māṭha
14. Harirajaśvarā-māṭha
15. Anantaśvarā-māṭha
16. Subhaṭāmāṭha,
17. Asacandraśvarā-māṭha
18. Vijayesā's māṭha
19. Amareśa's māṭha
20. Anantaśvarā-māṭha
21. Sūryāmatēśvara-māṭha or Sūryāmatī's monstery.
22. Jayavana
23. Sūryāmūlaka) Harṣa's māṭhas
24. Vijayaśvarā
25. Mallevarā-māṭha, built by Uccala.
26. Saṃgrāma-māṭha
27. Navamāṭha
All the following mathas were founded under Vijayasiṃha’s rule:

28. Rilhana’s mathas
29. Sussālā’s mathas
30. Dhaya’s mathas
31. Udaya’s mathas, by the Vular lake
32. Śrīṅgāra’s matha at Śrīdvara, which probably is the same as the Śrīṅgāra-bhaṭṭa-mathā, near the Bhaṭṭāraka-mathā.
33. The Rājanaṭha (or Rāja-mathā of Vijayasiṃha, also named the “Great Siṃhapura Complex”.
34, 35. Mathas at Vārānasī.
36. The mathas which was attached to the Bānaliṅga temple.
37. Śrīkantha complex, founded by Jayasiṃha’s minister Mauka.
38. Matha at Bhūtesvara and Trigrāmī.

VII.2 Brahmanical monasteries in Madhyadeśa and their interaction with neighbouring regions.

We have shown in an earlier section that early archaeological evidence on fully developed monastic complexes of what may be considered of Brahmanical affiliation is available from Oriissa and Bihar. It is not certain yet whether these really were early centres where Brahmanical monastic centres originated. In any case, the geographical spread of early medieval monasteries can be satisfactorily ascertained only by compiling epigraphic references to them. An attempt in that direction is made in the following pages.

The emergence and prosperous condition of monasteries in East Madhyadeśa and their extension to the Kōsala country has already been illustrated. The apparition of monasteries reflect, in addition to other developments in Brahmanism, the growth of esoteric Śaivism and its tendency to replace Buddhism in these regions.
The area of Jubbalpur or Jabalpur, on the upper Narmadā, well demonstrates this process. Near village Chhoti Deori, also called Madha Deori on the left bank of the Ken, sixteen miles west of Jokahi, Murwara tehsil, Jubbalpur district, are a number of small temples almost covered by dense jungles. An inscription from this site, the Chhoti Deori Stone Inscription of Śaṁkaragaṇa, dated about the middle of the eighth century, which was probably in a Śiva temple, contains a very sectarian description of Śiva who is named here Śaṁkara...: "who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has a bracelet of serpent... During Śaṁkaragaṇa's reign, the area was included in the viṣaya of Kakandakutu (the present-day Khutunda, six miles east of Deori) and was under the charge of a certain Cutu Nāgaka. King Śaṁkaragaṇa, who is the same as that of the Saugor Inscription, belonged to the Kalacūri family, which means this is an earlier record of the Kalacūris. King Vamadēva, mentioned in the text was, in the opinion of V.V.Mirashi, the founder of the Kalacūri family. It is said that Vamadēva was so devoted to Śiva that "it was believed that he became a part of the god himself". Vāmaśambhu — the spiritual heir of Sadbhāvasambhu, the founder the Gūlakī-matḥa monastery — who is also mentioned, obtained the gift of 3,00,000 villages from the Kalacūri king Yuvarājadeva. Prof. Mirashi opined that the
Gōlakī-māṭha was founded long before the Kalacurīs and it was one big complex with Śaiva temples and other complexes at Bheraghat, in Jabalpur.106 Gōlakī-māṭha probably existed at least from the ninth century A.D. (vide, infra, Ch.VIII.2). The Malkapuram Inscription said that there lived thousands of ascetics, all followers of the lineage of Saddhāvasāmbhū.107 That spiritual lineage was:

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\begin{verbatim}
Saddhāvasāmbhū
  Vāmasāmbhū
  Śaktisāmbhū
  Kīrtisāmbhū
\end{verbatim}
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The Jubbulpore Stone Inscription107 says that Śaktisiva (or Śaktisāmbhū) was the rājaguru of Gayakarna which means that Vāmasāmbhū and Śaktisāmbhū were separated by a generation.

D.C. Sircar108 interprets the Malkapuram Inscription, which is dated A.D.1261, differently. He holds that Vāmadēva was not a king but was identical with Vāmasāmbhū, the great pontiff of the Gōlakī-māṭha, the third in spiritual descent from Saddhāvasāmbhū. Sircar argues that in the Prthvīrājāvijaya it is said that the Kalacurī king Sāhasika of Tripurī, also known as Gāṅgēyadēva (A.D.1015-41), offered his kingdom as guru-dāksīṇa to his preceptor, the ascetic Vāmadēva. Sāhasika's son Karnaḍēva, in one of his earlier records, confirmed this.
We think that Vāmadēva or Vāmaśambhu would be identical with Vāmadēva of the Saugor Inscription, which is of the eighth or ninth century. When speaking of Mattamayūras, we mentioned that Gōlakī- maṭha existed before the foundations made by Queen Nōhalā who lived around the beginning of the tenth century. The line of pontiffs of the Gōlakī- maṭha as indicated in the Saugor Inscription is:

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Sadbhāvaśambhu (he lived in the eighth/ninth century.)} \\
\text{Vāmaśambhu (he lived around the middle of the ninth century)} \\
\text{Śaktiśambhu} \\
\text{Kīrtiśambhu}
\end{array} \]

Thus, there is, at least one generation between Vāmaśambhu, who was probably the disciple of Sadbhāvaśambhu or a king, and the other Vāmaśambhu, the guru of king Sāhasika Gāṅgēyadēva. They cannot be the same person.

The Bilaipur area, on the other side of the Maikal range where the river Narmadā originates, also was a place of active ascetic life and was associated with monasteries of Jabalpur in the north and the maṭhas of Raipur in the south. The Kalacūri family of Ratnapura or Ratanpur ruled in the Raipur area. The Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jajalladēva I, dated A.D.1114, gives an indication of the process of the growth of the Kalacūris of Ratnapura in close relation with the religious expansion and
the appearance of a strong monastic movement in the area. Ratnarāja I, it says, constructed great works in his capital Tummāṇa, founded by his father Kamalarāja, where he built the Ratnēśvara and Vankēśvara temples; he also founded the city of Ratnapura and adorned it with many temples. His son Prthvīdeva built the Prthvīśvara temple at Tummāṇa and excavated a large tank at Ratnapura. Prthvīdeva's son Jajalladēva founded Jajallapura, where he built a great monastery for ascetics. The inscription records Jajalladēva's donation of villages Sirulī (or Sirli) and Arjunakōnasarana (the present-day Arjuni) to the temple of Jajallapura (Jajallēśvara ?) and a plantation of pataha trees to the monastery as a permanent endowment. The matha and the temple probably formed one big complex. Jajalladēva's preceptor, the guru Rudrasīva, is also mentioned. He "was conversant with the logical systems of Dinnāga and others as well as with all the Siddhāntas". An inscription from the times of Jajalladēva's grandson Prthvīdeva II, which was found at Ratnapura and which is of A.D.1158, records the charitable works made by his feudatory, the chief Vallabharāja: a lake to the east of Ratnapura, and another named Ratnēśvarasāgara in honour of Ratradēva I, Prthvīdeva's father. On the outskirts of Vikramapura, he built a tank and a garden containing many temples and monasteries (mathas).

Another inscription of this dynasty is the Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III, dated A.D.1181. The inscription
is in the Lakhanēśvara or Lakṣaṇa-maṇeśvara temple at Kharod, two miles north of Sheorinarayan, Janjgir, Bilaspur district. Recording the benefactions of Ratnadēva's Minister, the brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhāra, in the town of Kharod, it says that this minister acquired great fame for leading the country out of a crisis caused by a famine and subsequent poverty. He reconstructed the Lakṣaṇa-maṇeśvara temple and to the south of this temple he built a maṭha with well-seasoned wood for the residence of ascetics. He besides laid several religious foundations: a maṇḍapa of Ėkavīra at Ratnapura (which still is standing on the hill to the west of Ratanpur), another maṇḍapa to Purārēti (Śiva) and temples of Hara and Hēramba at Vaḍada in the forest tract, a temple of Durgā at Durgā, a temple of Sūrya in the town of Pahapaka (the modern Putpura). To the north of Ratnapura he built a maṇḍapa for Ūṣṇa Gaṇapati and ordered the excavation of tanks and lotus-ponds at the villages of Tipuruga, Girahulī (actual Girolpali), Uluvā (modern Ulla) and Sēṇādu. Finally, he established a charitable feeding house (sattra) and raised a flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura (twenty miles south-west of Kharod). Suvarṇapura, mentioned in this inscription, is the modern Sonpur in Orissa; all the other places mentioned are in Bilaspur district, most of them near Kharod, which suggest the natural extension of contacts from Bilaspur area towards Kōśala country.
VII.3 Brahmanical monasteries in western India

VII.3.1 Rajasthan

From Rajasthan comes an interesting case of a Brahmanical religious centre at the beginning of the seventh century organized as a monastery. This was the Dadhimati or Dadhamatāji temple, twenty four miles north-east of Nagor, Nagor district, former Jodhpur state. The Dadhimatīmata Inscription, dated A.D.608, states that the temple was attended by the community (gōsthika) of Ladhya brāhmaṇas headed by Avighnanāga. They lived in the precincts of the temple, in some type of maṭha attached to the sanctuary. Dadhimatī, the mother goddess, was the Kuladevi or family goddess of the local brāhmaṇas. The temple was at the centre of the local life in this desert area. Fairs and festivals were celebrated together, commercial and religious life functioned here in harmony. Even today the people meet to worship the goddess and put up their cattle for sale. There is a specific reference to a donation to a temple of this area in order to prepare the festival which used to be celebrated around the maṭha, as a form of homage to the gods. That is the Nadol Inscription of Jojaladēva, of c.A.D.1080, to the temple of Sōmēśvara. Nadol is the place where was the ancient Cāhamāna capital, Naddū.ā, and it is in Desuri tehsil, Pali district, Godvad division, also in the former Jodhpur state.

The monastery of Hari-Rṣēśvara (Harirṣēśvaramaṭha), in the area of old Daśapura (the present-day Partabgarh-Mandasor), being at
the junction of the Paramāra kingdom, the Guhila principality and the Cāhamāna dominions, received support from all these royal houses. Spiritually, it was well placed to have contact with the Ekālinga-tīrthas nearby to the north-west and the tīrthas on the Narmadā to the south-east. The Partabgarh Inscription of the time of King Maṇḍrapāla II. records a series of donations to the monastery, which appears to have been a leading religious institution in the locality. The shrines of Vaṭa-Yakṣinī Devī, Indrāditya-Dēva and Trailōkya-mohana-Devī in the village of Ghōñṭawarṣika were under the management of the matha (matha[tha]samval[sa]dhyamāna). This monastery probably was a Śākta school.

The mention of Mount Abu conjures the celestial abode of gods, rṣis, siddhas and ascetics. Other holy places and also a variety of sectarian groups developed in the area, one of the centres being Vasantgadh, east of Mount Abu. The Vasantgadh Inscription of Pūrṇapāla, dated A.D.1042, records that the queen Lāhini, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrṇapāla and widow of the king Vigrāharāja of Vāṭa (Vāṭanagara) restored the very holy Śūrya temple and ordered the digging of a tank, apparently the same tank where this inscription was put up. The inhabitants of Vāṭanagara, the inscription says, were worshippers of the Sun god. Apparently there was pañcadēvopāsanā — the cult of the Penta. There are indications of adoration of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śūrya and Bhāratī in the locality. Another
inscription, at village Varman, Deodhar tehsil, dated A.D. 1043, records the restoration of a Sūrya temple at Brāhmaṇa (the present-day Varman) by a certain Nācaka, son of Sārama.\textsuperscript{124} Another inscription, found in the enclosure of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple near Bhinmal, Jasswantpura district, confirms the special devotion to the Sun god in that region. The Bhinmal Stone Inscription\textsuperscript{125} records two benefactions made to the god Jagatsvāmin which was the name of the god Sūrya at Bhinmal.

It would appear, from these epigraphical data, that in this region of Rajasthan, which comprised Sirohi-Jailor and Barmer-Jodhpur the cult of the Sun god took a sectarian form in early medieval times. The Bhaviṣya and the Śāmba Purāṇas give the most comprehensive documentation about the Solar cult. The later Purāṇas borrowed sectarian Solar elements from these two. The Śāmba Purāṇa, one of the Upapurāṇas of about A.D. 900, is the best source for the study of the Saura cult or Sun cult\textsuperscript{126} and Saura Dharma. V.C. Srivastava\textsuperscript{127} analysed this material and concluded that a sectarian type of Sun worship was growing "which was evidenced in the later Purānic period by the presence of a band of followers known as Sūryabhaktas, by the emergence of a special type of sunworshipping priests named magas or bhojakas ("yājakas), and a sectarian Saura literature".\textsuperscript{128} The Saura sect used special flags and staff, fixed methods and procedures for sun worship and a sectarian mantra, the "khakolakāyanamah", and other paraphernalia mentioned in the Purāṇas. Many Tantric elements
were introduced into this sect such as proper initiation, mantras, ādīrā, yantra, nyāsas, abhīcāra rites and haṭha-yoga. The Sirōhi-Jalōr and Bamer-Jodhpur region appears to have been a major centre of solar cult. Although at this stage it is impossible to be sure whether the sun-worshippers or the sect of Saurabhaktas developed any monastic organization of their own, conditions for such a development were present in early medieval times. it means that the Saurabhaktas were comparable to several other groups which had mahās supporting them. We have already mentioned that the Saurabhaktas had an ideological esoteric framework, a hierarchical sectarian priesthood and a sectarian literature with the Tantric influence percolating into their philosophy. As far as it is known, some type of monastic establishment existed at such big centres of solar cult as Konarak, in Orissa. However, no epigraphical reference is available to this effect. Saurastra, in Gujarat, was another area where the solar cult was important. Surastra too was a region which offered excellent conditions for full sectarian development of the Saurabhaktas. This is a subject which at the moment can not be further explored. However, it is the precise case of Mount Abu which had directed our attention to this problem because there are evidences about Saurabhakta activities in the area. Considering the suitability of Mount Abu for monastic activities, it is possible that the Saurabhaktas too were involved in such activities in this region. This supposition can not however be
substantiated at this stage.

The Arbuda Mountain or Mount Abu was an ideal place for the practice of austerities and for setting up āśramas and convents. But for the Jaina temples and monuments, which are of the twelfth century, and some Śaiva shrines, nothing of the older monuments survives. Indiscriminate construction activity in the modern times may have caused their disappearance. Mount Abu was a pilgrimage spot, frequently eulogized in inscriptions and other literary sources. The inscription in the Mahākālesvara temple of Ujjain, dated the eleventh century, devoted nineteen verses to eulogize Śiva and the Arbuda Mountain.131 The Mount Abu Inscription of Luṇṭīgadēva,132 of A.D.1321, proclaims the deeds of Luṇṭīga "who conquered and ruled all countries, particularly Candrāvatī and the divine territory of Arbuda". It is said that this king set up at the Arbuda mountain images of himself and his queen, and he carried out repairs in the Acalesvara temple built on the top of the mountain. To that temple Luṇṭīgadēva gave village Hethunji as a perpetual endowment.133 The temple probably had not one but a complex of āśramas and mathas for the residence of the ascetics and lodging of the many pilgrims (see Mount Abu in Map section).

Naḍūla or Naḍḍūla, the modern Nadol, was the capital of the Cāhamāna branch founded by Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari,134 and was an important political and religious centre. The Stray Plates from Nanana135 mention that the temples
of Tripuruṣa and Candalēśvara had a monastery. It received certain gifts and the village Sālayī together with its entire income was allotted to it. This was apparently in A.D.1116. The city of Jālōr and its environs also were under the Cāhamānas of Naḍūla. At Jālōr Udayasimha of this dynasty built two temples of Śiva. His son Cacigadēva, at Rāmasainya (Ramsen), granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vigrahāditya. He also placed a golden cupola (kumbha) and a flag-staff (dhvaja) on the temple of Aparājiteśa and gave that temple a hall (śālā) and a car (ratha). He visited the Sugandhādri (Sundra hill) and worshipped the god Cāmunḍā at Agnateśvarī. The Sundha Hill Inscription of Cacigadēva confirms the existence in the region under the Cāhamānas of several sectarian monasteries where Śaiva and Śākta doctrines and ascetic life were practised. The presence of the goddess Cāmunḍā would indicate the influence of Tantric sects.

However, the Tripuruṣa complex, which may be located at Naḍūla, is a very interesting case of a big religious complex sheltering several communities of people who attended the gods and the various activities of the maṭha (the organizational and administrative aspects of this maṭha) (vide infra, Ch.VIII, pp.617-27). The Stray Plates from Nanana contain very valuable information about several practices associated with temples and Brahmanic monastical life in early medieval Rajasthan. The charter contains diverse sections containing data about different transactions, all of them in relation with the maṭha or its
staff. Most of them are donations to be used for the purposes of training (vidyā) and the maintenance of the several communities living in the complex [p.244, lines 3-4]. But a subject which is of special interest is the gift of people made to the Tripuruṣa maṭha. The inscription refers to the allotment to the god Tripuruṣa of a flute player named Lhaudiyaka:

(line 1) "vilāsini (nyāh) Paṇḍavati(tī)-suta(yaḥ) Viḍalāyā = parābiḥ samaṃ ōḍasāmam padaṃ pradatta[m]ttam tathā vam(vam)śika Lhaudiyakas Tri[puruṣa]ṇā[m] pradattaḥ"

Besides, it is mentioned that two persons named Sīlapati and Śrīpāla, who were workers of an araghaṭṭa (water wheel), also property of the maṭha, i.e., it was under the possession of the superintendent (maṭhādhipati), were allotted to Tripuruṣa together with a number of musicians and songstresses living probably at the locality where the temple stood, i.e., Naṅgula. The names of such people and their professions are given as follows (verses 6-8): "tathā Śrī-Caṇḍalēśvarapūjan-ārthaṃ Tripuruṣāṇam satka-maṭha-patēḥ Dévanam dita-grāmē Narāvaṭṭakanēma (mā) araghaṭṭas = tatra... pati-Śrīpāla-samanvita[h] pradattaḥ|| atra mēhari-Viṅgada| Sītaḍī Prēmalī| Ratanī| Śrīyādevī| Ása(sā)-dēvi (vī) | sū(mu)ravaḷa-Jasarā| pāṇavika-Śrīpālah[dō]-yaraka- Vaḍiyākaḥ | mārdal[gika-Mahi[hī] patiyākah | vaṃ(vam)śika[h] Gōvīḍa-suta-Risiyākaḥ| Bhiṅtalavāḍā grāmīya aragaṭṭē Kumara - drōṇānāṁ madhyād = ādi(dā)ya mēhariṁ [drōṇāḥ] drōpaṁca dātavyā [ḥ] ||
Another interesting point is the several groups of dancing-girls, called here vilāsinīs, gaṇikās and mēharis, who received various endowments — given to the maṭha for their maintenance — which also is an argument more to suppose this maṭha as an important religious centre.

The donation to the dancing-girls are like follows:

a) (line 1) ... the sixteenth pada (of a share which other fifteen parts are just in the lost section of the charter) was allotted to the vilāsinī Viğalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, which (pada) she would enjoy with the other vilāsinīs of her group (whose names are not given).

b) (line 2) ... the seventeenth pada was allotted to a gaṇikā's daughter, with the stipulation that she would enjoy it together with some other gaṇikās (of her group).

The name of this gaṇikā's daughter (which also had the same profession of her mother) was Gōchiṇī.

And the mention to the other types of dancing-girls named mēharis is in line 7, just transcribed: they were the mēharis (songstresses) Viṅgaḍā, Sītaḍī, Prēmālī, Ratanī, Śriyādevī and Āśādevī.

On the other hand, the different gifts given to the maṭha (lines 9-10, 10-16), as the village Sālayī with all its revenues, demonstrate the economic power of this centre. That was why the management of the maṭha was in charge of a special staff named
varika officials, who collected the income produced by the village's allotted to the matha.

Therefore, considering the size of the staff, the several communities of workers, professionals and servants and the existence of hierarchical levels (a mathādhipati and a body of priests, etc.), the Tripuruṣa complex would be considered an outstanding institution among others in the region.

VII.3.2 Gujarat-Maharashtra:

Early medieval mathas are found in western India in fully developed form, perhaps as early as the eighth century. Although, as we shall see by referring to some early epigraphs, the beginnings of modest establishments for ascetics can be traced to the early historical period, when Buddhist centres were also flourishing in this region. There was, for example, the famous Kasmaichin-matha which appears in the Copper Plates from Ghumli,141 Nawānagar, Kathiawar, Gujarat, dated in A.D.874. There was also the Mahidēśvarīya monastery headed by the venerable Dhyānaganacārya, also known as Jirarāja or Jayarāja. This monastery had the charge of several temples of the area and apparently it administered their resources.142 Also, though the earliest archaeological evidence we have is for the monastery of Jumlagarh in Drissa143 as being the first Brahmanical monastery of India clearly established, epigraphical evidence exists of other earlier mathas in the region of Gujarat-Maharashtra. An
inscription of the third century A.D., published by Bühler as the anavasi Inscription of Haritiputa Sātakaṁi,\textsuperscript{143} says that the daughter of King Sātakaṁi of the Vinhukaṭaḍuṭu (or Vinhukaḍa-
cuṭu) line built a monastery (vihāra) and a tank, and enshrined an image of Nāga in the temple to which the monastery was attached.\textsuperscript{145} That Nāga had been made by Nataka or Nartaka, a pupil of the ācārya Idamoraka or Indramayūra, of the town of Samjayanti (the actual Karhad). But we are not sure if this monastery — in this inscription called vihāra — was a Brahmanical one; it could have been Buddhist. Even, the cult of the Nāgas usually is more associated with Buddhism. However, there is a possibility that this monastery was a Brahmanical one. If this was the case, it is extremely interesting the use of the term vihāra\textsuperscript{146} (in the context of the discussion already done in supra Ch.II.4). The inscription, coming from an area where was an intense interaction between different sects (the tract which goes from Maharashtra to Madhya Pradesh), would reflect the use of Buddhist monastic terms by Brahmanical monks.

Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik,\textsuperscript{147} cited earlier, provide one of the most valuable data about early Brahmanical monasticism in Maharashtra. The Inscription of Cave No.3\textsuperscript{148} mentions the gift of 200 nivartanas to the tekirasi ascetics (pavajitana). The tekirasi were apparently associated with the monasteries of Mount Trirasmi, which is one of the hills around Nasik.\textsuperscript{149} In the Inscription of Cave No.10\textsuperscript{150} is mentioned "the
community of Carakas" which apparently was a certain category of Brahmancial ascetics who also lived in the caves of Trirasmi hill. They were gifted thirty-two coconut trees. Another inscription in the same cave\(^1\) says that the queen Sakāni gave a perpetual endowment for providing medicines for the sick monks of the saṅgha of whatever sect and origin were living in the monastery of Mount Trirasmi. An inscription in cave No.7 says "this cave (is) a pious gift of Tāpasinī, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal saṅgha of ascetics".\(^2\)

The caves of Nasik are dated before A.D.500 and K.V.Soundara Rajan did not include these in his survey on the cave temples of the Deccan.\(^3\) M.N.Deshpande, in his introductory study to The Caves of Panhāle-Kāji,\(^4\) says that in the western Deccan Buddhist activity which had started under the Sātāvahāna rule (which ended in the third century), continued with the support of the mercantile communities. Overseas trade and north-south traffic had made these merchants prosperous. After the Sātāvahānas, various small rich prinedoms were competing for control over the port towns and route towns, which finally were absorbed into the Cālukya empire.

Regardless of the political process, religious activity flourished in the region. The local feudatories and rājas, of whatever religious affiliation, were kind to them and were
equally magnanimous to all. Queen Sakāni's donation to help sick monks "of whatever sect" is representative of this tolerance. Buddhist and Brahmanical ascetics coexisted peacefully. The generosity of the noblemen, traders and craftsmen was enough to sustain them all, without having to complete for the resources. The most significant consequences of that harmony and coexistence, however, was the mutual influence and exchange of symbols and elements, between the Brahmanical ascetics and the Buddhist bhikkhus.

Monastic activity continued in the region until the thirteenth century although it was not necessarily confined to the cave establishments. The exchange of symbols between different establishments can be seen in the decoration of the caves. The Tantric wave, surging from the north, affected both. The result was that the Buddhists took to Vajrayānism or esoteric Mahāyānism and the brāhmaṇas tended towards the Śaktism. The cave monasteries were precursors to the next phase of the big monastical complexes of Mattamayūras and Pāsupatas in the Kōṅkan.

The Rastrakūṭas of Malkhēd also took the foundation of monasteries as their duty. Besides helping the Mattamayūra, expansion in the region, as seen earlier, they demonstrated their magnanimity by putting up pious foundations throughout their dominion. An example of this is the ordering by King Khōṭṭiga (A.D.968-72), successor Kṛṣṇa III (A.D.939-68), of the
installation of the images of Sūrya, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī and Viṇāyaka (Gaṇeśa) "on beautiful pedestals", the construction of a tank and a matha in village Kolagala (Kollagallu, Karnataka).  

The "later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa", who were on the ascendancy in the western Deccan after the Rāstrakūṭas, were magnificent patrons of the arts and builders of temples and monasteries, but their major works were concentrated in the southern Konkan.

The Guhēya-mathā at Sirivura, established during the reign of Vikramaditya V (A.D. 1008-14), deserves special mention in this context. The flur Inscription of Vikramaditya V, issued in A.D. 1010, informs us that guru Amarācārya was the mahāpati of the mathā. Part of the text which treats about the donation to the monastery does not differ from other charters about donations to mathās in the western Deccan. The monastery must have been near Alur (Gadag taluka, Dharwar district, north Karnataka). The brāhmaṇa Vennaya Bhatṭa, the mayor of the town, had been trained in the monastery. The Yoga practices followed by the ascetics included "seat postures, suppression of breath, withdrawal of the senses (from their objects), spiritual concentration, meditation and absorption ... " The grant, made by Vennaya Bhatṭa and the Assembly of Alur (comprising two hundred mahajanas), consisted in washing of ācārya Bhatṭaraka's feet, a field of hundred mattar for the almshouse for the maintenance of twelve brāhmaṇas and six ascetics, and an assurance of protection.
from all conflicting claims and of supply of victuals.\footnote{106}

Apparently of great local importance was a small monastery in the northern Kōnkan, at Sanjan, Thana district, known as the Kautuka mathikā, the name probably coming from one of its builders, Katuka or Kavatika. Several inscriptions from Chinchani mentions it.\footnote{107} It was built at a time when the rānakas of Modha, feudatories of the Śilāhāras, were the local rulers. Among the endowments it received were:

(i) The grant given by Cāmunḍarāja, subordinate of the Śilāhāra Chinturāja\footnote{108} (or Chittarāja), the lord of Tagarapura, dated A.D.1034, consisting in an oil mill (ghānaka) for the perpetual lamp of the goddess Bhagavatī and for anointing the feet of the svādhyāyikas or scholars of the mahāparisad attached to the mathikā.

(ii) The mahānandalesvara Vijjalaṃḍa gave in A.D.1048 the enjoyment of certain taxes from village Kannadagrama, already in the possession of the mathikā to the brāhmaṇas Bahudha and Kanhua as well as the scholars Mahādeva and Lakṣmīdhara, all of them apparently attached to the mathikā.\footnote{109}

(iii) The grant by Vijarāṇaka (who is apparently the same Cāmunḍarāja) of the Modha family, dated A.D.1053. It consisted in certain taxes as permanent endowment from village Kānapāgrama already in charge of the mathikā, for the purpose of feeding twenty-five brāhmaṇas daily, who
probably resided in the maṭhikā.¹⁶²

The mahāpariṣad of the maṭhikā, which is mentioned several times in these charts, must have been a very influential body of scholars. The volume of endowments to this institution which in size was small, is an indication of its local importance. One of the records concerns a property dispute with the maṭhikā by an individual. The dispute was resolved by the oracle of the goddess Bhagavatī, through her attendants, on whose verdict the maṭhikā agreed to pay rent to the claimant.

Two inscriptions of the Śilāhāra King Bhōja II,¹⁶³ dated A.D.1182 and 1194 respectively, speak of the monastery attached to the Mahālakṣmī temple of Kolhapur. The monastery was founded by Lōkana Nāyaka, a Sahavāsi brāhmaṇa (there are many epigraphical references to these Sahavāsi brāhmaṇas).¹⁶⁴ They came from Ahiccatra and from Kaśmir and were a well-settled community in that area of the western Deccan. The first inscription speaks of a great benefaction for carrying on the worship of the couple Umā-Mahēśvara (a form of Amriteśvara), for maintaining well supplied the granary of the maṭha, and for keeping the maṭha in good repair. The second inscription¹⁶⁵ mentions Ādityabhaṭṭa, LaksmArdharaḥaṭṭa, Prabhākaraghaisasa of Karahata and Vāsiyanaghaisasa, all of them Sahavāsi brāhmaṇas who resided in the monastery. To these brāhmaṇas was given some land and other properties — one big piece of land and another
smaller — at the agrahāra village of Pauva, Taluragekholla, for the purpose of feeding the brāhmaṇas at a sattra or almshouse which probably was in the same monastery complex.

The Balsane Inscription\textsuperscript{146} of A.D.1184, on the portal of a temple at Balsane, Pimpalner taluka, west Kandesh district, Maharashtra, refers to a monastery named the Rāja-māṭha at Balsānaka (the present-day Balsane) on the banks of the river Borai.

There was also a monastery attached to the Kāléśvara temple at Kalegaon,\textsuperscript{147} on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari, 16 miles east of Nevasa, Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra. The Kalegaon Plate of Yādava Mahādēva,\textsuperscript{148} dated A.D.1261, which was discovered among the ruins of the monastery, mentions a group of fifty-two brāhmaṇas who received the donation of the village Kālugāma; the concession list consisted of eight privileges or aṣṭa bhogas. From the looks of its remains, the monastery appears to have been an important building and a high centre of learning.

VII.4. Brahmanical monasteries in near Eastern India, Bangladesh, Ödra and Kōsāla and their relation with western and southern India.

VII.4.1 Orissa:

In Orissa, Buddhist and Brahmanical elements commingled with local beliefs to produce an important Brahmanical movement. The already cited monastery of Jumla garn, which is the first Hindu monastery of India to have archæological evidence of its
existence, shows that by the fifth century A.D., there existed in Orissa an organized monastic institution, with enough doctrinal strength to attract people, maintain its continuity and compete with the Buddhist saṅghas, and with capacity to meet the material needs of its inhabitants. The monastery sheltered hundreds of novices. It is not likely to have been an isolated phenomenon of the time. And in the following two centuries, similar institutions appeared frequently in the old Ōdra, Kōgala and Kaliṅga countries.

Two Plates from Kāpas,¹⁴⁷ Puri district, attest that a monastery existed there at least since A.D.600. The Plate called "A" by D.C.Sircar, the editor of this inscription, is one of Lōkavigraha Bhaṭṭaraka and it is dated A.D.600. Recording the donation to the maṭha (which means here temple, endowed with a monastery or college) of village Uṛddhvaśrṅga, in Mutida viṣaya, dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī, the inscription sings praises of the village which was in full production, had a number of attractive qualities (aṇeka guṇa) and makes the point that the officers who donated the land to this complex did it with a view to gain dharma, artha and kāma, with the permission of the king.¹⁷₀

The donation, in perpetuity, was for the support of the bali, caru and sattra of that monastery by the illustrious
Maṇināgēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka of Caikambaka or Ėkāmbaka and the maintenance of the brahmaçārins who were students of the Maitrāniya school of Yajurveda. Our surmise from this would be that the maṭha of Kanās was a college of Vedic learning attached to the temple, where permanently resided a group of young brāhmaṇas who were trained in the knowledge of the Vedas. Ėkāmbaka would be Ėkāmrā, the old Bhubanesvar. The main deity of the Maṇināgēśvara-maṭha was Maṇināga, son of Kadru.171 It may sound strange that an apparently orthodox Brahmanical college of the Maitrayānīla school was linked with a deity of Purānic association; but perhaps, the brāhmaṇas in quest of local sympathy for their cause, thought it expedient to combine their refined tradition with a local cult. If true, this would be a typical instance of the Purānic phenomenon of assimilating popular elements into the corpus of the Brahmanical tradition. Even more significant would be the fact that this development was not casual but the outcome of a planned direction taken by the brāhmaṇas of the monastery, a studied transformation of culture.

Plate "B" of this inscription is of Bhānudatta.172 (A.D.619-643), a feudatory of the king of Tōsalī.173 dated A.D.620, it records the perpetual endowment of village Kumvukirikṣilaka to the god Maṇināga of Caikamvaka or Ėkāmvaka. The direct recipients of the grant were the brāhmaṇas who resided in the maṭha of this god (i.e., the same monastery as in Plate "A"). The text ends with the customary exhortation to the people
not to disturb the donees but protect this grant having regard for the religious merit of Bhānudatta's overlord.

From the same Puri district comes the Terundia Plate of Subhakara II, dated A.D. 706, which was edited by D.C. Sircar. It records the donation of village Lavagānda, in the southern part of Tōsalī, and free of all revenues to a group of six brāhmaṇas who had established several maṭhas and maṇḍapas in their native village of Taramaṇḍapagrama. These brāhmaṇas, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, were students of the kāṇya śākha of the Vājasaneya caraṇa of the Yajurveda. The grant was for the upkeep of the maṭhas and maṇḍapas. The charter was issued at Guhādevapāṭaka, which corresponds to the present-day Jajpur, Cuttack district, and was at the capital of the donor, the Bhaumakara king Subhakara II. It was discovered at Terundia, five miles from Nimāpjāra, Puri district.

VII.4.2 Eastern Madhya Pradesh:

The context of the grant, though commented upon in Chapter III, bears reiteration. The earlier Bhaumakaras were Buddhist rulers, but later on they gave strong support to Brahmanism and helped the brāhmaṇas in their endeavour to impose the Brahmanical doctrinal principles and social structures. Obviously, Brahmanism was making a definitive come back in early medieval Orissa. It not only absorbed the Buddhist regional background totally, but became a valuable precursor to the ensuing total Brahmanization
of the region. The Buddhists had shown the way of an ascetic organizational mode. The brāhmaṇas took up from there. Also, being places for the training of social leaders, these monasteries indirectly became instruments of the Brahmanization of the tribal areas. The Sēnakaṇpat temple and monastery of Sirpur (in present Madhya Pradesh) was another example of this Brahmanical element causing social ferment. The Pāśupata ascetics who ran this religious establishment probably came from the area of Jabalpur or from Bilaspur. The Sēnakaṇpat Inscription,175 of about eighth century A.D. eulogizes the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication to a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of land.176 Sadyaḥśivācārya, the ascetic, hailed from the penitential grove called Āmardaka.

(verse 15) Āsit = Sadyaḥśivācāryah śrīmān = varya satpōvatām (tām) | śrīmad Āmarddaka khyāti-tapōvana-vinirggataḥ ||
Sadyaḥśivācārya’s disciple, Śādāśivācārya, received a grant of land in village Kōdāsīmā, and two other plots in village Viyānaka and another place named Lātā.177 Śādāśivācārya was engaged in the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith,178 he was also in charge of a free feeding establishment (sattra) where once every year pilgrims were received. A group of ascetics led by Śādāśivācārya lived in a maṭha attached to the temple of Sēnakaṇpat. The inscription also mentions a brāhmaṇa named Durgārakṣīta who was a governor and trusted person of the king in the area. Durgārakṣīta was a great devotee of Śambhu and worked
to propagate the Śaiva faith. He patronized directly the Śaiva ascetics of the Sēnakapat monastery, built the temple and procured for the ascetics their wherewithal. Sēnakapat lies in the forest area on the right bank of the Mahānādi close to Sirpur or Śrīpura, the old capital of daksīna-kośala.

We can see from the above how the Brahmanical ascetic movement spread from "the core of Madhyadesa" to Mahā-kośala and as far as the coasts of Kaliṅga and the Ōdra country. This was during the first centuries of early medieval times. But the tide turned after the eleventh century, and this region began to receive the influence from southern India. The Colas, then dominant in south India, gave support to the Brahmanization process in their region and in a very complex process they combined their political efforts for universal dominion with the prestige of the powerful ācāryas of Kancipuram (Conjeeveram), Śrīrangam and other great Brahmanical centres. It could appear that, during the rule of the Gaṅgas in Orissa, Śaiva monks from Andhra helped in the growth of monastic establishment in Orissa. The Alagum Inscription of Anantavarman of A.D.1141, edited by D.C. Sircar, registered the donation in perpetuity of a piece of land styled "Kapālēśvara" in village Alagumma to the maṭha of the goj Garttēśvaradēva. The temple of Garttēśvara was a small Jyotirliṅga at Alagum (or Alagumma), thirty-three miles from Puri, Orissa. The inscription has a part in Telugu and another in Gaudiya script or proto-Bengali but in Sanskrit
language. The donor Kāmāndi was a royal official, perhaps the
governor of Alagum, under Anantavarmadēva Cōḍagaṅga (A.D.1078–
1147). Kāmāndi was a brāhmaṇa of the Kaśyapa gotra. He belonged
to a family from Kadamvura, Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu.

The Bhubanesvar Inscription of Gāṇga Narasimha, A.D.1396182
is bilingual, in Oriya and in Tamil. It refers to a debt
transaction, the debtor being the pontiff of a monastery of
Tamilian Śaivas which was functioning at Bhubanesvar, and the
creditor was a rich local Oriya. The Oriya part183 records that
an area of twelve vātis of land was granted as Ėkāḍaśa-
Rudrabhiṅgā in favour of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at Kṛttivāsa
Kṣetra, Bhubanesvara. Tapōraja Mahāmuni, the pontiff of the
maṭha, mortgaged that land to Durgābhāṭṭācārya from whom he
borrowed 150 mādhas (of gold). Besides, he borrowed ten mādhas
and thirty pauṭis of paddy (around nine metric tonnes) from
Uttarēśvaranāyaka. Durgābhāṭṭācārya paid up Tapōraja Mahāmuni’s
debt to Uttarēśvaranāyaka, calculated in 180 mādhas (including
interest). Tapōraja Mahāmuni passed away and was succeeded in the
pontificate by Tapacakra�artin. He paid off the entire loan of
Durgābhāṭṭācārya.

The Tamil part184 of the inscription says that the purpose
of the original grant was to ensure food for the maheśvaras or
the Śaiva monks, for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras.
Tapacakra�artigal succeeded Taparājamunigal, after his demise,
as head of the monastery. The inscription is meant to certify that the debt was paid. The fact of the case was that the reigning monarch was concerned about the dire straits of the Siddhēśvara monastery. Durgābhaṭṭārcārya, the creditor, who was a religious man, wrote of the 150 māḍhas which were owed to him and he paid from his own pocket the debt of ten māḍhas and the value of the thirty pautis of paddy to Uttarēśvaranāyaka. The monastery’s land was rededicated to the training of the ascetics who hailed from the Cola, Pāṇḍya and Kānci desas. Those ascetics were trained in the conventional code of conduct used in the various maṭhas of these three countries or maṇḍalas. All that education was accessible and imparted in the Siddhēśvara monastery at Bhubaneswar. The inscription suggests that the ācāryas of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha of Bhubanesvar had received the initiations given by the most important maṭhas of these three maṇḍalas (Cola, Pāṇḍya and Kānci). They were the best representatives of an eclectic doctrine called Ėkādaśā Rudrabhiṅkṣā which synthetized the teaching of southern Śaivism (the expression ‘Ēkādaśā Rudrabhiṅkṣā’ would be understood as "the Śaiva ascetics who have as symbol the eleven Rudras"). The maṭha owed its spiritual origins to a religious inspiration from Tamil Nadu and the gurus and the disciples were Tamils. When financial stringency forced the authorities of the monastery to mortgage their land in order to reestablish the normal academic activities, the king intervened forthwith. He ordered that a
solution be found to forestall the collapse of one of the most important religious institutions of the kingdom. The Bhubanesvar Inscription is on a stone tablet discovered near the Gaurī Kedāra temple at Bhubanesvar.

The convention of attaching a college for brahmacārins to Brahmanical temples seems to be earlier in north India and central-eastern India than in the South (vide, supra, Ch. III.2.2, pp. 224-53). In course of time the Brahmanical temples of south India too turned into great religious centres. In this, Andhra Pradesh became the transit zone. The Bicapalli Inscription of Bhuvanaikamalla's time, dated A.D.1074, is one example which registers this process occurring in the tenth-eleventh centuries. The Inscription records a gift made by the feudatory of the western Cālukya King Bhuvanaikamalladēva (A.D.1068-76), the mahāmaṇḍalesvāra Ciddacolamahārāja, to the temple of the god Lakṣmēsvāra, in the midst of Elarāme tīrtha, the present-day Bichapalli. The gift was intended for the services of the god, for maintaining an almshouse (sattrā), for the maintenance of the twelve ascetics living in the precincts of the temple and for the food and clothing of the disciples of these ascetics.
NOTES


4. Kālidāsa lived before A.D.473, as the Mandasor Inscription makes clear. By comparison with the works ofĀvaghoṣa, as Ram Gopal has done, vide Kālidāsa, His Art and Culture, New Delhi, 1984 (1983), pp.13-41, the time of Kālidāsa has been fixed — by some scholars — around the first century A.D.

5. Pandit Lacchmi Dhar Kalla, The Birth Place of Kālidāsa, The Delhi University Publications, no.1, Delhi, 1926, sought to demonstrate that Kālidāsa was a Kaśmirī because of the excellent knowledge of the region the poet displayed (pp.1-25), his love for the mountains and the valleys of the Himalayas, his detailed descriptions of the customs and traditions of the people of the Himalayan region and his inclination for Kaśmir Śaivism. Some Bengali scholars claimed that Kālidāsa was from Bengal. The Kālidāsa Academy (Kālidāsa Samaroh) at Ujjain explains the Mālava origin of Kālidāsa to our satisfaction.


8. The Pañchatantra, Text of Pūrṇabhadra, Hertel, Johannes (ed.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1912, Vol.I-II (Oriental Series). This edition is the result of the comparative work of the editor who used several recensions using as central reference that of Pūrṇabhadra which is a Jaina one. The recension of Pūrṇabhadra possible is the most complete and near the original. It is dated A.D.1199 and apparently was written also in north-estern India. Vide, Introduction, pp.5-27.

10. Ibidem, I.IV.


14. The temple of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, near the source of the Alakanandā is said to have been built by Śaṅkarācārya in the eighth century. Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Oriental Book Reprint, Delhi, 1984, p.70.

15. The land given at Thappalasāri, belonging to the Kārṭtikeyapura viśaya. This was the area around the old city of Kārṭtikeyapura, which was founded by a Kayūrī king over the ruins of an older city called Karavīpura.

Badarikāśrama is almost a legendary tīrtha and hermitage. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* 90.27-34. The *Padma Purāṇa*, Ch.XXI, refers to it in the "Tīrtha Mahātmya". Bāṇa's Kādambarī speaks of it as a place which was visited by Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa; and the *Skanda Purāṇa* declares that a visit to this tīrtha cleans every sin. Vide, Law, B.C., op.cit., p.69.


17. Jyotirdhāma is so named because it is site of one of the twelve Mahālīṅgas or Jyotirlingas of India. Vide *Siva Purāṇa*, Tr.by a Board of Scholars, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988. *Koṭiṛudrasaṁhitā*, Part III, Ch.XIX, 1-26, pp.1327-329.

18. EP.IND., I, no.16, pp.97-118.

19. There are not evidences if in the beginnings Brahmanical monasteries used Buddhist terminology (in the context of the discussion of Ch.II.4). In the years when the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* was written (A.D.1148-1150) the nomenclature for Buddhist and Brahmanical places was well-differentiated. Buddhist monasteries received the name of their founder with the addition of — vihāra or — bhavana, as examples: Jayendravihāra, Cankuṇavihāra, Amṛtabhavana (founded by Queen Amṛtaprabhā), Skandabhavana (for Skandaguptabhavana),
and so on. The Brahmanical maṭhas received invariably that name, with the same treatment as the Buddhist foundations, i.e., the name of the founder (or the purpose of the foundation) plus the qualifier "maṭha", e.g., Subhāṭa- maṭha, Nandāmaṭha, Loṭhikāmaṭha, Cakramaṭha, etc. Vide, Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī or Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr, by Stein, M.A., (ed.), reprinted by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1960.


20. Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī (The Saga of the Kings of Kaśmīr), Tr. by Pandit, R.S., Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1977. From now all the quotations will be from this translation by Pandit unless it is otherwise indicated. All Sanskrit expressions have been taken from Stein's edition (op.cit.) of the original Sanskrit text, edited for first time in 1892, of the Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

30. Ibidem, Taraṅga IV, 512. Jayapura had a twin city, Jayāpīda, which was built in honour of King Jayāpīda.
34. Ibidem, Taraṅga V, 244.
38. Ibidem, Taraṅga V, 89.
40. Ibidem, Taraṅga VI, 186 (Varāhakṣetra is Varāhamula or the modern Baramula.
42. Ibidem, Taraṅga VI, 299.
43. Ibidem, Taraṅga VI, 300.
44. Ibidem, Taraṅga VI, 302.
47. Ibidem, Taraṅga VI, 120-121.
57. Ibidem, Taraṅga VII, 298, the meaning of the word khurkhuṭa is not clear. R.S.Pandit thinks it could be desired from the Tibetan "khutukkhta" (Ibidem, p.286 n.).

59. Ibidem, Taraṅga VII, 524. The sacrifice described here is a Tantric ritual in which the king took active part.


61. Vide in Kane, P.V., History of Dharmasāstra, op.cit., Vol.II, part I, p.50 : rajayitrī (dyer), a profession which became a caste (it was associated with the vrātya group; vāsah-palpūlī, a washerwoman, belonging to the selagā and hiranyakāra caste. Ibidem, p.82 : cailanirṇejaka or nirṇejaka is a washerman [Viṣṇudharmasūtra 51.15; Manu IV.216]; the Viṣṇudharmasūtra distinguishes this cailanirṇejaka of the type of washerman named rajaka [51.13]. Hariśa (quoted by Aparanka, p.279) also distinguishes rajaka (dyer) from nirṇejaka (washerman). Amara says that rajaka is just a washerman. Ibidem, p.93 : rajaka is one of the antyajas (menial workers) according to several writers. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 11.4.10 includes rajaka in the śūdra caste. Yājñavalkya II.48 also opines the same, and the Śudrakarmalakara mentions another type of rajaka, one who is the offspring of a ugra man and a vaidehaka woman.


64. Ibidem, Taraṅga VII, 952.


68. The ancestors of Uccala were :

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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Ganga</th>
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<td>Malla</td>
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Salhana  | Uccala  | Sussala  | Palha  |
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71. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 244.
73. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 609.
77. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 2401.
82. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 2421.
84. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 2423.
89. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 3321.
91. Ibidem, Taraṅga VIII, 3350.
96. Ibidem, Taraṅga VII, 43-44.
100. Cf. The Saugor Stone Inscription, infra, note 85.
102. Saugor Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragana, EP.IND., XXVII, no.29, pp.163 ff.
103. Cf. Jubbulpore Stone Inscription of Vimalāśīva, EP.IND., XXV, no.1, p.312. Vāmadeva was the architect of the Kalacūrī kingdom in Bundelkhand-Baghelkand. He probably fixed his residence at the impregnable fort of Kālaṅjara, ninety miles west-south-west of Allahabad in the Banda district.
104. Vide the Malkapuram Inscription in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (J.A.H.R.S.), Vol.IV, pp.147 ff., quoted by Mirashi, EP.IND., XXV, p.310. The statement in the Malkapuram Inscription apparently are very exaggerated. The enormous gift is not mentioned in other Kalacūrī inscriptions which used to repeat earlier data.
105. Bheraghat is on the Narmadā. A stone inscription of Queen Ḍhānanadevi of A.D.1153 was found there. Vide EP.IND., II, pp.7 ff.
106. V.V. Mirashi, EP.IND., XXVII, p.166, believed that the Malkapuram Inscription was chronologically vague and with several mistakes in its data. For example, Vāmaśambhu and Śaktiśambhu must have been separated by many years.
108. Epigraphical Notes: Saugor Inscription of Śaṅkaragana, EP.IND., XXX, no.10, pp.46 ff.
109. The Gōḷakī-माठा is supposed to have been founded by Saddhāvaśambhu, Vide supra, p.507; Cf.Pathak, V.S., History of Śaiva cults in Northern India, Abinash Prakashan,
Allahabad, 1980, pp.31-2, "The Gōlakī-maṭha, founded by Sadbhāvaśambhu (or Prabhāvaśīva) in the line of the Āmardaka-tīrtha-nāṭha established the tradition of this monastery".

110. The Ratanpur Stone Inscription was published by F. Kielhorn in EP.IND., I, no.5, pp.32 ff; and by V.V. Mirashi, CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, no.77, pp.409 ff.

111. Ratanpur Inscription, CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, p.27; "he founded a monastery for ascetics, a mango grove with a beautiful lake ...


113. Kaliṅgarāja
Kamalārāja, the founder of Tummana
Ratnaṅaṛaja
Prthvīdevā I
Jājalla
Ratnapāṇi II
Prthvīdevā II
Jājalla II
Ratnapāṇi III
Prthvīdevā III

114. Ratanpur Inscription of Prthvīdevā II, CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, no.95, pp.495 ff.

115. CORP. INSC. INDIC., IV-II, no.100, pp.536-39.


118. This early cult of the Mother Goddess, which was at the base of the development of Śaktism, would also be seen in the same area at the Khimelmātā. Vide Vasantgadh Inscription of Varmalāta, EP.IND., IX, no.25, pp.187 ff. We have already commented about the maṭha when dealing with Śaktism.

119. Is the information given by Pandit Ram Karna, editor of this inscription, EP.IND., XI, no.31, p.302.

120. EP.IND., XI, no.4, 1, p.28.

121. The Partabgarh Inscription of the time of King Mahēndra II, EP.IND., XIV, no.13, p.180. Part III of this inscription
mentions the great feudatory of Ujjayini, Madhava, and the chief Commander of Mandapika (Mandu). It is suggested that these officials travelled frequently to the holy tirthas of the region.


123. EP.IND., IX, no.2, pp.10 ff; also CDNP. INSC. INDIC., VII, no.62, pp.226 ff.


129. Vide Mitra, Devala, Konark, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1968. The Introduction, pp.3-40; Subsidiary Structures, pp.101-07. Also vide in Boner, Alice; Sarma, Sadasiva Rath; and Das, Rajendra Prasad, New light on the Sun Temple of Konārk, Four unpublished manuscripts relating to construction, history and ritual of this temple, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1972, the Appendices, plans, elevations, all these very well presented, pp.200 ff. Also the Plates (110 in number) are excellent documents. However, the interpretation of the inscriptions is disputable.

130. Besides the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava movements in Gujarat, which we have already commented in Ch.VI, apparently some sectarian activities of the Solar cult were also performed in the region in the early medieval times. The kings of Valabhi, the main city of Bhavnagar, Kathiawar, and situated near the Gulf of Khambhat, were all Śaivas, but they had a soft corner for the Solar cult. The Bhadreniyaka grant, dated A.D.610-11 [EP.IND., XXI, no.18, pp.117-19] is a charter issued by King Silāditya, son of Dharasena. It records the donation of 200 pādāvarttas of land in village Bhadreniyaka, in Bāra Vanasthali, to the Sun god for the performance of the daily worship. Another 100 pādāvarttas were given to the brāhmaṇa Prabhanda, a certain number of pādāvarttas to the brāhmaṇa Rudra and
others to the brāhmaṇa Baratika. One hundred pādāvarttas were given to charity purposes (bhaikṣaka), i.e., for giving alms to ascetics and pilgrims, and another 100 pādāvarttas to the temple of Sūrya. The donation to the temple was for keeping up the pūjas (to Sūrya), holy bath of the deity (snāpana), offerings of sandalwood (gandha), garland (puṣpamalya), oil for the lamps (dīpa-taila), for defraying of the bali, caru and satra, for the payment of the musicians (vādyā-gīta) and the maintenance of the dances (nyātya) and servants of the god (pādamūla). The Sūrya temple of Bhadrēniyaka indeed must have been an important religious centre keeping many people busy in the sacred duties. By the size of the permanent staff, this complex would be equalled to other Brahmanical centres where also was a school for brahmacārins attached. In this case, however, the facilities were not enough like to think in a big monastical centre.

Another important temple to Sūrya was the Taruṇādityadēva, on the banks of river Kanavirikā in southern Kathiawar. The Copper Plate Inscription of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kansuj [EP.IND., IX, no.1 pp.4-10], dated A.D.899, contains two grants of land to this temple by the local Cālukya feudatories of Mahēndrapāla. The inscription was issued from Nakṣisapura, which was the centre of a group of eighty-four villages (including the two donated villages) in the Saurāstra maṇḍala, southern Kathiawar.

In Maharashtra and Karnataka, too, were important centres of Sūrya worship and a flourishing sectarian Sūrya movement. The Manor Plate of Vināyāditya Maṅgalarasa [EP.IND., XXVIII, no.3, pp.17 ff.], dated A.D.691, records the grant of some villages to the temple of Sūrya at Mānapura (the present-day Manor, Paīghar taluka, Thana district), "for ensuring the supply of perfumes, flowers, incense, oil, music, offerings and to maintain in good repair the temple. Maṅgalarasa was a Cālukya king of the Navasāri branch.

The Kolhapur Plate of Gaṇḍarāditya of c.A.D.1140 [CORP.INSC.INDIC., VI, no.49, pp.226-27], records the grant of land to a group of twelve brāhmaṇas for their residence and maintenance at the "three spired temple of Khēḍāditya" — another name for the Sun god — at Brahmāpuri. Repairs were made on this temple and new sacred buildings added. The work of repair was carried out by the minister Maillapaiyya who, besides added two more shrines to the temple and put up the images of Brahma and Viṣṇu.
131. EP.IND., XXXI, no.4-A, pp.25 ff. The inscription repeats the myth of the origin of the Paramāras emerging from the sacrificial offering of the sage Vaśiṣṭha.

132. EP.IND., IX, no.9-D, pp.79-83.


134. Vide "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" by F.Kielhorn, Plates A-D, EP.IND., IX, no.9, pp.62-82; Table with the genealogy, p.83.

135. EP.IND., XXXIII, no.45, pp.244-46. The inscription was discovered at village Nanana in Marwar.


139. Stray Plate from Nanana, EP.IND., XXXIII, no.45, p.245, lines 18-19: śrī-Naḍūliya-maṇḍapikā[yām śrī-Āthavamallena māsam pratidrō shaṭ yāvatayām |

140. Vārika : a class of official [Cf.EP.IND., XXX, no.30, pp.173-74, 176, 178-81], also it means a chief priest or superintendent of a temple. [Cf.EP.IND., XXVII, no.24, p.142, line 35, the term dēvavārikā : |grāmaku (kūṭa drōṇāgraka-nāyaka dēvavārika gaṇḍaka ...)]

141. Ghumli is in Kathiawar. In olden times it was known as Bhūtambilika. Vide Six Saindhava Copper Plate Grants from Ghumli, EP.IND., XXVI, no.27, pp.185 ff.


143. Vide supra, p.516-A (in this chapter).

144. IND.ANTIQ., XIV, p.331; also in Archaeological Survey of Western India, no.10, pp.100 ff., published by Bhagwanlal/Burgess.

145. IND.ANTIQ., XIV, pp.332-33. "(The image) of a Nāga, a tank and monastery (are) the meritorious gifts of the Mahābhōji Sivakhada Nāga Siri (or Śivaskándanāgaṣṭri)."
The text of this Banawasi Inscription, like it was published by Buhler in the Indian Antiquary, Vol.XIV, is as follows:

line 1: Sidham Rañõ Hāriti-putasa Vīṅhu-kaña duṭu-kul-ānamba Sātākāṁisa vasa [visa] satāya savaccaram hemāmtāna pakhō divasa mahābhuviya mahāraja bālikāya jiva-puta-


line 3: damōrakasa sisēna Naṭakēna nāgo katō ||


149. Ibidem, p.73, E.Senart, the editor of these inscriptions, says that these tekirasis or tekirasinas also were known as tirahukānam or the monks of Mount Trirasi. Apparently Bühler opined the word must be terasikānam = traṇrāsmikānam. The clarification of the origin of the name tekirasi is important because it may offer a light on the problem of the Brahmanical monks of Mount Trirasmi. Senart (ibidem) thought of a possible Greek origin (Yāvana influence) for the name of this mount, because of its triple top, and put a question mark around a Greek equivalent for Trikeras ... Τικρικαίος. We have further explored this, and we think that a relation is not at all impossible. In Greek (of that period, i.e., post-classical: third century B.C. to second century A.D.) from the very old root Τικριο (tri) meaning "triple", "three thinks together", "harmony consisting of three things", are derived several words like Τρικρυσ (trikrho) a satrap governing over three provinces. This word is just a creation of the Arsacid period, when probably the relations between India and the Greek kingdoms of West Asia were intensified. However, for deriving from the root "tri" a word which could mean "triple top mountain", we must have a word resembling something like Τικρός (trikos), or Τικρινός (trikinos), or Τικρισκός (trikispos), i.e., tri (triple) + kus, or kuspos: point, top, sharp edge. So, no construction looks like "trikeras". But, it could also mean Τικρίκος, Τικρινή (trija, trije): "divided in three parts." In this case a
connection can be suggested, if from trije ("j" strongly pronounced, like "k") was derived the name Trikeras.

Also there are other possibilities of derivations from the root ΤΕΧΝΗ (tēkne), meaning technique, art, skill; from it > ΤΕΧΝΗΜΑ (tekema) (n.): artisan > ΤΕΧΝΙΚΟΣ (teknikos) (n.): technician > ΤΕΧΝΙΚΩΣ (teknikōs) (a.): skillful

Any construction from ΤΕΧΝΗ (tēkne) would be more similar to "tekirasis" and perhaps — if there is some Greek connection — it was by the way of naming the monks who worked in the construction of the caves and their decoration.

It is much probable tekirasis and tirasmi are just Sanskrit words. It could be derived from the root tij (Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, op. cit., pp.446-49).

150. EP.IND., VIII, p.78.
152. EP.IND., VIII, p.76.
153. Soundara Rajan, Cave Temples of the Deccan, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1981. The work is about the rock-cut temples of the Deccan made between A.D.500 and 800.
159. Three grants from Chinchani, edited by D.C.Sircar, EP.IND., XXXII, no.5, pp.61 ff; and Rasṛtrakūṭa Charters from Chinchani, Ibidem, no.4, pp.45 ff.

162. Three Grants from Chinchani, op.cit., pp.71 ff. The text uses as "permanent endowment" the expression bhōjan aksayaṇī which would derive from the Sanskrit aksaya-nivī.

163. Kolhapur Inscription of Bhōja II, published by M.Dikshit, EP.IND., XXIX, no.2, pp.15-18; and Kolhapur Inscription of the Śilāhāra Bhōja II, published by F.Kielhorn, EP.IND., III, no.29, pp.213-16. This last inscription was in the enclosure of the temple of Ambābāī. Now it is in the town-hall of Kolhapur.


166. EP.IND., XXVI, no.44, pp.309 ff.

167. The Kāleśvara complex is at Kalegaon, on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī, where is a tīrtha whose origin has related with a myth included in the Brahma Purāṇa, Gautamī Mahātmya section, 125.1. The editor of the Kalegaon Plates of Yādava Mahādeva, D.G. Koparkar, when introduces the inscription, makes an account of this myth (EP.IND., XXXII, p.31). This place would be where Yama went into deep meditation and took up penance for recovering his stolen cattle. The name of this place was originally Yamatīrtha or Yameśvara, which degenerated into Kāleśvara>Kālagrāma>Kalegaon. The Yamatīrtha on the Gōdāvarī (Gautamī) is included in the "List of Tīrthas" prepared by Kane, P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, op.cit., Vol.IV, Ch.XVI, pp.724 ff. The beneficial effects of doing pilgrimage to the Yama-tīrtha are described in the Brahma Purāṇa, Anandāśrama ed., 131. 50-51, quoted by Koparkar, EP.IND., XXXII, ibidem.


169. EP.IND., XXVIII, no.51, pp.328 ff.

170. The grant was made by the royal officers (viniyuktakāh) of Mutida viṣaya, with the permission of the king of Tōsālī Śrī Lōkavigraha Bhaṭṭāraka, belonging to the Vigraha dynasty of Tōsālī; Two Plates from Kanas, op.cit., p.329.

171. Mani, Vettam, Purānic Encyclopaedia, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, p.479. Maṇināga is a Nāga or serpent born to
Kaśyapa Prajapati of his wife Kadru. Maṇināga is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (MB), Vide, Sörensen, S., Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata, and a Concordance, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1963, p.464; Maṇināga, a serpent, in MB., Sarpanāmak. I.35.1551; MB., Jarāsandhavādhaparva II.21, Maṇināga resides near Girivṛaja, in Magadhā. Maṇināga: a tīrtha, presumably named after Maṇināga, MB., Tirthayātrāparva, III.84. 8084-8085:

\[\text{tiathikam bhuuṭjate yas tu}  \\
\text{Maṇināgasya Bhārata}  \\
\text{daṣṭasyāśiviseṇāpi na tasya}  \\
\text{kramate} \]


Mahābhārata, Sabhāparvan (being the Second Book of the MB), by Edgerton, Franklin (ed.), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944, Girivṛaja: 19.3 (p.103) and Maṇināga: 19.9 (p.104).

The Maṇināga cult was very popular in Orissa. The Maṇināga hill or Maṇināgagiri at Rampur, where the deity was assimilated to Durgā, is well known. Vide Eschmann, Anncharlott, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa", in Eschmann, Anncharlott; Kulke, Hermann; Tripathi, Gaya Charan; The Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, Manohar, New Delhi, 1978, p.90 n.; the cult of the goddess Maṇinageśvari at Ranpur is a typical case. The goddess, as iṣṭadevata of the king, is worshipped through a bronze mūrti by brāhmaṇas in the palace, nevertheless her original stone form still is in the top of the Maṇināgagiri hill.

172. Plate of Bhānudatta, EP.IND., XXVIII, no.51, pp.331 ff.

173. The inscription also gives important data on prevalent hierarchy. The highest level has the king of Tōsalī, to whom Bhānudatta paid homage. Bhānudatta addressed the execution of this grant to the mahāśāmanta mahārāja in charge of this locality where the monastery was. Even more, probably the town of Ekāmvakā was in charge of a rājaputra or uparika. The charter also enumerates the complete chain of officials who took notice of the donation. Ibidem, p.332.

174. EP.IND., XXVIII, no.36, pp.211 ff.
175. Senakapat Inscription of the time of Śivagupta Balarjuna, ed. by M.G.Dikshit, Sangor and D.C.Sircar, EP.IND., XXXI, no.5, pp.35-36.


177. Senakapat Inscription, op.cit., p.36, verses 20-22.


179. This is the thesis of Stein, Burton, Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1980. There vide "The Chola State and the Agrarian Order", pp.254-365; and also "Temples of Tamil Nadu (figures), A.D.1300-1750", p.460. Stein sees the Cola empire as the natural political consequence of the impressive Pallava state. The Colas utilized the indigenous and characteristic entity of the nādu — the natural sociological, economic, ecological and political unit — for their consolidation of power and unification of the several segments of Tamil society. The role of the temple in this context was great as an instrument of the Cola central royal propaganda and programme. The Brahmanical temples received the full support and the generosity of the emperors as reward for their imperial religiosity". Also vide Stein, Burton, (ed.), Essays on South India, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, in it, Stein, B., "The State and the Agrarian Order in Medieval South India, A Historiographical Critique", pp.64-91, in which Stein again explains his points of view about the centralized, bureaucratized Cola monarchy, well built on the traditional nādu structures and looking for the alliance with the religious power as agglutinant of the several segments. The special attention to brahmadeyas demonstrates this perspective. The tīrtha of Kānci (Conjeeveram), vide in Kane, F.V., History of Dharmāśāstra, op.cit., pp.711-12.

180. Eschmann, A.; Kulke, H.; Tripathi, G.C. (eds.), The Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, op.cit. Vide there Kulke, H., "Early Royal Patronage of the Jagannāth, Cult" (Ch.VIII, pp.139-55) and in it, the relations between the Kaliṅga country with the Cola empire, pp.153-54; Dash, G.N., "The evolution of the priestly power : the Gaṅgavāṃśa period" (Ch.IX, pp.157-68), in it there is the problem of the different tīrthas located along the coast of Orissa, rivalry and movement of priests; Kulke, H., "The State Cult under the later Gaṅga kings (pp.200-04) and "The State Cult under the Sūryavāṃśi kings" (pp.204-08); and Dash, G.N., "The evolution of the Priestly Power", where is discussed the
problem of the ascendancy of the priesthood of Puruṣottama in the context of "the ascension of King Puruṣottamadeva and the supremacy of the Kāñci-Kaverī tradition (pp.212-19).

181. EP. IND., XXIX, no.6, pp.44 ff.


185. Ed. by G.S.Gai. The text is in Kannada but in Telegukannada characters, EP.IND., XXXVI, no.9, pp.69 ff.