In an earlier chapter (II), we have discussed the evolution and different shades in the meaning of the term *matha* which, broadly speaking, existed in the early medieval period in the form of a complex. This, of course, does not mean that *mathas* could not exist as modest establishments; in fact, the institution in all probability represented a wide range.

Epigraphical evidence of the early medieval period on what the internal organization of such *mathas* was like is not as voluminous as one would wish it to be. However, some records of the period, coming from different regions, permit us to look at the structure of the spiritual and administrative levels in various monasteries as well as to understand how different types of staff attached to the *mathas*, such as astrologers, teachers, architects, physicians, dancing girls and other kinds of servants of the deity, or social groups associated with *mathas*, such as florists, musicians, cultivators, carpenters, and other people, provided services to the religious complex.

The following analysis is based on studies of inscriptions which are chosen from the east to the west and which were issued in Bengal, eastern and central part of Madhyadeśa and Rajasthan.

The inscriptions selected are obviously those which provide
some details regarding different dimensions of the activities and organization of certain mathas, located in different geographical regions. The details available will finally offer points of comparison.

VIII.1 Bengal

The Paschimbhag Plates of Śrīcandra, discovered at the village of Paschimbhag in the Sylhet district, Bangladesh, in 1958, contain very valuable data about the organization of a complex of mathas which were established in the region in the tenth century. The charter was issued in the fifth regnal year of Śrīcandra (A.D.925-975), i.e., about A.D.930 from the jaya-skandhāvāra at Vikramapura which lay in Vaṅga. This was the new capital, transferred from Candravīpa, by Śrīcandra or perhaps his father. The Paschimbhag Plates are one of the earliest records of the Candra dynasty of Vaṅgāladeśa. The charter has sixty-five lines in which is contained the information about the cultural life in the region (in several cases, the data about Śrīcandradēva can be compared with those of the other plates issued by this king: the Rampal, Kedarpur, Madanpur, Dhulla and Idilpur plates). The introductory part of the charter tells us in fifteen verses about the heroic deeds of the Candra kings, the vicissitudes of Śrīcandra while he campaigned through his dominions or when he went on conquest to neighbouring territories such as Kāmarīpa (Assam).
The text of the grant proper is in prose, and is concerned
with the donation made by Paramasaugata Paramēśvara
Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājadhirāja Śrīcandradēva of three viṣayas
(districts) — Garala, Pogāra and Candrapura — together with
half of Veḍikā, attached to Satala-Vargaja, all within the
maṇḍala (division) of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet), belonging to the bhukti
(province) of Pundravardhana (the core of which comprised
approximately the districts of undivided northern Bengal).

The boundaries of the area such demarcated are given as
follows: to the east it was bounded by the embankment at
Bṛhatkottā, to the south by the Maṇi-nādi, to the west by the
canals called Jujju and Kāṣṭhaparṇī and the river called
Vetraghaṅghi, and in the north by the Kosiyara-nādi (actual
Kusiyara river running through Sylhet district). This area
within the said boundaries was transformed into a brahmapura
(brāhmaṇa settlement) which was given the name of king Śrīcandra:
Śrīcandrapura. The charter announces the following grants:

1 — A first block of land consisting of 120 pāṭakas (about 1800
acres), which was given to the god Brahma for his maṭha (temple
complex) and was distributed among the staff attached to it. The
staff members and their shares are as follows:

i) 10 pāṭakas (or 10 dronas each) were allotted to a teacher
for exposition of the Cāndra (i.e., the Cāndravyākaraṇa or
the grammar of Candragomin);

ii) 10 pāṭakas for the maintenance (pāl) and expenses (ghuṭikā
= "chalk") of ten students;

iii) 5 pāṭakas for the daily offering of food to five guests (apūrva) brāhmaṇas;

iv) 1 pāṭaka to the brāhmaṇa who built the temple;

v) 1 pāṭaka to the accountant or astrologer (gaṇaka);

vi) 2½ pāṭakas to the scribe (kāyastha);

vii) ½ pāṭaka to each one of the four florists of the temple, the two oilmen (tailikas), the two potters (kumbakhāras), the five players of the drum called kahala (kāhalika), the conchshell-blowers (śaṅkhavādaka), the two players of the big drum called dhakkā, the eight players on the drāgada (kettle drum), the twenty-two servants (karmakaras) and cobbliers (carmakāra), so, a total of 23½ pāṭakas was allotted to this group;

viii) 2 pāṭakas to the dancer (naṭa);

ix) 2 pāṭakas to each one of the two carpenters (sūtradhāra), the two masons (sthapati), and the two blacksmiths (karmakāra); a total of 12 pāṭakas to this group;

x) 3/4 pāṭaka to each of the eight maid-servants (cetikā, probably dēvadāsīs); total, 6 pāṭakas;

xi) 47 pāṭakas for repairs (navakarman) to be carried in the temple establishment.

2 - A second block of land measuring 280 pāṭakas (about 4200 acres) was granted in favour of the god Vaiśvānara (Agni), Yogēśvara (Śiva), Jaimani (or Jaimini) and Mahākāla (Śiva),
worshipped in the four desāntariya (foreign) maṭhas and the four Vāṅgala maṭhas, i.e., two groups of establishment consisting of eight temples in total. These 280 pāṭakas were distributed among the staff attached to both groups of four maṭhas as follows:

i) 10 pāṭakas to each of the eight teachers of the four Vedas (Ṛg, Yajur, Saman and Atharvan), i.e., 80 pāṭakas to this group;

ii) 5 pāṭakas for each group of five students in each of the eight maṭhas, i.e., 40 pāṭakas for the students;

iii) ½ pāṭaka to each of the following in each one of the eight maṭhas: the florist, the barber, the oilman and the washerman and the eight servants and cobblers; i.e., 48 pāṭakas were distributed among all these workers;

iv) ¾ pāṭaka to each of the two maid-servants in each of the eight maṭhas; total, 12 pāṭakas;

v) 10 pāṭakas for repairs to each one of the eight maṭhas; total, 80 pāṭakas;

vi) 2 pāṭakas to the mahattara brāhmaṇa in each of the two groups of maṭhas; i.e., 4 pāṭakas in all;

vii) 1½ pāṭakas to the superintendent of each of the two groups of maṭhas; i.e., 5 pāṭakas;

viii) 2½ pāṭakas to the scribe of each of the two groups of maṭhas; i.e., 2 pāṭakas;

ix) 1 pāṭaka to the astrologer in account of each of the two groups of maṭhas; i.e., 2 pāṭakas;
x) 3 pāṭakas to the physician (vaidya) attached to each of the two groups of maṭhas; i.e., 6 pāṭakas.

3 - A third block of land, left over after the distribution of the first and second blocks (120+280=400 pāṭakas), was granted in favour of six thousand brāhmaṇas headed by thirty-eight names given in the charter. These six thousand brāhmaṇas received 6000 equal shares of land.

It is stated that the grant of the three viṣayās together with Vedika and with the boundaries demarcated as above was made by the king by means of the copper plate charter in accordance with the bhūmīcchidra nyāya (principle of free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time) with libations of water as a permanent gift, lasting as long as the moon, etc., endure, i.e., for ever. It was made in favour of the gods Brahmā, Agni (Vaiśvānara), Yogēśvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla as well as of six thousand brāhmaṇas with the following privileges and conditions:

a) sa-tala (with surface of the land),
b) s-oddesā (with space above the land),
c) s-āmra-panasa (with mango and jack-fruit trees),
d) s-guvāka-nālikera (with arecanut and coconut palms),
e) sa-jala-sthala (with land and water),
f) sa-gart-oṣara (with pits and saline spots),
g) sa-das-āparadha (with fines relisable from culprits).
committing the ten major crimes),

h) sa-cor-oddharana (with stolen articles recovered from thieves),

i) parihṛta-sarva-pīḍā (free from troubles including free labour),

j) a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa (free from the entry of headconstables and constables),

k) a-kiṅcit-pragrāhya (free from the collection of taxes),

l) samasta-rājabhoga-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāyasahita (together with all the income enjoyed by the king in the shape of taxes in kind and in cash),

m) ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjita (excluding land in the possession of Buddhist establishment),

n) Indresvara-naubandha-pratibaddha-dasadrauṇikadvāpancāsats-pāṭaka-bahiḥ (excluding the land measuring 52 pāṭakas of 10 drōṇas each, which was attached to Indresvara's boat station).

The cultivators and brāhmaṇas of the countryside are advised in the charter to be submissive to the donees and to pay them the proper dues. The bhogapatis (persons entitled to enjoy land, such as the governors, holders of assignments and others) of the future are also requested to approve of the grant and protect it considering the greatness of the merit accruing to gifts of land and the fear of going to hell as a result of their abrogation. Verse 22 says that it was the Vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇa named
Viniyaka who was responsible for setting the six thousand brāhmaṇaś in the Śrīcandrapura-Śāsana.

Sircar concludes that the two groups of four maṭhas each were big religious and educational establishments, each group receiving 140 pāṭakas of land whereas the similar maṭha of the god Brahma alone received 120 pāṭakas. And he added that the charter, therefore, brings "valuable information regarding a great religious foundation of the Sylhet region".

However, probing a little further may suggest a few more points. Firstly, the maṭha of the god Brahma appears to have been bigger in size and was capable to offer better attention to each student than the two groups of four maṭhas each (from now we shall call them "the double complex of four"). Certainly, the double complex taken together (desāntariya plus Vaṅgāla) is bigger in staff, teachers and students than the Brahmā maṭha; one gets the same impression if the total possession of the Brahmā-maṭha (120 pāṭakas) is compared with the total income given to the people of the double complex which came from 280 pāṭakas. On the other hand, the organization of the staff is quite different. The Brahmā-maṭha did not have a superintendent (normally called maṭhādhipati or maṭhapati), but it had a large number of musicians and a professional dancer (nāṭa), which would indicate the performance of a greater number of ceremonies in the maṭha of Brahma. The Brahmā-maṭha had a better organized
department of repairs (navakarman), with an architect brahmaṇa living in the same monastery, who probably managed the operations of maintenance of the building and installations. This argument is reinforced by a permanent staff of carpenters, masons and blacksmiths in it.

Sircar thinks that the separation between the desāntarīya and Vaṅgāla groups of maṭhas was in view of a probable rivalry between the locals and foreigners, the Vaṅgāla being an establishment built for and by local people. The hypothesis is acceptable but there could be another reason for such separation rather than rivalry. We think that the separation was because of linguistic reasons, and in both complexes functioned similar colleges but with two different groups of teachers and students, one group constituted by local people and the other by brahmacārins coming from neighbouring countries (like Kāmarūpa, just conquered by Śrīcandra). There are several cases of students travelling from distant kingdoms to study in prestigious learning centres.

Despite the separate identities of the maṭhas and separate arrangements made for their maintenance, it may be postulated that they together constituted one whole complex. It may further be postulated that the Brahmā-maṭha was older and perhaps the double complex was an extension of the teaching and ceremonial arrangements in addition to setting up of temples to other
deities. In many religious complexes, as in Bhubanesvar or in Khajuraho, there are several groups of temples and institutional buildings, each one devoted to different deities of the Brahmanical pantheon. Perhaps the Brah㎡-maṭha was a college for advanced studies and the new double complex a two-fold college for freshers or new candidates. This may explain why several categories of staff members which were so important like florists or oilmen were not mentioned in the context of the Brah㎡-maṭha. They perhaps already had pāṭakas allotted to them in some previous donation. For example, in the Paschimbhag Plates there is no mention of a cooking place (agra-sālā or temple kitchen),¹⁰ which of course must have existed in some place of the complex to prepare food for so large a number of people. On the other hand, if we analyze the type of staff of the three complexes (see diagrams of pages 591-91A), we would appreciate that they are complementaries. For example, it was in the Brah㎡-maṭha alone that there was such a complete "department of repairs", with an architect brāhmaṇa (navakarmati) in charge of a group of artisans (carpenters, blacksmiths and masons). Nevertheless, the double complex too had a budget for repairs of 40 pāṭakas each, but there was not appropriate staff to carry out this particular type of work. Thus, the explanation appears to be that the staff for construction and repairs was attached to the Brah㎡-maṭha because it was older and that from there the working programme for the double complex was planned.
### THE DOUBLE COMPLEX COMPLETE

| Staff                  | Pātakas | 1. The matha of the god Brahma | 2-A The group of four dasantariya mathas | 2-B The group of four Vaṅgāla mathas |
|------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------~~~~|
| **1 Teacher**          | 1 x 10  | 1 Superintendent 1 x 1½       | 1 Superintendent 1 x 1½                   | 1 Superintendent 1 x 1½             |
| **10 Students**        | 10 x 1  | 4 Teachers 4 x 10 40          | 4 Teachers 4 x 10 40                     | 4 Teachers 4 x 10 40                |
| **5 brahmana**         | 5 x 1   | 1 Mahattara 1 x 2              | 21 Mahattara 1 x 2                       | 21 Mahattara 1 x 2                  |
| (apūrvas)              |         | brahma 1 x 3                   | brahma 1 x 3                              | brahma 1 x 3                        |
| **1 brahma**           | 1 x 1   | 1 physician 1 x 3               | 1 physician 1 x 3                         | 1 physician 1 x 3                   |
| **1 scribe**           | 1 x 2½  | 1 scribe 1 x 2½                 | 1 scribe 1 x 2½                           | 1 scribe 1 x 2½                     |
| **1 astrologer**       | 1 x 1   | 1 astrologer 1 x 1              | 1 astrologer 1 x 1                        | 1 astrologer 1 x 1                  |
| **1 dancer (naṭa)**    | 1 x 2   | 1 dancer (naṭa) 1 x 2           | 1 dancer (naṭa) 1 x 2                      | 1 dancer (naṭa) 1 x 2                |
| **17 musicians**       | 17 x 4  | 17 musicians 17 x 4 6½          | 17 musicians 17 x 4 6½                    | 17 musicians 17 x 4 6½              |
| **4 florists**         | 4 x ½   | 4 florists 4 x ½ 2              | 4 florists 4 x ½ 2                        | 4 florists 4 x ½ 2                  |
| **2 oilmen**           | 2 x ½   | 2 oilmen 2 x ½ 1                | 2 oilmen 2 x ½ 1                          | 2 oilmen 2 x ½ 1                    |
| (tailikas)             |         | 4 washermen 4 x ½ 2             | 4 washermen 4 x ½ 2                      | 4 washermen 4 x ½ 2                 |
| **2 potters**          | 2 x ½   | 2 potters 2 x ½ 1               | 2 potters 2 x ½ 1                         | 2 potters 2 x ½ 1                   |
| (kumbhakāras)          |         | 8 x 4 servants 32 x 4 16        | 8 x 4 servants 32 x 4 16                  | 8 x 4 servants 32 x 4 16            |
| **2 carpenters**       | 2 x 2   | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2              | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2                        | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2                   |
| (sūtradhara)           |         | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2              | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2                        | 4 barbers 4 x ½ 2                   |
| **2 masons**           | 2 x 2   | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                          | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                    |
| (sthapati)             |         | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                          | 2 masons 2 x 2 4                    |
| **2 blacksmiths**      | 2 x 2   | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4           | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4                     | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4               |
| (karmakāra)            |         | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4           | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4                     | 2 blacksmiths 2 x 2 4               |
| **8 maid servants B x 3/4** | 6 x 2 | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12 | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12            | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12      |
| (cetiṅkas)             |         | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12  | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12            | 2 x 4 maid servants B x 3/4 12      |
| **Repairs (navakāraṇa)** | 47      | **Repairs** 40                 | **Repairs** 40                            | **Repairs** 40                      |

Total patakas given to the Bramha-matha: 120

Total patakas given to the double complex = 280

BRAHMA MATHA
Hierarchical ranking of the staff members by level of number of pāṭakas of land donated to each one.

1. BRAHMA-MATHA 2-A DESĀNTARĪYA-MATHA 2-B VAṆGĀLA-MATHA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Number of Pāṭakas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physician</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scribe</td>
<td>2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahattara</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancer (nāṭa)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahattara</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superintendent</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astrologer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brāhmaṇa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cetikā (maid servant)</td>
<td>¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>florist</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oilman</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potter</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musician</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servant</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cobler</td>
<td>¼</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued...)

...
THE DOUBLE COMPLEX

1 mathapati
1 mahattara

(5 Students) (5 Students) (5 Students) 4 Teachers
1 Physician
1 Scribe
1 Astrologer

Artisan staff (karukas)
1 washerman 1 barber
1 barber 1 barber

Servant staff
2 ceitikas
1 oilman 1 florist
4 servants

1 navakarmati

Repairs department (navakarman)
5 apurvas
1 scribe
1 astrologer
1 dancer

2 masons
2 carpenters
2 blacksmiths
2 potters
17 musicians
4 florists
2 oilmen
8 ceitikas
22 servants and coblers

THE BRAHMA-MAATHA

10 Students
1 Teacher

Administrative and academic level

1 Physician
1 Scribe
1 Astrologer

Professional staff
5 apurvas
1 scribe
1 astrologer
1 dancer

17 musicians
4 florists
2 oilmen
8 ceitikas
22 servants and coblers

Servant staff
2 masons
2 carpenters
2 blacksmiths
2 potters

Artisan staff
1 washerman 1 barber
1 barber 1 barber

Students
5
5
5

Arlis staff
washerman
barber
vetikas
1 oilman
1 florist
4 servants
In the third place, it would be interesting to comment on the ranking of the professions (see diagram of page 591) from the way they have been mentioned in the charters. However, the donation of pāṭakas of land cannot be considered exactly as payment whereas the charter declares that all the donation was "to the god Brahmā, Vaiśvānara, Yogēśvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla (as well as to the group of six thousand brāhmaṇas)". It is clear that the enjoyment of the land was a means of livelihood to the academic and administrative staff, students and personnel of each maṭha complex. What is interesting is the very high status given to the teachers, which is higher than even that of the maṭhapati (who is placed in an astonishing low level like a worker). Another interesting point is the posting of a kāyastha in each complex, which indicates that activities at monasteries were so complicated as having to require someone proficient in secretarial work such as a karaṇa kāyastha11 (legal scribe) and not a simple scribe (lipikara).12 Another significant point relates to the presence of "five classes of artisans" enumerated on the basis of other sources by Bhandarkar:13 carpenter, blacksmith, potter, barber, and washerman. It is said that in all institutions of certain importance these groups of artisans were all present and necessary. This is another reason to consider the three complexes as only one, because all the required services were considered and present in the great complex. Finally, the two mahattara brāhmaṇas appear to have represented a high
administrative position as "chamberlain" or "elder" or "head of the administrative board."  


A good comparison with the aforementioned māṭhas of Sylhet is the Gōlakī-māṭha, which is reported in two important inscriptions: the Saugor Inscription of Saṅkaragaṇa, dated approximately in the tenth century A.D., and the Malkapuram Stone Pillar Inscription of A.D. 1261. The second inscription refers to a new monastical institution founded in Andhra Pradesh in the thirteenth century and was named Śrī Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-māṭha. This may have followed the same style and tradition of the old Gōlakī-māṭha mentioned in the earlier inscription of the tenth century. This new Gōlakī-māṭha of Andhra Pradesh is fully documented in the Malkapuram Inscription and by this way we would know about the internal organization of a Śaiva-māṭha of eastern Madhyadeśa - south-eastern India.

VIII.2.1 The controversy on the inscription about the Gōlakī-māṭha

The Saugor Inscription of Saṅkaragaṇa, which is a very short inscription, provides an earlier reference to some of the ācāryas of the Gōlakī-māṭha. This gives us some idea regarding the approximate time of the establishment of the monastery. Prof. V.V. Mirashi, who published this inscription, made some curious statements when he analyzed it. For example, in order to
prove his hypothesis, he thought that the Malkapuram is much earlier than the date given (A.D. 1261) which may have been incorrectly indicated in the record. Mirashi dated the Saugor Inscription between the eighth and ninth century and also considered this to be the period of the foundation of the Gōlakī-maṭha.

Mirashi also argued that it is very strange that although the initial donation received by Śaivācārya Sadbhāvasāmabhū was very important (the Malkapuram inscription says it was three lakhs of villages), the gift was not registered in any other of the many Kalacūri records. Thus, Mirashi thought that not only the Gōlakī-maṭha was very much older than it is generally considered to be but also that the entire Kalacūri dynasty must be moved back in its dates. Besides, Prof. Mirashi opined that the Gōlakī-maṭha probably is represented by the ruins of the great Śaiva temple at Bhera-Ghat, Jabalpur, M.P. In this area there is a large number of ruins of old Śaiva constructions built around the eighth to ninth century A.D. 20 If Prof. Mirashi is right on this point, it means that the Gōlakī-maṭha was located in the Dāhala maṇḍala, near Jabalpur, and that it existed since the eighth or ninth century A.D. Besides, Mirashi supposed that Vāmarāja and Śāṅkaragaṇa (who are mentioned in the Malkapuram inscription) were the predecessors of the Kalacūris of Tripuri. And he was also of the opinion that this hypothetical king – Vāmarāja – was the same person as Vāmadēva, who is mentioned in
several Kalacūri records.

D.C. Sircar, in an incisive note, criticized the arguments of Mirashi, in particular the problem of date and that about considering Vāmarāja (who is also mentioned in the Saugor charter) as an old Kalacūri king who ruled around the seventh or eighth century. Sircar appears to be correct in thinking that Vāmādeva was most probably an ācārya who continued the work of Sadbhāvaśambhu and lived around the first half of the eleventh century A.D. So, following the counter-arguments of D.C. Sircar and the edition of the Saugor inscription we may reconstruct the spiritual lineage of the Gōlakī-maṭha in the following manner:

1. Sadbhāvaśambhu ... he was the founder of Gōlakī-maṭha, the rājaguru of the Kalacūri king Yuvarāja.

2. (__________ a disciple whose name appears in the Malkapuram inscription: Sōmaśambhu).

3. Vāmaśambhu = Vāmādeva ... he was the preceptor of the Kalacūri king Karna (A.D. 1041-71).

Yuvarāja, the royal śīgya of Sadbhāvaśambhu, could be Yuvarāja I, who reigned c.A.D. 940, or Yuvarāja II, who reigned c.A.D. 980-1000. This means that the foundation of the Gōlakī-maṭha took place sometime between c.A.D. 940 and 1000.
VIII.2.2 The new Gōlakī-māṭha: the Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-māṭha

The Malkapuram stone-pillar inscription of the Kākatīya ruler Rudrāmbā, whose date is calculated by J. Ramayya Pantulu — editor of this inscription — to be A.D. 1261, is engraved on three sides of a stone-pillar standing in front of a ruined temple of Viśvēśvara in the fields of Malkapuram, Guntur taluka, Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh. Apparently, the inscription has a relation with this Viśvēśvara temple.

The main object of the inscription is to record that, in the Śaka year 1183 (c. A.D. 1261), the Kākatīya King Gaṇapatidēva (A.D. 1199-1261) gave away the village of Mandaram (the modern Mandadam) and his daughter, Queen Rudrāmbā, who ruled after her father (A.D. 1261-1296), the village of Velaṅgāpūṇdi (the modern Velagapudi) to the great Bengali Saivācārya Viśvēśvaraśambhu. The donations were made, respectively, in the last months of the ruling period of Gaṇapati and the first months of the rule of Rudrāmbā, and they were recorded in only one document issued the year A.D. 1261, in the beginning of the reign of Rudrāmbā.

Viśvēśvaraśambhu, also called Viśvēśvaraśiva and Viśvēśvaradeśika, was the dīkṣā-guru or spiritual guide of king Gaṇapati. He was also famous for his mastery of the Śaiva Siddhānta, Āgamas, and Rahasya and of all the sciences. He was a native of Purvagrāma in the Rādha or Rādha-dakṣīṇa (division) of Gauḍa. This Viśvēśvaraśambhu had been formerly the head of the
famous Gōlakī-maṭha located in the Dāhala maṇḍala, near Tripurī. And because of this connection, in the Malkapuram inscription is provided a complete spiritual genealogy of the ācāryas of the Gōlakī-maṭha. And it is perhaps because of this reason that Viśvēśvaraśambhu thought of continuing the tradition of Gōlakī-maṭha by founding in the Guntur area a new maṭha which was reminiscent of the original Gōlakī-maṭha.

The Malkapuram inscription gives information about the foundation made by Viśvēśvaraśambhu and the internal organization of his new Īśava-maṭha.

The most important pieces of information provided in the inscription are: the creation by Viśvēśvaraśiva of both gifted villages — Mandaram and Velangapūndi — into an agraḥāra, with the name of Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī, and the establishment in that place of a maṭha named after Viśvēśvara "Śrī Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-maṭha". In the last part of the inscription (lines 70 ff.) comes the detail about these foundations. Viśvēśvaraśiva, thanks to the generosity of the above mentioned Kākatīya kings, established:

a - the Viśvēśvara Gōlakī agraḥāra (after amalgamating the two villages granted);

b - in this agraḥāra he founded:

- the Viśvēśvara temple (this is probably the temple in front of which stands the pillar with the inscription);
- the Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-maṭha;
- a choultry, for feeding all type of persons belonging to any varṇa, even to the caṇḍāla (ārabhya viprānanivāritanam caṇḍāla paryantam = upāgatānām);
- a general hospital (ārogya-śālā);
- a maternity home (prasūti-śālā);
- a college for the teaching of the several branches of Sanskrit learning (vidyā-магазā).

The agrahāra was peopled by sixty brahmānas, apparently hailing from Tamil Nadu (Drāvidadeśa). J.Rammaya Pantulu, editor of the inscription, suggested that, perhaps, these brahmānas were followers of the Kālānana (Kālāmukha) form of Śaivism which was represented by Viśvēśvaraśiva, and they had to be brought down from the Tamil country as brahmānas of this sect were not easily available in Andhra.

VIII.2.3 The institution of the Śrī Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-маṭha

We have mentioned that Viśvēśvaraśiva was granted with two villages: Mandaram (situated in Kandravaṭi, in the viṣaya or district of Velivāḍa, lying to the south of the great river Kṛṣṇa, i.e., the Kṛṣṇa) and Velaṅgapudi (located behind the village of Mandaram); besides, he received also some laṅkās or islets formed in the bed of the Kṛṣṇa. Viśvēśvaraśiva, as ācārya of the college (vidyā-магазā) attached to the Śrī-Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-маṭha, enjoyed an (annual) rent consisting of one hundred gold coins (nikṣas) as his ācārya-bhoga.
Viśvēśvarasīva divided the incomes from all these gifted lands in the following manner:

- The group of sixty drāviḍa brāhmaṇas received residence and rights over two puṭṭikās of land each measured by the rod of Penumbāka (120 puṭṭikās in all).

- A third share (i.e., the villages of Mandaram and Velāṅgapuḍi were divided in three equal parts) was dedicated to the god Pinākin (Śiva, probably the above mentioned Śiva temple) for the expenses of the deity.

- A third share was for the maintenance of the Viśvēśvara-Gōḷakī-maṭha and the college (vidyā-maṇḍapa), i.e., for covering all expenses of the brahmacārins residing and studying there.

- A third share was for the maintenance of the several charitable institutions functioning in the complex; the prasūti-śālā (maternity or lying in hospital), ārogya-śālā (general hospital) and vipra-sattra wherein was arrangement for feeding, at all times and without any obstruction, all people from brāhmaṇa to caṇḍāla who came and asked for food.

We are told that, in the college, there were three teachers of the Rg, Yaju and Śāma Veda. There were also five teachers of pada (words), vākya (sentence), pramāṇa (mode of proof), sāhitya (literature) and āgama (scripture). A vaidya (physician) and a kāyastha (accountant and scribe) also appear to have belonged to the college. Each of these ten persons received from Viśvēśvara
two puṭṭikās of land. Ten dēvadāsī girls pertaining to Viśvēśvaradēva (probably the Śiva-liṅga worshipped at Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī and named after the pontiff Viśvēśvaraśambhu) and eight maddala-players, including two bridlers, received one and half puṭṭikās each. Seventy-three other persons were given one puṭṭikā each and also one-sixteenth nivartana of land in addition to the above. They were the following: (1) an inhabitant from Kaśmīr; (2-15) fourteen songstresses; (16-21) six karaṭa-players; (22-23) two brāhmaṇa cooks; (24-27) four servants; (28-33) six brāhmaṇas belonging to the māṭha and sattra; (34-43) ten matted-haired ascetics from the Coḍa country, who were guards of the villages and were known as vīrabhadras because their duties included bīdaccheda, kukṣiccheda and śīraschēda; (44-63) twenty bhaṭas and vīramuṣṭis; (64-73) ten kārus (mechanics), nāpitas (barbers) and śilpins (artisans) and sthapatis (architects) who worked in gold, copper, stone, bamboo and iron; i.e., seventy-three person in total.

Viśvēśvara is said to have given three hundred puṭṭikās of land to a number of Sāmavedin brāhmaṇas of the Śrīvatsa-gotra, who were natives of his own original home-village, i.e., Pūrvagrāma in dākṣīṇa Rāḍha within Gauḍa. These Bengali brāhmaṇas, settled in Andhra Pradesh, appear to have kept written accounts of the income and expenditure of the foundation and possibly received one hundred and fifty puṭṭikās as their vṛtti for doing the work. We are also told that, in case they would die
without issue, their wives, if they would take up the work, would enjoy the lands.

Viśvēśvara also founded a number of towns, monasteries and agrahāra villages (rent-free holdings of brāhmaṇas) and also installed several of Śiva-liṅgas. Some of these establishments and gods were named after himself. One of the Śiva-liṅgas was installed at Mandrakuṭa (Mantrakuta in Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh) and another at Kommūr where he donated sixty khārīs of high and low land in favour of the god. King Gaṇapati made a gift of the village of Kandrakōṭa in the Fallinada viṣaya (district) in favour of his guru as ācārya-dakṣiṇa for the maintenance of a rest-house at the locality.

VIII.2.4 The internal organization of the new Viśvēśvara-Gōlkī- maṭha

There are some important points which are evident in the data given in the Malkapuram Inscription. Firstly, the very large number of staff — about two hundred persons — indicates that the Viśvēśvara-Gōlkī-maṭha was an establishment comparable to such big monastical establishments of south India, like Conjeevaram, or the great Buddhist complexes of Nālanda and Vikramaśila in Bihar. It is therefore surprising that despite the presence of such a large staff, there is no specific reference to students. Nevertheless, the Viśvēśvara-Gōlkī-maṭha was without doubt a great centre of learning and probably it had also a considerable number of brahmācārins.
This may be assumed from the presence of i) the eight teachers; ii) the dedication of a third of the share of land to the college and the maṭha; iii) the two brāhmaṇa cooks. This last matter is certainly relative, because contemporary big temples too used to have a great kitchen (agra-śālā) for preparing the food for several dining rooms, such as the bhojana-śālā (free feeding room) or the sattra (guest-house). The temple kitchen usually was put under the charge of a brāhmaṇa or a team of brāhmaṇa chefs (mahāsattra-patis) who commanded a myriad of cook-assistants. The existence at the Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī-maṭha of a big kitchen is confirmed by the presence of six brāhmaṇas in charge of the sattra. Six brāhmaṇas implied a large number of assistants and servants for them; a big staff further suggests adequate feeding facilities and a great number of people receiving food everyday.

Another general point which would further confirm the educative role of this maṭha was the vocation of its founder — Viśvēśvaramābhū — who was interested in the expansion of the Śaivasiddhānta doctrine, as it is demonstrated by the many other foundations which he established and which are reported in the Malkapuram inscription. The sectarian seal of Viśvēśvaramābhū is also demonstrated by his invitation to drāviḍa-brāhmaṇas to settle down in the new foundation because of their doctrinal affinity with the "Gōlakī school", i.e., the Kālāmukha-Śaivasiddhānta faith professed by the ācāryas of the Gōlakī
lineage. And it is obvious that a sectarian institution like this must have been looking for the mechanism of doctrinal reproduction and continuation. That role was played by the college (vidyā-maṇḍapa) and the maṭha. Besides, the necessity of managing the maṭha incomes by a special staff of brāhmaṇas points to its enormous resource base, with revenues coming from several villages — enough to maintain a large number of students.

Another major point about the Gōlakī-maṭha establishment concerns the way allotment was made to staff members. In the Gōlakī-maṭha the relation between the highest level (teaching as well as professional) and the lowest ("general staff") was in a relation 1:2, whereas in the Sylhet maṭhas the relation between a teacher's earning (also there the highest level) and servants was 1:20. It may thus be suggested that teachers enjoyed the highest preeminence and material reward in the maṭhas during early medieval period, but the "scale of payment" differed from one maṭha to another.

And to conclude this part, the person of the founder symbolized the centre for the whole establishment. It is clear that Viśvēśvarāśīva was the supreme ācārya and chief of the staff, the head of the administration and one who had the supreme control over all this establishment, temple, villages and other possessions. He further enjoyed a high allowance (ācārya bhōga) of one hundred niṣkas which indicated his grandeur and dignity of rank.
The staff members attached to the Gōlakī-maṭha (Gāhala mandala)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>profession, activity, duty, position in the organizational scheme of the monastery</th>
<th>special allowance given</th>
<th>individual enjoyment of land</th>
<th>total land donated to the group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60 drāviḍa brāhmaṇas</td>
<td>residence</td>
<td>2 puṭṭikās each</td>
<td>(puṭṭikās) 120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Academic staff:**

1. Teacher of Rg Veda  
2. Teacher of Yajur Veda  
3. Teacher of Sāma Veda  
4. Teacher of pada  
5. Teacher of vākya  
6. Teacher of pramāṇa  
7. Teacher of sāhitya  
8. Teacher of āgama  

8 teachers  
16  

**Professional Staff:**

1. vaidya (physician)  
2. kāyastha  

2 professionals  
4  

**Servant staff:**

10 dancing girls attached to Viśvēśvara temple  
8 musicians (maddala players)  

18 servant staff  
3  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāśmīrī</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 songstresses</td>
<td>1 ((x,14))</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 karatā players</td>
<td>1 ((x,6))</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 brāhmaṇa cooks</td>
<td>1 ((x,2))</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 servants</td>
<td>1 ((x,4))</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 brāhmaṇas of the maṭha-sattra</td>
<td>1 ((x,6))</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ascetics from Coḍadesa with the duties of bīdaccheda, kukṣiccheda and śirascheda</td>
<td>1 ((x,10))</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 bhaṭas and vīramuṣṭis</td>
<td>1 ((x,20))</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kārus, nāpitas, śilpims and sthapatis</td>
<td>1 ((x,10))</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 persons</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmavedin brāhmaṇas who kept written accounts of expenditures and incomes</td>
<td>((150\text{ as }vṛttī))</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VIII.2.5 The spiritual lineage of the old Gōlakī-maṭha

The section of the inscription (lines 61-70) which gives the spiritual genealogy of the old Gōlakī-maṭha, from which descended Viśvēśvaraśiva, would help to clarify the data given in the Saugor inscription already commented upon.

It says that the founder of the Gōlakī-maṭha of the Dāhala-mandala was one śaivācārya named Sadbhavaśambhu, who obtained a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalacūrī king Yuvarājadēva (who could be Yuvarāja I or II as already stated). This ācārya gave away those villages to the maṭha as an endowment. The successor of Sadbhavaśambhu was Sōmasambhu, the author of the Sōmasambhu-paddhati, a work on Śaivāgama. Sōmasambhu was succeeded by Vāmaśambhu, of whom it is said in lines 66-67 that "(his) feet were embellished by the row of the crowns of kings, and are now even meditated upon by the Kalacūrī kings". However, this Vāmaśambhu, who is the same as Vāmadēva, was not a king of the Kalacūrī lineage as was understood by V.V. Mirashi, but a very exalted ācārya of the Gōlakī-maṭha who, without doubt, had enormous influence on the Kalacūrī rulers. Sircar says of Vāmadēva that he was honoured as an emperor (Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Paramesvara Śrī Vāmadēva) because through him the Kalacūrī kingdom was transformed into a sacred empire. This Vāmaśambhu or Vāmadēva was a real symbol of royal devotion to Śiva; in almost all the Kalacūrī records the following expression is repeated: "Vāmadēva pād = ānudhyāta"
(they meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva). And after him, the Kalacūris surrendered their rule to the spiritual direction of the Saivācāryas. And it is important to remember that all those rājagurus of the Kalacūris were affiliated in one or another way to the Gōlakī-āatha, a major centre of learning in that region.

After Vāmaśambhu, there was apparently an interval or an unknown acārya and then came Kīrtiśambhu (who hailed from the Kēraḷadesā). This last was succeeded by Dharmāśīva and he was followed by Viśveśvaraśīva or Viśveśvaraśambhu, the main personage of the Malkapuram inscription, who moved to Andhra, taught the rulers of that country and founded a new mission in Guntur which continued the tradition of his original school: the Gōlakī-āatha. There are also literary references to Viśveśvaraśīva. The Telugu poem Sōmadēvarājiyam and the chronicle Pratāpacaritramr mention a certain Sivadēvavyya who was the spiritual adviser of Gaṇapatidēva. Sivadēvavyya, therefore, is the same Viśveśvaraśīva.

In summary, a schematic spiritual genealogy of the acāryas of the Gōlakī-āatha would be as it is shown in the chart of next page.

VIII.2.6 The Gōlakī-āatha and the Brahmanical monastical institution of eastern Madhyadesā

Finally, as a conclusion of this section about eastern Madhyadesā, we would like to discuss briefly the position of Gōlakī-āatha in the monastical context of the region.
## THE GŌLAKĪ MAṬHA OF THE DĀHALA-MAṆḌALA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE (APPROXIMATELY) or [HYPOTHETICAL]</th>
<th>ĀCĀRYA</th>
<th>MAIN FEATURES IN HIS SPIRITUAL RULE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A.D. 940 to 1000)</td>
<td>SADBHĀVAŚAMBHU</td>
<td>The founder of the line and of the Gōlakī-maṭha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A.D. 1010]</td>
<td>SŌMASAMBHU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 1042</td>
<td>VĀMASAMBHU</td>
<td>Exalted as king, the preceptor of Kalacuri King Karna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A.D. 1080]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A.D. 1130]</td>
<td>KĪRTIŚAMBHU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A.D. 1200]</td>
<td>DHARMAŚIVA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before A.D. 1261</td>
<td>VISVĒŚVARAŚAMBHU = VISVĒŚVARAŚIVA</td>
<td>The head of the Gōlakī-maṭha; founder and the first head of the Śrī Visvēśvara Gōlakī complex at Guntur, the principal personage in the Malkapuram Inscription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after A.D. 1261</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have already discussed the strong influence which the Mattamayūrācāryas of the region exerted over the Kalacūrī rulers. Several of these ācāryas were heads of important maṭhas situated within the imperial holy circle of the Kalacūris where, without doubt, the Gōlakī-maṭha occupied a distinguished and spiritually paramount place. For example, Sarvēśvara was the spiritual guide of King Tejasiṃha (who ruled around A.D. 1330). Sarvēśvara was the maṭhapati of the Acalēśvara-mahāmaṭha which probably lay not far from Gōlakī-maṭha (vide, supra, VII, pp. 534-39).

In fact, the Gōlakī-maṭha, being the older and better settled monastery of the region, served as a model for several other monastical foundations. Probably the Gōlakī-maṭha was in the centre of a network of Śaiva activities and occupied a position of a centre for providing high level of political/spiritual counsel to the Kalacūrī kings. The relation among the Gōlakī-maṭha and the other regional Brahmanical monastical institutions must have been like that of an academical main centre with other regional smaller units. Besides, the long history of about three centuries of the Gōlakī-maṭha, as it can be appreciated from the gap of time between the Saugor inscription and the Malkapuram as well as other Kalacūrī inscriptions, suggests that it continued to play a significant role in the region. Its existence for a long period means that it could achieve a high level of excellence. This is evident from the pride displayed by the Kalacūrī rulers who did not hesitate
in mixing their own prestige with the old fame and respectability of the great Gōlakī-māṭha. This is also revealed by the fact that Viśveśvara, who was initially associated with the region of the Kalacūri and with the original Gōlakī-māṭha, came to play such a crucial role in the region of the Kākatīyas in Andhra.

VIII.3 Central Madhyadesa: the monastical complex at Chandrehe

In the centre of M.P. flourished several monasteries which we have already mentioned in Chapter V (supra, pp.416-35). However, here we shall be focusing on the organisational structure of a major monastic complex of this region.

Chandrehi or Chandrehe is a small village located on the banks of the Sōṅga close to its confluence with the Banas, a small tributary of the Sōṅga, in the Rewah State, Baghelkhand, M.P., where ruins of early monuments exist. Among these, two buildings are perfectly traceable: a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery. This Brahmanical monastical complex is mentioned in two inscriptions: the Gurgi Inscription of Prabōdhaśīva, undated but of approximately the same time as the second, the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśīva, dated in A.D.972.

The Gurgi inscription also provides a clear spiritual genealogy of the ascetics associated with the monastic complex. They were Mattamayūras coming from a place named Mādhumati, perhaps an original monastical establishment to which belonged the founder of this branch of Mattamañya
Śaivas (vide supra, chapter V, about the Mādhumateya Mattamayūras).

The genealogy in the Gurgi inscription is as follows (Cf. supra pp.428-29):

1. Cūḍāsīva —— (the lord of Madhumati)
2. Prabhāvasīva —— (Yuvarājadēva I invited him to the Cēdī country and built for him a costly matha)
3. Prasāntaśīva —— (he obtained alliance with Lakaṃī; he built a temple and a matha and installed several images of gods in the shrines of the place)
4. Īśānasambhu —— (he continued as head of the matha founded by Prabhāvasīva)
5. Prabōdhasīva —— (head of the matha founded by Prabhāvasīva, he built another matha on the river Śōna near the temple and the matha founded by Prasāntaśīva).

The Gurgi inscription, after referring to Mādhumati, "the abode of the Saiddhāntikas", mentions that among the group of Mattamayūras of Mādhumati lived Cūḍāsīva who was a great sage (Gurgi : verse 5) and had as disciple the learned and holy Prabhāvasīva (Gurgi : verse 6). The Kalacūri King Yuvarājadēva, son of Mugdhatuṅga, "in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of all beings brought this very famous Prabhāvasīva (to Cēdī) and made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense" (Gurgi : verse 7). We have called this monastery Yuvarāja-mathā just for distinguishing it from other foundations.
Prabhāvaśīva's disciple was Prasāntaśīva, an excellent ascetic "who attracted by (his) long accumulated austerities the goddess Lakṣmī..." (Gurgi: verse 7) and ordered her be the protector of his friends. Prasāntaśīva carried on the construction of a temple (with a maṭha ?) to the north of the palace which was built by Yuvarājadēva (Gurgi: verse 11). Also this last ācārya dedicated images of Umā, Ardhanarīśvara (half Śiva/half Durgā) and Kārttikēya "in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate" (Gurgi: verse 12). Besides, he built "another abode (tapaḥ sthānakam) for the siddhas on the bank of the river Śoṇa, having entered (in it) with the yogins..." (Gurgi: verse 13). His disciple was (?)Īśānaśambhu, "a jewel of the Mattamayūra clan" (Gurgi: verses 17-19). He gave place (as head of the Yuvarāja- maṭha) to his younger brother Prabōdhaśīva (i.e., both, Īśānaśambhu and Prabōdhaśīva, who were disciples of Prasāntaśīva); Prabōdhaśīva built a maṭha near the one built by Prasāntaśīva (Gurgi: verse 21).

The Chandrehe inscription corroborates the information given by the Gurgi inscription. However, it mentions two ācāryas before Prabhāvaśīva, whereby the lineage of this branch of the Mattamayūras, by comparison with the list given in the Gurgi inscription, would be as follows:
The Chandrehe inscription says that in the uninterrupted succession of the Mattamayūra clan "was born Purandara, who was spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (was) Śikhāśiva" (Chandrehe : verse 4) who was the lord of Mādhumatī. Śikhāśiva's disciple was Praśāntaśiva. He built an incomparable hermitage at the confluence of the river Śoga and at the foot of the Bhramara hills (which is) covered with dense forest of Priyāla trees (Chandrehe : verse 7). Praśāntaśiva had several disciples; however, Prabodhaśiva was the foremost among all of them. This great ascetic gave auspicious blessings to kings; besides, he engaged in difficult and beneficial works : "(he), through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy stones, built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (as also) through forest and thickets" (Chandrehe : verse 13). Near the temple built by his preceptor (i.e., Praśāntaśiva), Prabodhaśiva built a high and big matha, he also excavated a well, close to the mountain, named the Sindhu
(Chandrehe: verse 16). Besides, "he re-excavated (and re-built), with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, the well which was excavated by Prasāntasiva, at this place, (but which) had become dilapidated on account of (the passage of) time, and full of wood" (Chandrehe: verse 17). Consequently, it could be inferred by comparing the two charters that:

a) The palace built by Yuvarājadēva, which is mentioned in the Gurgi inscription, is different from the palace of Tripūrī. Perhaps, it was a summer palace, built by the king for using it when he went touring by the area. The way the palaces of Yuvarājadēva and the mathas of the Mattamayūras were distributed in the Chandrehe area could be shown in the form of a sketch (see the next page).

b) We think that the monuments constituting the complex were located close to each other. The number of archaeological remains at the site and because in the charters there are not another spatial reference than the place where apparently was lying this complex, at the confluence of the Śoṇa and its tributary the Banas, means that the whole complex was concentrated in a sole compound at that loci.

c) It seems that the Yuvarāja-maṭha was the pontifical seat for this branch of the Mattamayūras, and all the other mathas were in a position of dependancy in relation to
THE CHANDRÉHE COMPLEX OF MATHAS

BAGHELKHAND, REWAH STATE
1. Yuvarāja’s palace
2. Temple and mātha complex of Praśantāśива
3. Praśantāśiva’s well
4. Praboddhāśiva’s mātha
5. Praboddhāśiva’s well
it. However, in the charter there is no mention of a hierarchy among the ascetics. In the charter, any time a reference is made to Praśāntaśīva, his master or his disciples, the term muni is used (Gurgi : verses 5, 6, 8, etc.) to mean their spiritual excellence. When any of them is mentioned as master the term svāmī is used (Gurgi : verse 21). The term guru is never used. However, it is clear that it was a succession from the founder, Prabhāśīva, until Prabōdhaśīva. It is also mentioned that they leave the place (sthāna) to their disciple. That phrase (for example Prabōdhaśīva, who leaves the position of head of the maṭha to his disciple : Śrīmat-Prabōdhaśīva nāmā nijānujasya sthānam samarpya) may mean either that the a) head of the maṭha leaves the post to his disciple, or that b) he leaves the maṭha and goes to live in the peace and quiet surroundings of some of the tapaḥsthanas (forest-cottages for the practice of austerities).

In our hypothetical reconstruction of the spiritual genealogy of the Mattamayūra masters of Chandrehe, there is a separation of time between Praśāntaśīva and Prabōdhaśīva which may suggest that the first retired himself to one of the abodes in the forest, leaving the head-seat to Īsānaśambhu. On the other hand, if Prabōdhaśīva built his monastery around A.D.972, Praśāntaśīva must have left the post of head and retired to the
new matha he built (Gurgi : verse 21, the lines of this verse are damaged and probably in it was the description of this matha), which could happen about A.D. 960.

İsānasāiva must have been the head of the complex of Chandrehe around A.D. 960-70. Apparently, he did not make more improvement in the complex; nevertheless he was a great saint, looking like Śiva in his five-faced shape (pañcānana) in destroying ignorance (Gurgi : verse 17, 18, 19). He was mentioned only as the head of the Chandrehe monastery.

d) The dimensions of works undertaken and completed by both masters, Praśāntasāiva and Prabōdhasāiva, suggest the availability of large resources and the involvement of many workers. The several workers in the area — construction of roads and tanks — which also further demonstrate how Brahmanical expansion (in this specific case, monastical expansion) was a factor in development in isolated areas, and also show how the head of an important monastical complex was at the same time a regional authority, capable to coordinate and direct big projects of development.

e) The initiatives in carrying out major civil works undertaken by the heads of the Mattamayūras of the area would also mean an association between the mathas and corporations of workers of the region.
VIII.4 Rajasthan: the Tripurusa complex

The Stray Plates from Nanana, found at the village of Nanana (about 3 miles from Bhagwanpura, which is 27 miles from Marwar Junction, Pali district of Rajasthan), is a miscellaneous document containing several grants made during a certain span of time in favour of the same religious institution, a Brahmanical religious complex located at Nadūla (modern Nadol). Nadūla was the capital of Cāhamānas of Marwar (vide supra, Ch.III, pp.194-200). The institution seems to have been an important Brahmanical monastical complex. However, the Nanana records, which are the only sources of information for this complex, do not refer to any ascetics or brahmacārins living in it. Notwithstanding this, the several communities which were sheltered by the complex and the existence of a separate establishment for the dēvadāsīs and perhaps other types of female attendants to the deities along with the nature of grants made to it would indicate that it was a large monastical establishment, with some points of difference from others. This matter will be analysed later on in the following pages. At the same time, the permanent endowments to this complex by the ruling Cāhamāna family and government officials demonstrate the important place occupied by this institution in the Marwar society of the twelfth century A.D. The dates which figure in different sections of the document are: A.D.1114, A.D.1116, A.D.1135, and A.D.1148.

The institution consisted of a complex of, at least, two
THE CHANDREHE MAṬHA OF THE HILL

PLAN OF THE GROUND-FLOOR

FIRST-FLOOR

structural sketch

Ref: Banerji, R.D., "The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments", M.A.S.I., No. 23, 1931, pp. 37-71, particularly Plate II

main entrance

court

court
temples and a shrine. Further reference is made, at least twice, to a matha. The temples mentioned are those of Tripurusa, Candalēśvara and the shrine of Gaurī. These deities are also mentioned in another inscription coming from Nanana, of A.D. 1164, which recorded the restoration of the village of Nāndāna (modern Nanana) in A.D. 1163 and the grant of the village of Chāmākūṭī by the Cāhamāna King Alhāna, who ruled from Nadūla, in favour of Tripuruṣadēva, and also the restoration of the grant of Bhītalavātaka (Bhītalavātaka) to the temple of Candalēśvara, and four drammas monthly to the shrine of Gaurī located in the compound of the Candalēśvara temple by Alhāna's Queen Saṅkaradēvi. The god Tripuruṣa is also known from the Nanana Inscription of A.D. 1156, in which is mentioned the shrine of Lākhanēśvara, built inside the compound of the Tripuruṣadēva temple by Lākhaṇadēvi, daughter of Cāhamāna Kūntapāla, of the Nadūla-Cāhamāna branch.

D.C. Sircar, editor of the Stray Plates from Nanana, divided the text of the records into eight sections on the basis of the chronology and the contents of the plates. Each of the sections contains one or more transactions. These transactions relate to arrangements (sthiti) and not to gifts.

In the following pages we make a schematic presentation of the data contained in the Nanana plates, following Sircar's arrangement of the plates. We then proceed on to analyze the nature of the complex on the basis of the contents of the plates.
## CONTENTS OF THE STRAY PLATES FROM MANAMA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section (lines)</th>
<th>donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a) (1-2)</td>
<td>It is supposed to be, from now to A.D. 1100 onwards Cāhamāna prince, Āsāraja, son of Jēndrāraja Jēsala, Bhandarkar list, no. 182, in APPENDIX TO EPGRAPHIA INDICA, V. XXI-XXIII, ASI, Delhi, 1983.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 b) (Āsāraja)</td>
<td>the temple of Tripuruṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 c) (Āsāraja)</td>
<td>a mēhari (name not clear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section (lines)</th>
<th>donor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II a) (2-8)</td>
<td>the gapikā, daughter of the ganikā Gōchhipī. She would enjoy the allotment with her mates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 b) (Āsāraja)</td>
<td>the Candalāsvara temple (the temple had that name after Āsāraja's Queen Candaladevi who installed the deity)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>donee</th>
<th>Subject of donation or transaction</th>
<th>date (if given) and notices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the vilāsini plus her mates.</td>
<td>the sixteenth pada (of a total share which appeared in the missing first plate).</td>
<td>Vijalā would enjoy her pada with some other unnamed vilā-sinīś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the allotment of the flute-player named Lhaudiyāka (i.e., Lhaudiyā)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five dōgas of wheat annually out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (devakīyā-vādāna-madhya) from the Nandānā-grāmiya bhūga.</td>
<td>Nandānāi-Mananal was wholly a free-hold- ing under the enjoyment of the temple of Tripuruṣa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the seventeenth pada (of the same share as in 1,a)</td>
<td>ganikā Gōchhipī sutā-yaḥ... naa aparābh- iḥ saptadāra (sā) naa padaā pradātaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the grant of the village of Bhīṭala-vaḍa</td>
<td>the income produced by this village of Bhīṭalavada had to be collected by the vārīka officials of Tripuruṣa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section (lines)</th>
<th>donor</th>
<th>donee</th>
<th>Subject of donation or transaction</th>
<th>Date (if given) and notices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II c) (6-8)</td>
<td>(Asārāja)</td>
<td>the Candaśēsvara temple</td>
<td>i) an araghaṭṭa (well) in the village of Devanandita, for the maintenance of the worship of the deity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii) plus two workers named Silapati and Śrīpāla, who operated this wheel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii) plus a group of songstresses and musicians residents in the locality and they were:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>six māhāris: one suravāla, one pāṣavika, one dāyarakā, one vaḍiyāka, one Mridanga-player, one flute-player.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the village Devanandita-grāma was in the possession of the maṇḍapati of the complex.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) (Asārāja)</td>
<td>a māhari named (7) Śobhikā</td>
<td>five drōgas (of wheat) at the araghaṭṭa at the Bhiṭalavāḍā-grāma.</td>
<td>These 5 drōgas were out of Kumāra’s drōgas at the araghaṭṭa at Bhiṭalavāḍā-grāma. Kumāra was the contractor of the machine who used to pay the annual rent for this araghaṭṭa to the complex in wheat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III a) (9-10)</td>
<td>Yaśōdhava (who may be a member of the royal family)</td>
<td>the Candaśēsvara temple</td>
<td>one load of lotuses, one hundred bunches of flowers at a place called Āhuvala.</td>
<td>AD. 1116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Mahārāja dhirāja Asārāja</td>
<td>the maṇḍapa (which would be understood as a college being part of the complex or the shrine of Candaśēsvara)</td>
<td>some gifts consisting of some land (not clear).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section (lines)</td>
<td>donor</td>
<td>donee</td>
<td>Subject of donation or transaction</td>
<td>date (if given) and notices</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV a) (10-16)</td>
<td>by royal order of Mahāraja Candala-devī and six persons (unidentified)</td>
<td>the māṭha of the goddess Gaurī</td>
<td>one hundred leaves, out of each load of leaves (collected by the royal officials of customs of Naḍūla) one hundred coins (drāmas)</td>
<td>AD.1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Åsārāja</td>
<td>the māṭha Sōbhikā</td>
<td>the village of Pincchavalli, granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries, for ever.</td>
<td>it is stipulated that the the previous gift of 5 drōgas to this māṭha (11.d) should be given to Tripuruṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (17-18)</td>
<td>the Bhaṭṭāraka (the king) should act in accordance with this arrangement i.e. Åsārāja acknowledged this allotment</td>
<td>the māṭha of the complex (like in III.b) (it could be a college or may refer to the Candaleśvara shrine)</td>
<td>the village of Sālayī was allotted to the māṭha with its entire income.</td>
<td>it seems that previousl-ly the Pincchavallī-grāma (in IV.b allotted to Sōbhikā) belonged to this māṭha. So, the village Sālayī was given as compensation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI (18-19)</td>
<td>Mahārajañhiraṇa Áhuḍavaśallā (who reigned about A.D.1120)</td>
<td>not mentioned, apparently they were given as servants of the god Tripuruṣa.</td>
<td>a group of workers as servants: Horiya and his relations.</td>
<td>date not given but it would be dated c.A.D. 1120.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI b) (18-19)</td>
<td>Åhuḍavaśallā (who was the contractor of the māṇḍapikā at Naḍūla (the custom office)</td>
<td>not mentioned, but obviously is in favour of the complex</td>
<td>Six drōgas (of wheat?) monthly granted.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII (19-22)</td>
<td>the Mahārajañputra Kumāra Sahana-āḷa</td>
<td>the temple of Tripuruṣa</td>
<td>two kuṭumbikas (agriculturist householders named Sōhiya and Åsaīcha, both formerly living at Māṇḍapā-grāma (the modern Na- nana), together with their sons and grandsons.</td>
<td>AD.1135 a passage here (adyāḥa Śrī Naḍūla) seems to suggest that the Tripuruṣa complex was standing at Naḍūla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section (lines)</td>
<td>donor</td>
<td>donee</td>
<td>Subject of donation or transaction</td>
<td>date (if given) and notices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII a) (First sentence): it is stated that Tripurusa's car could be always utilised by the deities Padmalēśvara, Sāhaṇapāleśvara, Sahajapalēśvara and others, which were installed in shrines near or in the Tripurusa temple.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Maharaja Alhānadeva</td>
<td>the temple of Tripurusa</td>
<td>the grant of the kutum i.e. kutumbi-kāś Kikāu, Madanpāla and Mahāṇasīha who were formerly living in the village of Nandānā.</td>
<td>A.D.1148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Alhānadeva</td>
<td>to the temple of Tripurusa</td>
<td>also, the grant of one or more persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) a certain Sāda</td>
<td>to the temple of Tripurusa</td>
<td>the gift of two persons named Gōsā and Lōbha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geographical Identifications:

Naḍūla (or Naḍūlai) = Nadi, in the Pali district.
Māndānā-grāma = Nanana

1. Alhumala
2. Bhiṭṭalavēdī-grāma all these five villages were
3. Dēvanandita-grāma located near Naḍūla, in the same
4. Piṭṭchavellī-grāma area of Pali district.
5. Sālayi-grāma
VIII.4.1 The dēvadāsī problem

In the Stray Plates from Nanana there are three words with comparable meaning: vilāsinī, gaṇikā and mēhari. They refer to a certain types of female attendants who lived in a religious complex. In this charter these three types appear in the different sections in dissimilar positions with respect to the level of reward gifted to them. Also there are certain equivalences. A ranking of female attendants in the charter may be suggested as follows:

i) the mēhari Sōbhikā received 5 drōnas of wheat [section II.d];

ii) the same mēhari Sōbhikā was visited by the King Āśarāja in A.D.1114. This was the occasion when the king granted (prasādīkṛtō) the village of Pińcchavallī [IV.b] which was granted in its entirety as far as its ascertained boundaries;

iii) an arrangement was made in order that the mēhari (whose name is not clear) was to receive annually 5 drōnas of wheat out of the collections made on behalf of the deity (dēvakīy-ādāna-madhyāt) from the Nāndānā-grāmīya-bhōga, i.e., a free-holding comprising a part or the whole of the village of Nāndānā (Nanana), [I.c.];

iv) the groups of vilāsinīs headed by the vilāsinī Viśalā, the daughter of Padmāvatī, were given the sixteenth pada [I,a]: vilāsinī(nyāḥ) Pa[dm]āvatī(ti)-sūtā[yāḥ] Viśalāyā
= 'parābhiḥ samāṃ śūḍāśamaṃ padaṃ pradatta[m] (ttaṃ) |
v) the group of ganikās, headed by the ganikē daughter of
the ganikē Gōchinī received the allotment of the
seventeenth pada [II.a], just like the above group of
vilāsinīs:
ganikē - [G]ōchinī–sut[āyā]h...........
naṃ aparābhiḥ saptadarā(śa)māṃ padaṃ pradattam ||
vi) the six mēharis, allotted to the Tripuruṣa temple, named
Viṅgaḍā, Sītagī, Prēmalī, Ratanī, Śriyādevī, and Āsādēvī
[II.c], may have been given to the institution as
apprentices. We may assume that the Bhīntalavāḍāgrāma
was given to the complex with the expressed purpose of
covering all expenditures connected with the training
(vidyā), food, etc. of the vilāsinīs attached to the god
Candalaśvara [II.b].

Judging from the frequency of references to vilāsinīs, we
would think that in this complex functioned a type of academy for
vilāsinīs, ganikās and mēharis. There was also a hierarchy among
these different female-attendants. Some of them, like Sōbhikā,
seem to have been senior mēharis. At one point she was visited by
the king and that occasion was engraved in the charter; she was
richly rewarded with the gift of a village, and it was
recommended that "so long as the mēhari Sōbhikā would be allowed
to enjoy the gift village, the five drōṇas allotted her
previously out of Kumāra’s drōṇas of wheat [II.d] should be
enjoyed by the god Tripurūṣa and, in case there was nobody to
protect [the mēhari's enjoyment of] the village, the allotment of
Kumāra's drōṇas to her should again revert to her."

Another good reason to think that there was a college
attached to the maṭha was the existence of leaders [I.a; II.a].
The vilāsinī Vijalā, who received an important endowment (a
sixteenth of the total share) could well have been something like
an elder vilāsinī or perhaps a vilāsinī-teacher. The same may
apply for the daughter of the mēhari Gōchinī. Both received the
same gift and perhaps were the instructors or tutors of groups of
vilāsinī and mēhari apprentices.

Apparently, the higher rank of vilāsinīs, gaṇikās and
mēharis received the same level of reward: five drōṇas of wheat,
as in [I.c] and [II.d]; however, the mēhari Sōbhikā climbed to an
unusual level, and may be because of her qualifications and
connections, she received the village Piṅcchavallī.

In any case, what is certain and interesting is the large
number of dancing girls living in the complex, all of them well-
organized in groups (by specialization perhaps) and sustained
carefully by the authorities of the complex.**

VIII.4.2 Other Staff

Leaving aside the dēvadāsī-servants, there was a permanent
staff, consisting of officials and servants (see next page). This
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REF.</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PROFESSION OR WORK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>mathapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.b</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>varika-officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lhaudiya</td>
<td>flute-player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Śīlapati and Śrīpāla</td>
<td>araghaṭta operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jasara</td>
<td>saravala (he settled the songs or musical instruments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Śrīpāla</td>
<td>paṇavika (drum player)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vaḍiya</td>
<td>dōyaraka (singer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mahīpatiya</td>
<td>mṛdaṅga-player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Risiya son of Gōvinda</td>
<td>flute-player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.a</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>Nōriya plus his relations</td>
<td>temple servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.a</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>Sohiya plus his sons and grandsons, Asāicha plus his sons and grandsons</td>
<td>kutumbikas (agriculturists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.b</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kikāu; Madanapāla, and Mahāṇaṣṭha (or Mathanasiṃha)</td>
<td>kutumbikas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.c</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>servants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.d</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gōsā and Lōbha</td>
<td>servants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimum number of lower staff estimated = 15 persons (excluding the dēvadāsis)
is a large number which resembles that of Gōlacī-māṭha (supra) or that of the māṭhas of Sylhet. Undoubtedly, the evidence from Rajasthan too points to the existence of a big Brahmanical monastical centre.

Finally, we may suggest that the Tripuruṣa complex, which coordinated the worship of different deities and different functions, may be compared to what was represented by the Hari-Rṣīśvara-māṭha which wielded control over several other temples located in the region of Mandasor. This monastery, the temples under its jurisdiction, and the villages gifted to these institutions were all located in the west pāṭhaka (district) of Daśapura (modern Mandasor) in the north-west of Madhyadesa, not so far from the region in which the Tripuruṣa was standing.

The Hari-Rṣīśvara-māṭha is reported in the Partabgarh Inscription of the time of the Pratihāra Mahāndrapāla II of Mahodaya, dated in A.D.946. All the grants recorded in the inscription are in favour of the shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Rṣīśvara. Under its management were the shrines of Vaṭa-Yakṣini-devī (lines 12 and 33), Indrādityadēva (1, 23 and 28), and Trailōkya-mohana-dēva, which were situated at the village of Ghōnta-varṣika where also was the temple of Nityapramuditadēva. The village of Ghōnta-varṣika is the modern Ghotarsi, seven miles to the east of Partabgarh.
VIII.5.1 The head of the matha

It is clear that the person of the maṭhādhipati or maṭhapati, both symbolically represented as well as actually wielded authority of the Brahmanical monastical institution, and thus came to assume the leadership of the whole complex and its possessions. All other individuals were under his supreme authority as he was the great ācārya, guru, chief of the staff, principal of the college, chief of administration, controller of properties, etc.

The institutionalization of the maṭhas or the emergence of the Brahmanical monasteries meant also the evolution of the position of head of the establishment. The traditional image of the guru, whose exclusive function was in relation to his disciples in the secluded context of a forest āśrama, does not hold good of the ācārya of an early medieval maṭha. The ācārya came to combine both spiritual and worldly functions in presiding over the destiny of a complex institution. Further, the simple informal relationship between the guru and his disciples became much more structured within the framework of a complex and functional scheme. This took the form of a monastical body, constituted by several staffs as teachers, administrative members, professional servants, servants, etc., but everybody acknowledging the person of the Master as the living symbol of
what the monastic complex stood for. Practically in all the cases it was the head of a maṭha who had to take care of spiritual and material affairs with the same zeal. He undertook the repairs of buildings as well as other works which established fruitful links with the area where the maṭha was located. The spiritual tasks included, for example, the expansion of the sectarian faith and doctrine of the ācārya of the maṭha, specific actions to achieve such objective as sending missionary monks and additions to the physical space of the complex.

The head of the maṭha, as chief of the priest-staff, was also responsible for the normal functioning of the temple of the compound. He did the arrangements for the regular services to the deities and the entertainment. This last thing has relation with the regular presence in the complex of musicians and dēvadāsīs.

On the other hand, the head of the complex was also the doctrinal director, the spiritual guide and one who was responsible for the internal discipline. He cared for the physical comfort and for the correct behaviour of the monks and the community as a whole, coordinating their various duties and routines. In case of violation of the internal rules of the organization, the head of the institution had the necessary power to punish the culprit. Frequently such a task of conducting an internal trial was undertaken by a specific body of senior monks who helped the maṭhapati in the judgement and final decision.
However, when the crime committed was too serious, the authorities of the establishment sought help from secular authorities of the locality.

The head of the matha was an hereditary position, assumed by the most senior disciple of the former acar̄ya who had openly declared who was to be his successor. The monks always accepted the dictum of the acar̄ya who had openly declared who was to be his successor and acknowledged the new head in a public meeting. This is noticed in the pattern of succession at all the Mattamayu̲ra and Pāsūpata mathas mentioned here. On the other hand, there is a case of the head of a matha who himself transgressed the internal rules of the institution and was removed from the post. After that, the subordinate monks asked for intervention from the local authorities. This case was recorded in the Sogal Inscription of the time of Taila II and occurred at the complex at Suvarṇākṣī in Karnataka, in A.D. 980.

VIII.5.2 The educational role of the mathas

One of the most important tasks of a matha was to function as a centre of learning. The many donations to temple complexes make constant mention that the endowments in land or cash were for helping the cause of education in the monastery. The academic staff and the students accommodated, the extensive facilities which were maintained at Sylhet, Gōlakī-mathā or the Tripuru̲sa complexes, all point to them being major centres of learning.
Mathas were places of high learning. Experts in several disciplines — mostly Brahmanical subjects — and sciences taught the brahmacārins and possibly some other kinds of students as well. The interesting point is that the mathas did not close their doors to rival doctrines or ideas, i.e., they were not only sectarian schools but real high academies of study. In chapter VI we have seen how Kālāmukha monasteries were very liberal in their curriculum. In the present chapter we have seen how in the Sylhet complex were taught a variety of subjects, like grammar, the four Vedas, astrology and perhaps medicine; Viśveśvarasīva, the founder of the new Śrī-Viśveśvara Gōlakī-matha, we are told, was an expert in several branches of Brahmanical knowledge, apart from his obvious proficiency in the Śaivasiddhānta doctrine. And it can be assumed that such a person of wide learning, experience and eminence, promoted in his matha the study of all types of subjects necessary to achieve a high level of knowledge and obtain the respect from rulers and officials. Also, it is known how the head of the Kodiya monastery was an expert in Jaina, Lokāyata, Bauddha and Lākula- Siddhāntas.

VIII.5.3 The mathas common points in their internal organizations and external linkages

The mathas sheltered several kinds of religious residents like priests, yogins, brahmacārins, pañññitas, tapasvins, etc. who lived in the complex — permanently or temporarily — but who required the services from a fixed staff. These several
categories of staff also required some minimum comfort to perform well their duties and maintain the harmony in the complex. All this created necessities which motivated the improvement of the accommodation and other facilities of such complexes which could expand and transform them into small religious towns. We have seen, for example, how a very important component in such complexes was always the cooking area: agra-śālās, sattras, etc., always present in every maṭha or complex. The chowtry fed the monks, the staff, the guests, visitors and everyone who asked for food (as it was in the new Gālakī-maṭha). We may therefore assume that at the major centres the quantity of food prepared everyday must have been enough for a large number of people. This is corroborated by the size of the cooking staff, and the large amounts of resources donated just for that particular purpose.61 This charitable role transformed the maṭha into a leading local institution in matters of welfare; it was also a big consumer of products coming from the nearby villages which affected the local economy too.

Besides the sattrā, the maṭhas offered several other free services to the community. The Malkapuram Inscription62 mentions the hospital and maternity ward, which formed part of the Śrī-Visveśvara-Gālakī compound at Guntur. Obviously such facilities not only extended attention and services to the internal residents but must have had a great role in the social welfare of the local community.63
On the basis of the points underlined above we would like to argue that in the totality of the acculturation process in early medieval India, maṭhas too played quite a significant part. In analyzing the process of Sanskritization or acculturation, historians often tend to project the brāhmaṇas and brāhmaṇa-settlements alone as key agencies in this process. But maṭhas appear to have been equally, if not more effective. They too were widely distributed and widely patronized, they too functioned as centres of learning and dissemination of ideologies and they too had close links with the society outside them. Their role in the complex process of social change in early medieval India therefore needs to be reassessed.
NOTES


2. Ibidem, p.33: the pāṭaka was equivalent approximately to 15 acres. So, 120 pāṭaka = 1800 acres.

3. Ibidem, p.32: Sircar points out the importance of this record which testifies the existence of this Brahma-matha, particularly because the worship of this deity was not very popular in the period.

4. Ibidem, p.34.

5. Ibidem, p.35.


7. Cf. EP.IND., XXXIII, pp.47, 48-9, 241, 244.

8. Sircar, Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan, op.cit., p.34.

9. Cf. the presence of Tamil Śaiva students in Bhubanesvar, at the Siddheśvara-matha, Bhuvanesvar Inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṁha, EP.IND., XXXII, no.29, pp.229 ff.


11. EP.IND., VII, no.10, p.97, line 38; Cf. karana-karman (the functions of a scribe), EP.IND., XXX, p.89, which were performed by a karaṇika (scribe), EP.IND., XXXII, p.10 n.

12. EP.IND., III, no.22, p.141; Cf. with lipikrt-kula = kāyastha community, EP.IND., XXXIII, no.4-1, p.35, line 27; no.4-2, p.40, line 25.


14. EP.IND., XXIII, pp.157, 159 and 291.


17. Saugar Stone Inscription of Śaṅkaragāna, by V.V.Mirashi, EP.IND., XXVII, no.29, pp.163-70.


22. EP.IND., XXVII, no.29, pp.169-70.


26. Cf. the terms vidyāvesman, vidyāmaṭha, vidyāsthāna, meaning an educational institution of higher studies, a college, used in other inscriptions. Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966, p.371.

27. Bhoga literally means "enjoyment" (Cf. with the term bhukti). Vide the different types of bhogas with their references in Sircar, D.C. Indian Epigraphical Glossary, op.cit., pp.54-5.

28. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.IV, op.cit., p.154. The land given to the donees in this inscription is expressed in terms of a puttika as measured by the standard measuring rod of Penumbāka (penumbāka prasiddhēna manadāṇḍēna sommitam). Puttika < putti which initially means a specific quantity of grain which varies from district to district. Today, in the Gōdāvarī district, putti is equivalent to eight acres.

29. Udayambakam Grant of Krṣṇadēva, EP.IND., XIV, no.12, pp.168 ff., reports that at Čonjeeveram maṭha lived one hundred eight brahmānas, headed by a line of seivācāryas. The spiritual lineage of the sadācāryas, all experts in Advaitism, since Śaṅkarācārya onwards in The Kudiyantandal Grant of Vīraṇḍīśīmha, EP.IND., XIV, no.17, pp.231 ff.
30. It is said that the Nālanda University was a complete academic complex where lived around ten thousand persons: academicians, students and general staff. The Nālanda University also was associated with several communities which provided it with the necessary material support, services, repairs, etc. (apart from the main support coming from the Palas), vide "The Clay Seals of Nālanda", by Sastri, Hirananda, EP.IND., XXI, no.12, pp.72 ff. At Nālanda site several seals have been discovered belonging to monastical orders, corporations and guilds. Various kinds of seals indicate that they were issued by secular corporations, all of them are decorated with Buddhist motifs and have Buddhist formulas in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The seals are all dated around eighth or ninth century A.D. For the University of Nālanda, its organization, academic activities, local and royal sponsorship, etc., vide Sankalia, H.D., The University of Nālanda, Oriental Reprint, Delhi (2nd ed. enlarged), 1972; also Sastri, Hirananda, Nālanda and its epigraphic material, Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1942; Upasak, C.S., Nālanda past and present, Silver Jubilee Souvenir, Nava Nalanda Mahavira, Nalanda, 1977.

31. Bhojanasālā, an almshouse, in EP.IND., XXIII, no.6, p.39, as was used in Buddhist monasteries. Apparently this tradition also was assimilated in the Brahmanical monastical institutions. Sattra, a charitable feeding house, where a thousand brāhmaṇas belonging to different dominations were fed, is mentioned in the Three Copper-Plate Inscriptions from Gaori, EP.IND., XXIII, no.17, pp.106-13.

32. Vide, the Grant of Dyutivarman (of c.A.D.600), EP.IND., XIII, no.7-A, p.115, line 6.


34. Ibidem, p.152; in the Benaras Copper-Plate Inscription of Kālacakrī King Karnaḍēva, of c. A.D.1042, the king is described as "meditating on the feet of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Paramēśvara Śrī Vāmadēva", in EP.IND., II, no.23, pp.305-10.


41. EP.IND., XXII, no.21, pp.129-32.

42. EP.IND., XXI, no.23, pp.149-50.

43. EP.IND., XXII, p.131, verse 20, line 24.

44. EP.IND., XXXIII, no.45, pp.244-46; also EP.IND., XXXIX, no.4, pp.17-28, Nanana Copper Plates of the time of Kumārapāla and Alhāna, Vikrama 1212 and 1220, edited by Sankaranarayanan, S.

45. Tripuruṣa is mentioned in the charter in plural and in singular. It was therefore the name of a single deity, probably a combined image of the Trimūrti of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. There are also references to Tripuruṣa in several other inscriptions vide Sircar, EP.IND., XXXIII, p.240 n.


47. A.R.R.M., op.cit., pp.3-4, no.8, also quoted by Sircar, ibidem.

48. EP.IND., XXXIII, pp.240-43.

49. Another interesting case of a monastery, where also a group of dancing-girls was present, is the maṭha which was located in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. This maṭha is mentioned in the Tumbagi Inscription of the reign of Satyasrāya, dated in A.D.1004 (EP.IND., XVII, no.2, pp.8-9). The charter is on a stone in a monastery known as the Polayya's maṭha, which is located at Tumbagi (the old Tumbige) at 16° 33′/76° 20′, Muddebihal tāluka, Bijapur district, Karnataka.

The text is in old Kanarese. We include here part of the translation made by Lionel D.Barnett, who translated the paragraph:

`ada parekāra — suleyargge koṭṭa key = maṭha 30`
"for the drummers and public women he granted a field of 30 mattar"

The translation of the lines 10 ff. is as follows:

"(While governing) the agrahāra of Tumbige, forming part of the Pagalaṭṭi three-hundred, during the last lunar day of Āṣāgha in the cyclic year Krōdhi, the 926th (year) of the Śaka era, during an eclipse of the sun, Seṭṭi Brahmayya granted for the god Brahmeśvara a field, 200 mattar; ... for the drummers and public women he granted a field, 30 mattar; for the monastery he granted a field, 50 mattar; for the benefit of the temple he granted a field, 120 mattar.

"Āycakabbe, daughter of Gennayya of Kalkere, granted for the monastery out of her own honorary estate a field, 50 mattar. Thus (there are) for the monastery 100 mattar.

"Likewise out of the revenues of this land they shall provide food and clothing for the 5 ascetics living in celibacy. In the case of any superiors of this place if there should be committed a breach of celibacy or the like in conducting the highest offices, they shall expel (them) ... etc."

50. EP.IND., XIV, no.13, pp.182-88.

51. Vide the case of Chandrehe complex, discussed in this chapter; also Cf. EP.IND., XXIII, no.25, pp.161 ff.

52. Vide the case of the new Gōlakī-maṭha founded by Viśvēśvaraśiva, in this chapter.

53. Vide, the progressive enlargement of the Chandrehe complex, in this chapter; Cf. with Banerji, R.D., "The Haihayas of Tripūrī and their monuments", Memorials of the Archaeological Survey of India (MASI), Calcutta, 1931, pp.31-71.

54. This is confirmed in all the cases analysed in the present chapter; also Cf. EP.IND., XXIII, no.25 and about how the maṭhapati arranged rituals and ceremonies in EP.IND., XXXI, pp.33 ff.

55. EP.IND., IV, no.49, pp.278 ff.

57. EP.IND., XVI, no.1, pp.3-6.

58. EP.IND., III, no.2, pp.6-7.

59. At Kālāmukha maṭhas, there were experts in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophy, vide EP.IND., V, no.25, p.220; in maṭhas used to be the four Vedas, the Sāstras and Sārtis, EP.IND., XIII, no.29, pp.329-33; the maṭhas had teachers who were experts in Purāṇas, Yoga and other disciplines, EP.IND., XIV, no.6, pp.89-90, in special lines 41-46.


61. EP.IND., XXXI, no.5, p.33; EP.IND., XVI, no.1, pp.6 ff.


63. Cf.EP.IND., XXIII, no.25, pp.161 ff.; Prabhūtarāṣi II, disciple of Bhūvanarāṣi, bore the epithet of parahita-vyasani = devoted to the welfare of others.