The Origin and Growth of Maṭhas: Historical and Religious Context

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Abstract: This paper examines the vexing problem of the beginnings of Hindu monastic system (maṭha) and traces its subsequent history during the early medieval period (9- 12th centuries CE). The origins of the system can be traced from a variety of significant traditions: asceticism, religious identity, and lineage that continued to play a predominant role in the transformation of the monastic orders. Asceticism inspired the pontiffs of the monastery to establish their own orders particularly in Central and South India and led to a proliferation of these unique institutions. Based on epigraphical, literary, and relevant historical sources, it is possible to contend that the foundations of the monastic system were laid between the fifth and ninth centuries CE, while their growth as multifaceted institutions occurred between the ninth and twelfth centuries CE. The Saiva monasteries, particularly the Saiva Siddhānta, Pasupata, and Kalamukha orders in Central India, Tamilnadu, and Karnataka flourished as semi-independent institutions. Maṭhas differed from formal educational institutions as well as āśramas in various ways. An inquiry into their organization and contemporary context during the decline of Buddhism and the rise of militant Saiva kings provides insight into their role during a crucial period of history of India.

Key Words: Asceticism, Education, Hindu monastery, Saiva, South India.

Introduction

India has been the home of countless ascetics and monks, who have maintained a tradition of philosophical speculation, religious practice, and teaching. Examples of such great ascetics in modern times are Swāmi Prabhupada, Śri Chandrasekharānanda Sarasvati, Ramana Maharshi, Ramakṛṣṇa Paramahamsa, Swāmi Vivekānanda, Satya Sai Baba, Dayanand Sarasvati, Śri Bala Sivayogi, and

many more. It appears that the institution of the ascetic was the *matha* or monastery. However, a close study of medieval monasteries in India, demonstrates that this was an institutionalization of the *sanyāsin*, that incorporated aspects of individual monastic identities, and guru lineage. The charismatic leadership of the head of the monastery, his ascetic qualities, and philosophical theories sustained the monastery for more than a thousand years and still continues to play a dynamic role in Indian society. This paper attempts to uncover its origins as an organization of the ascetic and traces other significant factors for its subsequent growth and development during the early medieval period (ninth to twelfth centuries CE) in Central and South India. Although there have been studies about lives of individual *gurus*, their philosophical theories, ascetic *and* teaching traditions, there has not been any critical or detailed investigation of the institution, except for those by Misra,[1] Sears[2], and Talbot[3]. There is a lack of literary evidence about the *maṭha*, ambiguity of architectural ramifications, and details about the life of the ascetic head.

The word *maṭha* comes from the root *maṭh* (to dwell) and this may mean the residence of ascetic, a monastic[4] school but it usually indicates a monastery in a town and often associated with a temple.[5] A *maṭha* may be defined as an organized integral system of education, worship, feeding, and lodging, consisting of a community of disciples and headed by a pontiff, who is normally an ascetic. Apart from being a place of residence for the ascetic,[6] it is a rest house for travelers, and an educational institution. In the late medieval period, it grew to be a center of philosophy, as well as a place of worship headed by an ascetic (*sanyāsi*),[7] who has renounced worldly life. Thus, a *maṭha* may be defined as an organized integral system of education, worship, feeding, and lodging, consisting of a community of disciples who adhere to a set of beliefs affiliated to the original founder and headed by an ascetic guru. Since *maṭhas* went through a gradual growth in structure and organization, nature and function, the above characteristics are more noticeable during late medieval period, from the eleventh centuries CE.

Maṭhas witnessed a long trajectory of growth till they developed to be of seminal importance to the community. The foundations of the monastic system can be said to have been laid between the fifth and eighth centuries CE, while their growth as multifaceted institutions occurred between the ninth and twelfth centuries CE. These were the Śaiva monasteries, particularly the Śaiva Siddhānta, Pāśupata, and Kalamukha orders each consisting of regional and local branches.[8] The crucial period of growth was between the ninth and twelfth Centuries when they developed into semi–independent institutions, thereby forming an integral part of the community. The major monastic orders institutionalized the system through lineage, patronage, and religious identity. Using epigraphical, architectural, literary sources, places the rise of these institutions in a historical context, particularly in the context of the decline of Buddhism and the rise of militant Śaiva kings. The study expands to reveal how these monasteries differed from other non-Hindu monasteries and formal educational institutions.

Origins of the Hindu Monastery

A history of Hindu monasteries can begin only with an introduction about Buddhist *saṅghas* (monasteries) which have been known to exist from as early as second century BCE and flourished in almost all parts of India till the ninth to twelfth centuries CE. Supported by powerful kings, monasteries were wealthy and popular, particularly in Andhra Pradesh[9] and Tamil Nadu. Unlike the large Buddhist institutions, Jain monasteries (also known as *maṭhas*) were small and largely in remote areas. The earliest reference to the term *maṭha* has been found in stray Jain texts of second and fifth centuries CE. They were educational organizations of teachers who moved from place to place[10] as evidenced in

the inscriptions from Paharpur in Bengal.[11] With the migration of the Jain saint Bhadrabahu with his disciple Chandragupta Maurya, the theater of Jain monasteries shifted to the Deccan. It then flourished in Karnataka under the Ganga kings, Eastern Chalukyas, and Hoysalas (fifth to tenth centuries CE).[12] An early reference to a Hindu *maṭha* can be found in the inscription of Samudragupta, which stated that it was a hostel for students. They were rest houses, where food might or might not have been given to travelers or for mendicants and ascetics. Numerous inscriptions provide interesting aspects about the early functions of a *maṭha* during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. A *maṭha* of Maninaga Bhattarak of Ekambaka (599–600 CE) has been described as an institution of Vedic studies.[13] According to the Aphsad inscription of Adityasena of seventh century CE it was a religious college,[14] while the Mundesvari inscription of Udayasena records that it was a religious building attached to the temple of Śrī Nārāyaṇa.[15]

Although the early history of Hindu monasteries has been difficult to trace, it is reasonable to assume that by seventh century CE they functioned as a hostel for students, and a residential college. In addition, they grew to be a place of Vedic studies, devoted to a particular school of the *Vedas*. Later medieval inscriptions came to refer to them as an academic institution[16]. Although they were situated near temples, there has been no reference to a deity or to an ascetic as the founder of a *maṭha*. Miller contends that *maṭhas* were loosely organized religious schools, and can be termed as "quasi monastic institutions, before the ninth century CE, and even predating Buddhist and Jain orders."[17] However, after the decline of Buddhism, Hindu *maṭhas* grew to be formidable institutions particularly with the rise of the earliest Saiva monasteries. The growth of *maṭhas* can be roughly divided into regional types, while keeping in mind their rough chronological order, religious differences, and at the same time recognizing their parallel expansion. There was a foundational period and a period of growth with multiple functions mainly in three regions—the Saiva Siddhānta *maṭhas* in Central India and Tamil Nadu, and *Pāśupata* and *Kālāmukha maṭhas* in Karnataka.

The Ascetic Tradition

In order to uncover the origins of monasteries, inscriptional evidence is insufficient by themselves. A relevant source that is often overlooked is the socio-religious *sāmpradāya* (traditions) of *sanyāsa* (asceticism) that provided inspiration, for their continuous expansion as a public organization. Asceticism flourished in India from about 2500 BCE particularly in the Indo-Gangetic doab. The Jains attached the highest importance to it and Buddha resorted to the golden middle path of avoiding self-indulgence and practicing self-denial. Numerous Vedic seers practiced *sanyāsa* which was passed down through oral tradition and eulogized in texts such as *Dharmasūtras*, *Bhagavad Gīta*, *Āśrama Upaniṣad*, and *Sanyāsa Upaniṣad*. Olivelle rightly observes that *vairāgya* (renunciation) was an established way of life. He explains that renunciation, essentially, is a negative state: one is a renouncer not because one performs certain distinctive actions or conforms to certain characteristic habits and customs but because one does not perform actions and does not conform to customs that characterizes life—in society[18].The ascetic shaves his head, cuts the sacrificial string,[19] performs the *sāvitrī* rite, sacrifice, and deposits the fires in the self, and takes the vows of celibacy and nonattachment. He is now a *sanyāsi* and continues to practice these values, by internalizing them. The orange robe is one of the most powerful symbols of asceticism, of the triumph of virtue, discipline, life of continence, renunciation, liberation, physical control, order, vigilant striving for divinity, spiritual strength—the characteristics of a *yogi*. He is not attached to a site or place and hence is considered a wandering monk, except for

the rainy season when he lives in a fixed place.[20] *Sanyāsa* was not a mask for escapism, nor an order that sheltered parasites of society, but for the liberation of the individual soul and also for the good of the world.[21] Seventeen out of eighteen *Upaniṣads* deal with *sanyāsa* practiced under different names: *bhikṣu*, *sanyāsin*, *parivrajaka*, *avadhūta*, and *paramahamsa.* It viewed the ascetic and hermit life as an essential part of its system which prescribed the path of four *āśramas*, namely *brahmacārin* (student-hood), *gṛhastha* (householder), *vānaprasthya* (retired), and *sanyās*i (renunciate).[22] The ascetic nature was helpful in cultivating and teaching discipline, love, dedication, passion for knowledge, and service to society.

Being an ascetic did not appear to be contradictory to the function of managing an institution, role in a community, and accepting patronage spreading religious values. The spread of values can be associated with the tradition that goes back to the Vedic and Epic periods, when many *sanyāsis* were teachers as well. [23] The guru in the Upanisadic tradition was a realized individual, while in the epic tradition it meant ascetics, and householders with *āśramas*. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* (2.54) it is mentioned that gurus were those who were steeped in *Brahmavidyā* (science of understanding *Brahman*);[24] they were illuminators who had the power to change others. Buddhist and Jain systems had a constant stream of varied ranks of ascetics, which were organized into fraternities, and these developed their own doctrines, disciplines, individual teaching, and learning units. Buddha, who was an ascetic and teacher, synthesized both within the institution of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. It may be added that the Hindu monastic system was an institution that was largely influenced by the earlier order of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, although the traditions of asceticism (and teaching, spread of values) were pre-Buddhist. Kern points out that Buddhist *bhikkus* and Hindu *sanyāsis* each formed the nucleus of a different sect, each following the doctrines of its masters.[25] While the Hindu system was predominantly a domestic system of education, with fathers as teachers in *pāthśālās* (local schools), *gurukulas*, and individual homes (or even where the schools and homes were often next to each other as in *agrahāras*). Furthermore, Vedas were taught in the universities at Takshasila and Nalanda, where even *yogaśāstra*, *nyāya*, and *hetuvidyā* were imparted. Both Hindu and Buddhist teachings were taught, and students were free to learn the type of *vidyā* they desired—sciences, arts, or crafts. Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain institutions were patronized by ministers, and laity, as well as by Hindu kings, such as the Guptas, Vakatakas, Chalukyas, and Rashtrakutas. In North India, the seven cities of Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kasi, Kanci, Avantika as well as Dvaravati (Dvaraka) were known for imparting excellent education Thus specialized institutions were not divided into purely Buddhist or Hindu religious systems. The above evidence throws ample light on the importance of education outside and within the Hindu system.

The Hindu Educational System and the *Maṭha*

After the gradual waning of Buddhist *saṅghas*, various types of educational institutions arose. However, it was only after the decline of Buddhist *saṅgha* that Hindu monasticism arose as an institution with an ascetic as the head of the order. This widens the scope of our inquiry into the beginnings of the Hindu monastery as a continuation of the preexisting Hindu formal/informal education systems from pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist eras. Before we examine the origins of the Hindu *maṭha* system as a formal educational center, it may be pointed out that an informal educational system was also prevalent among the Hindus. The informal education system imparted knowledge outside the walls of a formal school. Family and other social institutions played a vital role in making the individual a holistic and creative personality.

The informal system of education comprised of *āśramas* and in homes. But there was a formal traditional Vedic educational system that existed as *gurukulas*, *ghaṭikās*, *brahmapuris*, and *agrahāras* in South India (fourth to ninth centuries CE). The earliest educational institution was the *gurukula* (or the house of the Guru) where the celibate student (*brahmacāri*) lived with his teacher *ācārya/ upādhyāya*, in a *gurukula/āśrama.* But there is not much evidence of the existence of *gurukulas* after 10th century CE. Instead, there is evidence of numerous *agrahāras* (a community of *brāhmins*). They flourished in large numbers in the South between the Godavari and Kaveri rivers in Tamil Nadu under Pandyas, Pallavas, and Colas; in Karnataka under the Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badami, the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Sunas, and the Hoysalas (fourth to thirteenth centuries CE).[26] Inscriptions praise the *agrahāras* at Balligame and Kuppatur (Shimoga District)[27] as comparable to Amravati and Alakapuri, which prospered because of the presence of the learned versed in *Vedas*, Vedānta, and *śāstras.[28]* Another institution of great antiquity in first century CE was the *ghaṭikāsthana*, which scholars defined as religious center, an educational establishment, and a place for discourse.[29] In South India, the most famous *ghaṭikā* was in Kanchipuram. There were *ghaṭikās,* attached to temples in Karnataka, particularly Mysore (fourth to twelfth centuries CE),[30] in Polliyur (Dharwad district), Kadalevada (Bijapur district), and Shikaripur (Shimoga district) in the twelfth century CE.[31] Equally important were colleges called *vidyāsthānas[32]* particularly in Kanchipuram (200–900 CE), where teams of learned men were responsible for the maintenance of the organizations, received patronage from the king, and were exempted from paying taxes. The *vidyāsthāna* had fourteen *gaṇas* identified with fourteen divisions of literature—four *Vedas*, six *Angas*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya*, *Purāṇa*, and *Dharmaśāstra*—and fourteen divisions of musical science. The pavilions of the temples in Chidambaram and Tanjavur were named as *vyākaraṇa dāna maṇḍapa* (*maṇḍapa* exclusively for the study of grammar) that contained innumerable manuscripts.[33] Temple schools played a significant role during the Cola period (eighth to twelfth centuries CE) in Kanchipuram, Srirangam, Melkote, and Tirupati thus influencing the rise of *maṭhas*.

In addition, there were the *vidyāpīṭhas* (seats of learning or centers of knowledge).[34] There is also a reference to *ācārya pīṭhas*, or *pancāryās*, such as those of Sri Renukacārya of Rambhapuri at Mysore, Sri Darukacārya at Ujjain, Sri Ekoramaradhya at Himavatkedar in Himalayas, Paditharadhya at Śrisaila in Andhra Pradesh, and Sri Viswaradhya at Kasi who founded five pontifical thrones which are still living institutions.[35]

There was not much difference between the early medieval *vidyālaya*, *vidyāpīṭha*, *agrahāra*, *ghaṭikā* and the *maṭha* regarding the teacher or teaching methods, subject matter, and recital of *Vedas* (or specific *śāstras* specialized by some); and even the practice of *gurudakshina* in the form of *dāna* (gifts). All educational institutions appear to have been attached to some temple or had a temple attached to them. There were various levels of teaching in Hindu educational institutions. The teaching in *brahmapuris* and *ghaṭikās* was at the school level, while *vidyālayas* and *mahavidyālays* were academies similar to undergraduate or postgraduate institutions, and *maṭhas* could be schools or academies with a specialized branch of teaching of *Vedas* (and even *Āgamas*). However, there was a difference between the *maṭha* and another educational institution, largely in regard to the type of students. There were two kinds of celibate students in a *maṭha*: the temporary celibate, contemplating a family life and his training called *upakurvāṇa*, and the perpetual celibate, called *naiṣṭhika brahmacāri*, who chose to live with his teacher lifelong.[36] A record of 1077 CE, from Yevur (Gulbarga district) mentions that the *matha* was not open to any except those who observed perpetual celibacy to abide in

the monastery (*naiṣṭhika-bhramacārigalg-allāde maṭhadol-iral-sallādu*).[37] It was stipulated that those who did not observe celibacy would be expelled.

Few basic norms have characterized early monasteries, such as the Guru-disciple lineage (*guru-śiṣya paramparā*). The *śiṣya* (or disciple) would be selected and he would ascend the *pīṭha* or throne of the particular *maṭha.* The lineage within a *maṭha* was parallel to the royal patrilineal system which allowed wisdom to be passed on from the male teacher to the male disciple and later became a part of *maṭha* organizational structure. It cannot be said with certainty that *maṭhas* originated from any one particular type of formal educational system. However, convincing evidence for the transformation or renaming of an *agrahāra* as a *maṭha* can be found in the city of Bengaluru, where the Sitapati *agrahāra* in Chamrajpete is a fully functional *maṭha*. In addition, the Pejawar *maṭha* and the Advaita *maṭhas* are known as *vidyāpīṭhas*. Evidence offers a compelling argument that *maṭhas* had their origins within the *sāmpradāyas* of asceticism and education and had their origins as educational institutions—either as *vidyālayas*, *vidyāpīṭhas*, or *agrahāras,*[38] depending on the region. They were integral institutions that were later adopted as residences by wandering ascetics, which led to the introduction of certain norms/principles in a *maṭha*. In addition, were the traditional practices of asceticism and teaching, not to discount the influences of the Buddhist *saṅgha* and the Jain *maṭha*. In order to uncover the origins of the institution, and to trace their subsequent history, it is crucial to understand the influencing factors, namely the Śaiva religious movement and the socio-historical circumstances.

Early Saivite Monasteries

A marked factor for the growth of *maṭhas* was the political influence of Gupta-Vakataka kings who patronized Hindu Sanskrit culture. The rise of a sovereign monarchical kingdom and prosperity provided a conceptual unity of vassal/feudatory kings in the post-Gupta period. With the successive reigns of warring kingdoms in Central and South India in the neighboring domains of the Gurjara Pratiharas, Candellas, Kalachuris, Paramaras, Chalukyas of Badami, and Pallavas of Kanchipuram, contestations for land and resources were inevitable. This was also the period when Buddhism was on the decline, although it flourished in pockets in Andhra and Tamil Nadu.[39] Another significant phenomenon was the rise of Saivism, particularly of Pāśupata, Kālamukha, and Śaiva Siddhānta *sanyāsis* who traveled to the countryside. Between the seventh and twelfth centuries they developed as independent institutions in four major areas: (a) Saivite *maṭhas* in Central India, under the Kalachuris; (b) Cola and Pandyan domains in Tamil Nadu; (c) in Andhra (under the Kakatiyas); and (d) in Karnataka under the Chalukyas of Badami, Chalukyas of Kalyani, Rashtrakutas, and Hoysalas.

Regional Monasteries

In South India, Saivism flourished around Śaiva temples in centers such as Aihole, Pattadakal, Mahabalipuram, and Kanchipuram and received patronage from almost every dynasty that ruled South India. The Śaiva *maṭhas*, unlike other educational institutions such as *agrahāras* and *ghaṭikās*, aligned themselves with the worship of Śiva and as mentioned, divisions within Saivism played a role in the division of *Śaiva maṭhas*. A brief description of Saivism is a prelude to the discussion of role of *Śaiva Siddhānta maṭhas*. Saivism is divided into Puranic and non-Puranic Saivism. While the Puranic form continued as popular worship of Śiva, the non-Puranic ones were divided into *atimārga* and *mantramārga*. The *atimārga* tradition was followed by Pāśupatas, Lakulas, Kālamukhas, and Lingāyats, while the *mantramārga* tradition was revered by Kapālika and Śaiva Siddhāntas. Kapālika

Saivism is again divided into Kaula and Trika schools. From the Kapālika tradition arose the Aghorīs, while the Śaiva Siddhānta that began in Central India gave rise to Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta.[40] The Śaiva Siddhānta school are listed under *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas*, and considered a *mahātantra*, with belief in *paśu* (*jeeva* or soul), *pati* (Śiva or lord), and *pāśa* (bondage). The foundation of the system was *jñāna* (knowledge), *kriya* (ritual practices), yoga, and *caryā* (discipline). It was based upon the doctrine of Vaiśeṣika philosophy and Agamic theism and although God and soul are separated, a mystic union between the two is recognized. Innumerable Śaiva Siddhānta, Pāśupata, and Kālamukha *maṭhas* appear in the forests of Central India and river valleys in South India.

Maṭhas in Central India

In Central India, the Vindhya Forest lands stretched across vast lands from south of river Yamuna from Mathura to Allahabad. In the forest lands of Gopacala or modern Gwalior (seventh to fourteenth centuries CE) and the Dahala region, between Yamuna and Narmada rivers (tenth to thirteenth centuries CE)[41] lived Śaiva ascetics in *āśramas* (in *ātvikas*, woodland communities) that grew into *maṭhas* affiliated to Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine. Known as *śivacāryas*, ascetics, such as Vimalaśiva I, Rudra Śiva, Paraśiva, Śaktiśiva built *maṭhas* near temples, such as in Chandrehe and Chunari (near Rewa) on the *dakṣiṇapatha* road. The ascetics who practiced Śaiva Siddhānta lived in monasteries and administered the Śaiva temples nearby. The *maṭhas* consisted of *vyākhyānaśālās* (lecture halls), *sattras* (charitable feeding houses), gardens, temples, colleges, maternity homes, and hospital keep.[42] They promoted a distinct economic agenda among woodland and forest communities and marginalized groups. Lands were granted to forest dwelling individual ascetic gurus, who helped extend cultivable land, and ascetics benefited from rights over revenue as well as status. The rigors of geographical and tribal environment led the ascetics to be warrior-type monks and live in fortress-type monasteries. As they took care of the requirements of subsistence of the woodland communities, they earned their allegiance, promoted Saivism, and soon grew to be the leaders of the *maṭhas* and the community. They promoted religious fervor by patronizing temples, and rulers acknowledged the ascetics and voluntarily sought their help. Patronized by kings with large land and money grants, the *maṭhas* grew wealthy as seats of authority, such as the Chandrehe and Kodal *maṭhas* that had even hidden vaults for storing wealth.[43] Equipped with elephants and horses, they offered training and manufactured weapons, thereby, augmenting the kingdom's war machine even as the king recruited them as officers. Kings revered and depended on them and soon they became *rājagurus* (gurus to kings). By twelfth century CE they even carved an independent kingdom. With the rise of political power, ascetic took power when rulers waged wars in distant lands. The *munis* (ascetics) were regarded higher than *brāhmaṇas*, while *kshatiryas* were relegated to a subservient status.

Guruparamparā or lineage of Gurus provided another support for their legitimacy. The lineage of Mattamayuras and its branches were widespread in Northern, Eastern, and Central Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra, Andhra, and Tamil Nadu between the seventh and thirteenth centuries CE. The Golaki *maṭha* was particularly famous and its ascetics were *rājagurus* to the Kalachuri kings.[44] The Golaki *maṭha ācāryas* exerted great influence on the Kalachuri kings of Chedi, the Kakatiya kings of Warangal, kings of Malava as well as in the Cola domain.[45] Interestingly, the identity of kings with a particular *maṭha* began from this period onwards. The Kakatiya kings, such as Kakati Ganpatideva of the Pāśupata Śaivas, belonged to the Golaki *maṭha*. The ascetics of the Śaiva Siddhānta *maṭhas* in Central India have been described as "worldly" by Sears.[46] It is important to note

that the ascetics were patronized by the kings and the heads of *maṭhas* themselves did not seek the help of kings. The ascetics valued meditational pursuits, study of texts and disseminated Siddhanta theology and *Śaiva Āgamas* They exercised authority that was built upon discipline, religious doctrines, and propagation of theological concepts.

Maṭhas in Tamil Nadu

Like the *maṭhas* in Central India, the ascetic Guru in the Śaiva Siddhānta *maṭhas*, in Tamil Nadu (ninth century CE), were caretakers of temples.[47] They were known as *mudaliars* in Saivite institutions and *mahamunigal* and *brahmavidvans* or (*brāhmin* ascetics) in Vaisnavite *maṭhas*. Important Śaiva Siddhānta *maṭhas* existed as philosophical schools at Mayuram in Tanjore District which subscribed to the Vedic concepts and followed the Saivite vows of renunciation. The Gurus managed and regulated temple rituals and established ways of worshipping Śiva. In Pandyan towns, they were assigned with the responsibility of watching over temple rituals and procedures.[48] The *maṭhas* functioned as feeding houses for pilgrims, provided shelter, trained disciples, and organized Śaiva recitals.[49] They acted as an adjunct of the temple as well as an independent organization that received grants from the king that were tax free. *Maṭhas* in Tamil Nadu can be described as large, full-fledged, independent, multifaceted, dynamic[50] and formidable institutions

Maṭhas in Deccan and Karnataka

The early medieval Saivite *maṭhas* in Karnataka were influenced by Pāśupata beliefs.[103] Here, Pāśupata Kālamukhas and Kapālikas were followers of Lakulisa Siddhānta and followed the popular text *Lakulāgama* or *Pāśupatadarśana.* Kālāmukha temples[51] existed in Hassan, Kadur, Chitradurga, Mysore, Bengaluru, Tumkur, Kolar, and Shimoga districts, as well as in Ablur, Hangal, Gadag, Sri-Parvata (Śrisaila) in Kurnool District, and generally all over Kannada-speaking country as well as in parts of Andhra. Although there were four classes of Śaivaism—Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Karunika Siddhantins, and Kapālikas— there are no records about clashes between these denominations. The Pāśupata and Kālamukha *maṭhas* were established near temples each with their own personnel who were caretakers of temples, resembling those in Tamil Nadu. From inscriptional evidence it can be deduced that they were responsible for proper ritualistic maintenance of the deity.[52] An epigraph from Begur refers to the *maṭha* attached to the temple of Mallikarjuna. Many of the Śaiva Gurus who headed the *mathas* acted as *sthanādhipatis* of temples. Ramesvara *paṇḍita* , the guru of Kakati Prola II, was the *sthanādhipati* of the temple of Bhimesvra Mahadeva at Dakṣaramam and a contemporary of Tribhuvanamalladeva, Vikramaditya VI The innumerable Kālamukha temples, such as the Kallesvara temple and the Sambhulinga temple at Chadurugola and Kasargod in Jagalur Taluk (Devangere district), had *maṭhas* attached to them, and were presided over by the Kālamukha Gurus.[53] A significant note that can be added is that although Hindu Tantrism was popular during this period, Kālamukhas were not Tantric sects which is attested by an inscription of 806 CE in Nandi Hill in Kolar district in Karnataka. According to Lorenzen, the Kālamukha temples were not Tantric and the imagery in the temples in Belagave are not sexual but semi-secular entertainment provided by the temple.[54]

An important contribution of Saivite *maṭhas* was the adherence to the ancient system of guru lineage that provided additional legitimacy to the institution. We also find that Kālamukha *maṭhas* were presided over by a line of *chaturanana paṇḍitaṣ*, one of whom has been described in an inscription of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.[55] In addition, they aligned themselves with royal houses, and were

rājagurus to powerful kings. With the spread and construction of large temple complexes patronized by royalty, *maṭhas* played a central role in Karnataka.

It is interesting to find that the Saivite Golaki *maṭha*, which originated in the Jabalpur region of Madhya Pradesh (1234–1291 CE), had an extensive network of monastic institutions in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka as well It was based on the *Āgamas* and although they were not Pāśupata *maṭhas*, they emphasized the role of the Guru and his lineage. The *maṭhas* were located near temples and functioned as feeding centers. In Tamil Nadu there were both *brāhmin* and non-*brāhmin maṭhas* as in Tenkarai and Tirupparankunram.[56] The celibate heads of these *maṭhas*, called Śivacaryas, belonged to the Govamsa (a religious lineage) and were known as *bhiksha maṭha santāna* (descendants) of gurus supported by a monastery endowed with a *bhiksha* or maintenance gift. These multifaceted institutions with functions of feeding, teaching, boarding, and lodging, (consisting of a pluralistic community, and headed by Gurus who were ascetic, scholarly, and charismatic), played a key role in society.

Important Mathas in Karnataka

Unlike the Saiva Siddhānta *maṭhas* in Central India, *maṭhas* in Karnataka were distinguished by their role as learning and teaching institutions. A significant center of Kālamukha *maṭha* (and temple) system in Karnataka was at Balligame (in Shimoga district), capital of the kingdom of Banavasi.[57] It was a well-known seat of learning and known for its prestigious university town between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries CE.[58] While the Saiva *maṭhas* in Central India and the five Saiva *maṭhas* in Sriparvata (Andhra Pradesh) were headed by Saivite ascetic Gurus, those in Balligame were headed by learned scholars. Here, various philosophies were taught, including Buddhist and Jain. A record from Shikaripur Taluk, extols the heads of the *maṭha* at Balligame: the *ācārya* of Kodiya *maṭha* was proficient in Siddhanta, Tarka, Vyakarana, Kavya, Nataka, Bharata *Śāstra*, and other sciences connected with Sahitya as well as in Jainism, in Lokayata, Buddhism, and Lakula Siddhānta.[59] The Balligame *maṭha* also trained gurus, *ācārya* and priests, and other temple functionaries.

Clear differentiation existed within the *maṭhas* in regard to the status of students and the purpose of their religious training. Here *naiṣṭhika* (celibate) and *śāstrikā*- (married non-celibate) *brahmacārin* students were separated. Among the educational *maṭhas* at Belligame, the Kodiya *maṭha* (or Koti *maṭha*), also known as the Kedaresvara *maṭha* (abode of Kedara of the South), was a great center of learning from about 1094 CE onward and described as an abode of Goddess Sarasvati The heads of the *maṭha* produced commentaries on the six systems of philosophy, *śad darśanas*, *yogaśāstras*, and Lakula Siddhānt It was an institution for the study of the *Purāṇas*, where Jain and Buddhist mendicants— *ksapanakas, brāhmaṇas, ekadandins*—lived.[60] Royal grants were made to teachers proficient in *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas* and not merely to ascetics. The rise in status of the heads of the Kālāmukha *maṭhas* in Balligame was also due to their being *rājagurus* to Kakatiya, Hoysala, and Vijayanagara kings. The Ablur inscriptions mention names such as Ramesvara *paṇḍita* and Somesvara *paṇḍita*[61] who acted as *rājagurus* of Kakatiya kings; *rājaguru* Kriyasakti (1368 CE) was the preceptor of the Vijayanagar kings, Harihara and Bukka. The prestige of the Balligame *maṭha* was great during the reign of Gautama, and his successor Vamasakti II, during the Kalacuris, Bijjala, Somesvara Deva and Ahavamalla Deva as well as the Hoysala king, ViraBallala II. Kālāmukha Gurus were advisors to villagers as well. A Hoysala record of Viraballala I from Kudatini in Bellary district states that the Mummuridandas and others assembled together and resolved disputes in the village and stated that the local officials should act according to the advice. However, it is not known as to what happened to Kālāmukha heads. Unfortunately, many of

them disappeared from Mysore, whether due to Moslem invasions or loss of patronage or even due to the Pāśupatas of Golaki *maṭha* or were incorporated into Virasaivism.

Multireligious Maṭhas in Karnataka

Inscriptional evidence clearly supports the fact that the twelfth century *maṭhas* were not sectarian institutions, particularly those in Balligame and Golaki. Here apart from Hindu *maṭhas*, Jain *basadis*, and Buddhist *vihāras*, there were many temples, such as Dakshina Kedaresvara, Tripurantakesva, Panchalingesvara, Nakharesvara, and Kesava. The five original *maṭhas* in Balligame were dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Jina, and Buddha respectively. Panch *maṭha* (referred to as Panchamaṭha Hiriyamaṭha dated 1099 CE), was dedicated to a Chaturmukha temple of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Jina, and Buddha in eleventh century.[62] According to Lorenzen, the head priest of the Pancha *maṭha*, according to the record of 1129, comprised the temples of Harihara, Kamalasana, Brahma, Vitaraga, Jina, and Bauddha. This attests to the cooperation between different religious groups.[63] In addition, all of these *maṭhas* were administered by a Saivite priest. Among the five original *maṭhas* of Balliagame, one was dedicated to Jina and other to Buddha. Thus, it is possible to infer that the *maṭhas* were multi-faith institutions. Among the five original *maṭhas* (*panchamaṭha mūla sthāna*) at Balipura, Jaina and Baudhist *maṭhas* prominently figure in the records. At Balligame, Jain and Buddhist *maṭhas* imparted their respective doctrines. An inscription of 1165 CE from Soraba (Shimoga district) specifically mentions that the five *maṭhas* at Balipura were practicing the rites of their own respective creeds.[64] Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE, Balligame was the seat of various philosophical and religious studies, including Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain, and divisions within Kālamukha *maṭhas* in Balligame were not religious in nature but organized for social reasons.

It is interesting to find that Buddhist teachers and goddesses are mentioned along with Hindu gods, and it may be conjectured that these were not different systems in this part of the Deccan.

Viraśaiva Maṭhas

During the twelfth century CE Viraśaiva *maṭhas* took shape under the guidance of Basaveshwara (1105–1167 CE). He was a chief minister to king Bijjala and despite not being a *sanyāsi*, became the sole organizer of a monastic order and religious system that brought various creeds under a single religious banner, Virasaivism.[65] Basaveshwara was a socioreligious reformer who emphasized *kāyaka* (manual labor). He attracted adherents from the commoners of the Andhra country and became popular in Karnataka. Virasaivism/Lingayatism is an offshoot of Saivism, and its philosophy grew out of the twenty-eight Śaiva *Āgamas*. Lingāyats venerate the *liṅga* as a symbol of *chaitanya* (consciousness), and is equated with the *parabrahman* of the *Upaniṣads*, source of the universe. Particularly important for the Liṅgāyat community is the Guru in the *maṭha*, who activates the power of *liṅga*/consciousness. The Lingāyat Guru is a realized individual who believes in the equality of all men, rejection of caste, the norm of four *āśramas*, plurality of gods, and even rituals. He had a broad ideology of equality and social justice that provided the *maṭha* with an identity and grew to gain status and power. Due to the intimate relation between the laity and the *maṭha*, its institution has rendered great social service.

Historical Context of *Maṭhas* in South India

The rise of Śaiva *maṭhas* was the result of a complex number of political, social, and religious forces in medieval South India. After the decline of the Guptas in the north, various kingdoms were constantly

waging wars. The Pallavas (third to ninth centuries CE) in Tamil Nadu fought with the Western Chalukyas of Badami (sixth to ninth centuries); the Colas who had ruled from about first century CE grew to be powerful warrior kingdom till thirteenth century CE; in the Deccan were Kadambas (3rd – 6th centuries), Gangas of Talakad (fourth to sixth centuries), Rashtrakutas (eighth to tenth centuries), Hoysalas (twelfth to fourteenth centuries), Kakatiyas and Eastern Chalukyas of Kalyani (eleventh to fourteenth centuries).

Apart from the rise of militant kings, there was the decline of Buddhist monasticism and the rise of Saivism. While Buddhists were losing their privileged position of patronage, Pāśupata *sanyāsis* and *brāhmins* traveled to the countryside. While *brāhmins* were given bad lands as well as land near the temples, Buddhists lived in small, scattered communities. The Pāśupatas were groups of *sanyāsins* who could be compared to the zealous Buddhist proselytizers. They were successful in temple building and obtained royal patronage for their construction.[66] Pāśupatas even appropriated Buddhist iconography, as was in the case of Lakulisa, who is represented in the form of turning a wheel and is represented with a *usnisa* (top knot). In addition, kings favored Śaiva values as Śiva represented a militant quality; he was a destroyer of forces, unlike Buddha. Saivism represented the activities and qualities of the kings. The Bilhari Inscription of Kalachuri Yuvarajadeva II, the Aihole (*praśasti*) by Ravikirti to the Chalukyan king Jayasimha Vallabha, and the Aihole stone inscription of Pulakesin II on the Jain temple on Meguti hill, idealize warfare by the kings.[67] Although we should not conclude that the evidence represents what really happened, the early medieval times were militaristic. It is not that the Buddhist kings were less militaristic; Hieun Tsang justifies Harsha's campaign against Sasanka in 7th century CE. However, a comparison of Buddhist inscriptions with Saivite ones leads us to conclude that descriptions of Śaiva royal inscriptions were described in terms of military heroism and had a more religious fervor while Buddhist kings were represented as compassionate kings. Patronage to Śaiva institutions was on the rise, particularly in the Krishna and Godavari River valleys. The area between Mukhalingam, Kanchipuram, and Badami was dominated by aggressive Śaiva kings, such as the Western Chalukyas, Pallavas, Gangas, and Rashtrakutas. The Krishna River valley was the site of Buddhists (with Nagarjunakonda, Gutapalli, Amravati, Gubhaktada, Jaggayyapeta between the sixth–seventh centuries CE), while Badami had only one Buddhist site (which was abandoned). Overall, it might be added that Buddhist monasteries could not compete with Śaiva monasteries for royal patronage from Saivite kings in South India.

Saivite kings displaced Buddhists in the Decccan, Bhaumakaras, and Kadgas were yet to declare Buddhist affinities in Eastern India, while Kalachuris became stronger in Central India. Moreover, the Maitrikas in Western India were fearful of Islamic armies. Movement of population from north and west to South India further contributed to the complete collapse of Buddhist monasteries (seventh to fourteenth centuries), which had relied on great kings for land grants, maintenance of land, and generous funding. Instead, kings made land grants to *agrahāras*, and when the *brāhmins* settled near forested areas, or in villages, there might have been tensions due to the different observances by *brāhmins*. The Puranic sects became mediators between Vedic Brahmanism and the religions of the local peoples.[68] *Brāhmins*, as religious beneficiaries of land grants from kings, in return legitimized and validated the royal dynasty or averted a misfortune through the performance of rituals. Often the status of kings as gods was enhanced either by *brāhmins* according to *jāti* and *varna* status or composing poetic compositions. Royal patronage had repercussions on *maṭhas*, Vedic teaching, and learning.

The post-Gupta period also witnessed the lessening of donations to Buddhist monasteries. Trading guilds were crippled due to internal military situation. The search for new kinds of patronage placed monasteries (and temples) in a position of assuming many of the characteristics of the society around them. There was also the demarcation of a sacred religious space for Śaiva monasteries (in Central India and Tamil Nadu) near temples, and in towns were monks, townspeople, head men, and all groups could live together. In addition, Buddhist monasteries were not required to provide troops for the kings who granted them patronage although they provided other labor services, ritual, and educative. Śaiva monks, in addition to providing them ritual services, provided them with cultural services, such as securing scholars, learned priests, personnel for temple and other ceremonies, and even served as *rājagurus*— advisors to kings. The religious conditions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE reveal a strange mixture of apparent religious catholicity on the one hand (as manifested by Hoysala kings) and subtle rivalries on the other.[69] There were few Buddhist vestiges, while Jainism was gaining importance.

The ascent of Saivism with the Pāśupatas and the Kālamukhas taking the lead, protection of the good and suppression of the evil, was the ideal: *śiṣṭa parigraha and duṣṭa nigraha* became important. The twelve *saṃhāra* (destroying) forms of Śiva and the six *anugraha* (boon bestowing) forms of Śiva with twenty-four miscellaneous forms were enunciated by the different *Āgamas*. In addition, highly evolved spiritual ideas and religious beliefs and rites in the Tantras, brought Saktism of the Saiva Kapālikas to the forefront. Thus, the rise of Śaiva *maṭhas* was the result of a complex number of medieval forces, including the influence and ultimate decline of Buddhism, the rise of Saivism, Saivite temples, and kings along with their patronage, and the leadership of the Guru in the *maṭha*, whose pivotal role would lead to higher status in late medieval period in Karnataka between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. Whatever be the circumstances of their evolution, the growth of Saivite *maṭhas* as centers of both secular and religious education laid a solid foundation for the growth of Vedānta *maṭhas* that institutionalized the system of monasticism.

Notes

1.   Misra, *Ascetics, Piety, and Power. Saiva Siddhanta Monastic Art.*

2.   Sears, *Worldly Gurus, and Spiritual Kings.*

3.   Talbot, 'Golaki Matha Inscriptions', pp. 135–168.

4.   Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 74, 82.

5.   Miller, *Hindu Monastic Life,* pp. 6–7.

6.   Sawai, *The Faith of Ascetics,* p. 22.

7.   Cenkner, *A Tradition of Teachers* Columbia, p. 8.

     Bhadri, *A Cultural History,* p.167.

8.   As independent institutions of philosophy and power, there were the Vedanta monasteries which is beyond the scope of this paper.

9.   Dutt, Nalinaksha, 'Notes on the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions', pp. 633–53.

10. Personal interview with Jagadguru Karmayogi Charukeerty Bhattarak Swamiji, head of the Jain monastery in Sravana Belagola.

11. The inscription (479 CE) records that a *brāhmaṇa* pair donated land for worship with sandalwood, incense, flowers, lamps etc. of divine *arhats* in a Jaina *vihāra* at Vatahohali, the original site of the present temple

at Paharpur. The disciples of Guhanandin dwelt here and the names of the Digambara *ācāryas* included Yasonandin, Jayanandin, Kumaranandin, and others.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, 1894, pp. 61–62.

In the 9th and 10th centuries CE Paharpur was known as the great Buddhist *vihāra* of King Dharmapala at Somapura.

12. Ravivarman is said to have granted a village of Pumkhetaka for the celebration of the festival of Jinendra and for the maintenance of ascetics during the rains.

13. The Kanas plate of Lokavigraha Bhattarak dated 599–600 CE records the grant of a village for the purpose of the institution of *bali*, *charu*, and *sattra* at the *maṭha* of Maninagabhattaraka of Chaikamaka or Ekambaka and for the maintenance of the *brāhmaṇas* belonging to different *gotras*, who were the students of the Maitrayaniya school of the *Yajurveda.*

    Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 332 ff. Mentioned by Bhadri, *A Cultural History,* Delhi, 2006, p. 166.

14. The Aphsad stone inscription of Adityasena, of seventh century CE records the name of Mahadevi Srimati, the mother of the king, who constructed a *maṭha* or religious college, meaning Vedic scholars and students. *Corpus Inscriptionaum Indicarum,* Vol. III, (42).

15. *Maṭhametat karitakam Nārāyana-devakulasyạ*. The inscription records the construction of a *maṭha* of the devakula of Nārāyana by thẹ *kulapati* Bhagudalana (text 1.6). *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IX, p. 289 ff.

    Bhagudalana is described as a *kulapati* who caused its construction. Normally *kulapati* meant the head of a family. But technically *kulapati* means a sage who feeds and teaches 10,000 pupils. 1951.

    Bhadri, *A Cultural History*, p. 167

16. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, V*ol. VII, 170.

17. Miller, *Hindu Monastic Life*, p. 4.

18. Olivelle, *Vasudevsrama Yatidharmaprakasa,* Part 2., pp. 74–79.

19. Olivelle, *Samnyasa Upanisads,* Oxford, p. 4.

20. Chakraborti, *Asceticism in Ancient India,* Calcutta, p. 4.

21. Swahananda, *Monasteries in South India*, p. 2.

22. Olivelle. *Samnyasa Upanisads*, p. 4.

    However according to Dumont, the heart of Hinduism is in the interaction between the renouncer and the man in the world.

    Dumont, 'World Renunciation', *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* Vol. 4, 1960, p. 37.

23. Uddalaka Aruni and Svetaketu in *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VI. 11–2.3.

    Bedekar, ed. *Vidya, Veda*, p.51.

24. Cenkner, *A Tradition of Teachers,* p. 9.

25. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 74, 399.

26. Kadamba kings from Goa were known to have given grants to an *agrahāra*. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, p. 216.

    Bedekar, *Vidya, Veda*, p. 101.

27. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. VIII, Sorab Inscriptions, 250.

28. Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life,* p. 190.

29. Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, p. 107.

30. Kalas Inscription, 929–30 CE. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIII, p.33.

31. Gurujachar, *Some Aspects*, pp.195–96.

32. Nagaswamy, *Studies in South Indian History*, p. 164.

33. Karashima and others, 'Mathas and Medieval Religious Movements. *Indian Historical Review* Vol.37 (2), 2011, pp. 217–34.

    Srinivasan, C.R. *Kanchipuram the Ages*, p. 10 ff.

34. According to Gangadharan, there were currents passing—the Vedic, the Agamic and Tantric. Gangadharan, *Glimpses of Suttur Mutt*, p. 8.

35. In the *Swayambhuvāgama* there is a reference to the origin of the five *ācāryas* and in *Suprabhedāgama*, the five *ācāryas* are called *jagadgurus*.

    Gururajachar. *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnaṭaka,* p. 9.

36. Gururajachar. *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnaṭaka*, p. 180.

37. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XII, 284. See Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life*, p.185.

38. The Sitapati *agrahāra* in Bengaluru is a *maṭha*, which throws some light on some sort of transformation of an earlier institution, and its renaming as a *maṭha*.

39. Beal, Samuel, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, 1914.

40. According to Lorenzen, Kapālikas were Tantric, but Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas were not Tantric. Lorenzen, 'Early Evidence for Tantric Religion', p. 34.

    Pathak, *History of Saiva Cults,* pp. 3, 4.

41. Misra, R.N. *Ascetics, Piety and Power,* p. 8.

42. Sears, *Worldly Gurus and Spiritual Kings,* p. 121.

43. Misra, R.N. *Ascetics, Piety and Power,* pp. 55, 101, 113.

44. Misra, *Ascetics, Piety and Power*, pp. 73, 126 ff.

45. According to Glenn Yocum, Pāśupata Saivism of the Golaki *maṭha* flourished almost up to the end of reign of Prataparudra, the last Kakatiya monarch of Warangal, who was himself a *paramamaheśwara*. Yocum, 'A Non Brahman Tamil Shaiva Mutt', p. 710.

46. Sears. *Worldly Gurus and Spiritual Kings*, p. 59.

47. In the eleventh century, the Tiranda *maṭha* was near a temple.

    Tirumalai, 'The Maṭhas in Pandyan Townships', pp. 395–407.

48. Tirulamai, 'Maṭhas in Pandyan Townships', p. 395.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Karashima, 'Maṭhas and Medieval Religious Movements', pp. 217–234.

51. Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, p. 107 ff.

52. A *maṭha* attached to the temple of Jogabesvara of Moebennur, in Ranebennur taluk, while in Bjapur district there was the Marasanahalli *maṭha* attached to temple of Uttaresvara, which has been mentioned by Chalukya Somesvara I, 1066 CE.

    Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, pp. 107–115.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

54. 'It is hard to consider them (Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas) as sects. In a Christian context the concept of a "sect" embodies three essential features: a specific doctrine (including a prescribed mode of worship), a priesthood, and a well-defined and exclusive laity. The structure of Hindu "sects" is in general much more amorphous than that of Christian ones. In most cases more emphasis is placed on the doctrine and modes of worship than on organization.'

 Lorenzen. *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas*, pp. 99, 104, 139.

55. This sect of Bhairava *yogis* flourished in the Deccan even after the introduction of *Advaita* by Adi Sankaracarya, who suppressed some nasty practices, as evidenced by an inscription of the 12th century CE in Baligame in Mysore area.

 Chakraborti, *Asceticism in Ancient India*, Calcutta, p. 166.

56. Yocum, 'A Non-Brahman Tamil Shaiva Mutt,' pp. 250-265.

57. Fleet, 'Inscriptions at Ablur', pp. 213–265.

58. It was similar to Takshasila in Northwest India and Varanasi.

 Fleet and Venkata Subbiah, 'Venkata: A Twelfth Century University', pp. 157–196.

59. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. VII, Sk. 94.

 Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, pp. 182–83.

60. Lorenzen, *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas*, p. 104.

61. Yocum, 'A Non-Brahman Tamil Shaiva Mutt,' pp. 705, 112.

62. Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, p.18.

63. Lorenzen calls these as rival creeds. Lorenzen, *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas*, p. 124.

64. The Jain and Buddhist institutions provided instructions on subjects such as logic, grammar, philosophy, and literature while Hindu *maṭhas* also taught all castes including *sudra* students in Balligame.

 Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol., VII. Sk. 277. See Shantakumari, *History of the Agraharas*, p. 108.

65. Lorenzen. *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas*, 167 ff.

66. Davidson, M. Ronald. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, p 86.

67. *Ibid*., p. 86.

68. Thapar, *Early India,* p. 294.

69. Misra, *Ascetics, Piety and Power*, pp. 62–63, 147–151.

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