











A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY



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OF

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

BY THE LATE SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA

VOLUME V SOUTHERN SCHOOLS OF ŚAIVISM

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SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA A MEMOIR

The late Surendranath Dasgupta was born in Kusthia, a subdivision of Bengal, in October 1885 (10th of Āśvina). He came from a well-known family in Goila, District Barishal, East Bengal. This family was particularly known for its great tradition of Sanskrit learning and culture. His great-grandfather was a distinguished scholar and also a Vaidya (physician of the Ayurvedic school of medicine). He was known by his title "Kavīndra", and was running a Sanskrit institution known as "Kavīndra College", which continued in existence up to the time of the partition of India in 1947. This institution maintained about 150 students with free board and lodging, and taught Kāvya, Grammar, Nyāya, Vedānta and Āyurveda in traditional Indian style. Professor Dasgupta's father, Kaliprasanna Dasgupta, was the only member of the family who learnt English and took up the job of a surveyor.

In his early years, between five and eight, while he did not know any Sanskrit, he showed certain remarkable gifts of answering philosophical and religious questions in a very easy and spontaneous manner. He could demonstrate the various Yogic postures (āsanas); and used to pass easily into trance states, while looking at the river Ganges or listening to some Kirtan song. He was visited by hundreds of learned men and pious saints at his father's residence at Kalighat and was styled "Khoka Bhagawan" (Child God). Mention may particularly be made of Srimat Bijay Krishna Goswami, Prabhu Jagat Bandhu and Sivanarayan Paramhansa. He was sometimes taken to the Theosophical Society, Calcutta, where a big audience used to assemble, and the boy was put on the table and questioned on religious and theological matters. The answers that he gave were published in the Bengali and English newspapers along with the questions. Some of these are still preserved.

He was educated at Diamond Harbour for a time, and then for seven years in the Krishnagar Collegiate School and College. He was interested in Sanskrit and science alike, and surprised the professor of chemistry by his proficiency in the subject so much that he never taught in the class unless his favourite pupil was present. He took his M.A. degree from Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1908. His fellow-students noticed with interest his habits and peculiarities. He took no care of his clothes and hair; he studied on a mat with a pillow for his table; and his place was littered with books and papers. Though he did not talk very much, he already had a reputation for scholarship when he was an M.A. student at the Sanskrit College. His scholarship in Pāṇini was so great that when even his teachers had differences of opinion about a grammatical matter, he was called out of his class to solve it. His first research work on Nyāya, which was written while he was in the Sanskrit College, was read out before the Pandits, and was very highly appreciated by them and the then Principal, the late Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Sastri. Incidentally it may be noted that Nyāya was not one of the subjects of his M.A. curriculum. After his childhood, both as a student and as a young man, he had many striking religious and spiritual experiences, which were known to a group of his intimate friends and admirers.

One of the peculiar traits of Dasgupta was that he seldom wished to learn anything from others. He had an inner pride that led him to learn everything by his own efforts. He never wanted any stimulus from outside. Whenever he took up any work, he threw his whole soul and being into it. He passed his M.A. in Philosophy in 1910, as a private candidate, summarising all the prescribed books in his own way. He was twice offered a state scholarship to study Sanskrit in a scientific manner in Europe, but as he was the only child of his parents, he refused out of consideration for their feelings. He began his service at Rajshahi College as an officiating lecturer in Sanskrit. He was soon provided with a permanent professorship at Chittagong College, where he

worked from 1911 to 1920 and from 1922 to 1924.

Chittagong was to him like a place of banishment, being far away from the great libraries of Calcutta. The College was newly started and had none of the facilities that it possesses now. But Dasgupta had taken the resolution that he would dedicate himself to the study of the Indian "Śāstras" in their entirety. For him to take a resolution was to accomplish it, and while many of his colleagues enjoyed club life in an easy-going manner, he continued his studies for fourteen hours or more a day, in spite of the teasing of his friends. At this time Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of

Cassimbazar made an offer of 300 rupees a month for Dasgupta to start his library; this is now one of the best of its kind, containing many unpublished manuscripts and over 15,000 printed books. It was given by him as a gift to the Benares Hindu University on his retirement from the Calcutta University. Love of knowledge seems to have been the guiding passion of the professor's life. He never sought position or honour, though they were showered upon him in quick succession in his later days. He had a unique sincerity of purpose and expression, and the light that came from his soul impressed kindred souls.

When Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, came to visit Chittagong College, he had a long talk with Professor Dasgupta in his classroom, and was so much impressed by it that he expressed the desire that the first volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy* might be dedicated to him. Originally Dasgupta's plan was to write out the history of Indian systems of thought in one volume. Therefore he tried to condense the materials available within the compass of one book. But as he went on collecting materials from all parts of India, a huge mass of published and unpublished texts came to light, and the plan of the work enlarged more and more as he tried to utilise them. As a matter of fact, his was the first and only attempt to write out in a systematic manner a history of Indian thought directly from the original sources in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. In a work of the fourteenth century A.D., the Sarva-darśana-samgraha of Mādhavācārya, we find a minor attempt to give a survey of the different philosophical schools of India. But the account given there is very brief, and the work does not give an exhaustive survey of all the different systems of philosophy. In the present series the author traced, in a historical and critical manner, the development of Indian thought in its different branches from various sources, a considerable portion of which lies in unpublished manuscripts. He spared no pains and underwent a tremendous amount of drudgery in order to unearth the sacred, buried treasures of Indian thought. He revised his original plan of writing only one volume and thought of completing the task in five consecutive volumes constituting a series. He shouldered this gigantic task all alone, with the sincerest devotion and unparalleled enthusiasm and zeal.

Dasgupta had taken the Griffith Prize in 1916 and his doctorate

in Indian Philosophy in 1920. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi now urged him to go to Europe to study European philosophy at its sources, and generously bore all the expenses of his research tour (1920-22). Dasgupta went to England and distinguished himself at Cambridge as a research student in philosophy under Dr McTaggart. During this time the Cambridge University Press published the first volume of the History of Indian Philosophy (1921). He was also appointed lecturer at Cambridge, and nominated to represent Cambridge University at the International Congress of Philosophy in Paris. His participation in the debates of the Aristotelian Society, London, the leading philosophical society of England, and of the Moral Science Club, Cambridge, earned for him the reputation of being an almost invincible controversialist. Great teachers of philosophy like Ward and McTaggart, under whom he studied, looked upon him not as their pupil but as their colleague. He received his Cambridge doctorate for an elaborate thesis on contemporary European philosophy. The impressions that he had made by his speeches and in the debates at the Paris Congress secured for him an invitation to the International Congress at Naples in 1924, where he was sent as a representative of the Bengal Education Department and of the University of Calcutta; later on, he was sent on deputation by the Government of Bengal to the International Congress at Harvard in 1926. In that connection he delivered the Harris Foundation lectures at Chicago, besides a series of lectures at about a dozen other Universities of the United States and at Vienna, where he was presented with an illuminated address and a bronze bust of himself. He was invited in 1925 to the second centenary of the Academy of Science, Leningrad, but he could not attend for lack of Government sanction. In 1935, 1936 and 1939 he was invited as visiting professor to Rome, Milan, Breslau, Königsberg, Berlin, Bonn, Cologne, Zürich, Paris, Warsaw and England.

While in Rome he delivered at the International Congress of Science in 1936 an address on the Science of Ancient India with such success that shouts of "Grand' uomo" cheered him through the session of the day. This led eventually to the conferment of the Honorary D.Litt. upon him by the University of Rome in 1939. He was on that occasion a state guest in Rome and military honours were accorded to him. At this time he read out before many

cultured societies English translations of his own Bengali verses called *Vanishing Lines*. The appreciation that these verses received secured for him a special reception and banquet at the Poets' Club. Before this, only two other Indian poets had been accorded this reception: Tagore and Mrs Naidu. Laurence Binyon spoke of his poems in the following terms: "I am impressed by the richness of imagination which pervades the poems and the glow of mystic faith and fervent emotion—reminding me of one of William Blake's sayings: 'Exuberance is beauty'. It would be a great pity if the poems are not published in English."

The University of Warsaw made him an honorary Fellow of the Academy of Sciences. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. The Société des Amis du Monde of Paris offered him a special reception, and M. Renou, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Paris, wrote to him afterwards: "While you were amongst us, we felt as if a Śankara or a Patanjali was born again and moved amongst us." Kind and simple and gentle as he was, Dasgupta was always undaunted in challenging scholars and philosophers. In the second International Congress of Philosophy in Naples, the thesis of his paper was that Croce's philosophy had been largely anticipated by some forms of Buddhism, and that where Croce differed he was himself in error. On account of internal differences Croce had no mind to join the Congress, but the fact that Dasgupta was going to challenge his philosophy and prove it to be second-hand in open congress, induced him to do so. In the same way he challenged Vallée Poussein, the great Buddhist scholar, before a little assembly presided over by McTaggart. In the meetings of the Aristotelian Society he was a terror to his opponents, his method of approach being always to point out their errors. He inflicted this treatment on many other scholars, particularly Steherbatsky and Levy.

Disinterested love of learning and scientific accuracy were his watchwords. He had to make a most painstaking tour of South India to collect materials for his great *History*. Though he was well known as a scholar of Sanskrit and philosophy, his studies in other subjects, such as physics, biology, anthropology, history, economics, political philosophy, etc. are very considerable. Above all, he developed a new system of thought which was entirely his own. A brief account of this appeared in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*

edited by Radhakrishnan and Muirhead and published by Allen and Unwin.

In 1924, as a mark of recognition of his scholarship, he was admitted to I.E.S. service in Calcutta Presidency College and was posted as Head of the Department of Philosophy. In 1931 he became Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and ex-officio Secretary of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. In the latter capacity he had to arrange about 218 papers in Sanskrit for Sanskrit Title Examinations for about ten thousand candidates coming from all parts of India. During the eleven years of his principalship in Sanskrit College he had worked in various ways for the advancement of Sanskrit learning and culture in India.

In 1942 he retired from Sanskrit College and was appointed King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Science in the University of Calcutta. He worked there for three years and delivered the Stephanos Nirmalendu lectures on the history of religions. He had been suffering from heart trouble since 1940, but was still carrying on his various activities and research work. In 1945 he retired from the Calcutta University and was offered the Professorship of Sanskrit at Edinburgh which had fallen vacant after the death of Professor Keith. The doctors also advised a trip to England. On his arrival in England he fell ill again. In November 1945 he delivered his last public lecture on Hinduism in Trinity College, Cambridge. Since then he was confined to bed with acute heart trouble. He stayed in England for five years (1945–50). Even then he published the fourth volume of his History of Indian Philosophy at the Cambridge University Press, the History of Sanskrit Literature at Calcutta University, Rabindranath the Poet and Philosopher with his Calcutta publishers, and a book on aesthetics in Bengali. In 1950 he returned to Lucknow.

In 1951, through friendly help given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, he started writing the fifth and final volume of the *History* of *Indian Philosophy*. He had also planned to write out his own system of philosophy in two volumes. His friends and students requested him several times to complete the writing of his own thought first. But he looked upon his work on Indian philosophy as the sacred mission of his life, and thought himself to be committed to that purpose. His love of his mother country and all that is best in it always had precedence over his personal aspirations.

With strong determination and unwavering devotion he brought his life's mission very near its completion. Till the last day of his life he was working for this, and completed one full section just a few hours before his passing away, on 18 December 1952. Even on this last day of his life, he worked in the morning and afternoon on the last chapter of the section of Southern Saivism. He passed away peacefully at eight in the evening while discussing problems of modern psychology. All his life he never took rest voluntarily and till his end he was burning like a fire, full of zeal and a rare brightness of spirit for the quest of knowledge.

His plan of the fifth volume was as follows:

- (1) Southern Schools of Śaivism.
- (2) Northern Schools of Saivism.
- (3) Philosophy of Grammar.
- (4) Philosophy of some of the Selected Tantras.

Of these the first was to be the largest section and covers more than a third of the proposed work according to his own estimate. He collected manuscripts from various sources from Southern India and completed his survey of the different schools of Southern Saivism. This is now being published by the Cambridge University Press.

Another aspect of his life, which showed itself in trances and in deep unswerving devotion and faith in his Lord, never left him. These were manifest in him even as a child, and continued all through his life. In trials and troubles and sorrows he was fearless and undaunted. In difficulties he had his indomitable will to conquer; he bore all his sufferings with patience and fortitude. His faith in God sustained him with an unusual brightness and cheerfulness of spirit. He never prayed, as he thought there was no need of it since his dearest Lord was shining in his heart with sweetness, love and assurance. That is why in different critical stages of his illness he never gave up hope, and tried to cheer up his worried wife and attending doctors. It was through sheer determination and unshaken faith that he carried out his life's mission nearly to completion when God took him away—maybe for some purpose known to him alone.

It now remains to thank the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for the very kind interest that they have shown in the

publication of this fifth volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy* by my husband. The Indian Government have permitted me to complete the remaining portion of the work as planned by the author. It is a great task and a very sacred obligation that I owe to my husband, both as his disciple and wife, and I do not know how far I shall be able to fulfil it. It all depends on God's will. But the work as it stands now is self-complete and will serve the need of enquiring minds about the different important schools of Saivism from the beginning of the Christian era. The references to texts and manuscripts have been duly checked. I beg the forgiveness of readers for any mistake that might remain.

SURAMA DASGUPTA

University of Lucknow, India
19 June 1954

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXXIV

	LITERATURE OF SOUTHERN ŚAIVI	sm							
I	The Literature and History of Southern Saivism .				PAGE				
2	The Āgama Literature and its Philosophical Perspective	•	•	•	20				
3	Siva-jñāna-bodha by Meykandadeva	•	•	•	24				
_	Mātaṅga-parameśvara-tantra	•	•	•	28				
4	D 1 -	•	•	•	29				
5	Pauṣkarāgama	•	•	•	38				
	Vātula-tantram	•	•	•	38				
7	vatuta-tantram	•	•	•	30				
	CHAPTER XXXV								
	VĪRA-ŠAIVISM								
	VIIII-DAI VIDAI								
1	History and Literature of Vīra-śaivism	•	•	٠	42				
2	Anubhava-sūtra of Māyi-deva	•	•	•	61				
	CHAPTER XXXVI								
	PHILOSOPHY OF ŚRĪKAŅŢHA								
I	Philosophy of Saivism as expounded by Srīkantha in his	Comn	nentai	У					
	on the Brahma-sūtra and the Sub-commentary on it	by A	Appay	7a	6				
	Dīkṣita	•	•	٠	65				
2	The Nature of Brahman	•	•	•	77 85				
3	Moral Responsibility and the Grace of God	•	•	•	05				
CHAPTER XXXVII									
	THE SAIVA PHILOSOPHY IN THE PUR	ĀNIA	2						
	THE SAIVA PHILOSOPHI IN THE FOR	CALVE	10						
1	The Saiva Philosophy in the Siva-mahāpurāṇa .	•	•	٠	96				
2,	3 Saiva Philosophy in the Vāyavīya-samhitā of the Śiva-	mahā	purāņ	ıa					
	Section I				106				
	Section 2				118				

xiv Contents

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SAIVA PHILOSOPHY IN SOME OF THE IMPORTANT	THE IMPORTANT TEX	THE IMPORTA	SOME O	IN	II OSOPHV	AIVA PHII
---	-------------------	-------------	--------	----	-----------	-----------

		PAGE
I	The Doctrine of the Pāśupata-sūtras	130
2	The Śaiva Ideas of Māṇikka-vāchakar in <i>Tiru-vāchaka</i>	149
3	Māṇikka-vāchakar and Śaiva Siddhānta	154
1	Saiva Philosophy according to Bhoja and his commentators	159
5	Srīpati Paṇḍita's Ideas on the Vedānta Philosophy, called also the Śrīkara-bhāṣya which is accepted as the Fundamental Basis of Vīra-	
	śaivism	173
	INDEX	101

CHAPTER XXXIV

LITERATURE OF SOUTHERN ŚAIVISM

The Literature and History of Southern Śaivism.

THE earliest Sanskrit philosophical literature in which we find a reference to Saivism is a bhāsya of Sankara (eighth century) on Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37. In the commentary on this śūtra, Śańkara refers to the doctrines of the Siddhantas as having been written by Lord Maheśvara. The peculiarity of the teachings of the Siddhantas was that they regarded God as being only the instrumental cause of the world. Here and elsewhere Sankara has called the upholders of this view Iśvara-kāranins. If Śiva or God was regarded as both the instrumental and the material cause of the world, according to the different Siddhanta schools of thought, then there would be no point in introducing the sūtra under reference, for according to Sankara also, God is both the instrumental and the material cause of the world. Sankara seems to refer here to the Pāśupata system which deals with the five categories, such as the cause (kārana), effect (kārya), communion (yoga), rules of conduct (vidhi) and dissolution of sorrow (duhkhānta)1. According to him it also holds that Pāśupati (God) is the instrumental cause of the world. In this view the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśesikas also attribute the same kind of causality to God, and offer the same kind of arguments, i.e. the inference of the cause from the effect.

Vācaspati Miśra (A.D. 840), in commenting on the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, says that the Maheśvaras consist of the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, the Kāruṇika-siddhāntins and the Kāpālikas. Mādhava of the fourteenth century mentions the Śaivas as being Nakulīśa-pāśupatas who have been elsewhere mentioned as Lākulīśa-pāśupatas or Lakulīśa-pāśupatas, and they have been discussed in another section of the present work. Mādhava also mentions the Śaiva-darśana in which he formulates the philosophical doctrines found in the Śaivāgamas and their cognate literature. In addition to this he devotes a section to pratyabhijñā-darśana, commonly

 $^{^{1}}$ The skeleton of this system has already been dealt with in another section as $P\bar{a}$ supata-\$\delta\bar{a}stras\$.

called Kāśmīr Śaivism. This system will also be dealt with in the present volume. Vācaspati mentions the Kārunika-siddhāntins and the Kāpālikas. Rāmānuja in his bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37 mentions the name of Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas as being Saiva sects of an anti-Vedic character. But in spite of my best efforts, I have been unable to discover any texts, published or unpublished, which deal with the special features of their systems of thought. We find some references to the Kāpālikas in literature like the Mālatī-mādhava of Bhavabhūti (A.D. 700-800) and also in some of the Purānas. Ānandagiri, a contemporary of Sankara and a biographer, speaks of various sects of Saivas with various marks and signs on their bodies and with different kinds of robes to distinguish themselves from one another. He also speaks of two schools of Kāpālikas, one Brahmanic and the other non-Brahmanic. In the Atharva-veda we hear of the Vrātyas who were devotees of Rudra. The Vrātyas evidently did not observe the caste-rules and customs. But the Vrātyas of the Atharva-veda were otherwise held in high esteem. But the Kāpālikas, whether they were Brahmanic or non-Brahmanic, indulged in horrid practices of drinking and indulging in sex-appetite and living in an unclean manner. It is doubtful whether there is any kind of proper philosophy, excepting the fact that they were worshippers of Bhairava the destroyer, who also created the world and maintained it. They did not believe in karma. They thought that there are minor divinities who perform various functions in world creation and maintenance according to the will of Bhairava. The Śūdra Kāpālikas did not believe also in the castesystem and all these Kāpālikas ate meat and drank wine in skulls as part of their rituals. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks on the authority of Siva-mahāpurāna that the Kālamukhas were the same as the Mahāvratadharas. But the present author has not been able to trace any such passage in the Siva-mahāpurāna, and Bhandarkar does not give any exact reference to the Śiva-mahāpurāna containing this identification. The Mahāvrata, meaning the great vow, consists in eating food placed in a human skull and smearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others, which are attributed to the Kālamukhas by Rāmānuja. Bhandarkar also refers to the commentary of Jagaddhara on the Mālatīmādhava, where the Kāpālika-vrata is called Mahāvrata. Bhandarkar further points out that the ascetics dwelling in the temple of

Kāpāleśvara near Nasik are called the Mahāvratins¹. Be that as it may, we have no proof that the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas had any distinct philosophical views which could be treated separately. Members of their sects bruised themselves in performing particular kinds of rituals, and could be distinguished from other Śaivas by their indulgence in wines, women, and meat and even human meat. Somehow these rituals passed into Tāntric forms of worship, and some parts of these kinds of worship are found among the adherents of the Tāntric form of worship even to this day. Tāntric initiation is thus different from the Vedic initiation.

Frazer in his article on Saivism in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics says that, in some well-known temples in South India, the ancient blood-rites and drunken orgies are permitted to be revived yearly as a compromise with the aboriginal worshippers, whose primitive shrines were annexed by Brahmin priests acting under the protection of local chieftains. These chieftains, in return for their patronage and countenance, obtained a rank as Ksatriyas with spurious pedigrees. Frazer further gives some instances in the same article in which non-Brahmins and outcastes performed the worship of Siva and also offered human sacrifices, and one of the places he mentions is Śrīśaila, the Kāpālika centre referred to by Bhavabhūti. These outcaste worshippers were ousted from the temple by some of the Buddhists, and thereafter the Buddhists were thrown out by the Brahmins. By the time of Sankara, the Kāpālikas developed a strong centre in Ujjain. We, of course, do not know whether the South Indian cult of blood-rites as performed by Brahmins and non-Brahmins could be identified with the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas; but it is quite possible that they were the same people, for Śriśaila, mentioned by Bhavabūti, which is described as an important Kāpālika centre, is also known to us as a centre of bloody rites from the Sthala-māhātmya records of that place as mentioned by Frazer. The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas were anti-Vedic according to the statement of Rāmānuja in Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37. Šankara also, according to Ānandagiri, did not hold any discussion with the Kāpālikas, as their views were professedly anti-Vedic. He simply had them chastised and whipped. The Kāpālikas, however, continued in their primitive

 $^{^1}$ Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (1913), p. 128.

form and some of them were living even in Bengal, as is known to the present writer. The habit of smearing the body with ashes is probably very old in Saivism, since we find the practice described in the *Pāsupata-sūtra* and in the *bhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya.

The Kārunika-siddhāntins mentioned by Vācaspati have not been referred to by Mādhava (fourteenth century) in his Sarvadarśana-samgraha, and we do not find a reference to these in any of the Saivagamas. But from the statement of Saiva philosophy in the Vāvavīva-samhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāna, as discussed in another section (pp. 106-29), it is not difficult for us to reconstruct the reasons which might have led to the formation of a special school of Saivism. We find that the doctrine of grace or karunā is not always found in the same sense in all the Agamas, or in the Vāyavīya-samhitā, which was in all probability based on the Agamas. Ordinarily the idea of grace or karunā would simply imply the extension of kindness or favour to one in distress. But in the Saivagamas there is a distinct line of thought where karuna or grace is interpreted as a divine creative movement for supplying all souls with fields of experience in which they may enjoy pleasures and suffer from painful experiences. The karunā of God reveals the world to us in just the same manner as we ought to experience it. Grace, therefore, is not a work of favour in a general sense, but it is a movement in favour of our getting the right desires in accordance with our karma. Creative action of the world takes place in consonance with our good and bad deeds, in accordance with which the various types of experience unfold themselves to us. In this sense, grace may be compared with the view of Yoga philosophy, which admits of a permanent will of God operating in the orderliness of the evolutionary creation (parinamakramaniyama) for the protection of the world, and supplying it as the basis of human experience in accordance with their individual karmas. It is again different from the doctrine of karuṇā of the Rāmānuja Vaisnavas, who introduce the concept of Mahālaksmī, one who intercedes on behalf of the sinners and persuades Nārāyaṇa to extend His grace for the good of the devotees.

The word 'siva' is supposed to have been derived irregularly from the root 'vas kāntan'. This would mean that Siva always fulfils the desires of His devotees. This aspect of Siva as a merciful Lord who is always prepared to grant any boons for which prayers

are offered to Him is very well depicted in the *Mahābhārata* and many other Purāṇas. This aspect of Śiva is to be distinguished from the aspect of Śiva as *rudra* or śarva or the god of destruction.

We have seen that we know practically nothing of any importance about the Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas. The other doctrines of Saivism of the South are those of the Pāśupatas, the Saiva doctrines derived from the Agamas and the Vaisnavas. The other schools of Saivism that developed in Kāśmīr in the ninth and tenth centuries will be separately discussed. The Pāśupata-sūtra with the Pañcārtha bhāsya of Kaundinya was first published from Trivandrum in 1940, edited by Anantakrisna Sāstri. This bhāṣya of Kaundinya is probably the same as the Rāśīkara-bhāsya referred to by Mādhava in his treatment of Nakulīśa-pāśupata-darśana in Sarva-darsana-samgraha. Some of the lines found in Kaundinya's bhāsya have been identified by the present writer with the lines attributed to Rāśīkara by Mādhava in his treatment of the Nakulīśa-pāśupata system. Nakulīśa was the founder of the Pāśupata system. Aufrect in the Catalogus Catalogorum mentions the Pāśupata-sūtra¹. The Vāyavīya-samhitā II. 24. 169, also mentions the Pāśupata-śāstra as the Pañcārtha-vidyā². Bhandarkar notes that in an inscription in the temple of Harsanātha which exists in the Sikar principality of the Jaipur State, a person of the name of Viśvarūpa is mentioned as the teacher of the Pañcārthalākulāmnāya. The inscription is dated v.E. 1013 = A.D. 957. From this Bhandarkar infers that the Pāśupata system was attributed to a human author named Lakulin and that the work composed by him was called *Pañcārtha*. This inference is not justifiable. We can only infer that in the middle of the tenth century Lakuliśa's doctrines were being taught by a teacher called Viśvarūpa, who was well reputed in Jaipur, and that Lakulīśa's teachings had attained such an authoritative position as to be called amnaya, a term used to mean the Vedas.

In the Pāśupata-sūtra published in the Trivandrum series, the first sūtra as quoted by Kaundinya is athātaḥ paśupateh paśupataṃ

¹ Bhandarkar notes it in his section on the Pāśupatas, op. cit. p. 121 n.

² The present writer could not find any such verse in the edition of *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa* printed by the Venkateśvara Press, as II. 24 contains only seventy-two stanzas.

yogavidhim vyākhyāsyāmah. Here the yoga-vidhi is attributed to Pasupati or Siva. In the Sūtasamhitā IV. 43. 17, we hear of a place called Nakula and the Siva there is called Nakulīśa. The editor of the Pāśupata-sūtra mentions the names of eighteen teachers beginning with Nakulīśa¹. These names are (1) Nakulīśa, (2) Kauśika, (3) Gārgya, (4) Maitreya, (5) Kauruṣa, (6) Īśāna, (7) Paragārgya, (8) Kapilānda, (9) Manusyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Pingalākṣa, (13) Puṣpaka, (14) Brhadārya, (15) Agasti, (16) Santāna, (17) Kaundinya or Rāśīkara, (18) Vidyāguru. The present writer is in agreement with the view of the editor of the Pāśupata-sūtra, that Kaundinya the bhāsyakāra lived somewhere from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The style of the bhāṣya is quite archaic, and no references to the later system of thought can be found in Kaundinya's bhāṣya. We have already seen that according to the Siva-mahāpurāna there were twenty-eight yogācāryas and that each of them had four disciples so that there were 112 yogācāryas. Out of these twenty-eight yogācāryas the most prominent were Lokākṣī, Jaigīṣavya, Rṣabha, Bhrgu, Atri and Gautama. The last and the twenty-eighth ācārya was Lakulīśa, born at Kāyā-vatarana-tīrtha. Among the 112 yogācāryas, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcasikha, Parāsara, Garga, Bhārgava, Angira, Śuka, Vaśistha, Brhaspati, Kuni, Vāmadeva, Śvetaketu, Devala, Śālihotra, Agniveśa, Akṣapāda, Kanāda, Kumāra and Ruru are the most prominent².

¹ These names are taken from Rājaśekhara's Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya composed during the middle of the fourteenth century. Almost the same names with slight variations are found in Guṇaratna's commentary on Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya.

² See Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, Vāyavīya Saṃhitā II. 9, and also Kūrma-purāṇa I. 53. The Vāyu-purāṇa describes in the twenty-third chapter the names of the four disciples of each of the twenty-eight ācāryas. Viśuddha Muni mentions the name of Lakulīśa in his work called Atma-samarpaṇa. See also Introduction to the Pāśupata-sūtra, p. 3n.

The list of twenty-eight teachers given in the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa does not always tally with the list collected by other scholars, or with that which is found in the Ātma samarpaṇa by Viśuddha Muni. It seems therefore that some of these names are quite mythical, and as their works are not available, their names are not much used. Viśuddha Muni summarises the main items of self-control, yama, from the Pāśupata-śāstra, which are more or less of the same nature as the yamas or measures of self-control as found in the Yogaśāstra introduced by Patañjali. It is not out of place here to mention that the concept of God in Yogaśāstra is of the same pattern as that of the Paśupati in the Pāśupata-sūtra and bhāṣya.

Mr Dalal in his introduction to Ganakārikā says that the Lākulīśa-pāśupata-darśana is so called from Lakulīśa, who originated the system. Lakulīśa means "a lord of those bearing a staff". Lakulīśa is often regarded as an incarnation of God Śiva with a citron in the right hand and a staff in the left. The place of the incarnation is Kāyārohana in Bhrgu-kṣetra which is the same as Kāravana, a town in the Dabhoi Taluka of the Baroda State. In the Kāravana-māhātmya it is said that a son of a Brahmin in the village Ulkāpurī appeared as Lakulīśa and explained the methods and merits of worshipping and tying a silken cloth to the image of the God Lakulīśa. This work is divided into four chapters; the first is from the Vāyu-purāna, the remaining three are from the Siva-mahāpurāna. At the commencement of the work, there is obeisance to Maheśvara, who incarnated himself as Lakuta-pānīśa. There is a dialogue there between Siva and Pārvatī, in which the latter asks Siva of the merits of tying a silken cloth. Siva then relates the story of his incarnation between the Kali and Dvapara yugas as a Brahmin named Viśvarāja in the family of the sage Atri. His mother was Sudarsana. Some miraculous myths relating to this child, who was an incarnation of Siva, are narrated in the Kāravana Māhātmya, but they may well be ignored here.

We have already mentioned the name of Atri as being one of the important teachers of the Pāśupata school. But according to the account of these teachers as given above, Nakulīśa should be regarded as the first founder of the system. We have seen also that by the middle of the tenth century there was a teacher of the Pañcārtha-lākulāmnāva, which must be the same as the doctrine propounded in the Pāśupata-sūtra. It is difficult to say how early the concept of Pasupati might have evolved. From the Mohenjodaro excavations we have a statuette in which Siva is carved as sitting on a bull, with snakes and other animals surrounding Him. This is the representation in art of the concept of the lord of pasus or paśupati, which is found in pre-Vedic times. The concept of Siva may be traced through the Vedas and also through the Upanisads and particularly so in the Svetāśvatara Upanisad. The same idea can be traced in the Mahābhārata and many other Purānas. The religious cult of Siva, which defines the concept of Siva in its various mythological bearings, has to be given up here, as the interest of the present work is definitely restricted to philosophical ideas and the ethical and social attitude of the followers of Śiva¹.

It must, however, be said that the Saiva philosophy and the worship of Siva had spread itself far and wide throughout the whole of the peninsula long before the eighth century A.D. We have the most sacred temples of Siva in the north in Badrikāśrama, in Nepal (Paśupati-nātha), in Kāśmīr, in Prabhāsa, in Kathiawar (the temple of Somanātha), in Benaras (the temple of Viśvanātha), the Nakulīśvara temple in Calcutta, and the temple of Rāmeśvaram in extreme South India. This is only to mention some of the most important places of Siva-worship. As a matter of fact, the worship of Siva is found prevalent almost in every part of India, and in most of the cities we find the temples of Siva either in ruins or as actual places of worship. Siva is worshipped generally in the form of the phallic symbol and generally men of every caste and women also may touch the symbol and offer worship. The Saiva forms of initiation and the Tantric forms of initiation are to be distinguished from the Vedic forms of initiation, which latter is reserved only for the three higher castes. But as the present work is intended to deal with the philosophy of Saivism and Tantricism, all relevant allusions to rituals and forms of worship will be dropped as far as possible.

The Jaina writer Rājaśekhara of the middle of the fourteenth century mentions the name of Śaiva philosophy in his Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya and calls it a yoga-mata². He describes the Śaiva ascetics as holding staves in their hands and wearing long loin cloths (prauḍha-kaupīna-paridhāyinaḥ). They had also blankets for covering their bodies, matted locks of hair, and their bodies were smeared with ashes. They ate dry fruits, bore a vessel of gourd (tumbaka), and generally lived in forests. Some of them had wives, while others lived a lonely life. Rājaśekhara further says that the Śaivas admitted eighteen incarnations of Śiva, the Overlord, who creates and destroys the world. We have already mentioned the names of the teachers that are found in Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya. These teachers were particularly adored and among

² atha yoga-matam brumah, śaivam-ity-aparā-bhidham. Rājaśekhara's Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya, p. 8 (2nd edition, Benares).

¹ Those who are interested in the study of the evolution of the different aspects of God Śiva, may consult Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism*, and also the article on Śaivism by Frazer in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

them it was Aksapāda who enunciated a system of logic in which he discussed the pramānas, perception, inference, analogy and testimony and also described the sixteen categories that are found in the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama or Aksapāda. Rājaśekhara mentions the names of Jayanta, Udayana, and Bhāsarvajña. Thus according to Rājaśekhara the Naiyāyikas were regarded as Śaivas. It does not seem that Rājaśekhara had made any definite study of the Nyāya system, but based his remarks on the tradition of the time¹. He also regards the Vaisesikas as Pāsupatas. The Vaisesika saints wore the same kind of dress and the marks as the Naiyāyikas and admitted the same teachers, but they held that the perception and inference were the only two pramanas and that the other pramanas were included within them. He also mentions the six categories that we find in the Vaisesika-sūtra. Rājasekhara calls the Naiyayikas Yaugas. The Vaiśesika and the Nyāya are more or less of the same nature and both of them regard the dissolution of sorrow as ultimate liberation. Gunaratna, the commentator of Haribhadra Suri's Saddarśana-samuccaya was a Jaina writer like Rājaśekhara and he was in all probability a later contemporary of him. Many of his descriptions of the Naiyāyikas or Yaugas seem to have been taken from Rājaśekhara's work, or it may also have been that Rājasekhara borrowed it from Gunaratna, the descriptions being the same in many places. Gunaratna says that there were found kinds of Śaivas such as the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and the Kālamukhas². In addition to these both Gunaratna and Rājaśekhara speak of those who take the vow (vratins) of service to Siva and they are called Bharatas and Bhaktas. Men of any caste

¹ śrutānusāratah proktam naiyāyika-matam mayā. Ibid. p. 10.

saivah pāśupataścaiva mahāvrata-dharas tathā, turyāh kālamukhā mukhyā bhedā ete tapasvinām.

Gunaratna's commentary on Haribhadra's Saddarsana-samuccaya, p. 51 (Suali's

edition, Calcutta, 1905).

According to Guṇaratna, therefore, the Mahāvratadharas and the Kālamukhas are entirely different. The Kāpālikas are not mentioned by Guṇaratna. These four classes of Saivas were originally Brahmins and they had the sacred thread. Their difference was largely due to their different kinds of rituals and behaviour (ācāra):

ādhāra-bhasma-kaupīna-jaṭā-yajñopavītinaḥ, sva-svācārādi-bhedena caturdhā syus tapasvinaḥ.

Rāmānuja mentions the names of Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas as being outside the pale of the Vedas (veda-bāhya). In Śankara-vijaya of Ānandagiri also the Kāpālikas are represented as being outside the pale of the Vedas. But the Kālamukhas are not mentioned there.

could be included in the class of Bharaṭas (servants) and Bhaktas (devotees) of Śiva. The Naiyāyikas were always regarded as devotees of Śiva and they were called Śaivas. The Vaiśeṣika philosophy was called Pāśupata¹. Haribhadra also says that the Vaiśeṣikas admitted the same divinity as the Naiyāyikas².

Excluding the Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas, about whom we know very little except the traditional imputations against their rituals and non-Vedic conduct, we have the text of the Pāśupata system and the Saiva philosophy as described in the Saiva Agamas. We have also the Pāśupata-śāstra as described in the Vāyavīya samhitā, the Śaiva philosophy of Śrīkantha as elaborated by Appaya Dīkṣita, and the Śaiva philosophy as expounded by King Bhoja of Dhāra in his Tattva-prakāśa as explained by Śrīkumāra and Aghora-śivācārya. We have also the Vīra-śaivism which evolved at a later date and was explained in a commentary on Brahma-sūtra by Śrīpati Pandita who is generally placed in the fourteenth century³. Śrīpati Pandita was posterior to the Pāśupatas and Rāmānuja, and also to Ekorāma and the five ācāryas of the Vīra-śaiva religion. Śrīpati was also posterior to Mādhavācārya. But it is curious that Madhava seems to know nothing either of Vīraśaivism or of Śrīpati Pandita. He was of course posterior to Basava of the twelfth century, who is generally regarded as being the founder of Vīra-śaivism. As Hayavadana Rao points out, Śrīpati was posterior to Śrīkantha, who wrote a bhāsya on the Brahma-sūtra4. We have treated in a separate section the philosophy of Śrīkantha. Śrīkantha lived somewhere in the eleventh century and may have been a junior contemporary of Rāmānuja. Śrīkantha in his treatment of Brahma-sūtra III. 3. 27-30, criticises the views of Rāmānuja and Nimbārka. Hayavadana Rao thinks on inscriptional grounds that Śrīkantha was living in A.D. 11225.

Meykaṇḍadeva, the most famous author of the Tamil translation of the Sanskrit work Śiva-jñāna-bodha belonged to Tiru-

¹ See Gunaratna's commentary, p. 51.

devatā-viṣayo bhedo nāsti naiyāyikaih samam, vaiśeṣikānām tattve tu vidyate' sau nidarśyate.

Haribhadra's Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya, p. 266.

³ C. Hayavadana Rao's Śrīkara-bhāşya, Vol. 1, p. 31.

Ibid. p. 36.
 Ibid. p. 41.

venneyllur near the South Arcot district. There is an inscription in the sixteenth year of the Chola King Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-48) which records a gift of land to an image set up by Meykanda. This fixes the date of Meykandadeva, the disciple of Parañjoti muni to about the middle of the thirteenth century. Hayvadana Rao after a long discussion comes to the view that Meykanda actually lived about A.D. 1235, if not a little earlier¹. From inscriptional sources it has been ascertained that Śrīkantha, the commentator of Brahmasūtra lived about A.D. 1270. It is quite possible that Meykanda and Śrīkantha were contemporaries. The philosophical difference between Meykanda and Śrīkantha is quite remarkable, and the two persons cannot therefore be identified as one². Śrīkantha thinks that the world is a transformation of the *cicchakti* of the Lord. It does not provide for the creation of the material world, does not speak of the anava-mala, and is apparently not in favour of jivanmukti. Further Śrīkantha appears to establish his system on the basis of the śruti. Meykanda, however, tries to establish his system on the basis of inference, and there are many other points of difference as will be easily seen from our treatment of Meykandadeva. It does not seem that Śrīkantha had any relation with Mevkandadeva.

Śrīpati quotes from Haradatta in very reverential terms. Hayvadana Rao refers to an account of the life of Haradatta as given in the *Bhavisyottara-purāṇa*, and to the writings of his commentator Śiva-liṅga-bhūpati, which would assign Haradatta to the Kali age 3979, corresponding roughly to A.D. 879. In the *Siva-rahasya-dīpikā*, however, Kali age 3000 is given as a rough approximation of the date of Haradatta. Professor Shesagiri Śāstrī accepts the former date as a more correct one and identifies the Haradatta quoted in *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* as being the same as the author of *Harihara-tāratamya* and the *Caturveda-tātparya-saṃgraha*. As we have mentioned elsewhere, Haradatta was the author of the *Gaṇakārikā*. Mr Dalal in all probability had confused the two in his introduction to the *Gaṇakārikā*, in which he says that Bhāsarvajna was the author of *Gaṇakārikā*. In reality Haradatta wrote only the *Kārikā*, and the Nyāya author Bhāsar-

¹ Ibid. p. 48.

² Ibid. p. 49. The systems of Śrīkaṇṭha and of Meykaṇḍa have been dealt with in separate sections of the present work.

vajña wrote a commentary on it called the *Ratnaṭīkā*¹. Śrīpati also quotes from *Siddhānta śikhāmaṇi*, a Vīraśaiva work written by Revaṇārya.

It is curious to note that though Vīra-śaivism was founded at least as early as the time of Basava (A.D. 1157-67), Mādhava in the fourteenth century does not know anything of Vīra-śaivism. It is, however, doubtful if Basava was really the founder of Vīraśaivism in India. We have got some sayings in Canarese known as the vacanas of Basava, but we find that his name is seldom mentioned as a teacher of any articles of the Vīra-śaiva faith. There is a semi-mythical account of Basava in a work called Basava-purāna. It is said there that Siva asked Nandin to incarnate himself in the world for the propagation of the Vīra-śaiva faith. Basava was this incarnation. He was a native of Bagevadi from where he went to Kalyāņa where Vijjala or Vijjana was reigning (A.D. 1157-67). His maternal uncle, Baladeva, was the minister, and he himself was raised to that position after his death. Basava's sister was given away to the king. He was in charge of the treasury and spent large sums in supporting and entertaining the Lingayat priests or mendicants called Jangamas. When the king came to know of this, he became angry and sent troops to punish him. Basava collected a small army and defeated these troops. The king brought him back to Kalyana and there was apparently some reconciliation between them. But Basava later on caused the king to be assassinated. This depicts Basava more as a scheming politician than as a propounder of new faith.

Returning to our treatment of the literature of the Pāśupatas, we see that between the Vaiṣṇavas and the monists like the Śaṅkarites we have a system of thought representing the monotheistic point of view. This view appears in diverse forms in which God is sometimes regarded as being established as upholding the universe, but beyond it; sometimes it is held that God is beyond the world and has created it by the material of His own energy; at other times it

This led to the confusion that the $Gaṇak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ was the composition of Bhāsarvajña, who only wrote the commentary. This Haradatta must be distinguished from the Haradatta of the $Padama\~njar\~1$ on the $K\bar{a}\acute{s}ik\bar{a}-vrtti$, and also from the commentator of the $A\bar{p}astamba-s\bar{u}tra$.

¹ The colophon of the Gaṇakārikā runs as follows: ācārya-bhāsarvajña-viracitāyām gaṇakārikāyām ratnaṭīkā parisamāptā.

has been held that God and energy are one and the same. Sometimes it has been held that God has created the world by His mercy or grace and that His grace is the inner dynamic force which follows the course of creation and maintenance. It is in this way that a compromise has been made between the theory of grace and the theory of karma. There are others, however, who think that we do not as of necessity have a right to reap the fruits of our actions, but we have to be satisfied with what is given to us by God. The Pāśupatas hold this view, and it is important to notice that the Nyāya which admits the doctrine of karma also thinks that we are only entitled to such enjoyments and experiences as are allotted to us by God. The fact that both the Nyāya and the Pāśupatas think that God can be established by inference, and that the grace of God is ultimately responsible for all our experiences, naturally leads us to link together the Nyāya-vaiśesika view with the Pāśupata view. The tradition is preserved in the two Saddarsana-samuccavas of Rājaśekhara and Haribhadra with Gunaratna, which, as well as the benedictory verses in most Nyāya works until the tenth and eleventh centuries, justify the assumption that the Nyāya-vaiśesika was a school of Pāśupatas which paid more emphasis to evolving a system of logic and metaphysics. The Pāsupata system generally accepted the caste-division, and only those belonging to higher castes could claim to attain spiritual liberation. Yet as time rolled on we find that men of all castes could become devotees or servants of God and be regarded as Saivas. We find the same kind of gradual extension and withdrawal of caste system among the Vaisnavas also. Both in Saivism and Vaisnavism, bhakti or devotion to God came to be regarded as the criterion of the faith.

We have already referred to the statement in the Kāravaṇa-māhātmya about how the Lord incarnated Himself as a descendant of Atri. He is said to have walked to Ujjain and taught a Brahmin there called Kuśika who came from Brahmāvarta. These teachings were in the form of the present sūtras called the Pañcārtha, the main substance of which has already been described. It is generally believed that the original sūtras, divided into five chapters (pañcārtha), were composed somewhere in the first or the second century A.D. The bhāṣya of Kauṇḍinya is probably the same as the Rāśīkara bhāṣya. Kauṇḍinya does not mention the name of any writer contemporary to him. He refers to the Sāṃkhya-yoga but

not to Vedānta or the Upaniṣads. It is interesting to note therefore that this system does not pretend to claim the authority of the Upaniṣads or its support. The authority of the sūtras is based on the assumption that they were composed by Paśupati himself. There are many quotations in the work of Kauṇḍinya, but it is not possible to identify their sources. The style of Kauṇḍinya's bhāṣya reminds one of the writings of Patañjali the grammarian, who probably lived about 150 B.C. Kauṇḍinya is generally believed to have lived between A.D. 400–600, though I do not know why he could not be placed even a century or two earlier. The date of Gaṇakārikā is rather uncertain. But Bhāsarvajña wrote a commentary on it called Ratnaṭīkā. He seems to have lived in the middle of the tenth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the temple of Somanātha is also mentioned in the Kāravaṇa-māhātmya as one of the most important Pāśupata centres.

In the Sarva-darśana-samgraha of Mādhava of the fourteenth century, we find a treatment of Nakulīśa-pāśupata system, the Śaiva system and the Pratyabhijñā system of Kāśmīr. The Nakulīśa-pāśupata system is based upon the Pāśupata-sūtra and the bhāṣya of Kaundinya called also the Rāṣīkara-bhāṣya. The Saiva system is based on the various Saivagamas and also on the Tattva-prakāśa of Bhoja. Thus Mādhava mentions about ten Saiva works which, with many others, have been available to the present writer either in whole manuscripts or in fragments1. Sankara, in his bhāsya on the Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37, speaks of the Māheśvaras along with others who regarded God as the instrumental cause, but not the material cause. He does not seem to distinguish the subdivisions of the Maheśvaras. But Vācaspati speaks of four subdivisions of the Maheśvaras. Mādhava, however, treats the two types of the Saiva school as Nakulīśa-pāśupata and Saiva in two different sections. From Sankara's bhāsya it appears that he was familiar only with the Pañcārtha of the Pāśupata-sūtra. But Anandagiri in his Sankara-vijaya refers to six different kinds of Saiva sects such as Saiva, Raudra, Ugra, Bhatta, Jangama and Pāśupata. These different sects bore different kinds of marks on

¹ The works mentioned by Mādhava in his Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha are as follows: Mṛgendrāgama, Pauṣkarāgama, Tattva-prakāśa of Bhoja, Soma-sambhu's bhāṣya, Aghora-śivācārya's commentary on Tattva-prakāśa, Kālotta-rāgama, Rāmakaṇḍa's commentary on Kālottarā, Kiraṇāgama, Saurabheyāgama and Jñāna-ratnāvalī.

their bodies and distinguished themselves from one another by various rituals. But most of their specific religious literature now in all probability has long disappeared. The Pāśupatas have a literature, and the sect is still living. But the external signs of the Pāśupatas as found in Śankara-vijaya are entirely different from those which are found in Gunaratna's commentary. Gunaratna (fourteenth century) regards the Kānādas as Pāśupatas. He also regards the Naiyāyikas, called also the Yaugas, as being Saivites of the same order as the Kānādas, and behaving in the same manner, and bearing the same kind of marks as the Kāṇādas. From the description of the Saiva sects by Anandagiri very little can be made out of the doctrines of those Saiva sects. One can only say that some of those Saivas believed that God was the instrumental cause (nimitta kārana), besides the material cause (upādāna kārana). Sankara refuted this type of Saivism in his commentary on Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37. Both Pāśupatas and the followers of the Śaivāgama held the instrumentality of God, while Śankara regarded God as being both the instrumental and material cause. In the Śańkara-vijaya we also find reference to some schools of Saivism, the members of which wore the stone phallic symbols on their bodies. They held a doctrine similar to the sat-sthala doctrine of the Vīra-śaivas, though we find the proper formulation of the Vīra-śaiva system at least five hundred years after Anandagiri. We have seen that Vācaspati Miśra in his Bhāmatī speaks of four types of Saivas. Mādhava of the fourteenth century describes only two sects of Saivas as Nakulīśa-pāśupata and the Saivas of the Agamas, excluding the separate treatment of the Pratyabhijñā system generally known as the Kāśmīr school of Śaivism.

The Saivāgamas or Siddhāntas are supposed to have been originally written by Maheśvara, probably in Sanskrit. But it is said in Siva-dharmottara that these were written in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and the local dialects¹. This explains the fact that the Āgamas are available both in Sanskrit and some Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Telegu, and Kanarese. It also explains the controversy as to whether the Āgamas or Siddhāntas were originally written in

samskrtaih prākrtair vākyair yaśca śiṣyānurūptah deśa-bhūṣā-dyupāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ. Śiva-dharmottara quoted in Śiva-jñāna-siddhi. (MS. no. 3726, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.)

Sanskrit or in the Dravidian tongue. The present writer had the good fortune to collect a large number of the Āgamas either as complete wholes or in fragmentary portions. Many of the manuscripts are in a decaying state and some of them have been completely lost. The Sanskrit manuscripts on which our present attempt is founded are available in the big manuscript libraries at Triplicane, Adyar and Mysore. It is curious to note that Benares, the principal seat of Śaivism, has but few manuscripts of importance. The important Siddhāntas and Āgamas are quite numerous and most of them are in manuscripts mainly in South India¹. The same works may be found also in many cases in the whole Dravidian language; but the inspiration and the thought are almost always taken from Sanskrit. The essence of Dravidian culture is therefore almost wholly taken from Sanskrit, at least so far as philosophy is concerned.

The study of old Tamil is fairly difficult, and those who had made a lifelong study of Tamil, like Pope or Schomerus, had but little time to dig into Sanskrit to any appreciable extent. The present writer, being unacquainted with the Dravidian languages, had to depend almost wholly on the Sanskrit literature, but has taken good care to ascertain that the works in Dravidian, pertinent to the subject, are well represented in the Sanskrit manuscripts.

It is difficult to ascertain the respective dates of the Agamas. We only feel that most of the Agamas mentioned above were completed by the ninth century A.D. Some of them were current in the time of Sankarācārya, who lived some time in the eighth or

¹ Some of the Āgamas are as follows: Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kārana, Ajita, Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Amsumāna, Suprabheda, Vijaya, Nihśvāsa, Svāyambhwa, Vīra, Raurava, Makuta, Vimala, Candra-jñāna, Bimba, Lalita, Santāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kirana, Vātula, Śiva-jñāna-bodha, Anala, Prodgīta.

In the Siva-jñāna-siddhi we find extensive quotations from other Āgamas and Tantras as illustrating the philosophical and religious position of Siddhāntas. The works from which the quotations have been taken are as follows: Himasamhitā, Cintya-viśva, Śiva-dharmottara (purāṇa), Pauṣkara, Siddha-tantra, Sarva-matopanyāsa, Parā, Ratna-traya, Nivāsa, Mṛgendra, Ṭñāna-kārikā, Nāda-kārikā, Kālottara, Viśva-sārottara, Vāyavya, Mātaṅga, Śuddha, Sarva-jñānottara, Siddhānta-rahasya, Ṭñāna-ratnāvalī, Meru-tantra, Svacchanda and Devī-kālottara.

Most of the above Āgamas are written in Sanskrit characters in about half a dozen Dravidian languages, such as Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, Grantha and Nandi-nāgri. Several Tantras based on these Āgamas are also found as Sanskrit compositions in Dravidian scripts. So far as the knowledge of the present writer goes, there is hardly anything of philosophical value or systematic thought which is available in Dravidian, and not available in Sanskrit.

ninth century A.D. Some of the Puranas also mention the names of some of the Agamas referred to above. The bhāsva of Kaundinya on the Pāśupata-sūtras has many untraceable quotations, but there is no mention of the names of the Agamas referred to above, though one might have expected reference to the names of some of these Agamas, as they carry on the same faith in different fashions. On the other hand, the Agamas do not mention the name of the Pāśupata-sūtras or the bhāsya of Kaundinya. It seems, therefore, that though later writers sometimes mixed up the Pāśupata and the Agamic systems, as for example the Vāyavīya-samhitā, or in later times Appayadīksita, Sankara himself speaks only of the Siddhāntas written by Maheśvara. Vācaspati refers to four schools of Saivism, and Madhava refers to two schools of southern Saivism, Nakulīśa-pāśupata and the Saivas. In still later times, in the Jaina tradition as kept by Rājaśekhara and Gunaratna, we find the names of a long list of teachers of the Pāśupata school. We find also the names of twenty-eight yogācāryas, each having four disciples, in the Vāyavīya-samhitā.

We have already discussed in a separate section the essence of the Āgamic system as preserved in the *Tattva-prakāśa* of Bhoja with the commentary of Śrīkumāra and Aghora-śivācārya. Mādhava in his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* also mentions the names of some of the Āgamas and Āgamic writers referred to above.

Schomerus in his Der Śaiva Siddhānta, in which he describes the particular form of Śaiva monism, speaks of the names of various other schools of Śaivism as he picks them up on a commentary on Śiva-jñāna-bodha¹. The Śaiva-siddhānta view dealt with by Schomerus is one of the many trends of Śaiva thought that was prevalent in the country. Schomerus thinks that they are more or less the same except the Pāśupata, the Vīraśaiva and the Pratyabhijñā. Schomerus does not seem to utilise the texts of the Āgamas and to show in what way they proceeded with the subject. We have, however, in our treatment of Āgamic Śaivism, tried to utilise the materials of the Āgamas that are still available as complete wholes or in fragments. But a large part of the Āgamas deals

¹ He puts them in two groups: (i) Pāśupata, Māvrata-vāda (possibly Mahāvrata), Kāpālika, Vāma, Bhairava, Aikya-vāda; (ii) Ūrdha-śaiva, Anādi-śaiva, Ādi-śaiva, Mahā-śaiva, Bheda-śaiva, Abheda-śaiva, Antara-śaiva, Guṇa-śaiva, Nirguṇa-śaiva, Adhvan-śaiva, Yoga-śaiva, Jñāna-śaiva, Aṇu-śaiva, Kriyā-śaiva, Nālu-pāda-śaiva, Suddha-śaiva.

with rituals, forms of worship, construction of the places of worship and *mantras*, and the like. These have no philosophical value and could not, therefore, be taken account of and had simply to be ignored.

The Agamic Saivism belongs principally to the Tamil country, the Pāśupata to Gujarat and Pratyabhijñā to Kāśmīr and the northern parts of India. The Vīra-śaiva is found mostly among the Kanarese-speaking countries. Schomerus points out that it is sometimes claimed that the Agamas were written in the Dravidian languages in prehistoric times, and that they owe their origin to revelation by Siva, to Nandiperuman in the form of Śrīkantharudra in the Mahendra Parbata in Tinivelly District. Owing to a great flood much of these twenty-eight Agamas were lost. The rest is now available in the Sanskrit translations and even the Dravidian texts abound with Sanskrit words. But this claim cannot be substantiated in any way. The reference to the Agamas is found in the Vāyavīya-samhitā of the Siva-mahāpurāņa and the Sūtasamhitā¹. The references show that the Kāmika and other Āgamas were written in Sanskrit, as they formed a cognate literature with the Vedas. Portions of the Kāmika in Sanskrit quotations have been available to the present writer; similarly Mrgendra, which formed a part of the Kāmika, is wholly available in Sanskrit. In the section on the Agamic Saivism the present writer has drawn his materials from these Agamas. It has already been noted that there is a definite text in the Svāyambhuvāgama that these Sanskrit works were translated into Prākṛt and other local dialects. We are, therefore, forced to think that the assertion that these Agamas were originally written in Dravidian and then translated into Sanskrit, seems only to be a mythical patriotic belief of the Tamil people.

Schomerus mentions the names of twenty-eight Śaivāgamas, though he sometimes spells them wrongly². He further mentions

 1 In $S\bar{u}ta$ -saṃhitā, part I, ch. 2, we find that the Vedas, Dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Vedāṅgas, Upavedas, the Āgamas such as $K\bar{a}$ mika, etc. the $K\bar{a}$ pāla and the $L\bar{a}$ kula, the $P\bar{a}$ supata, the Soma and the $Bhairav\bar{a}$ gamas and such other Āgamas are mentioned in the same breath as forming a cognate literature. $S\bar{u}$ ta-saṃhitā is generally regarded as a work of the sixth century A.D.

² Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kārana, Ajita, Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Sāhasraka, Ansumān, Suprabheda, Vijaya, Niḥṣvāsa, Svāyambhuva, Anila, Vīra, Raurava, Makuṭa, Vimala, Candrahāsa, Mukha-jug-bimba or Bimba, Udgīta or Prodgīta, Lalita, Siddha, Santāna, Nārasimha, Pārameśvara, Kirana and Vātula. Most of these have been already mentioned by the present writer and some of them are in his possession. Schomerus says that these names are found in Śrikanṭha's bhāṣva, but the present writer is definite that they are not to be found there.

the names of fourteen canonical texts forming the materials of the Śaiva-siddhānta Śāstra. They are written in Tamil and the present writer only has the privilege of having the Sanskrit texts of the most important of them called the Śiva-jñāna-bodha of Meykaṇḍa-deva¹.

Meykaṇḍadeva's Śiva-jñāna-bodha is a brief summary in twelve verses of an argumentative character taken from Rauravāgama. These twelve verses have also commentaries called Vārtika and a number of other sub-commentaries. Meykaṇḍadeva's real name was Svetabana, and there are a number of mythical statements about him. A great scholar Aruḷ-nanti Śivācārya became the disciple of Meykaṇḍadeva. Namaḥ-śivāya-deśika was the fifth disciple in succession of Meykaṇḍadeva, and Umāpati, who was the third successor of Meykaṇḍadeva, lived in A.D. 1313. It is held, therefore, that Meykaṇḍa lived in the first third of the thirteenth century. Umāpati was also the author of the Pauṣkarāgama.

The earliest Tamil author of Saiva-siddhānata is Tirumular, who probably lived in the first century A.D. Only a part of his writings has been translated in the Siddhānta-dīpikā by N. Pillai. The later four Ācāryas of Saiva-siddhānta are Māṇikka-vāchakar, Appar, Jñāna-sambandha and Sundara, who flourished probably in the eighth century. Later on we have two important Saiva-siddhānta writers, Nampiyāṇdār and Sekkilar. The former has a collection of works which passed by the name of Tamil-veda. He flourished probably towards the end of the eleventh century.

This Tamil-veda is even now recited in Saivite temples of the south. It consists of eleven books; the first seven are of the nature of hymns. Of three Ācāryas, Appar, Jñāna-sambandha and Sundara, the eighth book is Tiru-vāchaka, the ninth again consists of hymns. In the tenth book we find again some hymns of Tirumular. A part of the eleventh book contains mythological legends which form the groundwork of Periya-purāṇa, the basis of the most important Tamil legends of the Tamil saints. The book was completed by the eleventh century. The Saiva-siddhānta

¹ The Tamil works referred to by Schomerus as forming the group of the Śaiva-siddhānta Śāstra are as follows: Śiva-jñāna-bodha, Śiva-jñāna-siddhi, Irupavirupathu, Tiruvuntiyar, Tirukkalirrupadiyar, Unmaivilakka, Śiva-prakāśa, Tiruvaruḍpayan, Vinā-veṇba, Poṛṛipakrodai, Kodikkavi, Nencuvidutūtu, Uṇ-mainerivilakka and Saṅkalpa-nirākaraṇa. The Śiva-jñāna-bodha of twelve verses is supposed to be a purport of the Rauravāgama and it has eight commentaries.

school sprang forth as a school of Saivism in the thirteenth century with Meykaṇḍadeva and his pupils Aruḷnanti and Umāpati.

The account of Saivism, as can be gathered from the Tamil sources, may be found in Pope's translation of *Tiru-vāchaka*, *Der Saiva-siddhānta* by Schomerus, and in the writings of N. Pillai. The present writer is unfamiliar with the Tamil language and he has collected his account from original Sanskrit manuscripts of the Āgamas of which the Tamil treatment is only a replica.

The Agama Literature and its Philosophical Perspective.

The philosophical views that are found in the Agama literature had been briefly summarised in the Sarva-darsana-samgraha under Saivism and have also been treated fairly elaborately in some of the sections of the present work. The Agama literature is pretty extensive, but its philosophical achievement is rather poor. The Agamas contain some elements of philosophical thought, but their interest is more on religious details of the cult of Saivism. We find therefore a good deal of ritualism, discussion of the architectural techniques for the foundation of temples, and mantras and details of worship connected with the setting up of the phallic symbol of Siva. Yet in most of the Agamas there is a separate section called the Vidyā-pāda in which the general philosophical view underlying the cult is enunciated. There are slight differences in the enunciation of these views as we pass on from one Agama to another. Most of these Agamas still lie unpublished, and yet they form the religious kernel of Saivism as practised by millions of people in different parts of India. There may thus be a natural inquiry as to what may be the essential tenets of these Agamas. This, however, cannot be given without continual repetitions of the same kind of dogmatic thought. The present work is, of course, mainly concerned with the study of philosophy, but as the study of Saiva or Sakta thought cannot be separated from the religious dogmas with which they are inseparably connected, we can only take a few specimens of the Agamas and discuss the nature of thought that may be discovered there. In doing this we may be charged with indulging in repetitions, but we have to risk it in order to be able to give at least a rapid survey of the contents of some of the most important Āgamas. In what follows, the reader will have the opportunity of judging the literary contents of the philosophical aspects of some of the important Āgamas, thereby getting a comprehensive view of the internal relation of Śaivism to other branches of Indian philosophy.

The $Mrgendr\bar{a}gama$ has often been quoted in the Sarvadars'ana-samgraha. This work is said to be a subsidiary part of $K\bar{a}mik\bar{a}gama$, supposed to be one of the oldest of the $\bar{A}gamas$, and has been referred to in the $S\bar{u}ta-samhit\bar{a}$ which is regarded as a work of the sixth century. The $S\bar{u}ta-samhit\bar{a}$ refers to the $Kamik\bar{a}gama$ with the reverence that is due to very old texts.

Mrgendrāgama¹ opens the discussion of how the old Vedic forms of worship became superseded by the Śaiva cult. It was pointed out that the Vedic deities were not concrete substantial objects, but their reality consisted of the mantras with which they were welcomed and worshipped, and consequently Vedic worship cannot be regarded as a concrete form of worship existing in time and space. But devotion to Śiva may be regarded as a definite and concrete form of worship which could, therefore, supersede the Vedic practices. In the second chapter of the work, Śiva is described as being devoid of all impurities. He is omniscient and the instrumental agent of all things. He already knows how the individual souls are going to behave and associates and dissociates all beings with knots of bondage in accordance with that.

The Saivāgama discusses the main problem of the production, maintenance, destruction, veiling up of the truth and liberation. These are all done by the instrumental agent, God Siva. In such a view the creation of the world, its maintenance and destruction are naturally designed by the supreme Lord in the beginning, yet things unfold in the natural course. The changes in the world of our experiences are not arranged by the later actions of beings. But yet the attainment of liberation is so planned that it cannot take place without individual effort.

Consciousness is of the nature of intuitive knowledge and spontaneous action (caitanyam dṛk-kriyā-rūpam). This conscious-

¹ Since writing this section on the basis of the original manuscript the present writer has come across a printed text of the *Vidyā* and *Yogapāda* of *Mrgendrāgama* published in 1928 by K. M. Subrahmanya Śāstri, with a commentary by Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa Kaṇṭha called *Mrgendra-vṛtti*, and a subcommentary by Aghora-śivācārya called *Mrgendra-vṛtti-dīpikā*.

ness always abides in the soul, and some of the categories for the application of this consciousness are discussed along with the various religio-moral conducts called *caryā*. There is also a brief criticism for refuting Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Buddhism and Jainism.

The Śaivāgama holds that, from perceiving our bodies and other embodied things, we naturally infer that there is some instrumental agent who must be premised as the cause of the world. A difference of effects naturally presumes a difference in the cause and its nature. Effects are accomplished through particular instruments. These instruments are all of a spiritual nature. They are also of the nature of energy. In the case of inference the concomitance is generally perceived in some instances. But in the case of attributing creation to Siva we have no datum of actual experience, as Siva is bodyless. But it is held that one can conceive the body of Siva as being constituted of certain mantras. When anyone is to be liberated, the quality of tamas as veiling the consciousness of the individual is removed by God, Those whose tamas is removed naturally ripen forth for the ultimate goal of liberation. They have not to wait any longer for Siva to manifest their special qualities. We have already seen that Siva is the manifesting agent or abhivyañjaka of all our activities.

The source of all bondage is māheśvarī śakti which helps all people to develop and grow in their own pattern (sarvānugrāhikā). Though there may be many cases in which we suffer pain, yet the māheśvarī śakti is regarded as being of universal service. The explanation is to be found in the view that often it is only through the way of suffering that we can attain our good. Śiva is always directing the śakti for our own good, even though we may seem to suffer in the intervening period (dharmino'nugraho nāma yattaddharmānuvartanam). All actions of the Lord are for the sake of the individual souls, that is, for making them wise and act forward, so that ultimately they may be purged of their malas.

The different causal chains manifest different kinds of chains in the effects. The Saiva view accepts sat-kārya-vāda and so admits that all the effects are there. It is only in the manner in which the causal chains manifest that different kinds of chains are effected. Thus the same malas appear in diverse forms to different kinds of persons and indicate different stages of progress. The mala is

regarded as the unholy seed that pervades the whole world and manifests through it and is ultimately destroyed. It is through these manifestations that one can infer the existence of God, the instrumental cause (kartā'-numīyate yena jagad-dharmeṇa hetunā). This mala is inanimate, for such a theory suits the nature of effects. It is easier to assume preferably one cause of mala than many. The cloth is manifested by the action of the weaving spindles. The substance of the cloth would have been manifested in other forms according to the action of the various accessories, for all the effects are there, though they can only be manifested through the operation of accessories. It is difficult to imagine the concept of productive power. It is better to assume that the things are already there and are revealed to us by the action of the different kinds of causes¹.

The individual souls are all-pervasive and they possess eternal power by the Power of God. The only trouble is that on account of the veils of mala they are not always conscious of their nature. It is through the action of Siva that these veils are so far removed that the individual souls may find themselves interested in their experiences. This is done by associating the individual minds with the thirty-six kalās produced from the disturbance of māyā. We have already discussed the nature of these thirty-six tattvas or categories in our treatment of the philosophy of Tattva-prakāśikā of Bhoja. It is through these categories that the veils are torn asunder and the individual becomes interested in his experiences. Kalā means that which moves anybody (prasāranam preranam sā kurvati tamasah kalā). The individual soul has to await the grace of God for being associated with these kalās for all his experiences, as he is himself unable to do so on his own account. The karma done by a man also remains embedded in Prakrti and produces effects by the category of nivati.

> sānvaya-vyatirekabhyām ruḍhito vā 'vasīyate, tadvyakti-jananam nāma tat-kāraka-samāśrayāt. tena tantu-gatākāram paṭākārā'barodhakam, vemādinā 'panīyātha paṭavyaktiḥ prakāśyate.

Ninth patala.

Śiva-jñāna-bodha. By Meykandadeva

This is a brief work of twelve $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$ (sometimes called $s\bar{u}tras$), and taken from $Raurav\bar{a}gama$, as has already been pointed out. It has a number of commentaries. Its Tamil translation forms the basic work of the $\dot{S}iva-j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na-siddhi$ school of thought, and has been elaborated by many capable writers. The general argument of the $\dot{S}iva-j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na-siddhi$ is as follows:

This world, consisting of males, females and other neutral objects, must have a cause. This cause is not perceivable, but has to be inferred. Since it has come into being in time, it may be presumed that it has a creator. Moreover the world does not move of itself and it may, therefore, be presumed that there must be an agent behind it.

The world is destroyed by God and is re-created by Him to afford proper facilities to the malas for their proper expression. The position, therefore, is that though the material cause ($up\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$) is already present, yet there must be a nimitta-kārana or instrumental agent for the creation and the maintenance of the world. At the time of dissolution the world-appearance becomes dissolved in the impurities or malas. After a period, the world again reappears through the instrumentality of Siva. Siva thus on the one hand creates the world, and on the other hand destroys it. It is said that as in the summer all roots dry up and in the rains they shoot up again into new plants, so though the world is destroyed the impressions of the old malas remain inlaid in the prakrti, and when the proper time comes they begin to show themselves in diverse forms of world creation according to the will of God. The creation has to take a definite order in accordance with the good and bad deeds of persons. This creation cannot take place spontaneously by compounding the four elements.

God is the instrumental agent through which the functions of creation, maintenance and destruction take place. The Saiva view of Meykaṇḍadeva is entirely opposed to the purely monistic theory of Saṅkara. The jīva cannot be regarded as identical with Brahman. It is true that in the Upaniṣads the individual soul (or jīva) and Brahman are both regarded as self-luminous and inner-controlled, but that does not mean that the self and the Brahman are identical.

The instrumental agent is one. The individual souls being bound by bondage or $p\bar{a}\dot{s}a$ cannot be regarded as being identical with the ultimate agent or Brahman.

The deeds of a person do not automatically produce effects. The effects are associated with the person in accordance with the will of God. The deeds themselves are inanimate and they cannot therefore produce effects spontaneously. All effectuation is due to God, though it does not imply any change of state in the nature of God. An analogy is taken to illustrate how changes can be produced without any effort or change in the changeless. Thus the sun shines far away in the sky and yet without any interference on its part, the lotus blooms in the lake on the earth. So God rests in His self-shiningness, and the changes in the world are produced apparently in a spontaneous manner. God lives and moves in and through all beings. It is only in this sense that the world is one with God and dependent on Him.

The very denial of the different assertions that the self is this or that proves the existence of the self through our self-consciousness. We thereby assume the existence of an unconditioned self, because such a self cannot be particularised. It is easily seen that such a self is not the same as any of the visible organs or internal organs or the manas.

The self is different from the inner organs, the mind and the senses; but yet they can be taken as forming a joint view of reality, as in the case of the sea. The waves and billows and the foam and the wind form one whole, though in reality they are different from one another. The malas which are supposed to be mainly embedded in the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, naturally stick to our bodies which are the products of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, and being there they pollute the right perspective as well as the right vision of all things. The commentator, whose name is untraceable, adduces the example of the magnet and iron filings to explain the action of God on the world without undergoing any change. It is the power of Siva working in and through us by which we can act or reap the fruits of our action according to our deeds.

Siva is to be known through inference as the cause which is neither visible nor invisible. His existence thus can only be known by inference. The *acit* or unconscious material passes before Siva, but does not affect it, so that Siva is quite unconscious of the world-appearance. It is only the *jīvas* that can know both the

world and Śiva¹. When a saint becomes free from impurities of three kinds, the āṇava, māyika and kārmaṇa-mala, the world appearance vanishes from before his eyes, and he becomes one with the pure illumination.

Suradantācārya in his Vyākhyāna-kārikā repeats the above ideas, but holdsthat Śivathrough His omniscience knows all about the world and the experiences of all beings, but He is not affected by them². Another fragmentary commentary of an unknown author, who had written a commentary on Mṛgendra called Mṛgendra-vṛṭti-dīpikā, which sometimes refers to the Svāyambhuvāgama and the Mātaṅga-parameśvara-āgama, discusses some of the main topics of Śiva-jñāna-bodha in the work called Paśupati-pāśa-vicāra-prakaraṇa.

Paśu is defined as pure consciousness (cinmātra) covered with impurities. The paśu goes through the cycle of birth and rebirth, and it goes also by the name ātman. It is all-pervading in space and time. The pure consciousness is of the nature of jñāna and kriyā. The Āgamas do not believe that the soul is one. It is pure consciousness that appears as distinct from one another by their association of different kinds of mala which are integrated with them from beginningless time³.

Its body consists of all the categories, beginning with *kalā* and running up to gross matter. The soul is called *anīśvara* because it may have a subtle body, but not the gross one, so that it is unable to enjoy its desire. The soul is regarded as *akriya* or devoid of action. Even when through knowledge and renunciation it avoids all action, the body may go on by the successive impulses of previous actions (*tiṣṭhati saṃskāra-vaśāt cakra-bhramavad-dhṛta-śarīrah*). Though there are many souls, they are spoken of in the singular number as *paśu* in the universal sense.

The mala is regarded as being included within $p\bar{a}sa$. It is not therefore a different category. The pure self-consciousness is entirely different from the impurity or mala. How can then the mala affect the purity of the pure consciousness? To this the reply

Library manuscript).

nācit-cit sannidhau kintu na vittas te ubhe mithaḥ, prapañca-sivayor vettā yaḥ sa ātmā tayoḥ pṛthak. ...sivo jānāti viśvakam,

sva-bhogyatvena tu param naiva jānāti kiñcana. ³ anena mala-yukto vijñāna-kevala uktah. saṃmūḍha ityanena pralayena kalāder upasamhṛtatvāt saṃyak mūḍhah. Pasupati-pāsa-vicāra-prakaraṇa (Adyar

is that as pure gold may be associated with dross without affecting its nature, so the pure consciousness that constitutes the Siva within us may remain pure, even though it may be covered with *mala* from beginningless time. The *mala* thus does not affect the nature of the self as Siva.

It is by the grace of Siva, attained through proper initiation in Saivism by a proper preceptor, that the impurities can be removed, and not by mere knowledge as such. The mala being the nature of substance, it can be removed only by an action on the part of God. Mere knowledge cannot destroy it. The malas being beginningless are not many but one. According to different kinds of karma, the malas have distinct and different kinds of bondage. The different distinctive powers and obscurations made by the mala serve to differentiate the different selves, which basically are all Siva. Liberation does not mean any transformation, but only the removal of particular malas with reference to which different individual entities as jīvas were passing through the cycle of birth and rebirth. This removal is effected by Siva when the Saiva initiation is taken with the help of proper preceptors¹.

The malas consist of dharma and adharma, and may be due to karma or māyā; they also constitute the bondage or the pāśas. This Āgama refers to Mṛgendrāgama, the doctrines of which it follows in describing the nature of pāśa, mala, etc. The pāśa is really the tirodhānaśakti of Śiva. The pāśas are threefold: (1) sahaja, those malas with which we are associated from beginningless time and which stay on until liberation; (2) āgantuka, meaning all our senses and sense-objects; and (3) sūṃsargika, that is those which are produced by the intercourse of sahaja and the āgantuka mala.

The creation and the manifestation of our experiences take place in accordance with our *karma* as revealed by God. Just as a field sown with seeds does not produce the same kind of crop for every peasant, so in spite of same kinds of actions we may have different kinds of results manifested to us by God. The *karmas* and other things are all inanimate, and thus it is only by the will of God that different kinds of results are manifested to us. The Śaiva view thus upholds the *satkārya-vāda* theory and regards God as *abhivyañjaka* or manifestor of all our experiences and *karmas*.

¹ evañ ca pāśā-panayanad ātmanah sarva-jñatva-sarva-kartrtvātmakaśivatvābhivyaktir eva mukti-daśāyām, na tu parināma-svarūpa-vināśah.

Mātaṅga-parameśvara-tantra.

The Śaiva śāstra is described as ṣaṭ-padārtha and catuṣ-pāda and not as tri-padārtha and catuṣ-pāda; formerly it was written by Sadā-śiva in ten million verses and Ananta summarised it in one lakh verses, which has been further summarised in 3500 verses. The six categories are (1) pati; (2) śakti; (3) triparvā; (4) paśu; (5) bodha; and (6) mantra.

Sakti or energy is the means by which we can infer pati, the possessor of śakti. In inference we sometimes infer the possessor of the quality by its quality, and sometimes the cause from the effect or the effect from the cause. Sometimes the existence of a thing is taken for granted on the authority of the Vedas. From the body of Siva, which is of the nature of mantras, the śakti emanates downwards in the form of bindu, which later on develops into the world¹. Siva enters into the bindu and unfolds it for various types of creation. The diversity in the world is due to a difference in karma and guna of the individual souls, where the individual souls may be regarded as the container and the karma as contained. The individual souls are responsible for their actions and have to enjoy their good or bad fruits. God is the controller of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the world. It is He who is the instrumental cause of the world, and the energies are the material cause and are regarded as the samavāyi-kārana of the world. This world is the production of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. As the rays of the sun or the moon induce the blooming of flowers spontaneously without any actual interference, so the Siva manifests the world by His mere proximity.

Seven sahaja-malas have been enumerated as follows: (1) moha, (2) mada, (3) rāga, (4) viṣāda, (5) śoṣa, (6) vaicitta and (7) harṣa.

The $kal\bar{a}s$ are produced from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, and it is in association with $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ that they carry on their work, just as paddy seeds can produce shoots in association with the husk in which they are enclosed.

The souls as they are driven through the world, become attached to worldly things through *kalā*. This association is further

 $^{^{1}}$ It is traditionally believed that the *mantras* or hymns constitute the body of a deity.

tightened by $v\bar{a}san\bar{a}$; so the souls become attached to all enjoyments, and this is called $r\bar{a}ga$. With all attachments there is sorrow, and therefore non-attachment to all sense-pleasures leads to the best attainment of happiness.

The nature of $k\bar{a}la$ and niyati are discussed in the same way as in other books of Śaiva-siddhānta.

Māyā comes out from God as an expression of His subtle energy, and from māyā there evolves the pradhāna, which in its first stage is only pure being or sattā. Later on other categories evolve out of it and they supply the materials for the experience of puruṣa. The puruṣa and the prakṛti thus mutually support each other in the development of categories and experience.

The ahankāra infuses the self in and through the sense-organs and operates as their functions. The same may be said regarding the application of ahankāra in and through the tanmātras. The ahankāra thus represents the entire psychic state in a unity. The ahankāra is present also in dormant state in trees, plants, etc.

Pauskarāgama.

In the Pauskarāgama jñāna is defined as consisting of the energy inherent in Siva. Six categories described are "patih kundalinī māyā paśuh pāśaś ca kārakah." Laya, bhoga and adhikāra are the three functions of śakti. Māyā as generated by the actions of men, supplies the elements by which the objects of experience and experience are made. Paśu is that which experiences and reacts. The categories beginning from kalā to earth (ksiti) are real entities. Lava is called bondage and is regarded as the fifth category. The sixth category is equal to bhukti, mukti, vyakti, phala, kriyā and dīkṣā taken together. Bindu and anus are the real entities. When the manifold creation shrinks into the bindu, we have that stage in Siva which is called dissolution (laya). In the original state actions of the type of sadrśa parināma go on. Śiva is described as vispasta cinmātra and vyāpaka. His energies only can operate, while He remains unmoved. When the energies begin to operate in the bindu, the bindu becomes fit for being the data of experience. This state of bindu with Siva reflected in it is called the sadā-śiva. Even in this stage there is really no change in Siva. When the energies

are in the state of operation, we have the state of creation, and the experience of it is called *bhoga*.

The point arises that if the *bindu* is itself active in creation, then its relation with Siva becomes redundant. On the other hand, if the *bindu* is moved by Siva to active operation, Siva becomes changeable. The reply is that an agent can affect any material in two ways, either by his simple desire or by his organised effort, as in the case of the making of a pot by the potter. Siva moves the *bindu* simply by His *samkalpa*, and therefore He does not suffer any change. In the case of the action of the potter also, it is by the wish of Siva that the potter can act. Therefore, Siva is the sole agent of all actions performed by animate beings or by inanimate matter.

It may be said that Siva is wholly unconditioned, and therefore He can remain the sole agent without undergoing any change. Another tentative answer is that in the presence of Siva, the bindu begins to work without any causal efficiency (compare the movement of prakṛṭi in the presence of puruṣa).

The bindu has sometimes been described as śāntyatīta and other times as the material cause of the creation. This difficulty is explained on the assumption that part of the bindu is śāntyatīta and the other part is responsible for being the material cause of the world. The third category including the bindu and Siva is called Iśvara. Siva produces commotion in bindu merely by His presence. In this way Siva is not only the instrumental agent of all happenings in the inanimate, but He also is responsible for all actions of the human body which are seemingly produced by the human will.

Knowledge and activity are in essence identical, and for that reason, when there is action ($vy\bar{a}p\bar{a}ra$), we may feel as if we are the agents of those actions. The element of action that seems to express itself is thus something more than the action, and it is called the $adhik\bar{a}ra-kriy\bar{a}$. The action and that which is acted upon is the result of guna-samkalpa. Siva stands as the citi-sakti which makes all energies dynamic, as the sun makes the lotus bloom from a distance without any actual interference.

In further explaining the philosophical situation Siva says that a part of the *bindu* is in the transcendental (*śāntyatīta*) state, while the other part is responsible for the creative action. This second category, that is, the lower half of the *bindu*, is supposed to be moved by Siva. The energies are often classified under different

names as performing different functions. Śakti and śaktimān are the same. They are only differently classified according to their diverse functions.

The inanimate world is inoperative without the action or the interference of a conscious being. That conscious being is God Siva; even the milk in the udder of the cow flows by the active affection of the cow for the calf. The illustration of the magnet drawing the iron filings does not fit in, for there also is the person who brings the magnet near the iron filings.

It cannot, however, be urged that the *puruṣas* themselves could be regarded as active agents, for according to the scriptural texts they are also moved to activity by the will of God¹.

The world-appearance cannot be proved to be false or illusory. It is made up of the stuff of one common object called $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, which is later on conceived as functioning in different ways called sattva, rajas and tamas. The $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ stuff is the repository of all karmas. But yet not all persons gain the fruits of all their karmas. They have to depend upon some other being for the proper fruition of their karmas. This is where God comes in as the ultimate bestower of the fruits of karma.

Mala or impurity is always associated with all souls. The Āgama tries to refute the epistemological view of other systems of thought like the Cārvāka and the monism of Śańkara. The Āgama holds that since the souls are eternal, their knowledge must also be eternal due to eternal unchanging cause. The difference of knowledge in individuals is due to the obscuration of their knowledge by the various veils of mala. The original cause of knowledge is all-pervading and is the same in all persons².

The self is realised as revealing itself and others. If it is supposed that the self is reflected through *buddhi*, then even *buddhi*

vivādādhyāsitam viśvam viśva-vit-kartr-pūrvakam, kāryatvād āvayoh siddham kāryam kumbhādikam yathā.

First patala.

tac ceha vibhu-dharmatvān na ca kvācitkam işyate,
nityatvam iva tenātmā sthitah sarvārtha-dṛk-kriyah.
jñātṛtvam api yadyasya kvācitkam vibhutā kutaḥ,
dharmiṇo yāvatī vyāptis tāvad-dharmasya ca sthitiḥ,
yathā paṭa-sthitam śauklyaṇ paṭam vyāpyākhilaṃ sthitam,
sthitaṃ vyāpyaivam ātmānaṃ jñātṛtvam api sarvadā,
na ca nirviṣayaṃ jñānaṃ parāpekṣaṃ svarūpataḥ.

Fourth patala.

also may be regarded as conscious self. So the idea of explaining the situation as being the reflection of consciousness in buddhi, also fails. Again this reflection of consciousness in buddhi cannot be regarded as conscious entity. It may also be pointed out that the consciousness as spirit cannot be reflected in buddhi which is known as spiritual. The view of mutual reflection of consciousness into buddhi and buddhi into consciousness is also untenable. It has, therefore, to be admitted that the soul as an eternal being can perceive all things and act as it likes. If the qualities inhere permanently or temporarily in an entity, then that inherence in the entity must be of a permanent or of a temporary nature as the case may be. The consciousness of the soul should, therefore, be regarded as co-extensive with its being. The selves are atomic in size and cannot therefore pervade the whole body. We have already said that the self in revealing itself also reveals other things. We must remember in this connection that an entity like the fire cannot be distinguished from the energy that it has.

Again the objects perceived cannot be regarded as mere ignorance $(aj\tilde{n}\bar{a}na)$, for one cannot deal with mere $aj\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$, just as one cannot bring water without a pitcher. The things we perceive are real entities. This ajñāna cannot be taken in the sense of prāgabhava, for then that would imply another origination of knowledge; or it could be explained as wrong knowledge. This wrong knowledge may be regarded as accidental or natural. If it is accidental or natural, then it must be due to some causes and cannot, therefore, be regarded as wrong knowledge. If it is wrong knowledge only arising occasionally, then it cannot contradict right knowledge. Ordinarily one cannot expect the illusoriness of silver to contradict the knowledge of conch-shell¹. For this reason the self, which is intuitively realised as all-consciousness, cannot be regarded as having only limited knowledge. That appearance of the souls possessing limited knowledge must be due to its association with impurities. The energy of consciousness is eternal, and therefore its nature cannot be disturbed by the association of impurities which may constitute experience, as arising from dharma and adharma. The malas are regarded as sevenfold, and include within them the passions of mada, moha, etc. These malas are

kiñ caitad anyathā-jñānam na samyag jñāna-bādhakam.

Fourth patala.

regarded as being natural to the souls. The *mala* of *moha* appears in various forms, as attachment to wife, son, money, etc.

It is only the spiritual that can contradict the non-spiritual. Two spiritual entities or the non-spiritual entities cannot contradict each other. One soul cannot be contradicted by another soul.

If the association of *malas* with the souls is regarded as beginningless, then how can they veil the nature of the self, and what must be the nature of this veil? It cannot be said that this veiling means the covering of what was already illuminated; for in that case, this obscuration of illumination of an entity, which is of the nature of light, must mean its destruction. The reply is that the energy of consciousness (*cicchakti*) cannot be veiled by the *malas*. The *malas* can only arrest its function.

Sakti is defined as being of the nature of immediate intuition and action. If that is so, the $\dot{s}akti$ is associated with knowable objects. How can then the objects be different from the energy? In reply it is said that the intuitive knowledge and action $(drkkriy\bar{a})$, the $\dot{s}akti$, as such remains united as drk and $kriy\bar{a}$. They are indivisibly connected as one, and it is for us to think of them as divided into drk and $kriy\bar{a}^1$. All words denoting particular objects are for others and are under the veil of mala. By the suppression of mala, the energy is turned away from sense objects. In this way the mala operates against the cicchakti, and thereby malas obscure the omniscient character of the souls.

In the fifth chapter, the Āgama deals with the different kinds of $p\bar{a}\dot{s}as$ or bonds. These bonds are $kal\bar{a}$, $avidy\bar{a}$, $r\bar{a}ga$, $k\bar{a}la$ and niyati. These five categories are regarded as proceeding from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. The consciousness shows itself through these $kal\bar{a}s$. The consciousness is associated with both intuitive knowledge and the power of work. The $kal\bar{a}s$ reflect the consciousness of the soul only partially. This reflection is effected in accordance with one's karma.

All experience is due to the functioning of the power of know-ledge and of the objects to be known. This is technically called grāhaka and grāhya. It is by the association of consciousness that the kalās appear to be functioning for the apprehension of things. From kalā comes vidyā. Kalā supplies the basis of experience as time and space. Later on other categories of the intellect also

avibhāgasya bhāgoktau tad-vibhāga upādhitah.

Fourth patala.

evolve and we have the concept of buddhi as deliberate decision. In this way the different categories such as ahankāra or abhimāna are produced. They in themselves would not be conscious except through the consciousness which impregnates them.

The buddhi manifests itself through diverse forms according to their vāsanās. A full enumeration of them is given in the texts, but we omit them as they are not philosophically important. They, however, include the various instinctive tendencies and delusions

which are enumerated in Sāmkhya and other places.

The difficulty is that the buddhi and ahankāra seem to cover the same ground. How is it then possible to distinguish buddhi from ahankāra? To this the reply is that when something is deliberately known as this or that, we have the stage of buddhi. But in the stage of ahankāra we seem to behave as knowers, and all objects that come to our purview are labelled as parts of our knowledge. There is no means by which the ego-consciousness of any individual can be confused with the ego-consciousness of another. They are thus realised as different from one another1.

The Agama describes the three kinds of creation as sattvika, rājasa and tāmasa as proceeding from three kinds of ahankāra, and describes the origination of jñānendriyas, karmendriyas, tanmātras and manas. When things are perceived by the senses and their value as this or that is attested by an inner function, so that the red can be distinguished from the blue, that inner function is called manas².

When we perceive an animal having certain peculiarities, then we can extend the use of the word to denote another animal having the same kind of features. The inner function by which this is done is manas.

The Agama gives an elaborate description of the cognitive senses and particularly of the organ of the eye. The mere proximity of consciousness cannot generate the activity. This can only be generated by the association of the consciousness with the sense organs.

The Agama criticises the Buddhist position and supposes that the Buddhist doctrine of artha-kriyā-kāritā can hold good only if the entities are not momentary, but have extensive existence.

1 yady abhinnam ahankṛt syāu devadatto 'pyaham matih, anyasyām upajāyeta nātmaikatvam tatah sthitam. Sixth patala. cakşuşā locite hy arthe tamartham buddhi-gocaram,

vidadhātīha yad viprās tanmanah paripathyate. Sixth patala. Speaking of the *guṇas*, the Āgama refuses to admit their substantive nature. It is only when certain *guṇas* are in a collocated state that we call them *guṇa* reals.

Our senses can only perceive certain objective qualities, but they cannot perceive any substratum behind them. Therefore it is logically incorrect to infer any substratum, which may be called *guṇas* as reals. After a discussion about what may be the original material cause either as partless atoms or as immaterial *prakṛti*, the Āgama decides in favour of the latter. But this *prakṛti* is not the state of equilibrium (sāmyāvasthā) of the guṇas as the Sāṃkhya holds.

The Āgama discusses the *prāpya-kāritva* and *aprāpya-kāritva* of the different senses. It also says that movement does not belong originally to every atom, but it belongs only to the living atoms, the souls. It cannot also be due to the mere presence of other things.

When the *manas* is associated with *cicchakti*, then it attains the knowledge of all things by the exercise of the internal organs. At the first moment this knowledge is indeterminate. Later on various determinations become associated with it. The perception of things at different times becomes synthetised and concretised, otherwise the various memory images might arise before the mind and prevent the formation of a synthetic image, as we find in the case of a concrete perception.

It is only the ego-consciousness or the *abhimāna* that produces in us the sense agency (*katrtva*). Without this sense of *abhimāna* there would be no difference between the self and other material objects. From ego-consciousness there proceeds the deliberate consciousness of decision (*niścaya*).

Knowledge of things cannot arise merely from *buddhi*, for the stuff of *buddhi* is material. Consciousness can only arise occasionally in consequence of its relation with *cicchakti*. If the mental states are always changing, then they cannot be perceived as constant, though they may appear to be so, like the flame of a lamp which changes from moment to moment, but yet appears to be the same.

Turning to the doctrine of artha-kriyā-kāritā of the Buddhists, the Āgama says that if the doctrine of artha-kriyā-kāritā be accepted, then the existence of things cannot properly be explained. The proper view is that of parināma-vāda. If the things are momentary, then effects cannot be produced, for a thing must remain for at least two moments in order to produce an effect. If

the two moments are separate entities, then one cannot be the cause of the other. The causal change can only be with reference to the existing things, but not with regard to the entities which are momentary. In order that there may be a production, the thing must remain for two moments at least. Things that are existent need not always be productive. The production of an effect may depend on accessory causes. A jug cannot be produced by threads, but the threads may produce a piece of cloth. This shows that the effect is always already in the cause.

It cannot also be held that our mental states are identical with the external objects, for in that case it would be difficult to explain the multiplicity of our cognitive states in accordance with their objects. We would not be able to explain how one entity assumes so many diverse forms. The only course left is to admit some external objects with which our senses come into contact. These objects consist of a conglomeration of tanmātras. It is in and through this conglomeration of tanmātras that new qualities arise to which we give the names of different bhūtas. The difference between tanmātras and bhūtas is that the former are more subtle and the latter more gross. This view is somewhat different from the Sāmkhya view, for here the bhūtas are not regarded as different categories, but only as a conglomeration of tanmātras. The idea that the gunas are certain objective entities is again and again repudiated. It is held that it is the conglomeration of gunas that is regarded by us as substantive entity.

The Agama then criticises the theory of atoms which are partless. It is held that the partless atoms cannot have sides in which other atoms could be associated. The question is raised that tanmātras being formless (amūrta) cannot themselves be the causes of all forms. The world of forms thus leads us to infer some material as its cause. To this Siva replies that the prakṛti can be regarded as being endowed with form and also as formless¹.

Siva in further replying to the questions says that things having form must have other entities endowed with forms as their causes. Therefore one may infer that the atoms are the causes of the world. In that case one cannot deny the fact that the atoms have forms. In further discussing the subject Siva says that the atoms are many

māyā tu paramā mūrta nityānityasya kāraṇam, ekāneka-vibhāgādhyā vastu-rūpā śivātmikā. Sixth paṭala.

and they have parts. So they are of the same type as other effects, such as jug, etc. As such the cause of the world must be regarded as being something which is formless. All effects are anitya, dependent on others (āśrita), and have parts and are many. The Saivism, therefore, holds that their cause must be different, it must be one, independent and partless. Therefore it discards the view that the atoms are the material cause of the world¹. The gross elements gradually evolved from the five tanmātras.

The \bar{A} gama refutes the view that $\bar{a}k\bar{a}\dot{s}a$ is mere vacuity. Had it been a vacuity, it would have been a negation, and a negation always belongs to the positive entity. The \bar{A} gama also refutes the possibility of $\bar{a}k\bar{a}\dot{s}a$ being regarded as any kind of negation. $\dot{S}abda$ is regarded as the specific quality of $\bar{a}k\bar{a}\dot{s}a$.

The Āgama says that it admits only four pramāṇas: pratyakṣa, anumāna, śabda, and arthāpatti. In reality it is pure consciousness devoid of all doubts that constitutes the truth underlying the pramāṇas. Doubt arises out of the oscillation of the mind between two poles. Memory refers to objects experienced before. In order that any knowledge may attain to the state of proper validity, it must be devoid of memory and doubt.

Pure consciousness is the real valid part in knowledge. Buddhi being itself a material thing cannot be regarded as constituting the valid element of knowledge. It is in and through the kalās that the pure consciousness comes into contact with the objective world. This perception may be either nirvikalpa or savikalpa. In the nirvikalpa perception there is no reference in the mind to class concepts or names. By the nirvikalpa perception one can perceive things as they are without any association of names, etc.

Perception is of two kinds: (1) as associated with the senses, and (2) as unassociated with the senses as in the case of intuitive knowledge by yoga. When associated with senses the perceptive function removes the veil between the objects and the self, so that the objects can be directly perceived. In explaining the nature of perception the Āgama follows the Nyāya technique of saṃyukta-samavāya, etc., for explaining the situation. It believes like Nyāya in five types of propositions, namely pratijñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta, upanaya and nigamana.

Vātulāgama¹.

Vātulāgama from Adyar with commentary seems to be almost identical with the Vātulāgama of the Mysore Oriental Research Institute, only with this difference that the Vātulāgama of Mysore contains more verses in the concluding tenth chapter in which the Vīra-śaiva doctrine is praised above other Śaiva doctrines. But the original beginning is more or less like the general Śaiva doctrine as may be found in Tattva-prakāśikā with Aghora-śivācārya's commentary. There is also the tendency to derive the existence of Śiva as the ultimate reality on the basis of inference, as may be found in the Siddhānta systems of Śaivism, such as the Mṛgendrāgama or in the Lākulīśa-Pāśupata system. The supplementary portion of Vātulāgama introduces the doctrine of linga-dhāraṇa of the Vīra-śaivas, but does not say anything about its specific philosophy or about its other doctrines associated with ṣaṭ-sthala.

Vātula-tantram².

Śiva-tattva is of three kinds: (1) niṣkala, (2) sakala and (3) niṣkala-sakala. Śiva may be distinguished in ten ways:

(1) tattva-bheda, (2) varṇa-bheda, (3) cakra-bheda, (4) varga-bheda,

(5) mantra-bheda, (6) praṇava, (7) brahma-bheda, (8) aṅga-bheda,

(9) mantra-jāta, (10) kīla. Though previously it has been said to be of three kinds, it has three forms again: (1) subrahmanya-śiva,

(2) sadā-śiva and (3) maheśa.

Siva is called *niṣkala* when all His *kalās*, that is parts or organs or functions, are concentrated in a unity within Him. In further defining the nature of *niṣkalatva*, the author says that when the pure and impure elements that contribute to experience are collected together and merged in the original cause, and remain there as the budding cause of all powers that are to develop the universe, we have the *niṣkala* stage. The commentator supports this idea by quotations from many texts. The *sakala-niṣkala* is that in which the deeds of persons are in a dormant state, and when the time of creation comes it associates itself with the *bindu* state for

¹ Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

² Adyar Library manuscript.

the formation of the world. The bindu represents the māyopādāna with which Śiva associates Himself for the creation¹. These different names of sakala and niṣkala and sakala-niṣkala of Śiva are but different moments in Śiva and do not constitute any actual transformation in Him, for He always remains unchanged in Himself. In Śiva, therefore, there is no change. The changes are to be found in the bindu and the anus².

God can only be proved by anumāna as being the instrumental cause of the world. This is taking the old Saiva view of the Siddhānta, like the Mṛgendrāgama. The agency of God is to be explained by the supposition that by His desire everything is accomplished. He does not take to any instrument or organs for accomplishing any act. Thus when the potter makes his pot, it is through the infusion of God's power that he can do so. In the case of the potter, the agency is different, because he works with his instruments and organs. Siva through His energy can know and do all things.

Śiva creates all things by His simple saṃkalpa and this creation is called the śuddhādhva. The author refers to Tattva-prakāśika of Bhoja and the commentary on it by Aghora-śivācārya.

Sakti is the will of God and that is called *bindu*. From that arises $n\bar{a}da$ which is a source of all speech³.

We have given some analysis of some of the important Agamas just to show the nature of the subjects that are dealt with in these Agamas. A more comprehensive account of the Agamas could easily have been given, but that would have involved only tiresome repetition. Most of the Agamas deal with the same sort of subjects more or less in the same manner with some incidental variations as

¹ maheśah sakalah bindu-māyopādāna-janita-tanu-karanādibhir ātmānan yadā śuddhāśuddha-bhogam prayacchati tadā śiva-sangakah sa eva bhagavān sakala ity ucyate.

² laya-bhogādhikārānām na bhedo vāstavah sive, kintu vindor anūnām ca vāstavā eva te matāh.

³ śaktir iccheti vijñeyā śabdo jñānam ihocyate, vāgbhavam syāt kriyā-śaktiḥ kalā vai şoḍaśa smṛtaḥ. yā parameśvarasya icchā sā śaktir iti jñeyā, śaktestu jāyate śabdaḥ. Yat parameśvarasya jñānam tadeva śabdaḥ. śabdāt jāyate vāgbhavaḥ. yā parameśvarasya kriyā sā tu vāgbhavaḥ. şoḍaśa svarāḥ kalā ity ucyante.

Quoted from Pauskarāgama:

acetanam jagad viprāś cetana-prerakam vinā, pravṛttau vā nivṛttau vā na svatantram rathādivat.

regards their emphasis on this or that subject. They also sometimes vary as regards their style and mode of approach. Thus the Āgama called Śiva-jñāna-siddhi deals with the various subjects by quotations from a large number of Āgamas. This shows that there was an internal unity among the various Āgamas. From these collective works we can know much of the contents of the different Āgamas. This is important as some of these Āgamas are scarcely available even as a single manuscript.

The date of these Agamas cannot be definitely fixed. It may be suggested that the earliest of them were written sometime in the second or third century A.D., and these must have been continued till the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In addition to the theological or religious dogmatics, they contain discussions on the nature of the various ducts or nādis in connection with the directions regarding the performance of yoga or mental concentration. There are some slight disputations with rival systems of thought as those of the Buddhists, Jains and the Sāmkhya. But all this is very slight and may be practically ignored. There is no real contribution to any epistemological thought. We have only the same kind of stereotyped metaphysical dogma and the same kind of argument that leads to the admission of a creator from the creation as of the agent from the effects. Thus apparently the material cause, the upādāna kārana, described as prakrti and sometimes atoms, is different from the instrumental cause, God. But in order to maintain the absolute monistic view that Siva alone is the ultimate reality, this material cause is often regarded as the śakti or energy which is identical with God. Sometimes the entire creation is described as having an appearance before the individuals according to their karma through God's power of bondage. The individual souls are all infected by various impurities derived from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ or karma. These impurities are ultimately destroyed by the grace of God, when the Saiva initiation is taken.

These Āgamas are also full of directions as regards various religious practices and disciplines, and also of various kinds of rituals, *mantras*, directions for the building of temples or of setting up of various kinds of phallic symbols, which, however, have to be entirely omitted from the present treatment of Śaivism. But it is easy to see that the so-called Śaiva philosophy of the Āgamas is just a metaphysical kernel for upholding the Śaiva religious life and

practices. These consist largely in inspiring the devotees to lead an absolutely moral life, wholly dedicated to Siva, and full of intoxicating fervour of devotion, as one may find in *Tiru-vāchaka* of Māṇikka-vāchakar. This devotion is the devotion of service, of a life entirely dedicated to Lord Siva.

CHAPTER XXXV

VÍRA-ŚAIVISM

History and Literature of Vīra-śaivism.

THE name 'Vīra-śaiva' as applied to a particular Śaiva sect appears to be of a later date. Mādhava in his Sarva-daršana-samgraha of the fourteenth century A.D., who mentions the Pāśupatas and the Agamic Saivas, does not seem to know anything about the Vīraśaivas. Śankara and Vācaspati and Ānanda-giri of the eighth and the ninth centuries do not seem to know anything of the Vīraśaivas. Neither are they alluded to in any of the Śaivāgamas. The Vātula-tantra seems to have two editions (in manuscript), and in one of them the sat-sthala doctrine is mentioned in the form of an appendix, which shows that this introduction was of the nature of an apocrypha. The doctrine of linga-dhāraṇa in the manner in which it is done by the Lingayats of the Vīra-śaivas can hardly be traced in any early works, though later Vīra-śaiva writers like Śrīpati and others have twisted some of the older texts which allude to linga to mean the specific practices of linga-dhārana as done by the Lingavats.

There is a general tradition that Basava, a Brahmin, son of Mādirāja and Mādāmba was the founder of the Vīra-śaiva sect. From his native place Bagevadi, he went to Kalyan near Bombay, at a comparatively young age, when Vijjala was reigning there as king (A.D. 1157-67). His maternal uncle Baladeva having resigned on account of illness, Basava was appointed as the minister in complete charge of Vijjala's treasury and other administrative functions. According to another tradition Basava succeeded in deciphering an inscription which disclosed some hidden treasure, and at this, King Vijjala was so pleased that he gave Basava the office of prime minister. According to the Basava-purāna, which narrates the life of Basava in a mythical puranic manner, Basava, on assuming the office, began to distribute gifts to all those who professed themselves to be the devotees of Siva. This led to much confusion and heart-burning among the other sects, and it so happened that King Vijjala cruelly punished two of the devotees of Siva. At this, by the instigation of Basava, one of his followers murdered Vijjala. Bhandarkar gives some other details, which the present writer has not been able to trace in the *Basava-purāṇa* (the source, according to Bhandarkar himself)¹.

The Basava-purāna was written after the time of Śrīpati Pandita. It is said there that at one time Nārada reported to Šiva that, while other religions were flourishing, the Saiva faith was with few exceptions dying out among the Brahmins, and so it was decaying among other castes also. Lord Siva then asked Nandi to get himself incarnated for taking the Vīra-śaiva faith in consonance with the Varnāśrama rites². If this remark is of any value, it has to be admitted that even after the time of Śrīpati Paṇdita the Vīrasaiva faith had not assumed any importance in the Carnatic region. It also indicates that the Vīra-śaiva faith at this time was not intended to be preached in opposition to the Hindu system of castes and caste duties. It has been contended that Basava introduced social reforms for the removal of castes and caste duties and some other Hindu customs. But this claim cannot be substantiated, as, in most of the Vīra-śaiva works, we find a loyalty to the Hindu caste order. There is, of course, a tendency to create a brotherhood among the followers of Siva who grouped round Basava, as he was both politically and financially a patron of the followers of Siva. The Basava-purāna also says that Basava was taken before the assembly of pandits for the performance of the rite of initiation of the holy thread at the age of eight, according to the custom of compulsory initiation among the Brahmins. Basava, however, at that early age protested against the rite of initiation, on the grounds that the holy thread could purify neither the soul nor body, and that there were many instances in the puranic accounts where saints of the highest reputation had not taken the holy thread. We find no account of Basava as preaching a crusade against Hindu customs and manners, or against Brahmanism as such.

Basava's own writings are in Canarese, in the form of sayings or musings, such as is common among the devotees of other sects of Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc. The present writer had the occasion to go through a large mass of these sayings in their English translations. On the basis of these it can be said that they contain a

¹ See Bhandarkar's Vaisnavism and Saivism, p. 132.

² varņācārānurodhena śaivācaran pravartaya. Basava-purāna, ch. II, verse 32.

rapturous enthusiasm for the God Siva, who to Basava appeared as the Lord Kudala Sangama. These sayings referred to Siva as the supreme Lord, and to Basava himself as his servant or slave. They also contain here and there some biographical allusions which cannot be reconstructed satisfactorily without the help of other contemporary evidence. So far as can be judged from the sayings of Basava, it is not possible to give any definite account of Vīra-śaiva thought as having been propounded or systematised by Basava. According to Basava-purāṇa, the practice of lingadhārana seems to have been in vogue even before Basava. Basava himself does not say anything about the doctrine of sat-sthala, and these two are the indispensably necessary items by which Vīraśaivism can be sharply distinguished from the other forms of Saivism, apart from its philosophical peculiarity. On this also Basava does not seem to indicate any definite line of thought which could be systematised without supplementing it or reconstructing it by the ideas of later Vīra-śaiva writers. Though the kernel of the Vīra-śaiva philosophy may be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era, and though we find it current in works like Sūta-samhitā of the sixth century A.D., yet we do not know how the name Vīra-śaiva came to be given to this type of thought.

In the work Siddhānta-śikhāmani, written by Revanācārya some time between Basava and Śrīpati, we find the name 'Vīra-śaiva' associated with the doctrine of sthala, and this is probably the earliest use of the term in available literature. Siddhantaśikhāmani refers to Basava and is itself referred to by Śrīpati. This shows that the book must have been written between the dates of Basava and Śrīpati. The Siddhānta-śikhāmani gives a fanciful interpretation of the word, 'vīra' as being composed of 'vi' meaning knowledge of identity with Brahman, and 'ra' as meaning someone who takes pleasure in such knowledge. But such an etymology, accepting it to be correct, would give the form 'vira' and not 'vīra.' No explanation is given as to how 'vi' standing for 'vidya,' would lengthen its vowel into 'vi.' I therefore find it difficult to accept this etymological interpretation as justifying the application of the word 'vīra' to Vīra-śaiva. Moreover, most systems of Vedantic thought could be called vira in such an interpretation, for most types of Vedanta would feel enjoyment and bliss in true knowledge of identity. The word 'vīra' would thus not be a distinctive mark by which we could distinguish Vīra-śaivas from the adherents of other religions. Most of the Āgamic Śaivas also would believe in the ultimate identity of individuals with Brahman or Śiva. I therefore venture to suggest that Vīra-śaivas were called Vīras or heroes for their heroic attitude in an aggressive or defensive manner in support of their faith.

We have at least two instances of religious persecution in the Śaiva context. Thus the Chola King Koluttunga I, a Śaiva, put out the eyes of Mahāpūrna and Kureśa, the Vaisnava disciples of Rāmānuja, who refused to be converted to Saivism. The same sort of story comes in the life of Basava where the eyes of two of his disciples were put out by Vijjala, and Vijjala got himself murdered by Basava's followers. These are but few instances where violence was resorted to for the spread of any religion, or as actions of religious vengeance. I suppose that the militant attitude of some Saivas, who defied the caste rules and customs and were enthusiasts for the Saiva faith, gave them the name of Vīra-śaiva or Heroic Saiva. Even the Siddhanta-sikhamani refers to the view of Basaya that those who decried Siva should be killed¹. Such a militant attitude in the cause of religion is rarely to be found in the case of other religions or religious sects. In the above context Siddhānta-śikhāmani points out in the ninth chapter that, though Vīra-śaivas are prohibited from partaking in the offerings made to a fixed phallic symbol sthāvara-linga, yet if there is a threat to destroy or disturb such a symbol, a Vīra-śaiva should risk his life in preventing the aggression by violent means.

So far our examination has not proved very fruitful in discovering the actual contribution to Vīra-śaiva philosophy or thought, or even the practice of *ṣaṭ-sthala* and *linga-dhāraṇa*, made by Basava. He must have imparted a good deal of emotional enthusiasm to inspire the Śaivas of different types who came into contact with him, either through religious fervour or for his

śiva-nindākaram drṣṭvā ghātayed athavā śapet, sthānam vā tat-parityajya gacched yady-akṣamo bhavet. Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi, ch. 9, verse 36.

¹ atha vīra-bhadrācara-basaveśvaracāraṃ sūcayan bhaktā-cāra-bhedaṃ pratipādayati—

It is further introduced in the context:

nanu prāṇa-tyāge durmaraṇam kiṃ na syāt,
śivārtham mukta-jīvaś cecchiva-sāyujyam āpnuyāt.

financial and other kinds of patronage. It seems from the Basava-purāṇa that his financial assistance to the devotees of Śiva was of rather an indiscriminate character. His money was poured on all Śaivas like showers of rain. This probably made him the most powerful patron of the Śaivas of that time, with the choicest of whom he founded a learned assembly where religious problems were discussed in a living manner, and he himself presided over the meetings.

The present writer is of opinion that the kernel of Vīra-śaiva thought is almost as early as the Upaniṣads, and it may be found in a more or less systematic manner by way of suggestion in the writings of Kālidāsa who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era¹. The Sūta-saṃhitā, a part of the Skanda-purāṇa, seems to teach a philosophy which may be interpreted as being of the same type as the Vīra-śaiva philosophy propounded by Śrīpati, though the commentator interprets it in accordance with the philosophy of Śaṅkara. The Sūta-saṃhitā gives a high place to the Āgama literature such as the Kāmika, and others, which shows that it was closely related with the Āgamic Śaivism².

But it is difficult to say at what time the Vīra-śaiva sect was formed and when it had this special designation. Vīra-śaivism differs from the Agamic Saivism and the Pāśupata system in its philosophy and its doctrine of sthala, the special kind of lingadhārana and also in some other ritualistic matters which are not quite relevant for treatment in a work like the present one. It is unfortunate that Siddhanta-sikhamani, a work probably of the thirteenth century, should contain the earliest reference to Vīraśaivism in literature. A small manuscript called Vīra-śaiva-guruparamparā gives the names of the following teachers in order of priority: (1) Viśveśvara-guru, (2) Ekorāma, (3) Vīreśārādhya, (4) Vīra-bhadra, (5) Viranārādhya, (6) Mānikyārādhya, (7) Buccayyārādhya, (8) Vīra-malleśvarārādhya, (9) Deśikāradhya, (10) Vrsabha, (11) Aksaka and (12) Mukha-lingesvara. In the Vīraśaivāgama3, eighth paṭala, it is said that in the four pīṭhas or pontifical seats, namely voga-pītha, mahā-pītha, jñāna-pītha and

¹ See author's A History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. 1, pp. 728 et seq.

² Sūta-samhitā, yajña-vaibhava-khanda, ch. 22, verses 2 and 3. See also ch. 20, verse 22; ch. 39, verse 23.

³ Madras manuscript.

soma-pītha, there were four teachers of different priority, Revana, Marula, Vāmadeva¹, and Panditārādhya. These names are of a mythical nature, as they are said to be referred to in the different Vedas. But the names that we have quoted above from the Viraśaiva-guru-paramparā form a succession list of teachers up to the time of the teacher of the author of the manuscript². On studying the succession list of teachers, we find that we know nothing of them either by allusion or by any text ascribed to them, excepting Vīra-bhadra, who has been referred to in the Siddhānta-śikhāmani³. We cannot say how much earlier Vīra-bhadra was than the author of the Siddhānta-śikhāmani. But since Vīra-bhadra is mentioned along with Basava in the same context, we may suppose that this Vīra-bhadra could not have been much earlier than Basaya. So if we are safe in supposing that Vīra-bhadra lived somewhere in the twelfth century, we have only to compute the time of the three Ācāryas who lived before Vīra-bhadra. According to ordinary methods of computation we can put a hundred years for the teaching period of the three teachers. This would mean that Vīraśaivism as a sect started in the eleventh century. It is possible that these teachers wrote or preached in the Dravidian tongue which could be understood by the people among whom they preached. This would explain why no Sanskrit books are found ascribed to them. Basava was probably one of the most intelligent and emotional thinkers, who expressed his effusions in the Kāunāda language.

But about our specification of the succession list of Vīra-śaiva teachers much remains yet to be said. It does not explain anything about the other lines of teachers, of whom we hear from stray allusions. Thus we hear of Agastya as being the first propounder of the Śaiva faith. We find also that one Renukācārya wrote the work, Siddhānta-śikhāmani based upon the verdict of other Vīra-śaiva works and giving us the purport of the mythical dialogue that took place between Renuka-siddha and Agastya some time in the past. The Renuka-siddha was also called Revanasiddha, and it is supposed that he expounded the Vīra-śaiva Śāstra to Agastya in the beginning of the Kali age. We find at a much later date one Siddha-rāmeśvara, who was impregnated with

¹ Another reading is Rāma-deva (eighth and sixteenth patalas).

² asmad-ācārya-paryantām bande guru-paramparām. (Madras manuscript.)

³ Siddhānta-śikhāmaņi. avataranikā of the 36th verse, ch. 9.

the doctrine of Vīra-śaivism; it is in his school of thought that we have a person called Śiva-yogīśvara, who gives us the supposed purport of the dialogue between Ranuka and Agastya, as it had traditionally come down to him, supplementing it with the teachings of other relevant literature. In the family of Siddharāmeśvara there was born one Mudda-deva, a great teacher. He had a son called Siddha-nātha, who wrote a work called Sivasiddhānta-nirnaya containing the purport of the Agamas. The other teachers of the time regarded him as the most prominent of the Vīra-śaiva teachers (Vīra-śaiva-śikhā-ratna) and Renukācārya, who called himself also Siva-yogin, wrote the work, Siddhantaśikhāmani. We thus see that there was a long list of Vīra-śaiva teachers before Renukācārya, who probably lived somewhere in the thirteenth century. Even if we do not take this into account, Renukācārya, the author of Siddhānta-śikhāmani says that he had written the work for the elucidation of the nature of Siva by consulting the Saiva Tantras beginning from the Kāmikāgama to the Vātulāgama and also the Purānas. He further says that the Vīra-saiva Tantra is the last of the Saiva Tantras and therefore it is the essence of them all¹.

But what is exactly the content of the Vīra-śaiva philosophy as explained in the Siddhānta-śikhāmani? It is said that Brahman is the identity of 'being,' 'bliss' and 'consciousness,' and devoid of any form or differentiation. It is limitless and beyond all ways of knowledge. It is self-luminous and absolutely without any obstruction of knowledge, passion or power. It is in Him that the whole world of the conscious and the unconscious remains, in a potential form untraceable by any of our senses, and it is from Him that the whole world becomes expressed or manifest of itself, without the operation of any other instrument. It implies that when it so pleases God, He expands Himself out of His own joy, and thereby the world appears, just as solid butter expands itself into its liquid state. The qualities of Siva are of a transcendent nature (aprākrta). The character of being, consciousness and bliss is power (śakti). It is curious, however, to note that side by side with this purely ultra-monistic and impersonal view we find God Siva as being endowed with will by which He creates and destroys the

¹ Siddhānta-śikhāmani, ch. I, verses 31-2.

world. As we shall have occasion to notice later on, the whole doctrine of sat-sthala, which forms the crux of Vīra-śaiva thought, is only an emphasis on the necessity on the part of every individual to look upon him and the world as being sustained in God and being completely identified with God. There are, indeed, many phrases which suggest a sort of bhedābheda view, but this bhedābheda or difference in unity is not of the nature of the tree and its flowers and fruits, as such a view will suggest a modification or transformation of the nature of Siva. The idea of bhedābheda is to be interpreted with the notion that God, who is transcendent, appears also in the form of the objects that we perceive and also of the nature of our own selves.

The Siddhanta-sikhamani was based on the Agamas and therefore had the oscillating nature of philosophical outlook as we find in the different Agamas. Thus in Siddhanta-śikhamani, ch. v, verse 34, it is said that the Brahman is without any form or quality, but it appears to be the individual souls (jīvas) by its beginningless association with avidyā or nescience. In that sense jīva or the individual soul is only a part of God. Siddhānta-śikhāmani further says that God is the controller, the mover (preraka) of all living beings. In another verse it says that Brahman is both God and the souls of beings at the same time. In pure Siva there are no qualities as sattva, rajas and tamas¹. Again Siddhānta-sikhāmaņi oscillates to the Vedanta view that the individual souls, the objects of the world as well as the Supreme Controller, are all but illusory imposition on the pure consciousness or Brahman². The Siddhantaśikhāmani admits both avidyā and māyā after the fashion of Śańkarites. It is in association with avidyā that we have the various kinds of souls and it is with the association of $m\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ that Brahman appears as omniscient and omnipotent. It is on account of the avidyā that the individual soul cannot realise its identity with Brahman, and thus goes through the cycle of births and rebirths.

Yet there is another point to note. In the Yoga-sūtra of Patañjali, it is said that the nature of our birth, the period of life

guṇa-trayātmikā śaktir brahma-niṣṭhā-sanātanī, tad-vaiṣamyāt samutpannā tasmin vastu-trayābhidhā.

Siddhānta-śikhāmaņi, ch. v, verse 39.

bhoktā bhojyam prerayitā vastu-trayamidam smṛtam, akhande brahma-caitanye kalpitam guṇa-bhedataḥ.

Ibid. ch. v, verse 41.

and the nature of our experiences, are determined by our karma, and that the law of the distribution of the fruits of karma is mysterious. But the effects of karma take place automatically. This view is only modified by the Pāśupatas and the Naiyāyikas who belong to their fold. It is interesting to notice that the Siddhantaśikhāmani borrows this idea of karma from the Pāśupatas, who hold that the distribution of karma is managed and controlled by God. Siddhānta-śikhāmani thus seems to present before us an eclectic type of thought which is unstable and still in the state of formation. This explains the author's ill-digested assimilation of elements of thought on Pāsupata doctrine, the varying Agama doctrines, the influence of Samkhya, and ultimately the Vedanta of the Sankarites. This being so, in the thirteenth century we cannot expect a systematic Vīra-śaiva philosophy in its own individual character as a philosophical system in the time of Basava. It will be easy for us to show that Allama-prabhu, the teacher of Basava, was thoroughly surcharged with the Vedantism of the Sankara school.

In the Sankara-vijaya Anandagiri, a junior contemporary and a pupil of Sankara gives a long description of the various types of the devotees of Siva who could be distinguished from one another by their outward marks. Sankara himself only speaks of the Pāśupatas and the Saivas who followed the Siddhantas or the Agamas, in which God Siva has been described as being the instrumental cause, different from the material cause out of which the world has been made. Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī, a commentary on the bhāsva of Śańkara on the Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37, speaks of four types of the followers of Siva. Of these we have found ample literature of the Saivas and the Pāsupatas, and had ventured to suggest that the Kārunika-siddhāntins were also the followers of the Āgamic Śaiva thought. But we could find no literature of the Kāpālikas or of the Kālamukhas referred to in the bhāsya of the same sūtra by Rāmānuja. In the $S\bar{u}ta$ -samhit \bar{a} we find the names of the $K\bar{a}$ mika and other Agamas, the Kāpālikas, the Lākulas, the Pāśupatas, the Somas, and the Bhairavas, who had also their Agamas. These Āgamas branched off into a number of sections or schools¹. In our investigation we have found that the Lākulas and the Pāśupatas were one and the same, and we have the testimony of Mādhava, the author of the Sarva-darśana-samgraha, to the same effect.

¹ Sūta-samhitā IV, Vajña-vaibhava-khanda, ch. XXII, verses 2-4.

VXXX

Sūta-samhitā was probably a work of the sixth century A.D., while Mādhava's work was of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, it seems that the Pāśupatas were earlier than the Lākulas. Neither Śańkara nor Vācaspati speaks of the Lākulīśas as being the same as the Pāśupatas. But some time before the fourteenth century the Lākulīśas and Pāśupatas had coalesced and later on they remained as one system, as we find them regarded as one by Appava Dīksita of the sixteenth century in his commentary, Vedānta-kalpataruparimala on Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37. But there can be but little doubt that the Lakulas had their own Agamas long before the sixth century A.D., which is probably the date of Sūta-samhitā. We find references to the Bhairavas, and the name Bhairava is given to Siva as the presiding male god wherever there is the Sakti deity representing the limbs of Sakti, the consort of Siva and the daughter of Daksa. But we have not been able to secure any Agamas containing an account of the philosophical doctrine of this creed of Bhairavism, though we have found ritualistic references to Bhairava. The Sūta-samhitā also refers to the Agamic rsis such as Sveta, etc.; each of these twenty-eight rsis had four disciples, thus making the number one hundred and twelve. They are also referred to in the Sūta-samhitā (Book IV, ch. XXI, verses 2-3), where they are described as smearing their bodies with ashes and wearing the necklaces of rudrāksa. We have noticed before that Śiva-mahāpurāna also refers to them. The existence of so many Saiva saints at such an early date naturally implies the great antiquity of Saivism. These Saiva saints seem to have been loval to the Varnāśrama dharma or duties of caste and the stages of life.

A later Āgama probably of the thirteenth century called the Vīra-śaivāgama speaks of the four schools of thought, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Vāma and Kula. Śaiva is again divided into Saumya and Raudra. The Saumya is of five kinds including demonology and magic as antidote to poison. The Śaiva school is called Dakṣiṇa, and the cult of Śakti is called Vāma. The two can be mixed together as Vāma and Dakṣiṇa, and regarded as one school. The Siddhānta śāstra is called pure Śaiva belonging only to Śiva. There is, however, another sect, or rather three schools of a sect, called Dakṣiṇa, Kālamukha and Mahāvrata¹. Bhandarkar has suggested that the Kāla-mukhas and the Mahāvratadhārins are

¹ See Rāmānuja's bhāṣya (Śrī-bhāṣya), 11. 2. 37.

one and the same. The Siddhāntas again are divided into three sects: Ādi-śaiva, Mahā-śaiva and Anta-śaiva. These subdivisions of Śaivism have sprung from the Pāśupata-śaivism. The writer of the Vīra-śaivāgama says that Śaivism scattered itself into infinite variety of schools of thought or bands of devotees and had a huge literature for supplementing their position. All these sects have now practically vanished with their literature if they had any.

From the testimony of the same Agama it appears that Vīraśaivism was not a part of the older Saivas, but it originated as a doctrinal school which accepted four lingas in the four pontifical seats, the worship of Siva as sat-sthala and their special rites and customs. This view may be correct, as we cannot trace the Vīraśaiva as a system of thought in any of the earlier works on Saivism. We have a number of Vīra-śaivāgamas such as Makutāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Vīra-śaivā'-gama and the like in manuscript. But none of them, excepting the Basava-rājīya called also Vīraśaiva-sāroddhāra (manuscript) with the bhāṣya of Somanātha, make any reference to Basava or even the Vīra-śaiva philosophy. The Basava-rājīva also speaks of Basava as being the incarnation of the bull of Siva and the patron of Saivas. But the author of the work does not say anything about the philosophical doctrine of Basava, but only describes the idea of sat-sthala in an elaborate manner.

Professor Sakhare in his introduction to Linga-dhāraṇa-candrikā of Nandikeśvara quotes a passage from Svāyaṃbhuvāgama in which the mythical origins of Revaṇa-siddha from Someśa-linga, of Marula-siddha from Siddheśa-linga, of Paṇḍitārya from Mallikārjuna-linga, of Ekorāma from Rāmanātha-linga, and of Viśvārādhya from the Viśveśa-linga, are described. We have no further evidence of these teachers or the nature of their teachings. We do not even know if they called themselves Vīra-śaivas. This account does not tally with the description found in the Vīra-śaiva-guru-paramparā, or with the other Vīra-śaiva texts published or unpublished with which we are familiar.

The gotras and the pravaras of the Vīra-śaivas, given in the Suprabhedāgama as emanating from the unknown past, are quite

¹ samudra-sikatāsamkhyās samayās santi kotišaḥ. Vīra-śaivāgama (Madras manuscript).

fanciful and need not further be discussed. Such a discussion could shed no historical light on the origin and development of the Vīra-śaiva philosophy and dogmatics.

We have seen before that there is a tradition which links Agastya, Renuka or Revana-siddha, Siddha-rāma and Renukācārya, the author of the Siddhānta-sikhāmani. Śrīpati mainly bases his arguments on the Upanisads and the Purānas, but he also refers to Agastya-sūtra and Renukācārya. He does not, however, refer to Basava and the contemporaries who were associated with him, such as Allama-prabhu, Cannabasava, Mācava, Goga, Siddha-rāma and Mahādevī¹. This seems to show that the Vīra-śaivism had two or more lines of development which later on coalesced and began to be regarded as one system of Vīra-śaiva thought. From Basava's vacanas it is difficult to assess the real philosophical value of the faith that was professed by Basava. In the Prabhu-linga-līlā and the Basava-purāna we find a system of thought which, in the absence of other corroborating materials, may be accepted as approximately outlining the system of thought which was known as Vīra-śaivism in Basava's time.

We find that the doctrines of *sthala* and *linga-dhāraṇa* were known to the author of the *Prabhu-linga-līlā*. But though in one place, where instruction was being given to Basava by Allamaprabhu, *ṣaṭ-sthala* is mentioned, yet the entire emphasis throughout the book is on the doctrine of unity of the self with Siva, the ground of the reality². In the above passage it is held that there are double knots associated with the gross, the subtle and the cause, in accordance with which we have the six *sthalas* in three groups of a pair of each. Thus the two knots associated with the gross go by the name of *bhakta* and *maheśvara*; those with the subtle as associated with *prāṇa* are called *prāṇa* and *prasāda-lingi sthalas*;

¹ Thus it appears from Śrīpati's statement in the Śrīkara-bhāṣya II. 2. 37, p. 234, and III. 3. 3, p. 347, that Revaṇa-siddha, Marula-siddha, Rāma-siddha, Udbhaṭārādhya, Vemanārādhya were real teachers who had expressed their views or articles of faith in some distinctive works. But unfortunately no trace of such works can be discovered, nor is it possible to enunciate the actual views propounded by them. Whether Śrīpati had himself seen them or not is merely a matter of conjecture. He does not quote from the works of those teachers, and it is just possible that he is only making statements on the strength of tradition. In another passage (II. I. 4) Śrīpati mentions the names of Manu, Vāmadeva. Agastya, Durvāsā, Upamanyu, who are quite mythical purāṇic figures along with Revaṇa-siddha and Marula-siddha.

² See Prabhu-linga-līlā, ch. 16, pp. 132-4.

those with the cause are of an emotional nature, and are called śarana and aikya sthalas. In other works such as Basava-rājīva, Vīra-śaivāgama and Siddhānta-śikhāmani the names of sthalas extend to one hundred and one. But in none of those works is the idea of these different sthalas explained to show their philosophical importance. In Prabhu-linga-līlā we hear that Cannabasava knew the mystery of sat-sthala, but we do not know exactly what that mystery was. In this connection guru, linga, cara, prasāda and pādodaka are also mentioned. The whole emphasis of the book is on the necessity of realising the unity of the self and, indeed, of anything else with Siva. Allama decries the external ritualism and lays stress on the necessity of realising the ultimate reality of the universe and the self with Siva. He vehemently decries all forms of injury to animal life, and persuades Goga to give up ploughing the ground, as it would involve the killing of many insects. Allama further advised Goga to surrender the fruits of all his actions to God and carry on his duties without any attachment. As a matter of fact the Vīra-śaiva thought as represented by Allama can hardly be distinguished from the philosophy of Sankara, for Allama accepted one reality which appeared in diverse forms under the condition of māyā and avidyā. In that sense the whole world would be an illusion. The bhakti preached by Allama was also of an intellectual type, as it consisted of a constant and unflinching meditation and realisation of the ultimate reality of all things with Siva. This view of bhakti seems to have influenced Renukācārya, the author of Siddhānta-śikhāmani, who describes inner devotion (āntara-bhakti) in almost the same type of phraseology1.

In his teachings to Muktāyī, Allama says that just as the sucking babe is gradually weaned from the mother's milk to various kinds of food, so the real teacher teaches the devotee to concentrate his

linge prāṇaṃ samādhāya prāṇe lingam tu śāṃbhavam, svasthaṃ manas tathā kṛtvā na kiñcic cintayed yadi. sābhyantarā bhaktir iti procyate śiva-yogibhih, sā yasmin vartate tasya jīvanaṃ bhraṣṭa-vijavat.

Siddhānta-śikhāmaņi, ch. 9, verses 8-9.

tatah sävadhänena tat-präna-linge, sanīkṛtya kṛtyāni vismṛtya matyā, mahā-yoga-sāmrājya-paṭṭābhiṣikto, bhajed ātmano linga-tādātmya-siddhim.

Prabhu-linga-līlā, ch. 16, verse 63.

mind on external forms of worship and later on makes him give them up, so that he ultimately becomes unattached to all kinds of duties, and attains true knowledge by which all his deeds are destroyed. There is not much use in learning or delivering speeches, but what is necessary, is to realise the unity of all with Siva¹.

In his conversation with Siddha-rāma and Gorakşa, he not only demonstrates the non-existence of all things but Siva, but he also shows his familiarity with a type of magical yoga, the details of which are not given and cannot be traced in the Yogaśāstra of Patañjali. In the instruction given by Allama to his pupil Basava, the former explains briefly the nature of bhakti, sat-sthala and yoga. It seems that the restful passivity that is attained by yoga is nothing but complete and steady identification of the ultimate truth, Siva, with all the variable forms of experience, and our life and experience as a complete person. This yoga leading to the apperception of the ultimate unity can be done by arresting all the vital processes in the nervous centres of the body at higher and higher grades, until these energies become one with the supreme reality, God Siva. It is in this way that the cakras are traversed and passed over till the Yogin settle down in Siva. The entire physical processes being arrested by the peculiar yoga method, our mind does not vaccilate or change, but remains in the consciousness of the pure Lord, Siva.

The teacher of Basava, Allama, says that without a strong effort to make the mind steady by the complete arrest of the vital forces, the $V\bar{a}yu$, there can be no bhakti and no cessation to bondage. It is by the arrest of these vital forces or $V\bar{a}yu$, that the citta or the mind of the Vīra-śaiva becomes arrested and merged in the elemental physical constituents of the body, such as fire, water, etc. The $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is a product of manas, and $v\bar{a}yu$ also is regarded as a product of manas, and this $v\bar{a}yu$ becomes the body through the activity of the manas. The existence of the body is possible only by the activity of the vital forces or $v\bar{a}yu$, which keep us away from realising the unity of all things with Siva, which is also called bhakti. The Vīra-śaiva has, therefore, to take recourse to a process opposite to the normal course of activity of the $v\bar{a}yus$ by concentrating them on one point, and by accepting the mastery of the $v\bar{a}yus$ over the different cakras or nerve plexuses (technically

¹ See Prabhu-linga-līlā, ch. 12, pp. 57-8.

known as the control of the six cakras), which would in their own way be regarded as the six stages or stations of the process of the control of the vāyus, the sat-sthalas1. It is thus seen that according to the description given in Prabhu-linga-līlā of the doctrine of sat-sthala, the process of sat-sthala is to be regarded as an upward journey through a hierarchy of stations, by which alone the unity with Siva can be realised. The instruction of this dynamic process of yoga is a practical method of a semi-physiological process by which the ultimate identity of God and soul can be realised. In Sankara's monistic philosophy it is said that the realisation of the ultimate identity of the self with Brahman is the highest attainable goal of life. It is, however, said that such an enlightenment can be realised by proper intuition of the significance of the monistic texts such as "thou art that." It refuses to admit any practical utility of any dynamic course of practice which is so strongly advised in the Vīra-śaiva doctrine of sat-sthala as taught by Allama.

Allama had met Gorakşa in one of his travels. Gorakşa, who was also probably a Saiva, had by his yogic processes attained such miraculous powers that no stroke of any weapon could produce an injury on him. He made a demonstration of it to Allama. Allama in reply asked him to pass a sword through his body. But to Gorakşa's utter amazement he found that when he ran through Allama's body with his sword, no sound of impact was produced. The sword passed through Allama's body as if it were passing through vacant space. Goraksa wanted humbly to know the secret by which Allama could show such miraculous powers. In reply Allama said that the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ becomes frozen, as does the body, and when the body and the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ both become frozen, shadow forms appear as real², and the body and the mind appear as one. When the body and the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ are removed in the heart, then the shadow is destroyed. At this, Goraksa further implored Allama to initiate him into those powers. Allama touched his body and blessed him, and by that produced an internal conversion. As an effect of this, attachment vanished and with the disappearance of attachment, antipathy, egotism and other vices also disappeared. Allama further said that unless the self could realise that the association with the body was false, and the two were completely separated, one could

² Ibid. p. 25 (1st edition).

¹ Prabhu-linga-līlā, part III, pp. 6-8 (1st edition).

not realise the true identity with the Lord Siva, devotion to whom was the cause of all true knowledge. It is only by the continual meditation of Siva and by the proper processes of breath control, that it is possible to realise the ultimate unity.

There is a subtle difference between the proper and practical adoption of the dynamic process of sat-sthala and the realisation of unity as taught by the Śānkara Vedānta. In the Śānkara Vedānta, when the mind is properly prepared by suitable accessory processes, the teacher instructs the pupil or the would-be saint about the ultimate knowledge of the unity of the self and the Brahman, and the would-be saint at once perceives the truth of his identity with Brahman as being the only reality. He also at once perceives that all knowledge of duality is false, though he does not actually melt himself into the nothingness of pure consciousness or the Brahman. In the Vīra-śaiva system the scheme of sat-sthala is a scheme of the performance of yogic processes. By them the vital processes as associated with the various vital forces and the nerve plexuses, are controlled, and by that very means the vogin gets a mastery over his passions and is also introduced to new and advanced stages of knowledge, until his soul becomes so united with the permanent reality, Siva, that all appearance and duality cease both in fact and in thought. Thus a successful Vīra-śaiva saint should not only perceive his identity with Siva, but his whole body, which was an appearance or shadow over the reality, would also cease to exist. His apparent body would not be a material fact in the world, and therefore would not be liable to any impact with other physical bodies, though externally they may appear as physical bodies.

A similar philosophical view can be found in the work called Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati attributed to Gorakṣa-nāth, who is regarded as a Śaiva saint, an incarnation of Śiva Himself. Many legends are attributed to him and many poems have been composed in vernaculars of Bengali and Hindi, extolling the deeds and miraculous performances of his disciples and of himself. His date seems to be uncertain. References to Gorakṣa are found in the works of writers of the eighth to fifteenth centuries, and his miraculous deeds are described as having taken place in countries ranging from Gujarat, Nepal and Bengal and other parts of northern and western India. One of his well-known disciples was called Matsyendra-nātha. Śiva is called Paśupati, the lord of animals,

and the word gorakṣa also means the protector of the cattle. In the lexicons the word go means the name of a ṛṣi and also the name of cattle. There is thus an easy association of the word gorakṣa with the word paśupati. Gorakṣa's views are also regarded as the views of Siddhānta. This reminds us of the fact that the Śaiva doctrines of the South were regarded as having been propounded by Maheśvara or Śiva in the Siddhāntas, an elaboration of which has elsewhere been made in this work as the Āgama philosophy of the Siddhāntas. Only a few Sanskrit books on the philosophical aspects of the teachings of Gorakṣa-nāth have come down to us. There are, however, quite a number of books in the vernaculars which describe the miraculous powers of the Kānphāṭā Yogis of the school of Gorakṣa-nāth, also called Gorākh-nāth.

One of these Sanskrit works is called Siddha-siddhantapaddhati. It is there that the ultimate reality of the unmoved, and the immovable nature of the pure consciousness which forms the ultimate ground of all our internal and external experiences, are to be sought. It is never produced nor destroyed, and in that sense eternal and always self-luminous. In this way it is different from ordinary knowledge, which is called buddhi. Ordinary knowledge rises and fades, but this pure consciousness which is identified as being one with Siva is beyond all occurrence and beyond all time. It is, therefore, regarded as the ground of all things. It is from this that all effects, for example, the bodies, the instruments or the karanas (senses, etc.), and the agents, for example, the souls or the jīvas, shoot forth. It is by its spontaneity that the so-called God as well as His powers are manifested. In this original state Siva shows itself as identical with His śakti. This is called the sāmarasva, that is, both having the same taste. This ultimate nature is the original ego, called also kula, which shows itself in various aspects. We should distinguish this ultimate nature of reality, which is changeless, from the reality as associated with class concepts and other distinguishing traits. These distinguishing traits are also held up in the supreme reality, for in all stages of experience these distinguishing features have no reality but the ultimate reality, which holds them all in the oneness of pure consciousness. Since the distinguishing characteristics have no further reality beyond them than the unchangeable ground-consciousness, they ultimately have to be regarded as being homogeneous (sama-rasa) with ubiquitous reality.

The concept of sama-rasa is homogeneity. A thing which appears as different from another thing, but is in reality or essence the same, is said to be sama-rasa with the first one. It is also a way in which the *bhedābheda* theory of the reality and the appearance is explained. Thus a drop of water is in appearance different from the sheet of water in which it is held, but in fact it has no other reality and no other taste than that sheet of water. The ultimate reality, without losing its nature as such, shows itself in various forms, though in and through them all it alone remains as the ultimately real. It is for this reason that though the ultimate reality is endowed with all powers, it does not show itself except through its various manifesting forms. So the all-powerful Siva, though it is the source of all power, behaves as if it were without any power. This power therefore remains in the body as the everawaking kundalini or the serpentine force, and also as manifesting in different ways. The consideration of the body as indestructible is called kāva-siddhi.

We need not go into further detail in explaining the philosophical ideas of Gorakṣa as contained in Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati, for this would be to digress. But we find that there is a curious combination of Haṭha-yoga, the control of the nerve plexuses, the idea of the individual and the world as having the same reality, though they appear as different, as we find in the lecture attributed to Allama in Prabhu-linga-līlā. It also holds a type of bhedābheda theory and is distinctly opposed to the monistic interpretation of the Upaniṣads as introduced by Śaṅkara.

The idea of sat-sthala must have been prevalent either as a separate doctrine or as a part of some form of Saivism. We know that there were many schools of Saivism, many of which have now become lost. The name sat-sthala cannot be found in any of the sacred Sanskrit works. We have no account of Vīra-śaivism before Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi. Descriptions of it are found in many works, some of the most important of which are Prabhu-linga-līlā and Basava-purāṇa. We also hear that Canna-basava, the nephew of Basava, was initiated into the doctrine of sat-sthala. In Prabhu-linga-līlā we hear that Allama instructed the doctrine of sat-sthala to Basava. We also find the interesting dialogue between Allama

and Gorakṣa in the *Prabhu-linga-līlā*. We have also examined briefly some of the contents of *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of Gorakṣa, and we find that the *ṣaṭ-sthala* doctrine preached by Allama was more or less similar to the *Yoga* doctrine found in the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati*. If we had more space, we could have brought out an interesting comparison between the doctrines of Allama and Gorakṣa. It is not impossible that there was a mutual exchange of views between Gorakṣa and Allama. Unfortunately the date of Gorakṣa cannot be definitely known, though it is known that his doctrines had spread very widely in various parts of India, extending over a long period in the Middle Ages.

The interpretation of sat-sthala is rather different in different works dealing with it. This shows that, though the sat-sthala doctrine was regarded as the most important feature of Vīra-śaivism after Basava, we are all confused as to what the sat-sthala might have been. As a matter of fact we are not even certain about the number. Thus in Vīra-śaiva-siddhānta (MS.) we have a reference to 101 sthalas, and so also in Siddhānta-śikhāmaṇi. But elsewhere in Śrīpati's bhāṣya, Anubhava-sūtra of Māyi-deva, and in Prabhu-linga-līlā and Basava-purāṇa we find reference to six sthalas only.

In the same way the *sthalas* have not been the same in the various authoritative works. The concepts of these *sthalas* are also different, and they are sometimes used in different meanings. In some works *sthala* is used to denote the six nerve plexuses in the body or the six centres from which the power of God is manifested in different ways; sometimes they are used to denote the sixfold majestic powers of God and sometimes to denote the important natural elements, such as earth, fire, air, etc. The whole idea seems to be that the macrocosm and microcosm being the same identical entity, it is possible to control the dissipated forces of any centre and pass on to a more concentrated point of manifestation of the energy, and this process is regarded as the upward process of ascension from one stage to another.

Anubhava-sūtra of Māyi-deva1.

Upamanyu, the first teacher, was born in Aaipura. The second teacher was Bhīma-nātha Prabhu. Then came Mahā-guru Kaleśvara. His son, well versed in *śrauta* and *smārta* literature and their customs and manners, was Śrī Boppa-nātha. Boppa-nātha's son was Śrī Nāka-rāja Prabhu, who was well versed in Vīra-śaiva rites and customs of religion. The disciple of Nāka-rāja was Sangameśvara. Sangameśvara's son was Māyi-deva. He is well versed in the knowledge of Śivādvaita, and he is a sat-sthala-Brahmavādī. The Śaivāgamas begin with Kāmika and end with Vātula. Vātula-tantra is the best. Its second part, called Pradīpa, contains the Śiva-siddhānta-tantra. Saţ-sthala doctrine is based on the principles of the $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ together with the older views. It is supported by the instructions of teachers and self-realisation by anubhūti and by arguments. In the Anubhava-sūtra there are (1) the guruparamparā; (2) the definition of sthala; (3) the linga-sthala; (4) the anga-sthala; (5) the linga-samyoga-vidhi; (6) the lingarpanasadbhāva; (7) the sarvānga-linga-sāhitya; and (8) the kriyā-viśrānti.

Sthala is defined as one Brahman identically the same with sat, cit and ānanda, which is called the ultimate category of Siva—the ground of the manifestation of the world and dissolution. He is also the category from which the different categories of mahat, etc. have sprung forth. 'Stha' means Sthāna and 'la' means laya. It is the source of all energies and all beings have come from it and shall return into it. It is by the self-perturbation of the energy of this ultimate category that the various other sthalas are evolved. This one sthala may be divided into the linga-sthala and the Angasthala. As the empty space can be distinctively qualified as the space inside the room or inside the jar, so the dual bifurcation of sthala may appear as the object of worship and the worshipper.

Siva remaining unchanged in Himself appears in these two forms. It is the same Siva which appears as pure consciousness and also as the part of *linga*. The part of *linga*, *lingānga* is also called *jīva* or the individual souls.

¹ Anubhava-sūtra forms the second part of Śiva-siddhānta-tantra, which is complete in two parts. The first part is Viśeṣārtha-prakāśaka. Anubhava-sūtra is written by Māyi-deva; it is evident from the colophons of Anubhava-sūtra. It is also mentioned in the last colophon of Śiva-siddhānta-tantra.

As sthala is of two parts, Brahma and jīva, so His śakti is also twofold. It is indeterminate and is called Maheśvara. It assumes two forms by its own pure spontaneity. One part of it may be regarded as associated with linga, the Brahman, and the other with anga, the jīva. In reality śakti and bhakti are the same¹. When the energy moves forward for creation it is called śakti as pravṛtti, and as cessation nivṛtti is called bhakti². On account of the diverse nature of bhakti its indeterminateness disintegrates into various forms. The twofold functions of śakti as the upper and the lower show themselves in the fact that the upper one tends to manifest the world and the lower one, appearing as bhakti, tends to return to God. In these twofold forms the same śakti is called māyā and bhakti. The śakti in the linga appears as the bhakti in the anga, and the unity of linga and anga is the identity of Śiva and jīva.

The linga-sthala is threefold, as: (1) bhāva-linga; (2) prāṇa-linga; and (3) iṣṭa-linga. The bhāva-linga can only be grasped through inner intuition as pure Being, and this bhāva-linga is called niṣkala. Prāṇa-linga is the reality as grasped by thought and as such it is both indeterminate and determinate. The iṣṭa-linga is that which fulfils one's good as self-realisation or adoration, and it is beyond space and time.

The ultimate śakti as being pure cessation and beyond all, is śāntyatīta; the next one is icchā-śakti, called also vidyā as pure knowledge. The third one is called the kriyā-śakti which leads to cessation. The three śaktis of icchā, jñāna and kriyā become sixfold.

The six sthalas are again described as follows:

(1) That which is completely full in itself, subtle, having no beginning nor end, and is indefinable, but can be grasped only by the intuition of the heart as the manifestation of pure consciousness, is called the *mahātma-linga*.

(2) That in which we find the seed of development as consciousness beyond the senses, called also the *sādākhya-tattva*, is called *prasāda-ghana-linga*.

(3) The pure luminous *puruṣa*, which is without inward and outward, without any form, and known by the name Ātman, is called the *cara-linga*.

Šakti-bhaktyor na bhedo'sti. Anubhava-sūtra, p. 8. saktyā prapañca-sṛṣṭih syāu, bhaktya tad-vilayo matah. Ibid.

- (4) When this by the *icchā-śakti* manifests itself as the ego, we have what is called *Śiva-linga*.
- (5) When it by its own knowledge and power and omnipotence assumes the role of an instructor for taking all beings beyond the range of all pleasures, it is called *guru-linga*.
- (6) The aspect in which by its action it upholds the universe and holds them all in the mind, is called the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ra$ -linga.

There are further divisions and sub-divisions of these sthalas, anga-sthala.

'Am' means Brahma and 'ga' means that which goes. Angasthala is of three kinds as yogānga, bhogānga and tyāgānga. In the first, one attains the bliss of union with Siva. In the second, bhogānga, one enjoys with Siva, and in tyāgānga one leaves aside the illusion or the false notion of the cycle of births and rebirths. Yogānga is the original cause, the bhogānga is the subtle cause and tyāgānga is the gross one. Yogānga is the dreamless state, bhogānga is the ordinary state of sleep, and tyāgānga is the waking state. Yogānga is the state of prajnā, bhogānga is taijas and tyāgānga is viśva. Yogānga is called the unity with Siva and śarana-sthala. Bhogānga is twofold, prāna-lingi and prasādi. The gross is twofold, bhakta-sthala and māheśvara sthala. Again prājña is aikya-sthala and śarana-sthala. The taijas is prāna-lingi and prasādi. Viśva again is twofold as māheśvara and bhakta-sthala. The unity, the śarana, the prāna-lingi, the prasādi, the māheśvara and the bhakta may be regarded as the successive of the six sthalas.

Again omnipotence, contentment, and beginningless consciousness, independence, unobstructedness of power and infinite power—these are the parts of God, which being in sat-sthala are regarded as six types of bhakti depending on various conditions. The bhakti manifests itself in diverse forms, just as water manifests in various tastes in various fruits. The bhakti is of the nature of Siva. Then it is of the nature of anubhava or realisation. Then it is of the nature of adoration (naiṣṭhikī) and the sixth is of the nature of bhakti among good men. It is further said that all those classifications are meaningless. The truth is the identity of myself and everything, all else is false—this is aikya-sthala. By the self-illumination of knowledge, the body and senses appear as having no form, being united with God; when everything appears as pure, that is called the śaraṇa-sthala.

When one avoids all illusions or errors about body, etc., and conceives in the mind that one is at one with the *linga*, that is called the *prāṇa-linga*, or *cara-sthala*. When one surrenders all objects of gratification to God, it is called the *praṣāda-sthala*, and when one fixes one's mind on God as being one with Him—it is called *māheśvara-sthala*. When the false appears as true and the mind is detached from it by the adorative action of *bhakti*, and the person becomes detached from the world—this is called *bhakti-sthala*. Thus we have another six kinds of *ṣaṭ-sthala*.

Again from another point of view we have another description of sat-sthala, such as from Ātman comes ākāśa, from ākāśa comes vāyu, from vāyu comes agni, from agni comes water and from water—earth. Again the unity of Ātman with Brahman is called vyomānga. Prāṇa-linga is called vāyvānga, and prasāda is called analānga, and maheśvara is called jalānga and the bhakta is called bhūmyanga. Again from bindu comes nāda, and from nāda comes kalā, and reversely from kalā to bindu.

Unlike the Vaiṣṇavas, the Anubhava-sūtra describes bhakti not as attachment involving a sense-duality between the worshipper and the worshipped, but as revealing pure oneness or identity with God in the strongest terms. This implies, and in fact it has been specifically stated, that all ceremonial forms of worship involving duality are merely imaginary creations. In His sportive spirit the Lord may assume diverse forms, but the light of bhakti should show that they are all one with Him.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PHILOSOPHY OF ŚRĪKAŅŢHA

Philosophy of Śaivism as expounded by Śrīkaṇṭha in his Commentary on the *Brahma-sutra* and the Subcommentary on it by Appaya Dīkṣita.

INTRODUCTORY

It has often been stated in the previous volumes of the present work that the Brahma-sūtra attributed to Bādarāyana was an attempt at a systematisation of the apparently different strands of the Upanisadic thought in the various early Upanisads, which form the background of most of the non-heretical systems of Indian philosophy. The Brahma-sūtra had been interpreted by the exponents of different schools of thought in various ways, for example, by Śańkara, Rāmānuja, Bhāskara, Mādhva, Vallabha, and others, and they have all been dealt with in the previous volumes of the present work. Vedanta primarily means the teachings of the Upanisads. Consequently the Brahma-sūtra is supposed to be a systematisation of Upanisadic wisdom; and its various interpretations in diverse ways by the different exponents of diverse philosophical views, all go by the name of the Vedanta, though the Vedanta philosophy of one school of thinkers may appear to be largely different from that of any other school. Thus while the exposition of the Brahma-sūtra by Sankara is monistic, the interpretation of Mādhva is explicitly pluralistic. We have seen the acuteness of the controversy between the adherents of the two schools of thought, extending over centuries, in the fourth volume of the present work.

As Śrīkantha expounded his views as an interpretation of the *Brahma-sūtra* and accepted the allegiance and loyalty to the Upaniṣads, the work has to be regarded as an interpretation of the Vedānta. Like many other interpretations of the Vedānta (for example, by Rāmānuja, Mādhva, Vallabha, or Nimbārka), the philosophy of Śrīkantha is associated with the personal religion, where Śiva is regarded as the highest Deity, being equated with

Brahman. It can, therefore, be claimed as an authoritative exposition of Saivism. Saivism, or rather Saiva philosophy, also had assumed various forms, both as expressed in Sanskritic works and in the vernacular Dravidian works. But in the present work, we are only interested in the exposition of Saiva philosophy in Sanskrit works. The present writer has no access to the original Dravidian literature such as Tamil, Telegu and Canarese, etc., and it is not within the proposed scheme of the present work to collect philosophical materials from the diverse vernacular literature of India.

In introducing his commentary, Śrīkantha says that the object of his interpretation of the Brahma-sūtra is the clarification of its purport since it has been made turbid by previous teachers1. We do not know who were these previous teachers, but a comparison between the commentary of Sankara and that of Srikantha shows that at least Sankara was one of his targets. Sankara's idea of Saiva philosophy can briefly be gathered from his commentary on the Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 35–8, and his view of the Saiva philosophy tallies more with some of the Puranic interpretations which were in all probability borrowed by Vijñāna Bhiksu in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtra called Vijnānāmrta-bhāsya, and his commentary on the *Īśvara-gītā* of the Kūrma-purāna. Śaṅkara lived somewhere about the eighth century A.D., and his testimony shows that the sort of Saiva philosophy that he expounded was pretty well known to Bādarāyana, so that he included it as a rival system for refutation in the Brahma-sūtra. This shows the great antiquity of the Saiva system of thought, and in a separate section we shall attend to this question.

Śankara came from the Kerala country in the South, and he must have been acquainted with some documents of Śaiva philosophy or the Śaivāgamas. But neither Śankara nor his commentators mention their names. But obviously Śrīkantha followed some Śaivāgamas, which were initiated in early times by one called Śveta, an incarnation of Śiva, who must have been followed by other teachers of the same school, and according to Śrīkantha's own testimony, twenty-eight of them had flourished before

Vyāsa-sūtram idam netram vidusām brahma-daršane. pūrvācāryaih kaluşitam śrīkanthena prasādyate. Śrīkantha's bhāsya, introductory verse, 5.

Śrīkantha and had written $Saiv\bar{a}gama$ works. The original teacher Śveta has also been mentioned in the $V\bar{a}yav\bar{i}ya$ samhitā of the $Siva-mah\bar{a}pur\bar{a}na^1$.

In the initiatory adoration hymn Śrīkantha adores Śiva, the Lord, as being of the nature of ego-substance (aham-padartha). The sub-commentator Appaya Dīksita (A.D. 1550), in following the characterisation of Siva in the Mahābhārata, tries to give an etymological derivation in rather a fanciful way from the root vasa, 'to will.' This means that the personality of Siva, the Lord, is of the nature of pure egohood and that his will is always directed to the effectuation of good and happiness to all beings. This egohood is also described as 'pure being' (sat), 'pure consciousness' (cit) and 'pure bliss' (ānanda). Śrīkantha further says that his commentary will expound the essence of the teachings of the Upanisads or the Vedānta and will appeal to those who are devoted to Siva². Śrīkantha describes Siva on the one hand as being the category of aham or egohood which forms the individual personality, and at the same time regards it as being of the nature of 'pure being,' 'pure consciousness,' and 'pure bliss.' He thinks that this individual personality can be regarded only in unlimited sense to be identified with the infinite nature of Siva. Appaya Dīksita in commenting on this verse quotes the testimony of some of the Upanisads to emphasise the personal aspect of the God Siva as a personal God. Ordinarily the word 'sac-cid-ānanda-rūpāya' would be used in the writings of monistic Vedanta of the school of Sankara, in the sense of a concrete unity of 'pure being,' 'pure consciousness,' and 'pure bliss.' But that kind of interpretation would not suit the purposes of a purely theistic philosophy. For this reason Appaya says that the words 'sac-cid-ānānda' are the qualities of the supreme God Siva and that this is indicated by the terminal word 'rūpāya,' because Brahman as such is arūpa or formless. The expansion of the limited individual into the infinite nature of Siva also implies that the individual enjoys with Him qualities of bliss and consciousness. In a Sankarite interpretation the person who attains liberation becomes one with Brahman, that

¹ Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, Vāyavīya saṃhitā 1. 5. 5 et seq. (Venkaţeśvara Press, Bombay, 1925).

om namo'ham-padārthāya lokānām siddhi-hetave, saccidānanda-rūpāya śivāya paramātmane. 1. Preliminary adoration to Śiva by Śrīkaṇṭha.

is, with the unity of sat, cit and ananda. He does not enjoy consciousness or bliss but is at once one with it. The Brahman in the system of Śankara and his school is absolutely qualityless and differenceless (nirviśesa). Rāmānuja in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtra tries to refute the idea of Brahman as qualityless or differenceless and regards the Brahman as being the abode of an infinite number of auspicious and benevolent characters and qualities. This is called saguna-brahman, that is, the Brahman having qualities. The same idea is put forward in a somewhat different form by Śrīkantha. Except in the Purānas and some older Sanskrit literature, the idea of a Brahman with qualities does not seem to be available in the existent philosophical literature outside Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja is said to have followed the Bodhāyana-vrtti which, however, is no longer available. It may, therefore, be suggested that Śrīkantha's bhāsya was inspired by the Bodhāyana-vṛtti, or by Rāmānuja, or by any of the Śaivāgamas following a simple theistic idea.

On the one hand Lord Siva is regarded as the supreme and transcendent Deity, and on the other he is regarded as the material cause of this material universe, just as milk is the material cause of curd. This naturally raises some difficulties, as the supreme God cannot at the same time be regarded as entirely transcendent and also undergoing changes for the creation of the material universe which is to be regarded as of the nature of God Himself. To avoid this difficulty Appaya summarises the view of Śrīkantha and tries to harmonise the texts of the Upanisads, pointing to monistic and dualistic interpretations. He thus says that God Himself is not transformed into the form of the material universe, but the energy of God which manifests itself as the material universe is a part and parcel of the entire personality of God. The material universe is not thus regarded either as illusion or as an attribute of God (in a Spinozistic sense), nor is the universe to be regarded as a part or a limb of God, so that all the activities of the universe are dependent on the will of God, as Rāmānuja holds in his theory of Viśistādvaita; nor does Śrīkantha regard the relation between the universe and God as being of the same nature as that between the waves or foam and the sea itself. The waves or foam are neither different from nor one with the sea; this is called the bhedābhedavāda of Bhāskara. It may also be noted that this view of Śrīkantha

is entirely different from the view of Vijñāna Bhiksu as expressed in the Viinanamrta-bhasva, a commentary on the Brahma-sūtra in which he tries to establish a view well known in the Puranas, that the prakrti and the purusa are abiding entities outside God and are co-existent with Him; they are moved by God for the production of the universe, for the teleological purposes of enjoyment and experience of the purusas, and ultimately lead the purusas to liberation beyond bondage. It may not be out of place here to refer to the commentary of Sankara on the Brahma-sūtra (II. 2. 37 et seq.) where he tried to refute a Saiva doctrine which regards God as the instrumental cause that transforms the prakrti to form the universe, a view somewhat similar to that found in the Vijnānāmrta-bhāsya of Vijnāna Bhikṣu. This Śaiva view seems to have been entirely different from the Saiva view expressed by Śrīkantha, expressly based on the traditions of the twenty-eight vogācārvas beginning with Sveta. Lord Siva, the supreme personal God, is regarded as fulfilling all our desires, or rather our beneficent wishes. This idea is brought out by Appaya in his somewhat fanciful etymology of the word 'siva,' a twofold derivation from the root vasa and from the word 'siva' meaning good.

Śrīkantha adores the first teacher of the Śaiva thought and regards him (Sveta) as having made the various Agamas. But we do not know what these Agamas were. Appaya in his commentary is also uncertain about the meaning of the word 'nānāgamavidhāyine.' He gives two alternative interpretations. In one he suggests that the early teacher Sveta had resolved the various contradictions of the Upanisadic texts, and had originated a system of Saiva thought which may be properly supported by the Upanisadic texts. In the second interpretation he suggests that the word 'nānāgama-vidhāyine,' that is, he who has produced the various Agamas, only means that the system of Sveta was based on the various Saivagamas. In such an interpretation we are not sure whether these Agamas were based on the Upanisads or on other vernacular Dravidian texts, or on both.1 In commenting upon the bhāṣya of Śankara on the Brahma-sūtra (II. 2. 37), Vācaspati says in his Bhāmatī that the systems known as Śaiva,

asmin pakṣe 'nānāgama-vidhāyinā'ity
asya nānāvidha-pāsupatādy-āgama-nirmātrā ity arthah.
Appaya's commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya (Bombay, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 6.

Pāśupata, Kāruṇika-siddhāntin, and the Kāpālikas are known as the fourfold schools called the Māheśvaras¹. They all believe in the Sāṃkhya doctrine of *prakṛti*, *mahat*, etc., and also in some kind of Yoga on the syllable *om*; their final aim was liberation and end of all sorrow. The individual souls are called *paśus* and the word 'pāśa' means bondage. The Maheśvaras believe that God is the instrumental cause of the world as the potter is of jugs and earthen vessels.

Both Śaṅkara and Vācaspati regard this Maheśvara doctrine, based upon certain treatises (Siddhānta) written by Maheśvara, as being opposed to the Upaniṣadic texts. None of them mentions the name of the teacher Śveta, who is recorded in Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya and the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa. It is clear therefore that, if Śaṅkara's testimony is to be believed, this word 'nānāgama-vidhāyine' cannot mean the reconciliatory doctrine based on the Upaniṣads as composed by Śveta and the other twenty-seven Śaiva teachers². We have already pointed out that the Śaiva doctrine, that we find in Śrīkaṇṭha, is largely different from the Maheśvara school of thought which Śaṅkara and Vācaspati wanted to refute. There Śaṅkara had compared the Maheśvara school of thought as being somewhat similar to the Nyāya philosophy.

What the Siddhānta treatises, supposed to have been written by Maheśvara, were, is still unknown to us. But it is certain that they were composed in the beginning of or before the Christian era, as that doctrine was referred to by Bādarāyana in his *Brahma-sūtra*.

¹ Rāmānuja, however, in his commentary on the same *sūtra* mentions as the fourfold schools the Kāpālas, the Kālamukhas, the Pāśupatas, and the Śaivas.

² The Vāyavīya-samhitā section mentions the names of the twenty-eight

yogācāryas beginning with Sveta. Their names are as follows:

Švetah sutāro madanah suhotrah kanka eva ca, laugākṣiś ca mahāmāyo jaigīṣavyas tathaiva ca. 2. dadhivāhaś-ca ṛṣabho munir ugro 'trir eva ca, supālako gautamaś ca tathā vedaśirā munih. 3. gokarṇaś-ca guhāvāsī śikhaḍī cāparah smṛtah, jaṭāmālī cāṭṭahāso dāruko lāṅgulī tathā. 4. mahākālaś ca śūlī ca daṇḍī muṇḍīśa eva ca, saviṣnus soma-śarmā ca lakulīśvara eva ca. 5.

Vāyavīya-saṃhitā II. 9, verses 2–5 (compare Kūrma-purāṇa I. 53, 4 et seq.). The names of their pupils are given from II. 9, verses 6–20 (compare Kūrma-purāṇa I. 53, 12 et seq.).

Each one of the yogācāryas had four disciples. The better known of them are as follows (*Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* 11. 9, 10 et seq.): Kapila, Asuri, Pañcasikha, Parāsara, Bṛhadaśva, Devala, Śālihotra, Akṣapāda, Kaṇāda, Ulūka, Vatsa.

Śrīkantha definitely says that the souls and the inanimate objects, of which the universe is composed, all form materials for the worship of the supreme Lord. The human souls worship Him directly, and the inanimate objects form the materials with which He is worshipped. So the whole universe may be regarded as existing for the sake of the supreme Lord. Śrīkantha further says that the energy or the power of the Lord forms the basis or the canvas, as it were, on which the whole world is painted in diverse colours. So the reality of the world lies in the nature of God Himself; the universe, as it appears to us, is only a picture-show based on the ultimate reality of God who is regarded as definitely described and testified in the Upanisads¹. On the testimony of Śrīkantha, the philosophy of Śaivism as interpreted by him follows an interpretation of the Upanisads and is based on them. It is unfortunate that most of the scholars who have contributed articles to the study of Saivism or written books on it, have so far mostly ignored the philosophy propounded by Śrikantha, although his work had been published as early as 1908.

We have already seen that Sankara in his bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 37, had attributed the instrumentality of God as being the doctrine of the Siddhānta literature supposed to have been written by Maheśvara. Appaya, in commenting upon the same topic dealt with by Śrīkaṇṭha, says that this is the view which may be found in the Śaivāgamas when they are imperfectly understood. But neither he nor Śrīkaṇṭha mentions the names of any of the Śaivāgamas which have come down to us, which describe the instrumentality of God. So Śrīkaṇṭha also undertakes to refute the view of Śaivism which holds that God is only the instrumental cause of the world. We may therefore infer that some of the Śaivāgamas were being interpreted on the line of regarding God as being the instrumental cause of the world.

Śrīkantha's *bhāṣya* on *Brahma-sūtra* II. 2. 37 and the commentary of Appaya on it bring out some other important points. We know from these that there were two types of Āgamaṣ, one meant for the three castes (*Varṇa*) who had access to the Vedic

nija-śakti-bhitti-nirmita-nikhila-jagajjālā-citra-nikurumbaḥ,
sa jayati śivaḥ parātmā nikhilāgama-sāra-sarvasvam. 2.
bhavatu sa bhavatām siddhyai paramātmā sarva-mangalo-petaḥ,
cidacinmayaḥ prapañcaḥ śeṣo' śeṣo' pi yasyaiṣaḥ. 3.
Introductory verses, Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya.

literature, and the other for those that had no access to the Vedic literature. These latter Agamas might have been written in the Dravidian vernaculars, or translated into the Dravidian vernaculars from Sanskrit manuals. Śrīkantha's own interpretation of the Brahma-sūtra is based mainly on the views propounded in the Vāyavīya-samhitā section of the Śiva-mahāpurāna. In the Kūrmapurāna and the Varāha-purāna also we hear of different types of Śaivāgamas and Śaiva schools of thought. Some of the Śaiva schools, such as Lakulīśa or Kāpālikas, are regarded in those Purāṇas (Kūrma and Varāha) as being outside the pale of Vedic thought, and the upholders of those views are regarded as following delusive Śāstras or scriptures (mohā-śāstra). In reply to this it is held that some of those schools follow some impure practices, and have on that account been regarded as moha-śāstra. But they are not fully opposed to the Vedic discipline, and they encourage some kinds of adoration and worship which are found in the Vedic practice. The Agamas of this latter type, that is, which are for the Sūdras and other lower castes, are like the well-known Āgamas such as Kāmika, Mrgendra, etc. It is urged, however, that these non-Vedic Agamas and the Vedic Saivism as found in the Vāyavīyasamhitā are essentially authoritative, and both of them owe their origin to Lord Siva. Their essential doctrines are the same, as both of them regard Siva as being both the material and the instrumental cause of the world. It is only that some superficial interpreters have tried to explain some of the Agamas, emphasising the instrumentality of the supreme Lord, and the above topic of the Brahma-sūtra is intended to refute such a view of the supreme Lord as being only the efficient or instrumental cause.

It is curious to note that the two systems of Saiva philosophy called Lākulīśa-pāśupata and the Śaiva-darśana as treated in the Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, deal mainly with the aspect of God as the efficient cause of the universe; they lay stress on various forms of ritualism, and also encourage certain forms of moral discipline. It is also surprising to note that the Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha should not mention Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya, though the former was written somewhere about the fourteenth century A.D. and Śrikaṇṭha's bhāṣya must have been written much before that time, though it is not possible for us as yet to locate his time exactly. Neither does the Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha refer to any Purāṇic materials as

found in the \dot{Siva} -mahāpurāṇa, the $K\bar{u}rma$ -purāṇa and the $Var\bar{a}ha$ -purāṇa. But we shall treat of the systems later on in other sections and show their relation with the philosophy as propounded in Śrīkaṇṭha's $bh\bar{a}sya$, so far as manuscript material and other published texts are available.

In interpreting the first sūtra of the Brahma-sūtra 'athātobrahma-jijñāsā,' Śrīkantha first introduces a long discussion on the meaning of the word 'atha.' The word 'atha' generally means 'after,' or it introduces a subject to a proper incipient. Śrīkantha holds that the entire Mīmāmsā-sūtra by Jaimini, beginning with "athāto dharma-jijñāsā" to the last sūtra of the Brahma-sūtra IV. 4. 22 "anāvṛttih śabdād anāvṛttih śabdāt," is one whole. Consequently the brahma-jijñāsā or the inquiry as to the nature of Brahman must follow the inquiry as to the nature of dharma, which forms the subject-matter of the Pūrva-mīmāmsā-sūtra of Jaimini. We have seen in our other volumes that the subject-matter of the Pūrva-mīmāmsā starts with the definition of the nature of dharma, which is regarded as being the beneficial results accruing from the dictates of the Vedic imperatives "codanā-lakṣanortho dharmah"). The sacrifices thus are regarded as dharma, and these sacrifices are done partly for the attainment of some desired benefits such as the birth of a son, attainment of prosperity, a shower of rain, or long residence in heaven after death; partly also as obligatory rites, and those which are obligatory on ceremonial occasions. Generally speaking these sacrificial duties have but little relation to an inquiry about the nature of Brahman. Sankara, therefore, had taken great pains in his commentary on the Brahmasūtra as well as in his commentary on the Gītā, to show that the sacrificial duties are to be assigned to persons of an entirely different character from those who are entitled to inquire about the nature of Brahman. The two parts of sacrifices (karma) and knowledge (iñāna) are entirely different and are intended for two different classes of persons. Again, while the result of dharma may lead to mundane prosperity or a residence in heaven for a time and will, after a time, bring the person in the cycle of transmigratory birth and death, the knowledge of Brahman once attained or intuited directly, would liberate the person from all bondage eternally. So, these two courses, that is the path of karma and the path of knowledge, cannot be regarded as complementary to each other. It is

wrong to regard them as segments of the same circle. This is what is known as the refutation by Śańkara of the joint performance of karma and jñāna, technically called the jñāna-karma-samuccaya-vāda.

Śrikantha here takes an entirely opposite view. He says that the Brāhmin who is properly initiated with the holy thread has a right to study the Vedas, has even an obligatory duty to study the Vedas under a proper teacher, and when he has mastered the Vedas he also acquaints himself with their meaning. So the study of the Vedas with a full comprehension of their meaning must be regarded as preceding any inquiry or discussion regarding the nature of Brahman. As dharma can be known from the Vedas, so the Brahman has also to be known by the study of the Vedas. Consequently, one who has not studied the Vedas is not entitled to enter into any discussion regarding the nature of Brahman. But then it cannot be said that merely after the study of the Vedas one is entitled to enter into a discussion regarding the nature of Brahman. For such a person must, after the study of the Vedas, discuss the nature of dharma, without which he cannot be introduced into a discussion regarding the nature of Brahman. So the discussion about the nature of Brahman can only begin after a discussion on the nature of dharma¹. He further says that it may be that the principles and maxims used in the interpretation of Vedic injunctions as found in the *Pūrva-mīmāmsā* were necessary for the understanding of the Upanisadic texts leading to a discussion on the nature of Brahman. It is for this reason that a discussion of the nature of dharma is indispensably necessary for the discussion of the nature of Brahman.

It cannot, however, be said that if sacrifices lead to an understanding of the nature of Brahman, what is the good of any discussion on its nature. One might rather indulge in a discussion of the nature of *dharma*, because when the Vedic duties are performed without desire for the fulfilment of any purpose, that itself might purify the mind of a man and make him fit for inquiring into the nature of Brahman, for, by such a purposeless performance of

¹ tarhi kim anantaram asyārambhaḥ. dharma-vicārānantaram. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya 1. 1. 1, Vol. 1, p. 34.

na vayam dharma-brahma-vicāra-rūpayoś śāstrayor atyanta-b-hedavādinaḥ, kintu ekatva-vādinah. Ibid.

Vedic sacrifices, one may be purified of one's sins, and this may lead to a proper illumination of the nature of Brahman¹. He also makes references to Gautama and other smrtis to establish the view that only those who are initiated in the Vedic ceremonial works are entitled to abide with Brahman, and get commingled with him. The most important point is that only those Vedic sacrifices which are done without any idea of the achievement of a purpose lead finally to the cessation of sins, and thereby making the Brahmaillumination possible. In the case of such a person the result of karma becomes the same as the result of knowledge. The karmas are to be performed until true knowledge dawns. Consequently one can say that the discussion on the nature of Brahman must be preceded by the discussion on the nature of dharma accruing from the prescribed Vedic duties. The inquiry after the nature of Brahman is not meant as the carrying out of any Vedic mandate, but people turn to it for its superior attraction as being the most valued possession that one may have, and one can perceive that only when one's mind is completely purified by performing the Vedic duties in a disinterested manner, can one attain the knowledge of Brahman. It is only in this way that we can regard the discussion on the nature of dharma as leading to the discussion of the nature of Brahman. If the mind is not purified by the performance of the Vedic duties in a disinterested manner, then the mere performance of the Vedic duties does not entitle anyone to inquire about the nature of Brahman.

Appaya Dīkṣita, in commenting on the above bhāṣya of Śrīkanṭha, says that the discussion on the nature of Brahman means a discussion on the texts of the Upaniṣads. Such discussions would naturally lead to the apprehension of the nature of Brahman. The word 'brahman' is derived from the root 'bṛṇḥati' meaning 'great' which again is not limited by any qualification of time, space, or quality, that is, which is unlimitedly great. We have to accept this meaning because there is nothing to signify any limitation of any kind (saṃkocakābhāvāt). The Brahman is different from all that is animate (cetana) and inanimate (acetana). There are two kinds of energy: that which is the representative of the material power or energy (jaḍa-śakti), which transforms itself in the form of

¹ tasya phalābhisandhi-rahitasya pāpāpanayana-rūpacitta-śuddhi-sampādana-dvārā bodha-hetutvāt. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya 1. 1. 1, Vol. 1, p. 39.

the material universe under the direction or instrumentality of the Brahman; and there is also the energy as consciousness (cicchakti), and this consciousness energy, as we find it in animate beings, is also controlled by the Brahman¹. The Brahman Himself is different from the phenomenal world consisting of inanimate things and conscious souls. But as the conscious souls and unconscious world are both manifestations of the energy of God called Brahman or Siva or any other of His names, God Himself has no other instrument for the creation and maintenance of the world. So the greatness of Brahman is absolutely unlimited as there is nothing else beyond Him which can lend Him any support. The two energies of God representing the material cause and the spiritual force may be regarded somehow as the qualities of God.

Just as a tree has leaves and flowers, but still in spite of this variety is regarded as one tree, so God also, though He has these diversified energies as his qualities, is regarded as one. So, when considered from the aspect of material and spiritual energies, the two may be differentiated from the nature of Brahman, yet considered internally they should be regarded as being one with Brahman. These two energies have no existence separate from the nature of God. The word 'brahman' means not only unlimitedness, it also means that He serves all possible purposes. He creates the world at the time of creation and then leading the souls through many kinds of enjoyment and sorrow, ultimately expands them into His own nature when the liberation takes place.

Appaya Dīkṣita, after a long discussion, conclusively points out that not all persons who had passed through the discipline of sacrificial duties are entitled to inquire about the nature of Brahman. Only those who, by reason of their deeds in past lives, had had their minds properly purified could further purify their minds in this life by the performance of the Vedic duties without any desire for fruit, and can attain a discriminative knowledge of what is eternal and non-eternal, and have the necessary disinclination (vairāgya), inner control and external control of actions and desire for liberation, thereby qualifying themselves for making an

¹ tasya cetanācetana-prapañca-vilakṣanatvā-bhyupagamena vastu-paricchinat-vād ity āśankām nirasitum ādya-viśeṣanam. sakala-cetanācetana-prapañcā-kāryayā tadrūpa-parināminyā parama-śaktyā jada-śakter māyāyā niyāmakatvena tata utkṛṣtayā cicchaktyā viśiṣṭasya. Śivārkamani-dīpikā, Appaya's commentary, Vol. 1, p. 68.

inquiry about the nature of Brahman. Appaya Dīkṣita thus tries to bridge over the gulf between the standpoint of Śrīkaṇṭha and the standpoint of Śaṅkara. With Śaṅkara it is only those inner virtues and qualities, desire for liberation and the like that could entitle a person to inquire about the nature of Brahman. According to Śaṅkara the discussion on the nature of Vedic duties or their performance did not form an indispensable precedent to the inquiry about the nature of Brahman. But Appaya Dīkṣita tries to connect Śrīkaṇṭha's view with that of Śaṅkara by suggesting that only in those cases where, on account of good deeds in past lives, one's mind is sufficiently purified to be further chastened by the desireless performance of Vedic duties, that one can attain the mental virtues and equipments pointed out by Śaṅkara as an indispensable desideratum for inquiry into the nature of Brahman.

Appaya Dīkṣita tries to justify the possibility of a discussion regarding the nature of Brahman by pointing out that in the various texts of the Upaniṣads the Brahman is variously described as being the ego, the food, the bio-motor force (prāṇa), and the like. It is necessary, therefore, by textual criticism to find out the exact connotation of Brahman. If Brahman meant only the ego, or if it meant the pure differenceless consciousness, then there would be no scope for discussion. No one doubts his own limited ego and nothing is gained by knowing Brahman, which is pure differenceless consciousness. For this reason it is necessary to discuss the various texts of the Upaniṣads which give evidence of a personal God who can bestow on His devotee eternal bliss and eternal consciousness.

The Nature of Brahman.

Śrīkaṇṭha introduces a number of Upaniṣadic texts supposed to describe or define the nature of Brahman. These apparently are in conflict with one another, and the contradiction is not resolved either by taking those definitions alternately or collectively, and for this reason it is felt necessary to enter into a textual and critical interpretation of those texts as yielding a unified meaning. These texts describe Brahman as that from which everything has sprung into being and into which everything will ultimately return, and

taht, it is of the nature of pure bliss, pure being and pure consciousness. Appaya Dīkṣita says that, such qualities being ascribed to various deities, it is for us to find out the really ultimate Deity, the Lord Siva, who has all these qualities. He also introduces a long discussion as to whether the ascription of these diverse epithets would cause any reasonable doubt as to the entity or person who possesses them. He further enters into a long discussion as to the nature of doubt that may arise when an entity is described with many epithets, or when an entity is described with many contradictory epithets, or when several objects are described as having one common epithet. In the course of this discussion he introduces many problems of doubt with which we are already familiar in our treatment of Indian philosophy¹. Ultimately Appaya tries to emphasise the fact that these qualities may be regarded as abiding in the person of Siva and there can be no contradiction, as qualities do not mean contradictory entities. Many qualities of diverse character may remain in harmony in one entity or person.

Lord Siva is supposed to be the cause of the creation of the world, its maintenance, and its ultimate dissolution, or the liberation of souls, through the cessation of bondage. All these qualities of the production of the world, its maintenance, etc., belong to the phenomenal world of appearance, and cannot therefore be attributed to the Lord Siva as constituting His essential definition. It is true that a person may, by his good deeds and his disinclination to worldly enjoyments and devotion, attain liberation automatically. But even in such cases it has to be answered that, though the person may be regarded as an active agent with reference to his actions, vet the grace of God has to be admitted as determining him to act. So also, since all the epithets of creation, maintenance, etc., belong to the world of appearance, they cannot be regarded as in any way limiting the nature of Lord Siva. They may at best be regarded as non-essential qualities by which we can only signify the nature of Brahman, but cannot get at His own true nature. The application of the concept of agency to individual persons or inanimate things is only one of emphasis; for, from certain points of view, one may say that a person attains liberation by his own action, while from another point of view the whole action of the individual may be

¹ See especially the third volume of the present work dealing with the problem of doubt in Venkaṭa.

regarded as being due to the grace of God. So, from one point of view the laws of the world of appearance may be regarded as natural laws, while from another all the natural laws may be regarded as being the manifestations of the grace of God.

It may be urged that if Lord Siva is all-merciful why does He not remove the sorrows of all beings by liberating them? To this question it may be said that it is only when, by the deeds of the persons, the veil of ignorance and impurity is removed that the ever-flowing mercy of God manifests itself in liberating the person. Thus there is a twofold action, one by the person himself and the other by the extension of mercy on the part of God in consonance with his actions.

Again, the dissolution of the world of appearance is not a magical disappearance, but rather the return of the grosser nature of the *prakṛti* or primal matter into its subtle nature of the same *prakṛti*. The world as a whole is not illusion, but it had at one time manifested itself in a grosser form of apparent reality, and in the end it will again return into the subtle nature of the cosmic matter or *prakṛti*. This return into the nature of the subtle *prakṛti* is due to the conjoint actions of all animate beings as favoured by the grace of God.

The second sūtra, which describes or defines Brahman as that from which all things have come into being, into which all things will ultimately return, and wherein all things are maintained, regards these qualities of production, maintenance, and dissolution of all things, according to Śrīkantha as interpreted by Appaya, as being the final determinant causal aspect, both material and instrumental, by virtue of which the nature of Brahman as God or Isvara can be inferred. So according to Śrīkantha and Appaya this sūtra 'janmādy-asya yatah' should be regarded as a statement of infallible inference of the nature of Brahman. Sankara in his commentary had definitely pointed out that those who regard Isvara or God as the cause of all things and beings interpret this sūtra as an example of inference, by which the unlimited nature of Brahman could be directly argued; and that such a definition, in that it points out the reasons, is sufficient description, not too wide nor too narrow. Therefore, by this argument one can understand the Brahman as being the supreme and unlimited Lord of the whole of the material and spiritual universe. Sankara definitely

refuses to accept such an interpretation, and regards it as merely stating the general purport of the Upaniṣadic texts, which say that it is from Brahman that everything has come into being, and that it is in and through Brahman that everything lives, and that ultimately everything returns into Brahman. The main point at issue between Śańkara and Śrīkaṇṭha is that, while Śańkara refuses to accept this sūtra as establishing an argument in favour of the existence of Brahman, and while he regards the purpose of the Brahma-sūtra as being nothing more than to reconcile and relate in a harmonious manner the different texts of the Upaniṣads, Śrīkaṇṭha and the other Śaivas regard this sūtra as an inferential statement in favour of the existence of the unlimited Brahman or the supreme Lord Śiva¹.

Rāmānuja also does not interpret this sūtra as being an inferential statement for establishing the nature and existence of Brahman. He thinks that by reconciling the apparently contradictory statements of the Upaniṣadic texts, and by regarding Brahman as the cause of the production, maintenance, and dissolution of the world, it is possible to have an intuition or apprehension of the nature of Brahman through the Upaniṣadic texts².

Śrīkantha tries to interpret the various epithets of Brahman such as ānanda or bliss, sat or being, jñāna or consciousness, and the fact that in some texts Śiva is mentioned as the original cause of the world in the sense that Śiva is both the original and ultimate cause of the universe. He raises the difficulty of treating these epithets as applying to Brahman either alternately or collectively. He also further raises the difficulty that in some of the Upaniṣadic texts prakṛti, which is inanimate, is called the māyā and the cause of the inanimate world. If Brahman is of the nature of knowledge or consciousness then He could not have transformed Himself into the material world. The transformation of pure consciousness into the material universe would mean that Brahman is changeable and this would contradict the Upaniṣadic statement that the Brahman is absolutely without any action and in a state of pure passivity.

¹ etad evānumānam saṃsāriv-vyatirikte-śvarāstitvādi-sādhanaṃ manyanta īśvara-kāraṇinaḥ. nanu ihāpi tad evopanyastam janmādi-sūtre, na; vedāntavākya-kusuma-grathanārthatvāt sūtrāṇām. Šaṅkara's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra 1.

² Rāmānuja's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra 1. 1. 2.

From this point of view the objector might say that all the epithets that are ascribed to Brahman in the Upanisads cannot be applied to it at the same time, and they may not be taken collectively as the defining characteristics of the nature of Brahman. Śrīkantha, therefore, thinks that the abstract terms as truth, consciousness, bliss, etc., that are applied to Brahman, are to be taken as personal qualities of the Supreme Lord. Thus, instead of regarding Brahman as pure consciousness, Śrīkantha considers the Supreme Lord as being endowed with omniscience, eternally self-satisfied, independent, that is, one who always contains his power or energy, and one who possesses omnipotence. He is eternally self-efficient (nitya aparoksa) and never depends on any external thing for the execution of his energy or power (anapekṣita-bāhya-karaṇa). Lord Siva, thus being omniscient, knows the deeds of all animate beings and the fruits of those deeds to which they are entitled, and He also knows the forms of bodies that these animate souls should have in accordance with their past deeds, and He has thus a direct knowledge of the collocation of materials with which these bodies are to be built up¹. The fact that the Brahman is described as ananda or bliss is interpreted as meaning that Lord Siva is always full of bliss and self-contented2.

In the Upaniṣads it is said that the Brahman has the ākāśa as his body (ākāśa-śarīram brahma). It is also said in some of the Upaniṣads that this ākāśa is bliss (ānanda). Śrīkaṇtha says that this ākāśa is not the elemental ākāśa (bhūtākāśa); it merely means the plane of consciousness (cidākāśa), and in that way it means the ultimate material (para-prakṛti), which is the same as the ultimate energy. Appaya points out that there are people who think that the energy of consciousness is like an instrument for creating this universe, as an axe for cutting down a tree. But Appaya denies this view and holds that the ultimate energy is called the ākāśa³. It is this energy of consciousness

¹ anena sakala-cetana-bahu-vidha-karma-phala-bhogānu-kūla-tat-tac-charīranirmāṇopāya-sāmagrī-viśeṣa jñam brahma nimittaṃ bhavati. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra I. I. 2, p. 121.

² parabrahma-dharmatvena ca sa eva ānando brahmeti pracuratvād brahmatvenopacaryate. tādrśānanda-bhoga-rasikam brahma nitya-tṛptam ity ucyate. Ibid. p. 122.

³ yasya sā paramā devī śaktir ākāśa-sanjñitā. Appaya's commentary, Vol. I, p. 123.

(cicchakti) that is regarded as pervading through all things and it is this energy that undergoes the transformations for the creation of the universe. It is this cicchakti that is to be regarded as the original force of life that manifests itself in the activities of life. All kinds of life functions and all experiences of pleasure are based on the lower or on the higher level of this ultimate life force, called also the cicchakti or ākāśa.

Again, Brahman is described as being of the nature of being, consciousness and bliss (ananda). In this case, it is held that Brahman enjoys His own bliss without the aid of any external instrumentality. And it is for this reason that the liberated souls may enjoy bliss of a superlative nature without the aid of any external instruments. The truth as consciousness is also the truth as pure bliss which are eternal in their existence not as mere abstract qualities, but as concrete qualities adhering to the person of Lord Siva. Thus, though the Brahman or Lord Siva may be absolutely unchangeable in Himself, yet His energy might undergo the transformations that have created this universe. Brahman has thus within Him both the energy of consciousness and the energy of materiality which form the matter of the universe (cid-acitprapañca-rūpa-śakti-viśistatvam svābhābikam eva brahmanah). As the energy of Brahman is limitless, he can in and through those energies form the material cause of the universe. As all external things are said to have 'being' as the common element that pervades them all, it represents the aspect of Brahman as 'being,' in which capacity it is the material cause of the world. The supreme Lord is called Sarva, because all things are finally absorbed in Him. He is called *Isāna*, because He lords over all things, and He is hence also called *Paśupati*. By the epithet paśupati it is signified that He is not only the Lord of all souls (paśu), but also all that binds them $(p\bar{a}\dot{s}a)$. The Brahman thus is the controller of all conscious entities and the material world1.

It has been said that the $m\bar{a}ya$ is the primal matter, prakrti, which is the material cause of the universe. But God or the Lord Siva is said to be always associated with the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, that is, He has no separate existence entirely apart from the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. In such a view, if the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is to be regarded as the material cause of the universe,

¹ anena cid-acin-niyāmakam brahmeti vijñāyate. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra 1. 1. 2, p. 127.

then the Lord Siva, who is associated with the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, has also to be, in some distant sense, regarded as the material cause of the universe. So the final conclusion is that the Brahman as associated with subtle consciousness and subtle materiality is the cause, and the effect is the universe which is but gross consciousness as associated with gross matter¹. It is true, indeed, that the facts of production, maintenance, and dissolution are epithets that can only apply to the phenomenal world, and therefore they cannot be regarded as essential characteristics determining the nature of Brahman as an inferential statement. Yet the production, maintenance, and dissolution of the world of phenomena may be regarded as a temporary phase (tatastha-laksana) of the nature of Brahman. It should also be noted that when māyā transforms itself into the world by the controlling agency of God, God Himself being eternally associated with māyā, may in some sense be regarded as being also the material cause of the world, though in His supreme transcendence He remains outside the māyā. The difference between this view and that of Rāmānuja is that, according to the latter, the Brahman is a concrete universal having the entire materiality and the groups of souls always associated with Him and controlled directly by Him, as the limbs of a person are controlled by the person himself. The conception is that of an entire organisation, in which the Brahman is the person and the world of souls and matter are entirely parts of Him and dominated by Him. The position of Sankara is entirely different. He holds that the central meaning of the *sūtra* is just an interpretation of the texts of Upanisads which show that the world has come out of Brahman, is maintained in Him, and will ultimately return into Him. But it does not declare that this appearance of the world is ultimately real. Sankara is not concerned with the actual nature of the appearance, but he has his mind fixed on the ultimate and

¹ 'māyām tu prakṛtim vidyād' iti māyāyāh prakṛtitvam īśvarātmikāyā eva 'māyinam tu maheśvaram' iti vākya-śeṣāt. sūkṣma-cid-acid-viśiṣṭam brahma kāraṇam sthūla-cid-acid-viśiṣṭam tat-kāryam bhavati. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra 1. 1. 2, pp. 134 et seq.

satyam māyopādānam iti brahmāpy upādānam eva. apṛthak-siddha-karyā-vasthā śrayatva-rūpam hi māyāyā upādānatvam samarthanīyam. tat-samarthya-mānam eva brahma-paryantam āyāti. nitya-yoge khalu māyinam iti māyā-śabdādi-nipratyayaḥ. tataś ca māyāyāh brahmā-pṛthak-siddhyaiva tad-apṛthak-siddhāyāḥ kāryāvasthāyā api brahmāpṛthak-siddhis siddhyati.

unchangeable ground which always remains true and is not only relatively true as the world of appearance¹.

We have said above that Śrīkantha regarded the second sūtra as indicating an inference for the existence of God. But in the course of later discussions he seems to move to the other side, and regards the existence of Brahman as being proved by the testimony of the Vedas. The general argument from the unity of purpose throughout the universe cannot necessarily lead to the postulation of one creator, for a house or a temple which shows unity of purpose is really effected by a large number of architects and artisans. He also thinks that the Vedas were produced by God. That is also somehow regarded as additional testimony to His existence. The nature of Brahman also can be known by reconciling the different Upanisadic texts which all point to the supreme existence of Lord Siva. In Brahma-sūtra II. 1. 18, 19 Śrīkantha says that the Brahman as contracted within Himself is the cause while, when by His inner desire He expands Himself, He shows Himself and the universe which is His effect². This view is more or less like the view of Vallabha, and may be regarded as largely different from the idea of Brahman as given by Śrīkantha in I. 1. 2. Śrīkantha, in further illustrating his views, says that he admits Brahman to be the ultimate material cause of the universe only in the sense that the prakrti, from which the world is evolved, is itself in Brahman. So as Brahman cannot remain without His śakti or energy, He can be regarded as the material cause of the world, though He in Himself remains transcendent, and it is only His māyā that works as an immanent cause of the production of the world. He thus says that there is a difference between the individual souls and the Brahman, and there is a difference between the prakrti and the Brahman. He would not admit that the world of appearance is entirely different from Brahman; neither would he admit that they are entirely identical. His position is like that of the modified

¹ For the view of Sankara and his school, see Vols. I and II. For the view of Rāmānuja and his school see Vol. III.

^{2 &}quot;cidātmaiva hi devo" ntaḥ-sthitam icchā-vaśād bahiḥ. yogīva nirupādānam arthajātam prkāśayed' iti. nirupādānam iti anapekṣitopādānāntaram svayam upādānam bhūtvety arthaḥ. tataḥ parama-kāraṇāt parabrahmaṇaḥ śivād abhinnam eva jagat kāryam iti...yathā saṃkucitaḥ sūkṣma-rūpaḥ paṭaḥ prasārito mahāpaṭa-kuṭī-rūpeṇa kāryam bhavati, tathā brahmāpi saṃkucita-rūpam kāraṇaṃ prasārita-rūpam kāryam bhavati. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya, Vol. II, p. 29.

monists, like that of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda* of Rāmānuja. Brahman exists in quite a transcendent manner, apart from the individual souls and the inanimate world. But yet, since the individual souls and the material universe are emanations from His energy, the world of souls and matter may be regarded as parts of Him, though they are completely transcended by Himself¹.

Moral Responsibility and the Grace of God.

The question is, why did the supreme Lord create the whole universe? He is always self-realised and self-satisfied, and He has no attachment and no antipathy. He is absolutely neutral and impartial. How is it, then, that He should create a world which is so full of happiness to some (e.g. the gods) and so full of sorrow and misery to others? This will naturally lead us to the charge of partiality and cruelty. Moreover, since before the creation there must have been destruction, it will necessarily be argued that God Himself is so cruel as to indulge in universal destruction out of simple cruelty. So one may naturally argue that what purpose should God have in creating a world which is not a field for the attainment of our own desires and values. The reply given to this is that God indulges in the creation and destruction of the world in accordance with the diversity of human deeds and their results (karma and karmaphala).

It cannot be argued that before the creation there were no souls, for we know from the Upaniṣadic texts that the souls and God both exist eternally. As the souls have no beginning in time, so their deeds also are beginningless. This may lead to an infinite regress, but this infinite regress is not vicious. The series of births and deaths in the world in different bodies is within the stream of beginningless *karma*. Since God in His omniscience directly knows by intuition the various kinds of deeds that the individual

¹ bhedābheda-kalpanam visistādvaitam sādhayāmah na vayam brahmaprapañcayor atyantam eva bheda-vādinah ghata-paṭayor iva. tad-ananyatvapara-śruti-virodhāt. na vā'tyantā-bheda-vādinah śukti-rajatayor iva. ekataramithyātvena tat-svābhāvika-guṇa-bheda paraśruti-virodhāt. na ca bhedābhedavādinah, vastu-virodhāt. kin tu śarīra-śarīrinor iva guṇa-guṇinor iva ca viśiṣtādvaita-vādinah. prapañca-brahm anor ananyatvam nāma mṛḍ-ghaṭayor iva guṇa-guṇinor iva ca kārya-kāraṇatvena viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyatvena ca vinābhāvarahitatvam. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra II. 1. 22, Vol. II, p. 31.

would perform, He arranges suitable bodies and circumstances for the enjoyment or suffering of such deeds already anticipated by Him. So the difference in creation is due to the diversity of one's deeds. The time of destruction comes when the souls become tired and fatigued by the process of birth and death, and require some rest in dreamless sleep. So the effectuation of dissolution does not prove the cruelty of God.

Now, since the pleasures and sorrows of all beings depend upon their deeds (karma), what is the necessity of admitting any God at all? The reply is that the law of karma depends upon the will of God and it does not operate in an autonomous manner, nor does it curb the freedom or independence of God. This, however, would lead us in a circular way to the same position, for while the pleasures and sorrows of men depend upon the deeds of men and the law of karma, and since the law of karma depends upon the will of God, it actually means that the pleasures and sorrows of beings are due indirectly to the partiality of God.

Again, since the karma and the law of karma are both unintelligent, they must be operated by the intelligence of God. But how could God before the creation, when beings were devoid of the miseries of death and birth, were not endowed with any bodies, and were therefore in a state of enjoyment, associate them with bodies, lead them to the cycle of birth and rebirth, and expose them to so much sorrow? The reply is that God extends His grace to all (sarvānugrāhaka parameśvara); and thus, since without the fruition of one's deeds (karmapākam antarena) there cannot be pure knowledge, and since without pure knowledge there cannot be the liberation of enjoying bliss in a superlative manner, and since also without the fruition of karma through enjoyment and suffering there cannot be the relevant bodies through which the souls could enjoy or suffer the fruits of karma, bodies have necessarily to be associated with all the souls which were lying idle at the time of the dissolution. So when in this manner the deeds of a person are exhausted through enjoyment or suffering, and the minds of beings become pure, it is only then that there may arise self-knowledge leading to the supreme bliss of liberation.

It may again be asked that, if God is absolutely merciful, why could not He arrange for the fruition of the deeds of all persons at one and the same time and allow them to enjoy the bliss of liberation? The reply is that, even if God would have extended His grace uniformly to all persons, then those whose impurities have been burnt up would be liberated and those whose impurities still remained could only attain salvation through the process of time. Thus, though God is always self-contented, He operates only for the benefit of all beings.

From the interpretation of Appaya it appears that the word grace (annugraha) is taken by him in the sense of justice. So God does not merely extend His mercy, but His mercy is an extension of justice in accordance with the deeds of persons, and therefore He cannot be regarded as partial or cruel¹. Appaya anticipates the objection that in such a view there is no scope for the absolute lordship of God, for He only awards happiness and misery in accordance with the law of karma. It is therefore meaningless to say that it is He, the Lord, that makes one commit sins or perform good deeds merely as He wishes to lower a person or to elevate him. For God does not on His own will make one do bad or good deeds, but the persons themselves perform good or bad actions according to their own inclinations as acquired in past creations, and it is in accordance with those deeds that the new creation is made for the fulfilment of the law of karma². Appaya further says that the good and bad deeds are but the qualities of the mind (antahkarana) of the persons. At the time of dissolution these minds are also dissolved in the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and remain there as unconscious impressions or tendencies (vāsānā), and being there they are reproduced in the next creation as individual bodies and their actions in such a way that, though they were dissolved in the māyā, they do not commingle, and each one is associated with his own specific mind and deeds at the next birth³. In the Agamas, where thirty-six categories

¹ evam ca yathā narapatiḥ prajānām vyavahāra-darśane tadīya-yuktāyukta-vacanānusāreņa anugraha-nigraha-viśeṣam kurvan pakṣapātitva-lakṣaṇam vai-ṣamyam na pratipadyate evam īśvaro'pi tadīya-karma-viśeṣā-nusāreṇa viṣama-sṛṣṭim kurvan na tatpratipadyate. Appaya Dīkṣita's commentary, Vol. II, p. 47.

² parameśvaro na svayam sādhvasādhūni karmāṇi kārayati, tais sukhaduḥkhādīni ca notpādayati, yenatasya vaiṣamyam āpatet. kin tu prāṇina eva tathābhūtāni karmāṇi yāni sva-sva-rucyanusāreṇa pūrva-sargeṣu kurvanti tāny eva punas-sargeṣu viṣama-ṣṛṣṭi-hetavo bhavanti. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 48.

³ parmeśvarastu pūrva-sarga-kṛtānām tat-tad-antaḥkaraṇa-dharmarūpāṇām sadhva-asādhu-karmaṇām pralaye sarvāntaḥ-karaṇānām vilīnatayā māyāyām eva vāsanā-rūpatayā lagnānām kevalam asankareṇa phala-vyavasthāpakaḥ. anyathā māyāyām sankirṇeṣu karma-phalam anyo gṛhṇīyāt. Appaya Dīkṣita's commentary, Vol. II, p. 48.

(tattva) are counted, the law of karma called niyati is also counted as one of the categories. Though the category of niyati is admitted, it cannot operate blindly, but only under the superintendence of God, so that the actions or fruits of action of one may not be usurped by another. Pure niyati or the law of karma could not have done it. The view supported here is that when, at the time of dissolution, all karmas are in a state of profound slumber, God awakens them and helps the formation of bodies in accordance with them, and associates the bodies with the respective souls, and makes them suffer or enjoy according to their own deeds.

The problem still remains unexplained as to how we are to reconcile the freedom of will of all persons with the determinism by God. If God is regarded as being responsible for making us act in the way of good or of evil, then deferring God's determination to beginningless lives does not help the solution of the difficulty. If God determines that we shall behave in a particular manner in this life, and if that manner is determined by the actions of our past lives ad infinitum, then when we seek for the original determination we are bound to confess that God is partial; for He must have determined us to act differently at some distant period and He is making us act and suffer and enjoy accordingly. So the ultimate responsibility lies with God. In reply to this it is held by Appaya, interpreting the commentary of Śrīkantha, that we were all born with impurities. Our bondage lies in the veil that covers our wisdom and action, and God, who possesses infinite and manifold powers, is always trying to make us act in such a manner that we may ultimately purify ourselves and make ourselves similar to Him. The dissolution of our impurities through natural transformation is like that of a boil or wound in the body which disappears only after giving some pain. The Vedic duties which are obligatory and occasional help to cure us of these impurities, just as medicine helps to cure a wound, and this may necessarily cause misery of birth and death. It is only when our deeds fructify that knowledge can spring from them. So also by the performance of obligatory and occasional deeds as prescribed in the Vedas, our karmas become mature and there arises in us a spirit of disinclination (vairāgya), devotion to Siva and an inquiry after Him, which ultimately produces in us the wisdom that leads to liberation. The fruition of one's karma cannot take place without the environment of the world such as we have it. Thus, for the ultimate liberation we must perform certain actions. God makes us perform these actions, and according to the manifold character of our deeds He creates different kinds of bodies, making us do such actions as we may suffer from, and thereby gradually advance towards the ultimate goal of liberation. In accordance with the diversity of our original impurities and actions, we are made to perform different kinds of deeds, just as a medical adviser would prescribe different kinds of remedies for different diseases. All this is due to the supreme grace of God. Śrīkaṇṭha's usage of the word karma means that by which the cycle of birth and death is made possible through the agency of God¹. In the dissolution, of course, there cannot be any process for the fulfilment or fruition of action, so that state is supposed to be brought about only for giving a rest to all beings.

In Brahma-sūtra II. 3. 41 Śrīkantha seems to make it definitely clear that the individual souls themselves do things which may be regarded as the cause of their acting in a particular way, or desisting from a particular way of action, in accordance with the nature of the fruition of their past deeds. It is further said that God only helps a person when he wishes to act in a particular way, or to desist from a particular action. So a man is ultimately responsible for his own volition, which he can follow by the will of God in the practical field of the world. The responsibility of man rests in the assertion of his will and the carrying of the will into action, and the will of God helps us to carry out our will in the external world around us. Man performs his actions in accordance with the way in which he can best satisfy his interests. He is therefore responsible for his actions, though in the actual carrying out of the will he is dependent on God. God thus cannot be charged with partiality or cruelty, for God only leads the individual souls to action in accordance with His own will and inner effort2.

¹ bhāṣye "karma-pākam antareņe'tyādi-vākyeṣu karma-śabdah kriyate" nena saṃsāra iti karaṇa-vyutpattyā vā parameśvareṇa pakvah kriyata iti karma-vyutpattyā vā malāvaraṇaparo draṣṭavyah. Appaya Dīkṣita's commentary, Vol. II, p. 50.

² ato jīva-kṛta-prayatnāpekṣatvāt karmasu jīvasya pravartaka īśvaro na vaiṣamyabhāk. tasyāpi svādhīna-pravṛtti-sadbhāvāt vidhi-niṣedhādi-vaiyartham ca na sambhavatīti siddham. Śrīkanṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra II. 3. 41, p. 157.

It is curious to note, however, that Appaya thinks that, even allowing for the inner human effort of will, the individual is wholly dominated by God. Appaya thus leaves no scope for the freedom of the will¹.

In Brahma-sūtra II. 2. 36-8 Śrīkantha makes a special effort to repudiate the view of Sankara, that the Saivas believed in a doctrine that God was the instrumental cause of the world, and could be known as such through inference. He also repudiates the view that the Brahman or Siva had entered into the prakrti or the primal matter, and thereby superintended the course of its evolution and transformation into the universe. For in that case He should be open to the enjoyment and suffering associated with the prakrti. Śrīkantha therefore holds that according to the Śaiva view the Brahman is both the material and the efficient cause of the universe, and that He cannot be known merely by reason, but by the testimony of the Vedic scriptures. There is here apparently an oscillation of view on the subject as propounded by Śrīkantha. Here and in the earlier parts of his work, as has been pointed out, Śrīkantha asserts that, though God is the material cause of the universe, He is somehow unaffected by the changes of the world². The ultimate Brahman or Siva is associated with a subtle energy of consciousness and materiality which together are called *cicchakti*, and as associated with the cicchakti, God Siva is one and beyond everything. When in the beginning of creation there comes out from this supreme $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ or *cicchakti* the creative $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ which has a serpentine motion, then that energy becomes the material cause of the entire world. It is from this that four categories evolve, namely as śakti, Sadāśiva, Maheśvara, and Śuddha-vidyā. After that comes the lower $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ of a mixed character, which is in reality the direct material cause of the world and the bodies. Then comes time $(k\bar{a}la)$, destiny (nivati), knowledge (vidyā), attachment (rāga), and the souls. In another line there comes from the impure $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ the entire universe and the bodies of living beings. From that comes intelligence (buddhi), egotism (ahankāra), manas, the fivefold cognitive senses, the fivefold conative senses, the fivefold subtle

¹ tathā ca parameśvara-kārita-pūrva-karma-mūla-svecchādhīne yatne, parameśvarādhīnatvan na hīyate. Appaya's commentary, Vol. II, p. 156.

² jagad-upādana-nimitta-bhūtasyāpi parameśvarasya "niṣkalam niṣkriyam" ityādi-śrutibhir nirvikāratvam apy upapadyate. Śrīkantha's bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra II. 2. 38, p. 109.

causes of gross matter called $tanm\bar{a}tra$, and also the fivefold elements of matter. Thus are the twenty-three categories. Counting the previous categories, we get thirty-six categories altogether. These are well known in the Saiva texts and they have been established there both logically and by reference to the testimony of the scriptural texts. A distinction is made, as has been shown above, between the pure $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and the impure $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. The impure $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ includes within itself all the effects such as time and the impure souls. The word vyakta is used to denote the material cause or the purely material world, including the mental psychosis called buddhi.

The category of Siva is also sometimes denoted by the term $\acute{s}akti$ or energy¹. The word $\acute{s}iva$ -tattva has also been used as merely Siva in the $V\ddot{a}yav\ddot{i}ya$ -samhit \ddot{a} .

We have seen before that Sankara explained this topic of the Brahma-sūtra as refuting the view of the different schools of Saivas or Maheśvaras who regard God as being the instrumental cause of the universe. Śrīkantha has tried to show that God is both the material cause and the instrumental cause of the universe. In his support he addresses texts from the Vāyavīya-samhitā of the Siva-mahāpurāna to show that, according to the Vedic authority, God is both the material and the instrumental cause of the universe. But Śrīkantha says that, though the Agamas and the Vedic view of Saivism are one and the same, since both of them were composed by Siva, in some of the Agamas, such as the Kāmika, the instrumental side is more emphasised; but that emphasis should not be interpreted as a refutation of the view that God is also the material cause of the universe. It is true that in some sects of Saivism, such as the Kāpalikas or Kālamukhas, some of the religious practices are of an impure character and so far they may be regarded as non-Vedic; and it is possible that for that reason, in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere, some sects of Śaivism have been described as non-Vedic. Yet from the testimony of the Varāha-purāna and other Purānas, Śaivism or the Pāśupata-yoga has been regarded as Vedic. Śrīkantha and Appaya took great pains to bridge the gulf between the vernacular Saivism and the

¹ śiva-tattva-śabdena tu śiva evocyate. na tu atra śiva-tattva-śabdah para-śaktiparah. śakti-śabdas tat-kārya-dvitīya-tattva-rūpa-śaktiparah. Appaya Dīkṣita's commentary, Vol. II, p. 110.

Sanskritic, that is, those forms of Śaivism which were based on the authority of the Vedas and were open to the first three castes (varṇa), and those which are open to all castes. Both try to make out that the present topic was not directed against the views propounded in the Śaivāgamas as Śaṅkara explained, but against other views which do not form any part of the Śaiva philosophy.

In some texts of the Kalpa-sūtras we hear of objections against the valid authority of some of the texts, but these objections do not apply to the Agamas composed by Siva. It is said that Siva cannot be the material cause of the universe, because the Upanisads hold that the Brahman is changeless, and in this way an attempt is made to refute the parinama doctrine. Parinama means "change from a former state to a latter state." It is further held that śakti or energy is in itself changeless. Even if that śakti be of the nature of consciousness, then such a change would also be inadmissible. Against this view it is held that there may be change in the spiritual power or energy (cicchakti) on the occasion of a desire for creation or a desire for destruction. The cicchakti which is within us goes out and comes into contact, in association with the senses, with the external objects, and this explains our perception of things. So, since we have to admit the theory of the functional expansion (vrtti) of the cicchakti, it is easy to admit that the original śakti has also its functional expansion or contraction¹.

According to the Saiva school as propounded by Śrīkantha, the individual souls have not emanated from God, but they are co-existent with Him. The apparent scriptural texts that affirm that souls came out of Brahman like sparks from a fire are interpreted as meaning only the later association of souls with buddhi and manas, and also with the different bodies. It must also be said that the souls are the conscious knowers, both by way of senses and by the manas. The manas is explained as a special property or quality of knowledge which the soul possesses and by virtue of which it is a knower. This manas must be differentiated from a lower type of manas which is a product of prakṛti, and which becomes associated with the soul in the process of birth and rebirth through association

¹ teşvapi sisrkşā-samjihīrşādi-vyavahāreņa siva-cicchakteh "cicchaktir artha-samyogo-'dhyakşam indriya-mārgata" iti cicchakti-vṛtti-nirgama-vyavahāreṇa jīva-cicchaktes ca pariṇāmitvam āviṣkṛtam eveti bhāvaḥ. Appaya Dīkṣita's commentary, Vol. II, p. 112.

with the power of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. This power gives it a special character as a knower, by which it can enjoy or suffer pleasure and pain, and which is limited to the body and the egoism. It is by virtue of this manas that the soul is called a jīva. When through Brahmaknowledge its threefold association with impurities is removed, then it becomes like Brahman, and its self-knowledge in a liberated state manifests itself. This knowledge is almost like Brahmaknowledge. In this state the individual soul may enjoy its own natural joy without the association of any of the internal organs, merely by the manas. The manas there is the only internal organ for the enjoyment of bliss and there is no necessity of any external organs. The difference between the individual soul and God is that the latter is omniscient and the former knows things only particularly during the process of birth and rebirth. But in the actual state of liberation the souls also become omniscient¹. Śrīkantha also holds that the souls are all atomic in size, and that they are not of the nature of pure consciousness, but they all possess knowledge as their permanent quality. In all these points Śrīkantha differs from Śankara and is in partial agreement with Rāmānuja. Knowledge as consciousness is not an acquired quality of the soul as with the Naiyāyikas or the Vaiśesikas, but it is always invariably co-existent in the nature of the selves. The individual souls are also regarded as the real agents of their actions, and not merely illusory agents, as some philosophical theories hold. Thus Sāmkhya maintains that the *prakrti* is the real agent and also the real enjoyer of joys and sorrows, which are falsely attributed to the individual souls. According to Śrīkantha, however, the souls are both real agents and real enjoyers of their deeds. It is by the individual will that a soul performs an action, and there is no misattribution of the sense of agency as is supposed by Sāmkhya or other schools of thought. The souls are ultimately regarded as parts of Brahman, and Śrīkantha tries to repudiate the monistic view that God falsely appears as an individual soul through the limitations of causes and conditions (upādhi)2.

¹ tat-sadṛśa-guṇatvāt apagata-saṃsārasya jīvasya svarūpānandānubhava-sādhanaṃ manorūpam antaḥ-karaṇam anapekṣita-bāhya-karaṇam asti iti gamyate. jñājñau iti jīvasya ajñatvam kimcij jñatvam eva. asaṃsāriṇaḥ parameśvarasya tu sarvajñatvam ucyate. ataḥ saṃsāre kimcij jñatvaṃ muktau sarvajñatvam iti jñātā eva ātmā. Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, II. 3. 19, pp. 142-3.
² Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, II, 3. 42-52.

Regarding the view that *karmas* or deeds produce their own effects directly, or through the intermediary of certain effects called *apūrva*, Śrīkaṇṭha holds that the *karmas* being without any intelligence (*acetana*) cannot be expected to produce the manifold effects running through various births and various bodies. It has therefore to be admitted that, as the *karmas* can be performed only by the will of God operating in consonance with the original free will of man, or as determined in later stages by his own *karma*, so the prints of all the *karmas* are also distributed in the proper order by the grace of God. In this way God is ultimately responsible on the one hand for our actions, and on the other for the enjoyment and suffering in accordance with our *karmas*, without any prejudice to our moral responsibility as expressed in our original free inclination or as determined later by our own deeds.¹

In the state of liberation the liberated soul does not become one with the Brahman in its state of being without any qualities. The Upanisadic texts that affirm that the Brahman is without any qualities do so only with the view to affirm that Brahman has none of the undesirable qualities, and that He is endowed with all excellent qualities which are consistent with our notion of God. When in the state of liberation the liberated souls become one with the Brahman, it only means that they share with God all His excellent qualities, but they never become divested of all qualities, as the monistic interpretation of Sankara likes to explain. It has been pointed out before that God may have many attributes at one and the same time, and that such a conception is not self-contradictory if it is not affirmed that he has many qualities of a contradictory character at one and the same time. Thus, we can speak of a lotus as being white, fragrant and big, but we cannot speak of it as being both blue and white at the same time.2

Śrīkantha holds that only those *karmas* which are ripe for producing fruits (*prārabdha-karma*) will continue to give fruits, and will do so until the present body falls away. No amount of knowledge or intuition can save us from enjoying or suffering the fruits of *karma* that we have earned, but if we attain true knowledge by continuing our meditation on the nature of Siva as being one with ourselves, we shall not have to suffer birth and rebirth of the

¹ Śrīkantha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, III. 2. 37-40.

² Śrīkantha's bhāsya on Brahma-sūtra, III. 3. 40.

accumulated *karmas* which had not yet ripened to the stage of giving their fruits of enjoyment or suffering¹.

When all the impurities (mala) are removed and a person is liberated, he can in that state of liberation enjoy all blissful experiences and all kinds of powers, except the power of creating the universe. He can remain without a body and enjoy all happiness through his mind alone, or he can at one and the same time animate or recreate many spiritual bodies which transcend the laws of prakrti, and through them enjoy any happiness that he wishes to have. In no case, however, is he at that stage brought under the law of karma to suffer the cycles of birth and rebirth, but remains absolutely free in himself in tune with the Lord Siva, with whom he may participate in all kinds of pleasurable experiences. He thus retains his personality and power of enjoying pleasures. He does this only through his mind or through his immaterial body and senses. His experiences would no longer be of the type of the experiences of normal persons, who utilise experiences for attaining particular ends. His experience of the world would be a vision of it as being of the nature of Brahman².

¹ Śrikantha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, IV. 1. 19.

² Śrikantha's bhāṣya on Brahma-sūtra, IV. 4. 17-22.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE SAIVA PHILOSOPHY IN THE PURANAS

The Śaiva Philosophy in the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa.

WE shall discuss the antiquity of the Śaiva religion and philosophy in a separate section. It is a pity that it is extremely difficult, nay, almost impossible, to trace the history of the continuous development of Śaiva thought from earliest times. We can do no more than make separate studies of different aspects of Śaiva thought appearing in different contexts, and then try to piece them together into an unsatisfactory whole. This is largely due to various factors. First, the Śaiva thought was expressed both in Sanskrit and also in Dravidian languages. We do not yet know definitely if the Dravidian texts were but translations from Sanskrit sources, or were only inspired by Sanskrit writings. Later writers, even in the Purāṇas, hold that Śiva was the author of all Śaiva scriptures either in Sanskrit or in Dravidian. This, of course, refers to the earliest writings, the Āgamas.

We do not know the exact date of the earliest Āgamas. The word 'āgama' needs a little explanation. It means "texts that have come down to us", and which are attributed either to God or to some mythical personage. We have a list of twenty-eight Śivācaryas in the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, and these have been referred to as late as the tenth century A.D. But there is nothing to prove the historical existence of these Śaiva teachers, nor do we know what Āgamas we owe to each of them. We have no direct knowledge of any Dravidian philosophical culture before the Aryan culture had penetrated into the South. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine how there could be Dravidian works of philosophy which ran parallel to the Sanskrit works.

The other difficulty is that most of these supposed Āgamas of the past are not now available. Most of the Āgamas that we get now are written in Sanskrit in various Dravidian scripts. The records of the schools of Saiva philosophy mentioned by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra* must have been written in Sanskrit, but the present writer is quite unable to identify all the

schools referred to in the seventh or eighth centuries with the existing records of Saiva thought. There was a great upheaval of Saiva thought from the twelfth century, contemporaneously with the revival of Vaisnava thought in Rāmānuja, but Rāmānuja himself does not refer to all the schools of Saivism referred to by Śańkara and Vācaspati Miśra in his Bhāmatī commentary. Rāmānuja only mentions the Kālamukhas and the Kāpālikas, and no literature about their philosophical views is now available. The Kāpālika sect probably still exists here and there, and one may note some of their practices, but so far we have not been able to discover any literature on the practices of the Kālamukhas. But we shall revert again to the problem when we discuss the antiquity of Saiva thought and its various schools. The three schools of Southern Saivism that are now generally known are the Vīraśaivas, the Śivajñāna-siddhi school and the school of Śaivism as represented by Śrikantha. We have dealt with the Śaivism of Śrīkantha in two sections. The school of Pāśupata-Śaivism is mentioned in the fourteenth century in Mādhaya's Sarva-darśanasamgraha and the Pāśupata school is referred to in the Mahābhārata and many other Purānas. In the Śiva-mahāpurāna, particularly in the last section called the Vāyavīya-samhitā, we have a description of the Pāśupata philosophy. I shall, therefore, now try to collect the description of the Pāśupata system of thought as found in the Vāyavīya-samhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāna.

The Siva-mahāpurāṇa, according to the testimony of the Purāṇa itself, is supposed to have been a massive work of one hundred thousand verses divided into seven sections, written by Siva Himself. This big work has been condensed into twenty-four thousand verses by Vyāsa in the Kaliyuga. We know nothing about the historicity of this Vyāsa. He is supposed to have written most of the Purāṇas. The present Siva-mahāpurāṇa, however, contains seven sections, of which the last section called the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā is divided into two parts and is supposed to elucidate the view of the different schools of Śaivism. According to our interpretation it shows only one school of Śaivism, namely the Pāśupata-Śaivism in two variant forms. None of the works that we have been able to discover so far have been attributed to Śiva or Maheśvara, though Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtra II. 2, 37 refers to Siddhānta works written by Maheśvara. We have traced some of

the Agamas, but these Agamas are not called Siddhanta, nor are they supposed to owe their authorship to Maheśvara. On the evidence of the Siva-mahāpurāna, we have quite a number of Saiva teachers who are regarded as incarnations of Siva and also many of their disciples, but we know nothing about these mythical teachers. One teacher called Upamanyu is often referred to in the Vāyavīya-samhitā section as instructing the principles of Saivism. The account of Saivism given by Sankara in his bhāsva referred to above, is very meagre, but it seems to indicate that the Saivas regarded prakrti as the material cause and Siva as the instrumental or efficient cause; and it is this latter view that Sankara mainly criticises as the school of Iśvara-kāranins, implying thereby the view that the Upanisads cannot tolerate the idea of a separate efficient cause as Iśvara. Vācaspati also points out that the prakrti being the material cause could not be identified with the efficient cause, the Isvara. In Saivism we are faced with the problem of solving the issue between Sankara and the Saivas. Our treatment of Śrīkantha's bhāsya has shown the direction in which the Śaivas want to solve the difficulty, but Śrīkantha's bhāsya is probably a work not earlier than the eleventh century, and many other works of Saivism can be traced only as far back as the twelfth century A.D. On the testimony of the Siva-mahāpurāna, which must have been written before the time of Sankara, we know that Saiva works by great Saiva teachers were written both for those who adhered to the Varnāsrama dharma and for those who did not care for the Varņāśrama dharma and were not privileged to study the Vedas. The latter class of works must therefore have been the Dravidian works of the South, many of which are now lost, and of which only some traditions are available in the Sanskrit Agamas. We have already dealt with these in another section. We shall have occasion to show that the Kāśmīr form of Śaivism was more or less contemporaneous with Śańkara.

In the second section of the Siva-mahāpurāṇa called the Rudra-saṃhitā, we are told that at the time of the great dissolution, when all things were destroyed, there was only darkness, no sun, no planets, no stars, no moon, and no day and night; there is only pure vacuity devoid of all energy. There was no sensibility of any kind; it was a state when there was neither being nor non-being; it was beyond all mind and speech, beyond all name and form. But yet

in that neutral state there existed only the pure being, the pure consciousness, infinite and pure bliss, which was immeasurable and a state in itself; it had no form and was devoid of all qualities¹. This was purely of the nature of pure consciousness, without beginning and end and without any development. Gradually there arose a second desire or will by which the formless was changed into some form by its own playful activities. This may be regarded as the all-creating pure energy, of which there is no parallel. The form created by this energy is called sadāśiva. People also call Him Isvara, or God. The lone energy, spontaneously moving, created from itself its own eternal body, which is called pradhāna, prakrti, or māyā, and which generates the category of buddhi. This māyā or prakrti is the creator of all beings and is regarded as coming into contact with the supreme purusa, the Siva, called Sambhu, who is different from God. This śakti or energy is also regarded as kāla or time.

From prakṛti came the mahat or buddhi and from buddhi came the three guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas, and from them the three-fold ahankāra. From ahankāra came the tanmātras, the five bhūtas, the five conative senses, and the five cognitive senses, and manas.

In the Kailāsa-saṃhitā of the Śivā-mahāpurāṇa the view of Śaivism is described as being the Śivādvaita system or the monistic theory of Śaivism². It is said here that since all living beings are constituted of a male and a female part, the original cause must also be represented by a male and a female principle united. As a matter of fact, the Sāṃkhyas had taken that idea from this statement, and had regarded the original cause as being prakṛti and puruṣa. But they tried to establish it merely on rational grounds; they were not disposed to establish it in a theistic sense. For that reason, though some of the Sāṃkhya categories may be accepted, yet the Sāṃkhya philosophy as a whole, being a purely rationalistic system, ought to be abandoned. The Brahman is regarded in the Vedas as being the unity of sat, cit and ānanda, and it is in the neuter gender. The

satyam jñānam anantam ca parānandam param-mahah. aprameyam anādhāram avikāram anākṛti, nirguṇam yogigamyañ ca sarva-vyāpyeka-kārakam.

Śiva-mahāpurāna, 11. 1. 6, 11 c, d-12.

utpātya ajñāna-sambhūtam saṃśayākhyaṃ viṣa-drumam, śivādvaita-mahā-kalpa-vṛkṣa-bhūmir yathā bhavet.

being represented in Brahman means that all negation of being is excluded. The neuter character of the being represents the fact that it is the purusa, and this purusa also is of an illuminating nature. The pure consciousness in the unity of sat-cid-ananda represents the female part. So the two parts that are regarded as male and female are the illuminating part (prakāśa) and the pure consciousness, and these two together are the generating causes of the world. So in the unity of sac-cid-ananda we have the unity of Siva and Sakti. This illumination is also sometimes impeded, as the flame of a wick is impeded by smoke and other impurities. These are the malas which do not belong to Siva, but are seen in the fire of pure consciousness. It is on this account that the cicchakti or the energy of pure consciousness is seen in an impure state in human souls. It is for the expulsion of this mala that the pervasiveness of *śakti* or energy is to be assumed as existing in all time. Sakti thus is the symbol of bala or strength. In the paramātman there is both the Siva-aspect and the śakti-aspect. It is by the connection of Siva and Sakti that there is ananda or bliss. The Atman is pure consciousness and this consciousness holds within it all knowledge and all energy; it is independent and free, and that is its nature. In the Śiva-sūtra, jñāna or knowledge has been described as a bondage, but the word jñāna there means only finite, limited or turbid knowledge which all human beings have, and in this way alone can knowledge be regarded as bondage.

The Sakti or energy is also called *spanda* or vibration. Know-ledge, movement and will are like the three sides of Siva, and human beings get their inspiration from between these. As we have said above, the Siva and Sakti combined gives the supreme *śakti* called *parāśakti*, and from this *parāśakti* there evolves the *cicchakti* or power of consciousness. From this comes the *śakti* or bliss or *ānanda-śakti*, from this the will-power or *icchā-śakti*, and from this come *jñāna-śakti*, or power of knowledge, and the power of motivation, or *kriyā-śakti*. The first category of vibration in the category of Siva is called *śiva-tattva*. The world and the souls are entirely identical with Siva, and such a knowledge leads to liberation.

The supreme Lord contracts Himself and manifests Himself as the individual *puruṣas* or souls who enjoy the qualities of the *prakṛti*. This enjoyment takes place through the function of fivefold *kalā*,

such as that which leads the individual to action; that which leads him to discover the true reality of twofold $vidy\bar{a}$; that which attaches him to the objects of sense $(r\bar{a}ga)$; $k\bar{a}la$ or time which makes things happen in succession; niyati, which is used in a peculiar sense, not of destiny but of conscience, that is, it is the factor by which one decides what one should do or not do¹.

The *purusa* or the individual souls possess in a cumulative way the qualities of knowledge, will, etc. The so-called *citta* or the psychic plane is constituted of the various qualities existent in the *prakṛti*. From *buddhi* come the various senses and subtle matter.

The system of thought referred to above, the Sivadvaita system, is arranged in rather a clumsy manner. The points that emerge from the above statements can be briefly summarised. First, it regards the Brahman as being an undifferentiated Being or Non-being, when there is nothing but void in the universe. From this Being-and-Non-being, the Brahman, there sprang forth an entity which represents within it the two principles of male and female energy which pervades all living beings. It is out of this principle, the Siva, that we have, on the one hand the individual selves which are but contractions of the nature of the supreme Lord, and on the other we have the world evolving out of the female energy side, the prakrti, more or less in the Samkhya fashion. The purusa is supposed to have within him fivefold categories, through which he can experience joys and sufferings of his intercourse with the world as such. These individuals, on account of the contraction that they suffered, show themselves as impure as a flame in a wick appears smoky. Thus the whole system tends towards a sort of monism without being purely idealistic. The closeness or its affinity with Śrīkantha's philosophy will be immediately apparent, though there are differences in the mode of expression. There are certain passages which remind us of some form of Kāśmīr Śaivism, which though a monism, is largely different from the monism as expressed herein. We also find here a reference to the spanda theory of Kāśmīr Śaivism. But in spite of this we need not think that the monistic Saivism was first enunciated in this Purāna or in this chapter. We shall have occasion to show that some form of distinctly monistic Saivism with relative

> idam tu mama kartavyam idam neti niyāmikā, niyatis syāt.... Šiva-mahāpurāṇa, VI. 16. 83.

bias could be traced to the beginnings of the Christian era. The Kāśmīr Śaivism flourished probably from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D. It may, therefore, be thought that the chapter under reference of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa was probably written somewhere about the ninth or the tenth century A.D., which may also be regarded as the time of Śrīkanṭha, though we are not sure if he flourished somewhere at the eleventh century A.D. after Rāmānuja. We discuss these matters further in the appropriate sections.

In the second chapter of the Rudra-samhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa1, Siva is supposed to say that the highest reality, the knowledge of which brings liberation, is pure consciousness, and in that consciousness there is no differentiation between the self and the Brahman². But strangely enough Siva seems to identify bhakti or devotion with knowledge. There can be no knowledge without bhakti3. When there is bhakti or devotion, there is no distinction of caste in the way of attaining the grace of God. Siva then classifies the different types of bhakti. The nature of devotion, as described in this chapter under consideration, shows that bhakti was not regarded as an emotional outburst, as we find in the Caitanya school of bhakti. Here bhakti is regarded as listening to the name of Siva, chanting it, and meditating on Him as well as worshipping Him and regarding oneself as the servitor to Siva, and also to develop the spirit of friendship through which one can surrender oneself to God Siva. The chanting of the name of Siva is to be associated with the legendary biography of Siva as given in the Puranas. The meditation on Siva is regarded as amounting to the development of the idea that Siva is all-pervasive and is omnipresent. And this makes the devotee fearless. It is through bhakti that true knowledge and the disinclination to worldly things can occur.

In IV. 41 four types of liberation are described as sārūpya, sālokya, sānnidhya, and sāyujya. We have already discussed in the fourth volume the nature of those types of liberation which are also

Siva-mahāpurāna II. 2. 23. 13.

bhaktau jñāne na bhedo hi . . . vijñānam na bhavaty eva sati bhakti-virodhinah,

Ibid. 11. 2. 23. 16.

¹ Śiva-mahāpurāņa II. 2. 23.

paratattvam vijānīhi vijñānam paramešvari dvitīyam smaranam yatra nāham brahmeti suddhadhih.

admitted by the followers of the Mādhva school of Vaiṣṇavas. And this liberation is only granted by Śiva who is beyond all the *guṇas* of *prakrti*.

The ultimate nature of Siva is described here (IV. 41) as being changeless (nirvikārin) and beyond prakrti. He is of the nature of pure knowledge, unchangeable, all-perceiving. The fifth kind of liberation called the kaivalva can be attained only by the knowledge of Siva and His ultimate nature. The whole world springs out of Him and returns to Him and is always pervaded by Him. He is also designated as being the unity of being, consciousness, and bliss (sac-cid-ānanda); He is without any qualities or conditions, pure, and cannot be in any way made impure. He has no colour, no form and no measure. Words cannot describe Him and thoughts cannot reach Him. It is the Brahman which is also called Siva. Just as space (ākāśa) pervades all things, so He pervades all things. He is beyond the range of māvā and beyond conflict (dvandvātīta). He can be attained either through knowledge or through devotion, but the way of devotion is easier to follow than the way of knowledge. In the next chapter (IV. 42) it is said that it is from Siva, the ultimate Brahman, that prakrti as associated with purusa (individual souls) is produced1. This evolution of prakrti as associated with purusa is called the category of Rudra, which is only a transformation of Siva, the highest Brahman, just as golden ornaments may be regarded as transformations of gold. The formless Siva is considered as having a form only for the advantage of meditation.

All that one can know or see in the universe, in the highest or the lowest, is only Siva, and the character of things in their plurality is formed from Him. Siva alone remains the same unchangeable reality before the creation, and at the dissolution of the creation. The pure Siva is regarded as qualified only when one considers Him as being the possessor of śakti or energy with which in reality He is identical. It is through the will of Siva that all operations in the world can go on. He knows them all, but no one knows Him. Having created the world He remains away from it and is not involved with it. But it is in His form as pure consciousness that He is seen in and through the world, as the sun is seen in

his reflections. In actuality Siva does not enter into this world of change. In reality Siva is the whole of the world, though the world appearances seem to occur in a time series of discontinuity. *Ajñāna* or nescience only means misunderstanding, it is not a substance that stands by Brahman and could be regarded as a dual entity¹.

According to the Vedantins the reality is one, and the individual soul (jīva), which gets deluded by avidyā or nescience and thinks itself to be different from the Brahman, is only a part of it. But when released from the grasp of nescience it becomes one with Siva, and Siva, as we have already said, pervades all things without being actually in them. One can attain liberation by following the path indicated by the Vedanta. As fire, which exists in the wood, can be manifested by the constant rubbing of the wood, so by the various processes of devotion one can attain Siva, but one must be convinced of the fact that whatever exists is Siva, and it is only through illusion that various names and forms appear before us2. Just as the ocean, or a piece of gold, or a piece of mud may appear in various shapes, though actually they remain the same, so it is only by various conditions through which we look at things that they appear so different, though they are actually nothing but Siva. There is actually no difference between the cause and the effect3, yet through illusion one thinks of something as cause and something else as effect. From the seed comes the shoot, appearing as different from the seed, but ultimately the shoot grows into a tree and fructifies and thereby reduces itself into fruit and seed. The seed stays on and produces other shoots and the original tree is destroyed. The true seer is like the seed from which there are many transformations, and when these have ceased we have again the true seer. With the removal of nescience (avidyā) a person is dissociated from egoism and becomes pure, and then through the grace of God Siva he becomes what he really is, that is, Siva. Just

Śiva-mahāpurāṇa IV. 43. 8c, d. bhrāntyā nānā-svarūpo hi bhāsate śankaras sadā.

Ibid. IV. 43. 17.

ajñānam ca mater bhedo nāsty anyacca dvayam punaḥ.
9: darśaneşu ca sarveşu mati-bhedah pradarśyate.

Ibid. IV. 43. 15 c, d.
kārya-kāraṇayor bhedo vastuto na pravartate,
kevalam bhrānti-buddhyaiva tad-abhāve sa nasyati.

as in a mirror one can see one's body reflected, so one can see oneself reflected in one's pure mind, that is Siva, which is one's real character.

We thus see that in this school of Saivism as described in the Śiva-mahāpurāna IV. 43, we have a monistic system of Śaivism which is very much like the monistic system of Sankara. It believes that the plurality of appearance is false, and that the only reality is Brahman or Siva. It also believes that this false appearance is due to the interference of nescience. It does not admit any difference between cause and effect, but yet it seems to adhere to the monotheistic faith that God Siva can bestow liberation on those who are devoted to Him, though it does not deny that the Brahman can be attained by the way indicated in the Upanisads. It says that jñāna comes from bhakti or devotion, from bhakti comes love (prema), and from prema one gets into the habit of listening to episodes about the greatness of Siva, and from that one comes into contact with saintly people, and from that one can attain one's preceptor. When in this way true knowledge is attained, one becomes liberated. The practice of the worship of the preceptor is also introduced here. It is said that if one gets a good and saintly preceptor, one should worship him as if he were Siva Himself, and in this way the impurities of the body will be removed, and it will be possible for such a devotee to attain knowledge.

We thus see that in this chapter, though Śaivism is interpreted purely on Vedāntic lines, the doctrine of theism and the doctrine of preceptor worship are somehow grafted into it, though such doctrines cannot fit in with the monism of the Upaniṣads as interpreted by Śaṅkara. This system, therefore, seems to present a specimen of Śaivism different from what we had in the second book of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, and different also from the philosophy of Śaivism as presented by Śrīkaṇṭha and Appaya Dīkṣita.

Śaiva Philosophy in the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa.

ŞΙ

The Siva-mahāpurāņa seems to be a collection of seven treatises, called Samhitas, dealing with different aspects of the worship of Siva, myths of Siva, and philosophy of Saivism. Though there is a general agreement on the fundamental patterns of Saiva thought in the various systems of Saivism, yet these patterns often present marked differences, which ought to be noted for the sake of a detailed study of Saivism. This is particularly so, as no other system of thought which had spread so far and wide all over India from the days of the hoary past has suffered so much mutilation and destruction of its literature as did Saivism. We have some older records in the Vedas and the Upanisads, and also in the Indus Valley Civilization period, but the systematic Saiva thought has lost most of its traces from pre-Christian times, until we come to the ninth or tenth centuries A.D. Most of the Agama works written in Sanskrit and in Dravidian are not now available, and it is even difficult to identify the systems of Saiva thought as referred to by Sankara in the eighth century A.D. Our treatment of Saivism can therefore be only gleanings from here and there, and it will not have any proper historical perspective. Even writers in the eleventh or the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are unable to indicate the proper texts and their mutual relations, at least so far as Sanskrit works are concerned. Much of what is written about the Dravidian texts and their authors is either mythological or largely unhistorical. Even the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa seems to be a composite work written at different times. It consists of collections of thought more or less different from each other, and points to different levels of attitude of Saiva thought. It is not therefore possible to give a consistent account of the whole work of the Śiva-mahāpurāna; I have accordingly attempted to give an estimate of Saivism as delineated in Chapters II, IV, VI and VII. But as the philosophical level of the seventh Samhitā, the Vāyavīya-samhitā, seems to be somewhat different from that of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, I shall try briefly to review the contents of the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā*, which may be regarded as a school of Pāśupata Śaivism. I shall try later on to give estimates of other forms of Śaivism so far as they have been available to me.

In VII. 1. 2. 19 of the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā, the ultimate God is regarded as being the original cause, the cause of maintenance, as the ground, and also as the cause of destruction of all things. He is called the ultimate puruṣa, the Brahman, or the paramātman. The pradhāna or the prakṛti is regarded as His body, and He is also regarded as the agent who disturbs the equilibrium of prakṛti¹. He manifests Himself in twenty-three different categories and yet remains absolutely undisturbed and unchanged. Though the world has been created and maintained by the supreme Lord, yet people do not know him under the delusion of māyā or nescience.

In VII. 1. 3 it is said that the ultimate cause is that which is unspeakable and unthinkable, and it is that from which the gods Brahmā, Visnu and Rudra have sprung forth, together with all gross matter and sense faculties. He is the cause of all causes and is not produced from any other cause. He is omnipotent and the Lord of all. The supreme Lord stands silent and rooted in one place like a tree and yet He pervades the whole universe. Everything else in the universe is moving excepting their final cause, the Brahman. He alone is the inner controller of all beings, but yet He Himself cannot be recognised as such, though He knows all. Eternal power, knowledge, and action belong naturally to Him. All that we know as destructible (*ksara*) and indestructible (*aksara*) have sprung from the supreme Lord, by whose ideation they have come into being. In the end of the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, the universe will vanish with the disappearance of the individual souls². The supreme Lord, like an omnipotent artist, has painted the canvas of world appearance, and this appearance will ultimately return to Him. Every being is under His control and He can only be realised through supreme devotion (bhakti). Only the true devotees can have any real communication with Him. The creation is gross and subtle, the former is visible to all, and the latter only to the yogins, but beyond that there is a supreme Lord of eternal knowledge and

> namah pradhāna-dehāya pradhāna-kşobha-kāriņe, trayo-viņšati-bhedena vikrtāy-āvikāriņe.

> > Vāyavīya-saṃhitā VII. 1. 2. 19.

bhūyo yasya paśor ante viśva-māyā nivartate.

Ibid. VII. 1. 3. 13.

bliss, and unchangeable. Devotion to God is also due to the extension of grace by God. As a matter of fact, the grace is produced out of devotion and the devotion is produced out of grace, just as the tree grows out of a seedling and a seedling grows out of a tree.

When one tries to think oneself as being of the nature of the supreme Lord, then His grace is extended to such a person and this increases his merit and his sins are attenuated. By a long process of attenuation of sins through many births, there arises devotion to God, as the supreme Lord with the proper consciousness of it. As a result of that there is a further extension of grace, and in consequence of that one can leave off all desires for the fruits of one's action, though one may be working all the same.

By the renunciation of the fruits of karma, one becomes associated with the faith in Siva. This can be either through a preceptor or without a preceptor. The former is much preferable to the latter. Through knowledge of Siva one begins to discover the sorrows of the cycles of birth and rebirth. In consequence of that there is a disinclination to all sense-objects (vairāgya). From this comes emotion (bhāva) for the supreme Lord, and through this emotion one is inclined to meditation, and one is then naturally led to renounce actions. When one thus concentrates and meditates on the nature of Siva one attains the state of yoga. It is through this yoga again that there is a further increase of devotion, and through that a further extension of the grace of God. At the end of this long process the individual is liberated, and he then becomes equal to Siva (śiva-sama), but he can never become Siva. The process of the attainment of liberation may be different in accordance with the fitness of the person concerned.

In vII. 1. 5 Vāyu is supposed to say that the knowledge of paśu, the individual souls, $p\bar{a}śa$ or the bondage, and pati, the supreme Lord, is the ultimate object to all knowledge and faith, and this only can lead to supreme happiness. All sorrows proceed from ignorance, and they are removed through knowledge. Knowledge means limitation by objectivity. This objectivisation through knowledge may be with reference to material objects and non-material things (jada and ajada). The supreme Lord controls them both. The individual souls are indestructible and are therefore called aksara; the bondage ($p\bar{a}\acute{s}a$) is destructible and therefore

called *kṣara*; and that, which is beyond these two, is the supreme Lord.

Vāyu, in further explaining the subject, says that prakrti can be regarded as kṣara, and puruṣa as the akṣara, and the supreme Lord moves them both to action. Again prakrti is identified with $m\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ and purusa is supposed to be encircled by $m\bar{a}v\bar{a}$. The contact between māyā and the purusa is through one's previous deeds by the instrumentality of God. The māyā is described as the power of God. The impurity or mala consists in its power to veil the nature of consciousness of the souls. When divested of this mala the purusa returns to its original natural purity. The association of the veil of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ with the soul is due, as we have said before, to previous deeds and this gives the opportunity for enjoying the fruits of our actions. In connection with this, one should also note the category of kalā which means knowledge, attachment, time, and nivati or destiny. The individual person enjoys all this through his state of bondage. He also enjoys and suffers the fruits of his good and bad deeds. The association with the impurities (mala) is without a beginning, but it may be destroyed with the attainment of liberation. All our experiences are intended for experiencing the fruits of our karma through the gates of our external and internal senses and our body.

Vidyā or knowledge is here defined as that which manifests space and action (dik-kriyā-vyañjakā vidyā). Time or kāla is that which limits or experiences (kālo'vacchedakah), and niyati is that which determines the order of things, and rāga or attachment impels one to do actions. The avyakta is the cause consisting of the three gunas; from it come all objects and to it everything returns. This prakrti, called also pradhāna or avyakta, manifests itself in the form of pleasure, pain, and numbness. The method of the manifestation of the prakrti is called kalā. The three gunas, sattva, rajas and tamas come out of prakrti. This is distinctively a new view, different from the classical Samkhya theory. In the classical Śāmkhya theory, prakrti is merely the state of equilibrium of the three gunas, and there prakrti is nothing but that which is constituted of the equilibrium between the three gunas. These gunas permeate through the prakrti in a subtle state as oil permeates through the seeds of sesamum. It is out of the modification of the avyakta or pradhāna that the five tanmātras and five gross matterelements, as well as five cognitive and five conative senses and the manas, come into being. It is the causal state as such that is called the unmanifested or the avyakta. The effects as transformations are called the vyakta or the manifested; just as a lump of clay may be regarded as the unmanifested and the earthen vessels made out of it are regarded as the manifested. The manifold world of effects find their unity in the unmanifested prakrti, and all bodies, senses, etc. are regarded as being enjoyed through puruşa.

Vayu, in further explaining the subject, says that, though it is difficult to find out any proper reason for admitting a universal soul, yet one is forced to admit a universal entity which experiences the enjoyments and sufferings, and which is different from intellect, the senses, and the body. This entity is the permanent enjoyer of all human experiences, even when the body perishes (ayāvad-deha-vedanāt). It is this universal entity to which all objects of experience appeal, it is called the inner controller in the Vedas and the Upanisads. It pervades all things, yet it manifests itself here and there under certain circumstances and is itself unperceivable. It cannot be seen by the eye nor by any of the senses. It is only by the right wisdom of the mind that this great soul or Atman can be realised. It is unchangeable in all changes and it is the perceiver of all things, though it cannot be perceived itself. Such a great soul is different from the body and the senses, and those who consider it as being identical with the body cannot perceive it. It is by being associated with the body that it undergoes all impurities and suffering, and is drawn to the cycles of births and rebirths by its own deeds. As a field that is flooded with water soon generates new shoots, so in the field of ignorance the karma begins to shoot up and produce bodies which are the source of all miseries. Through the cycle of birth and rebirth one has to experience the fruits of one's karma and so the process goes on. This universal entity appears as many and manifests various intellectual shades in different persons¹. All our human relations are accidental and contingent, like two pieces of floating wood drawn together by the waves and then separated again. All beings, from the plants to Brahma, are the pasus or manifestations of this

> chāditas ca viyuktas ca sarīrair eşu lakşyate, candra-bimba-vad ākāse taralair abhra-sañcayaiḥ, aneka-deha-bhedena bhinnā vṛttir ihātmanaḥ. Śiva-mahāpurāṇa VII. 1. 5. 56 et seq.

puruṣa. It is the puruṣa that is bound by the ties of pleasure and pain, and is like the plaything of the great Lord. It is ignorant and impotent, and cannot provide for its pleasure or arrange for the dispelling of sorrow.

We have already seen the nature of the paśu and the pāśa. The pāśa is the energy or śakti of Śiva manifesting itself as prakrti; it evolves the material world, the subjective world, as well as pleasures and pains, which fetter the universal soul, the paśu, appearing as many under different conditions and circumstances. We cannot fail to note that the puruṣa or Atman here is not many as the puruṣas of the Sāṃkhya or the Atmans of the Nyāya, or of some other systems of Śaiva thought. The idea of the Vedāntic monism is eclectically introduced here, and we are faced with the conception of one puruṣa which appears as many in different bodies under different conditions. This one puruṣa is all-pervading, and it is on account of its being reflected through various conditions that it appears in various divergent forms of things, ranging from Brahma to a blade of grass.

But the supreme Lord who possesses an infinite number of excellent and attractive qualities is the creator of both the pasu and the pāśa. Without Him there could not be any creation of the universe, for both the paśu and the pāśa are inanimate and without knowledge. We must remember that according to Sāmkhya the purusas are nothing but pure consciousness, but here they are regarded as the reflection of one conscious entity appearing as many through its being reflected in various conditions or environments. Beginning from the prakrti down to the atoms, we have only the inanimate things entering into various modifications. This could not have been if they were not created and moulded by an intelligent creator. This world consisting of parts is an effect, and must therefore have an agent to fashion it. The agency as the supreme Lord, the Creator, belongs to Siva and not to the soul or to the bondage. The soul itself is moved into activity by the motivity of God. When an individual thinks of himself as the agent of his action, it is only a wrong impression of the nature of causality (ayathā-karana-jñāna). It is only when one knows oneself to be different from the true motivating agent that one may ultimately attain immortality. The kṣara and akṣara, that is, the pāśa and the paśu, are all associated with each other and they are both maintained by the supreme Lord in their manifested and unmanifested forms. The so-called plurality itself is pervaded by the supreme Lord. God alone is the Lord of all and the refuge of all. Though one, He can uphold the universe by His manifold energies.

This sixth chapter of the first part of the Vāyavīya-samhitā deals mostly with the contents derived from the Svetāśvatara Upanisad and may be regarded as an expansion of the philosophy of the Svetāśvatara Upanisad. The Lord Himself pervades all things and there is no tinge of impurity in Him. Various other texts of the Upanisad are also collated with it for the same purpose, and the Brahman is identified with Siva. In the previous volumes of the present work, attempts have been made to show that the Upanisads were interpreted in the Brahma-sūtras, in the Gītā, and also in the commentaries of the various schools of interpreters of the Brahma-sūtras in accordance with the specific views of the relevant authors. In the Siva-mahāpurāna we find also the same attempt to adapt the Upanisadic texts for the promulgation of the Saiva view of philosophy. It is again and again emphasised that there is only one Lord and there is no one second to Him, yet the idea of māyā or prakrti is introduced to explain the transformation of the world of appearance. We have seen before that $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is regarded as the energy or śakti of Brahman. But we do not find much discussion about the relationship of this energy with God. It is said also in accordance with the Upanisads that God is naturally endowed with knowledge and power. But we have not the philosophical satisfaction to know what is exactly the nature of knowledge and power, and how this power is exerted, and what knowledge can mean in relation to the supreme Lord, who has no senses and no manas.

In vII. 1. 6. 67 the Lord is described as one who produces time and is the Lord of all the *guṇas* and the liberator of all bondage. A question is raised as regards the nature of $k\bar{a}la$ or time. In reply to such a question Vāyu says that $k\bar{a}la$ appears before us in the form of successive moments and durations. The real essence of $k\bar{a}la$ is the energy of Siva. $K\bar{a}la$ therefore cannot be outstripped by any being whatsoever. It is, as it were, the ordering power of God¹. The $k\bar{a}la$ thus is an energy of God that emanates from Him

and pervades all things. For this reason everything is under the domination of time. But Siva is not fettered by time; He is the master of all time. The unrestricted power of God is manifested through time, and for this reason no one can transcend the limits of time. No amount of wisdom can take us beyond time, and whatever deeds are done in time cannot be outstripped. It is time which decides the fates and destinies of persons in accordance with their deeds, yet no one can say what is the nature of the essence of time.

We have so far seen that the *prakṛti* as superintended by *puruṣa* evolves as the world before us by the inexorable will and order of God. The order of the evolution of the *prakṛti* or the *avyakta* into different categories is more like what we have in the classical Sāṃkhya. The creation is a process of emanation or emergence from the state of *avyakta* in the well-known classical line of Sāṃkhya, and the dissolution takes place by a process of retrogression, in which the same process is reversed until the whole world of appearance returns to *avyakta* or *prakṛti*.

Turning again to the nature and function of Siva, the supreme Lord, it is said that there is nothing but the tendency for helping others that may be regarded as the essential nature of Siva. He has nothing to do but help all beings to attain their best through their actions. He is otherwise without any specific character, except to be of service to the world consisting of the paśu and the pāśa. This extension of the grace of the Lord is often described as His ordering will. It is for the fulfilment of the function of the Lord's will that one has to admit the existence of something for the good of which the will of the Lord goes forward. For this reason God may not be said to be dependent on others for the exercise of His will. It is in and through the function of His will that things come into being and move forward in an orderly process in accordance with karma. The independence of God means that He is not dependent on anything else; dependence means the condition in which one thing depends on another1.

The whole world is supposed to be dependent on *ajñāna* or nescience, there is nothing of reality in the visible appearance of the world. All the characters of Siva as described in the scriptures

atah svātantrya-sabdārthān anapekṣatva-lakṣaṇah.

Ibid. VII. 1. 31. 7.

are only conditional assumptions; in reality there is no form that one can ascribe to Siva¹.

All that has been said so far about the evolution of the world is based upon logical assumptions, while the transcendental reality of God is beyond all logic. It is by imagining God to be something of the nature of our *Atman* that we attribute the supreme lordship to Him. Just as fire is different from the wood but cannot be seen without it, so we ascribe the lordship to Siva, in and through the persons in whom He is manifested. It is by a similar extension of thought that the image of Siva is also regarded as Siva and is worshipped.

Siva always helps all beings and never does harm to anyone. When it may seem apparent that he has punished somebody, it is only for the good of others. In many cases the punishment awarded by Siva is for purging the impurities of the beings concerned. The basis of all good and evil deeds is to be found in the ordinance of God, that one must behave in this way and not in the other way. Goodness means abidance in accordance with His will. He who is engaged always in doing good to others is following the commandment of God, and he cannot be made impure. God only punishes those who could not be brought to the right path by any other course, but his punishment is never due to any spirit of anger or resentment. He is like the father who chastises the son to teach him the proper course. He who tyrannises over others deserves to be chastened. God does not injure others to cause them pain, but only to chasten them and make them fitter for the right path. He is like a doctor who gives bitter medicine for curing a malady. If God remained indifferent to the vices and sins of beings, then that would also be improper for Him, for that would be a way of encouraging people to follow the wrong path; and that also would be denying the proper protection to persons who ought to be protected and whom God is able to protect. The Lord Siva is like fire; on contact with Him all impurities are resolved. When a piece of iron is put into fire, it is the fire that burns and not the iron; so all the inanimate objects of the world are pervaded by Siva, the supreme Lord, and He alone shines through all the appearances.

> ajnānādhiṣthitaṃ śambhor na kiñcid iha vidyate, yenopalabhyate 'smābhis sakalenāpi niṣkalaḥ. Śiva-mahāpurāṇa VII. 1. 31. 9 et seq.

The grace of Siva is not like the ordinary good qualities of friendship, charity, etc., but it cannot be regarded as a good or a bad quality. It means only the will of God leading to the benefit of all beings. Obedience to His commandments may be regarded as identical with the highest good, and the highest good is the same as obedience to His commandments. God, therefore, may be regarded as doing good to all and not merely to one individual. In this manner the individual good is associated with the good of humanity at large, and this can only be effected when all beings follow the commandments of God. The things in the world would behave in their own manners according to their specific nature. It is the function of God to make them grow in consonance with one another as far as their nature should permit. The natural character of things is an important limitation to the scope of this development. One can only melt gold by fire, but not charcoal, so God can only liberate those whose impurities have been purged, but not those who are still in an impure condition. Things which naturally can evolve into some other thing can be made to do so by the will of God. So God's will is only effective when it acts in co-operation with the natural tendency and the effective limits of the things. The individual souls are naturally full of impurities, and it is for that reason that they pass through the cycle of birth and rebirth. The association of the souls with karma and illusion is really what is called samsāra, the passage through the cycle of birth and rebirth. Since Siva is not associated with any such karma and is absolutely pure. He can be the real agent for the motivation for the development of the animate and inanimate world. The impurity of the soul is natural to the soul and not accidental.

In the theory of the classical Sāmkhya as represented in the $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ of Īśvarakriṣṇa or the $S\bar{a}mkhya-s\bar{u}tra$, the teleology is made to abide in the prakrti, which out of its own necessity impels the prakrti to evolve in the twofold scheme of the psychical and the physical world for serving the puruṣas in twofold ways of the experience of pleasure and pain, and the attainment of liberation through knowledge. In this sense prakrti is supposed to move for the fulfilment of the purpose of the puruṣas. In the Pātañjala school of Sāmkhya, called also the $Yoga-s\bar{u}tra$ as explained by Vyāsa and Vācaspati, the puruṣas forming the prakrti have a natural obstruction which limits their scope of development. It is admitted

that there is the permanent will of God, that things would evolve in particular directions in accordance with the karma of the individuals. The energy of the prakrti or the gunas flows naturally in the direction from which the obstruction has been removed. God does not of Himself push the prakrti to move in a particular direction. The function lies in the removal of obstructions in the way of the development in particular channels. Had there been no such obstruction or if all obstructions were removed, then every thing could have become every other thing. There would be no definite order of evolution and no limitation to various conditions and by time and place. In the system that we are now dealing with the natural obstructions of individuals are frankly admitted as being due to the existence of impurities, and it is held that by the all-pervading nature of God the souls can be emancipated only when the natural obstructions are washed off. For this purpose the individual persons have to exert themselves and through the near proximity of God, the process of pacification is held; this is called the grace of God, not grace in the ordinary sense of the term, but a cosmic operation which helps all things and persons to develop in accordance with their respective deserts. The commandment of God is not like the commandment of a Mosaic god, but it simply means the carrying on of the cosmic process for the good of all. In the carrying out of this process some people must suffer for their own good and some people may attain rewards according to their merits. God Himself transcends all the appearances of the world; He does not actually exert His will to effect anything, but the very fact that all things are pervaded by Him produces the removal of such impurities as are consistent with the development of the cosmos as a whole.

Though the soul is the same, yet some of the souls are in bondage, as also, there are others who are in a state of liberation. Those who are in bondage may also be in different conditions of progress and may have accordingly different kinds of knowledge and power. The impurities associated with the soul may be regarded as green $(\bar{a}ma)$ and ripe (pakva), and in these two forms they are responsible for the commission of all actions leading to birth and rebirth. But even though all souls are associated with mala or impurities, they are pervaded in and through by Siva; and as the malas are purged, the proximity of Siva becomes more

manifest, and the individual becomes more and more pure, until he becomes like Siva. The differences of the souls are only due to the conditioning factor of the mala. It is in accordance with the nature and condition of the mala that one soul appears to be different from the other. The root cause for all the suffering in the world is the impurities, and it is the function of the divine doctor, Siva, to lead us through knowledge far away from the impurities. Knowledge alone is a means by which all sins may be removed. It may be objected that, since God is all-powerful He could liberate human beings without making them undergo suffering. To this question it is suggested in reply that misery and suffering constitute the nature of the samsāra of birth and rebirth. It has already been stated before that God's omnipotence is somehow limited by the natural conditions of the materials on which the will of God operates. The nature of the malas or the impurities being of the nature of sorrow and pain, it is not possible to make them painless, and for this reason, in the period in which one passes through the process of the expurgation of malas through samsāra, one must necessarily suffer pain. The individual souls are by nature impure and sorrowful, and it is by the administration of the order which acts as medicine, that these individuals are liberated. The cause of all impurities that generate the samsāra is the māyā and the material world, and these would not be set in motion in any way without the proximity of Siva. Just as iron filings are set in motion by the presence of a magnet without the magnet's doing anything by itself, so it is by the immediate proximity of God that the world process is set in motion for its benefit. Even though God is transcendent and does not know the world, the fact of His proximity cannot be ruled out. So He remains the superintending cause of the world. All movement in the world is due to Siva. The power by which He controls the world is His ordering will which is the same as His proximity. We are reminded of the analogical example introduced by Vācaspati in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāsya, where it is said that though the purusa does not do anything, yet its proximity produces the special fitness (yogyatā) on account of which the prakrti moves for the fulfilment of the purposes of the purusa. The example of the magnet and the iron filings is also given in that connection. As the whole world is but a manifestation of Siva's own power, we may quite imagine that when there was nothing in the world, He alone existed with His majestic order of will and there in the functioning of that will He was not in any way polluted by the worldly impurities.

In this connection Vāyu is supposed to say that knowledge is of two kinds, mediate (parokṣa) and immediate (aparokṣa). That which is known by reason or by instruction is called mediate knowledge. Immediate knowledge, however, can only dawn through practice of a high order, and without such immediate knowledge there cannot be any liberation.

82

In the present section of the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā VII. 2, we find a modification of the philosophical view as expressed in the previous section, and this deserves some special attention. In the previous section it was stated that the impurities of the individual souls were natural to themselves, and God's will had to refashion them or remould them or purge the impurities through the cycles of birth and rebirth, in accordance with the natural limitations of the individual souls, so that though God's will operates uniformly through all, the development is not uniform. The sufferings of human beings are due to the obstacles and resistance offered by the inherent impurities of different souls. For this reason it is not possible for God to liberate all souls without making them undergo the cycles of birth and rebirth and sorrow.

The view that the souls are by nature impure is found also among the Jainas and among the followers of the Pañcarātra school¹. In the Vedānta view, as explained in the school of Śaṅkara, the individual souls are no doubt regarded as the same as Brahman, but yet it is believed that the individual souls are associated with the beginningless nescience or $Avidy\bar{a}$ which can be destroyed later on by the realisation of the true nature of the Self. Thus in a way, the individual souls remain within a covering of impurity from beginningless time. But in the second section of the $V\bar{a}yav\bar{i}yasamhit\bar{a}$ that we are now dealing with, it is said that God Himself binds all beings through the impurities, the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and the like,

¹ See the relevant portion of Jainism in Vol. I (pp. 169 et seq.) and the philosophy of Pañcarātra, especially of the Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā in Vol. III (pp. 21 et seq. and 34 et seq.).

and He alone can liberate them when He is pleased to do so in accordance with the devotion of the beings concerned¹. All the twenty-four categories of Sāmkhya are to be regarded as being due to the action of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}^2$, and they are called the *visayas* or objects which are the bonds or ties by which the individuals are bound. By binding all beings, from the blade of a grass up to Brahman, the highest god, the great Lord makes them perform their own duties. It is by the order of the Lord that the prakrti produces the buddhi for the service of the purusas, and from buddhi there arise the ego, the senses, the subtle matters (tanmātras), and the gross matter. It is by the same order that the different beings are associated with different bodies suitable to them. The world order is maintained in its uniform process by the will of God. This will or order of God cannot be transcended by anybody. It is in accordance with the same commandment of God as controlling all processes that one attains riches and knowledge through the performance of meritorious deeds, or that the sinners are punished. The parable of the Kena Upanisad is quoted to show that the powers of all deities and natural forces are derived from God. The whole world thus may be regarded as manifestations of Lord Siva.

In different forms and functions and superintendence Lord Siva is called by different names. Thus, when He enjoys the prakṛti and the puruṣa He is called īśāna. This īśāna appears in its eightfold form, technically called astamūrti; these are: earth, water, fire, air, the ākāśa, the soul, the sun and the moon. So these are the forms of Siva as performing different functions and called by different names such as śārvī, bhāvī, raudrī, etc. Raudrī is the form in which the whole world is vibrating. The soul itself, as we have seen above, is a form of Siva.

The proper worship of Siva consists in giving protection from fear to all people, to do good to everybody, and to be of service to

> mala-māyā-dibhih pāśaih sa badhnāti paśūn patih, sa eva mocakas teṣām bhaktyā samyag-upāsitah.

Śiva-mahāpurāṇa. VII. 2. 2. 12 et seq. ² Māyā is twofold: the prakṛti and the śuddhamāyā. From the latter spring

up the deities Brahmā, Visnu and Rudra. The former is the prakrti of the Sāmkhya into which all beings return, and for that reason prakrti is called linga, whereas the classical Samkhya restricts the term to the mahat and calls prakrti the alinga. There mahat is called linga, as it points to some original cause behind it and prakrti being the ultimate cause does not point to any other original cause behind it. See ibid. VII. 2. 34. 7 et seq.

everybody. It is by satisfying all people that God becomes satisfied. Any injury done to any living being is an injury done to one of the forms of God itself.

We have seen above that the whole world is a personification of God. This pantheistic doctrine should be distinguished from the monism of the Vedānta as explained by Śaṅkara and his followers. In the Vedānta the reality is Brahman as sac-cid-ānanda, and everything else that we perceive is but an imposition on the reality of Brahman. They are ultimately false and their falsehood is discovered when the person attains liberation. So the world appears, but there may be a time when it may absolutely disappear before a liberated person. Here, however, the material world as such in all its various forms of the living and non-living is regarded as but different real forms of God, which are controlled by God, and are set in motion by God for the benefit of the souls, which latter again are but forms of God.

In this connection the question is raised as to the way in which God pervades the world as the male and the female powers. In reply to such a question Upamanyu is supposed to have replied that the energy or śakti called the great female Deity (mahādevī) belongs to mahādeva, the Great Lord, and the whole world is a manifestation of them both. Some things are of the nature of consciousness and some things are of the nature of the unconscious. Both of them can be pure or impure. When consciousness is associated with the unconscious elements, it passes through the cycles of birth and rebirth and is called impure. That which is beyond such associations is pure. Siva and His śakti go together, and the whole world is under their domination. As it is not possible to distinguish the moon from the moonlight, so it is not possible to distinguish the śakti from Siva. So the śakti or the power of the śaktimān, the possessor of the power, the supreme Lord, are mutually dependent. There cannot be śakti without Siva, and there cannot be Siva without śakti. It is out of this śakti that the whole world is created through the process of prakrti or māyā and the three gunas. Everywhere the operation of the śakti is limited by the will of Siva and ultimately this goes back into Siva. From the original śakti as inherent in Siva, there emanates the 'active energy' (kriyākhyā śakti). By the disturbance of the original equilibrium there arises nāda, and from that arises bindu, and from bindu arises sadāśiva, and from sadāśiva arises Maheśvara, and from him arises true knowledge (śuddha-vidyā), and this is called the logos or the power of speech. This also manifests itself in the form of the alphabetical sounds. From this manifestation of māyā comes kāla or time, niyati, kalā and vidyā. From this māyā again come out the three guṇas constituting the unmanifested (avyakta). From the avyakta there evolve the categories as described in the Sāṃkhya. In brief it may be said that as the body is permeated by the inner controller, so the whole world is permeated by Śiva in His form as śakti. For this reason all the living and the non-living are but manifestations of the śakti. It is the supreme Lord that is associated with knowledge, activity and will, and through them all the supreme Lord controls and pervades the world. The order of the world and the world process is also determined by His will.

That which is imaginatively perceived by the supreme Lord is put into a fact by His will; so, just as the three *guṇas* arise in Him as the three manifested energies, so the whole world, which is identified with Siva, is also the form of His energy, because it has come into being through His energy¹. This śakti of Siva is the māyā.

The Siva-mahāpurāṇa refers to the Saivāgamas as being instructions given by Siva to Sivā. It seems, therefore, that the Saivāgamas were written long before the Siva-mahāpurāṇa, and it is the substance of the Saivāgamas that is collected in the Siva-mahāpurāṇa in the elucidation of the Pāśupata view. The instructions of the Saivāgamas are supposed to have been given as the means for the attainment of the highest good through the mercy of Siva, for the benefit of the devotees of Siva².

Turning to the practical side of the attainment of direct or intuitive knowledge, we find that Siva says that He is only properly approached through sincere faith in Him (śraddhā) and not by

evaṃ śakti-samāyogāc chaktimān ucyate śivaḥ, śakti-śaktimadutthaṃ tu śāktaṃ śaivam idaṃ jagat. Śiva-mahāpurāṇa VII. 2. 4. 36.

Sīva-mahāpurāṇa VII. 2. 4. 30

śrīkanthena śivenoktam śivāyai ca śivāgamah, śivāśritānām kārunyāc chreyasām ekasādhanam.

Ibid. VII. 2. 7. 38 et seq.

It is difficult to say whether this is a reference to the Mahākāruņika school of Saiva thought, as referred to by Sankara in the *bhāṣya* in the penultimate topic of the criticism of Saivism. *Brahma-sūtra* II. 2.

tapas, chanting, or various postures of the body (āsanas), or even by instructional knowledge. Faith is the basis on which one should stand and this faith can be attained by following the natural duties of the four varṇas or castes and the āśramas or the stages of life. Faith is thus regarded not as a spontaneous emotion but as the consequence of a long traditional practice of the duties assigned to each caste and to each stage of life.

The Saiva dharma consists of knowledge, action, rigid conduct, and yoga. The knowledge is the knowledge of the nature of souls, the objects, and the supreme Lord. Action is the purification in accordance with the instruction of the preceptor. Caryā or the right conduct means the proper worship of Siva in accordance with the caste rights as instructed by Siva. Yoga means the arresting of all mental states, excluding the constant thinking of God. Knowledge arises from vairāgya or disinclination towards worldly things, and from knowledge comes yoga; sense-control, called yama, and nivama remove the sins and when a man is disinclined to worldly objects he gradually turns to the path of yoga. In this connection, universal charity, non-injury, truthfulness, abstention from stealing, and supreme faith, teaching, performing sacrifices and meditation on one's identity with God are regarded as natural accessories. For this reason those who wish to attain liberation should keep themselves away from virtue and vice, merit and demerit. Those who have attained the state in which the stone and gold are of equal value, or have no value, need not worship God, because they are liberated beings.

Purity of mind is a hundredfold better than purity of body, because without the purity of the mind nobody can be pure. God accepts only the internal states of man (bhāva); that which is performed without any sincere emotion is merely an imitation. Devotion to God ought to be spontaneous, not practised for any advantage. Even when a man is attached to God for the attainment of some advantage, it may please God according to the depth of the emotion which is displayed by him. We find that the external expression of emotion as manifested in bodily movements, interest in listening to the adoration of Siva, the choking of the voice, the shedding of tears, and the constant meditation and dependence on God, are regarded as the significant signs of a true devotee, whatever may be his caste and status in society.

We have already seen that the practical way towards liberation should be through the attainment of knowledge of the nature of souls, the objects that bind them and the supreme Lord. This knowledge should be supplemented by action in accordance with the direction of the Teacher, who in Saiva cult is to be regarded as the incarnation of Siva. This action called kriyā is to be supplemented by the prescriptive duties allotted to the different castes and stages of life in the scriptures, and the duty which consists of the worship of God goes by the name of caryā. This has further to be supplemented by a process of devotional meditation, with Siva as the centre of attention, when all other mental states have been inhibited. The scriptures dealing with these subjects are twofold, one of Vedic origin, the other of independent origin. These latter are of twenty-eight kinds (like the Āgamas), called Kāmika, etc., which also go by the name of Siddhānta¹.

In VII. 1. 32 certain esoteric and obscure physiological processes are described by which one can bring oneself in contact with immortality as inherent in Siva, the Mahādeva².

In VII. 2. 37 the yoga is described as being of five kinds: mantrayoga, sparśayoga, bhāvayoga, abhāvayoga and mahāyoga. The mantrayoga is that in which by constant repetition of certain mantras the mental states becomes steady. When this is associated with breath control it is called sparśayoga. When this state is further on the progressive scale and becomes dissociated from the necessity of chanting the mantras, it is called the bhāvayoga. By further advancement of this yoga process, the world appearance in its various forms entirely disappears, and this is called the abhāvayoga. At this stage the yogin is not concerned with the world. He

¹ H. W. Schomerus in his Śaiva-siddhānta, p. 3, says that there are six and sixteen schools of Śaivism, according to a commentary on Śiva-jñāna-bodha which we shall refer to later on. These schools as referred to by Schomerus are:

I. Pāśupata, Māvratavāda (?), Kāpālika, Vāma, Bhairava and Aikyavāda.
II. Ūrdhvaśaiva, Anādiśaiva, Ādiśaiva, Mahāśaiva, Bhedaśaiva, Abhedaśaiva, Antaraśaiva, Guņaśaiva, Nirgunaśaiva, Adhvanśaiva, Yogaśaiva, Jñānaśaiva, Anuśaiva, Kriyāśaiva, Nālupādaśaiva (?) and Suddhaśaiva.

We do not know what were the contents of these different schools of Saivism and we cannot also identify any particular texts giving the views of any of these schools of Saivism. In our treatment we have noted different types of Saivism, and many of them go by the name of Pāśupata-Śaivism, but whether this Pāśupata-Śaivism was also divided into different schools having different names, it is impossible for us to judge for want of definite materials, either published or unpublished.

² See verses 45-56 (VII. 1. 32).

thinks of himself as being of the nature of Siva, and of being one with Him, and he is dissociated from all conditions. This is called the state of mahāyoga. At this stage one becomes disinclined to all worldly objects of attachment, whether as experiences by the senses or as prescribed by the scriptures. Of course, this practice of yoga includes the practices of yama and niyama as prescribed in the Yoga-sūtras, and also the practice of the different postures, the breath-control (prāṇāyāma), the holding back of the mind from other objects (pratyāhāra), the practice of concentration on particular objects (dhāraṇā), and also meditation (dhyāna), and becoming one with the object (samādhi). The processes of the different kinds of yoga and their accessories are described in the Saiva scriptures, and also in the Kāmika and the other Agamas. So far as the Siva-mahāpurāṇa is concerned we do not find much difference between the practices of the different accessories such as yama, and niyama, āsana, etc., and those that are described in the Yogaśāstra of Patañjali. The only important difference is that, while in Patañjali's yoga the mind has to be concentrated first on the gross objects, then on the subtle entities or tanmātras, then on the ahankāra or egohood, and then on buddhi, here in the Saiva yoga, the yogin has to meditate on the divine nature of Siva. In the Yogaśāstra also it is prescribed that one may meditate upon Iśvara, and it is through devotion to him that liberation may be granted to any yogin. The treatment of a yogin in Yogośāstra may take a twofold course: one meditation on Isvara, the other the ascending scale of meditation on subtler and subtler categories, as a result of which the mind becomes absolutely shorn of all primitive tendencies and impressions, and becomes ultimately lost in the prakrti itself, never to return again. The Yoga of Patañiali, therefore, seems to be a double synthesis of associating the Sāmkhya doctrine and Sāmkhya metaphysics with the pre-existent system of yoga-practice which we find in Buddhism, and the association of the theistic cult of Isvara, who hangs rather loosely with the yoga system.

The Siva-mahāpurāṇa goes on with the description of prāṇā-yāma, consisting of: pūraka, the filling of the body with air through the nose; recaka, the expelling of the air out of the body; and kumbhaka, the process of keeping the body still after inflating it. By the processes of prāṇāyāma one may leave the body at will.

The advancement of prānāyāma is made gradually by lengthening the respiratory and inhibitory time. In this way there are four different classes of prānāyāma called kanyaka, madhyama, uttama, and para. That which is associated with the emotional expression of sweating, shivering, etc., is due to the expression of the sentiment of bliss on account of which tears flow spontaneously and there is sometimes incoherent speech, swooning. It should be noted that such states do not occur nor are recommended in the yoga of Patañjali. In this connection the discussion about prāṇāyāma is introduced and we hear of the five vayus or bio-motor forces called prāna, apāna, samāna, udāna, and vyāna. The prānavāyu consists of five other types of vāyu, namely nāga, kūrma, krkara, devadatta, and dhanañjaya which performs the different functions of the prāṇavāyu. The apāṇavāyu is the bio-motor force by which all that is taken in by way of food and drink is assimilated and drawn down to the lower cavities. The vyāna is the bio-motor force that pervades the whole body and develops it. The udana is that which affects the vital glands and the body. The samāna is that which provides the circulation through the body. When the functions and the forces of these $v\bar{a}yus$ are properly co-ordinated in accordance with the will of the vogin, he is able to burn up all the defects and maladies of the body and preserve his health in the proper manner, his power of assimilation becomes greater and his exertions become less. He becomes light in body, can move about quickly, and has energy and excellence of voice. He suffers from no diseases and has sufficient strength and vigour. He has power of retention, memory, usefulness, steadiness, and contentedness. He can perform asceticism and destroy his sins and perform sacrifice and make gifts as people should.

Pratyāhāra is effort of mind, by which the mind controls itself in relation to the objects to which the senses may be attracted. One who desires happiness should practise the virtue of disinclination and also try to attain true knowledge. It is by controlling one's senses that one can raise oneself up. When in this way the mind can be steadily attached to some object we have the state of dhāraṇā. This object to which the mind should be steadily attached is nothing but Śiva. In the proper state of dhāraṇā the mind should not be dissociated even for a moment from its object, Śiva. It is from the steadiness of the mind that dhāraṇā can proceed. So

by continuous practice of dhāraṇā the mind should be made constant and steady. The word 'dhyāna' is derived from the root dhyai denoting the thinking of Siva with an undisturbed mind. Therefore this state is called dhyāna. When a person is in the state of dhyāna, the object of his meditation is constantly repeated in the same form without the association of any other idea. This constant flow of the same sort of image or idea is called dhyāna1. It is remembered that one should perform tapa or chanting the name or the mantras and pass into dhyāna, and when dhyāna is broken one should go on with tapa and from that again to dhyāna, and so on until the yoga is firmly attained. Samādhi is regarded as the last state of voga in which the mind is illuminated with intuitive wisdom (prajñāloka). It is a state which itself seems to be nothing in essence and where the object alone shines like a limitless, waveless ocean². After fixing the mind on the object of meditation, the saint looks like a fire which is being extinguished, he does not hear nor smell nor see nor touch anything, nor does his mind think. He does not understand anything, he is like a piece of wood. So when one's soul becomes lost in Siva one is said to be in the state of samādhi. It is like a lamp that burns in a steady flame. From this state of samādhi the saint never breaks off.

It must, however, be noted that in the course of the practice of this yoga many obstacles come in, and they have to be conquered. Some of these are indolence, troublesome diseases, carelessness, doubt as to the proper object of meditation, inconstancy of mind, absence of faith, illusory notions, pain, melancholia, attachment to objects. Indolence refers both to bodily and mental laziness. The diseases, of course, come through the disturbances of the three dhātus—vāyu, pitta, and kapha. Carelessness (pramāda) comes through the non-utilisation of the means of performing the yoga. A doubtful inquiry as to what may be the true object of meditation is called sthāna-samasyā. Absence of faith means the

Ibid. VII. 2. 37. 61-2.

dhyeyāvasthita-cittasya sadršah pratyayaš ca yaḥ, pratyayāntara-nirmuktaḥ pravāho dhyānam ucyate, sarvam anyat parityajya šiva eva šivankaraḥ.

Siva-mahāpurāṇa VII. 2. 37. 52-3. samādhinā ca sarvatra prajñālokah pravartate, yad-artha-mātra-nirbhāsaṃ stimitodadhi-vat-sthitaṃ, svarūpa-śūnyavad bhānam samādhir abhidhīyate.

continuance of the *yoga* process without the proper emotion. All sorrow comes through false knowledge. These sorrows are divided into three classes, in accordance with the classical Sāṃkhya classification, as ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika, and ādhidaivika. Disappointment is the frustration of one's desires, and causes mental troubles which are called daurmanasya. When the mind is drawn to various objects of desire it is said to be in a state of flirtation. When these obstacles are overcome then come other obstacles in the way of the appearance of miraculous powers.

The word 'yoga' in the Pāśupata-yoga is used as a derivative from the root 'yujir yoge,' and not from 'yuj samādhau,' as we find the word used in Patañjali's Yoga. The true yoga can only arise by the proper integrative knowledge of the meditation, the object of meditation, and the purpose of meditation. In meditating on Siva one should also meditate upon the energy of Siva, as the whole world is pervaded by them both.

Among the miraculous powers which are regarded as obstacles in the progressive path of yoga one counts pratibhā, which means the power of knowing subtle things, things that are passed, and things that are obscure from our eyes, and things that are to come in future. In the Nyāya-mañjarī Jayanta mentions the word pratibhā in an entirely different sense. He means by pratibhā there an inexplicable intuition as to what may occur in the future, for example, "tomorrow my brother will come." It also includes the power of understanding all kinds of sound without effort, all that may be communicated by any animal in the world, and also the power of having heavenly visions. So by these miraculous powers one may taste heavenly delights and exquisite pleasures of touch and smell of a higher order. So one may attain all kinds of miraculous powers, and one has a full command of all things that one may wish to have. It is unnecessary for us to dilate further on the various types of miraculous powers which the yogin may attain, and which may detract him from his onward path toward attaining the mahāyoga or the highest yoga, that is, the union with Śiva.

But it is interesting to notice that the same chapter on the $P\bar{a}$ supata-yoga introduces certain methods which are not to be found in Patañjali's Y oga. Thus in VII. 2. 38, in a description of a particular posture of y oga, one is advised to fix one's attention on

the tip of the nose and not to look at one side or the other. One sits down unmoved, like a piece of stone, and tries to think of Siva and Sakti within oneself, as if they were installed in the seat of the heart, and meditates on them. One may also concentrate on one's navel, throat, palatal cavity and the spot between the eyebrows. One should think of a lotus having two, six, ten, twelve or sixteen petals, or a sort of quadrangle wherein one may place the Siva. The lotus in the spot between the eyebrows consists of two petals which are as bright as lightning. So in the case of other lotuses having a number of petals the vowels are associated with each of the petals from the bottom upwards. The consonants beginning with ka and ending in ta may also be regarded as being associated with the lotus, and should be meditated upon. In rather an obscure manner the different consonants are supposed to be associated with the different petals of the imaginary lotuses, and one should steadily meditate upon Siva and Sakti as associated with the letters of the petals.

In order to proceed on the path of *yoga* it may be necessary to meditate upon some of the recognised images of Siva, such as the different gross images of Siva mentioned in the Saiva scriptures.

Meditation should at first commence with an object, and later on it becomes objectless. But the learned people always discard the state of meditation in which there is no object, and it is said that *dhyāna* consists in the stretching out of an intellectual state¹. For this reason, in the state of dhyāna it is the mere buddhi, or the intellectual state that flows on, which may often be regarded as having no object. So what is called an objectless (nirvisaya) dhyāna is only meditation on subtle entities. It is also often said that when meditation is upon some particular form of Siva it is called savisava, and when this is in a formless state as an extension of the knowledge of self, it is called nirvisaya, This savisaya dhyāna is also called sabīja, and the nirviṣaya dhyāna is called nirbīja. As a result of prānāyāma and meditation, the mind becomes transparent, and then thoughts of Siva continually recur. As we have said above, dhyāna means nothing more than the constant flow of an intellectual state (buddhi) of the form of Siva. It is this continuous flow of

an intellectual state that is regarded as an object of $dhy\bar{a}na^1$. Both happiness and liberation come from $dhy\bar{a}na$; for this reason, one should always try to practise $dhy\bar{a}na$. There is nothing greater than $dhy\bar{a}na^2$. Those who perform $dhy\bar{a}na$ are dear to Siva, not those who only perform the rituals.

- buddhi-pravāha-rūpasya dhyānasyāsyāvalambanam, dhyeyam ity ucyate sadbhis tacca sāmbah svayam śivaḥ. Śiva-mahāpurāna VII. 2. 39. 19.
- ² nāsti dhyāna-samam tīrtham nāsti dhyānasamam taþaḥ, nāsti dhyānasamo yajñas tasmād dhyānam samācaret.

Ibid. VII. 2. 39. 28.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY IN SOME OF THE IMPORTANT TEXTS

The Doctrine of the Pāśupata-sūtras.

Some of the philosophical doctrines of the Pāśupata system of Saivism are discussed in the relevant sections. But the formal and ritualistic sides of the system, which have often been referred to elsewhere, as for example in the treatment of Saivism in the Sarvadarsana-samgraha, need an authoritative explanation. This is found in the Pāsupata-sūtras with the bhāsya of Kaundinya, published in 1940 by the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore, Trivandrum. It is said that Siva incarnated Himself as Nakulīśa and so was the author of the Pāśupata-sūtras. The bhāṣya by Kaundinya is also an ancient one, as may be judged from the style of the writing. The editor of the Pāśupata-sūtras, A. Śāstri, thinks that Kaundinya may have lived between the fourth and sixth centuries. The *Pāsupata-sūtras* together with the *bhāṣya* of Kaundinya do not give us any philosophy of Saivism. They deal almost wholly with the rituals, or rather modes of life. It may be quite possible that such ascetic forms of life existed from early times, and that later the philosophy of Saivism was added. Though these ascetic forms of life had but little connection with the Saiva philosophy as propounded later, they have a general anthropological and religious interest, as these forms of asceticism remain connected with the life of those who believe in the Saiva philosophy. In the Sarva-darśana-samgraha of Mādhava the Pāśupata system is not identified with any form of philosophy, but with different kinds of ascetic practices. When Sankara refutes the Saiva system, he does not specifically mention any philosophical doctrines of an elaborate nature. He only brands the Saivas as those who believe in God as the creator of the world (īśvara-kāranin). Of course, the Naiyāyika is also an īśvara-kāranin and he is also a Śaiva by faith. The other doctrines of the Naiyāyika are largely taken from the Vaiśesika, and Śankara in his joint criticism of Nyāya and Vaiśesika had referred to them. The Naiyāyika thus shares his theistic

conviction with the Śaivas. But while the Śaivas of the Pāśupata school lay emphasis on ascetic rituals, the Naiyāyika laid stress on logical arguments. It will therefore not be out of place if we treat the general outline of the Pāśupata sect on its ascetic side, though it may not be regarded as a contribution of philosophical value.

Kauṇḍinya, the commentator, in the beginning of his $bh\bar{a}sya$, offers adoration to Pāśupati who had created the whole world, beginning from the Brahman for the good of all. He says that the five subjects of discussion in the Pāśupata system are effect $(k\bar{a}rya)$, cause $(k\bar{a}rana)$, meditation (yoga), behaviour (vidhi), and dissolution of sorrow $(duhkh\bar{a}nta)^1$.

The teaching of the Pāśupata system is for the total annihilation of all kinds of sorrow and this teaching can only be communicated to proper disciples. When the disciple follows the ascetic practices recommended by the Lord, he attains liberation through His grace. It has been noticed before that the Saiva is called Mahākārunika. In our exposition of the Saiva thought we have examined carefully the doctrine of grace or karunā, and have also seen how this doctrine of grace is associated with the doctrine of karma and the theory of rebirth, in accordance with the justice implied in the theory of karma. But here in the Pāśupata-sūtra we are told that liberation comes directly from the grace of Siva. The word paśu means all conscious beings, excluding the saints and the all powerful ones. Their animality or paśutva consists in the fact that they are impotent and their impotence is their bondage. This bondage, which means their complete dependence on the causal power, is beginningless. The word paśu is connected with the word pāśa, which means "cause and effect", and is technically also called kalā. All animals are thus bound by cause and effect, the sense images and their objects, and become attached to them. The word paśu is also derived from paśyati. Though the animals are all-pervasive and are of the nature of pure consciousness, they can only perceive

¹ The editor of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* gives the following list of the succession of teachers from Nakulīśa: Nakulīśa, Kauśika, Gārgya, Maitreya, Kauruşa, Īśāna, Paragārgya, Kapilāṇḍa, Manuṣyaka, Kuśika, Atri, Pingala, Puṣpaka, Bṛhadārya, Agasti, Santāna, Rāśīkara (Kauṇḍinya), and Vidyāguru. The seventeenth guru called Rāśīkara has been identified with Kauṇḍinya by the editor. This has been done on the supposition that Kauṇḍinya occurs as the gotra name in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad vi. 2 and 4.

their bodies; they do not understand the nature of cause and effect and they cannot go beyond them. The Pāśupati is so called because He protects all beings. Kauṇḍinya definitely says that the liberation from sorrow cannot be attained by knowledge (jñāna), disinclination (vairāgya), virtue (dharma) and giving up of one's miraculous powers (aiśvarya-tyāga), but by grace (prasāda) alone¹.

The person who is regarded as fit for receiving the Saiva discipline must be a Brahmin with keen senses. The instruction of the teacher, leading to devotional practices and exciting desire for becoming Siva, is given out of a spirit of charity to those who wish to annihilate all sorrow.

The word 'yoga' is used to denote the contact of the self with iśvara or God (ātmeśvara-saṃyogo yogaḥ). The contact thus means that the person who was otherwise engaged leads himself to the supreme object of iśvara; or it may also mean that the contact is due to the dual approach of both God and the person, until they meet. The yoga must have disinclination to worldly things as the first condition.

Yoga cannot be attained by mere knowledge but one has to take to a certain course of action called yoga-vidhi. Vidhi means action. Thus we have the effect $(k\bar{a}rya)$ which is the dissolution of pleasure and pain, the cause, the yoga and the vidhi, and these are the five categories which form the subject-matter of discussion of the $P\bar{a}supata-s\bar{a}stra$.

Describing the two kinds of perceptual knowledge Kaundinya distinguishes between sense perception and self-perception. By the senses one can perceive various kinds of sense objects, such as sound, touch, colour, taste, smell and the objects to which they belong. In reality, most perceptions occur through sense-object contact, and are manifested in their totality in diverse aspects through such a contact, and are regarded as valid (pramāṇa). Self-perception means the totality of the relation that is produced by citta and antaḥkaraṇa, the mind and the thought. Inference (anumāna) is naturally based upon perception. The relationship between the thought, the mind, and the self expresses itself in diverse forms and produces diverse impressions and memories.

¹ tasmāt prasādāt sa duḥkhāntah prāpyate. na tu jñāna-vairāgya-dharmaiśvarya-tyāga-mātrād ity arthah. Pāśupata-sūtras (commentary, p. 6).

And these lead to other kinds of awareness, or those which can be inferred from them.

Inference is of two kinds, dṛṣṭa (perceived) and sāmānyato dṛṣṭa (perceived through universals). The first again is of two kinds, called pūrvavat and sesavat. Pūrvavat is that which is affiliated with a previous experience. It has been seen to have six fingers, and now we find it of six fingers; therefore it is the same as the previous one. When an animal is recognised as a cow on the evidence of its horns and the hanging neck, this is said to be an inference of the type of sesavat. The sesavat inference is intended to distinguish a class of things from others. As an example of sāmānyato drsta (perceived through universals), it is said that as the location at different places of the same object cannot take place, one can infer that the moon and the stars which change places are travelling in the sky. Agama or testimony is the scriptural testimony that is handed down to us from Maheśvara through His disciples. The Pāśupata-śāstra only admits perception, inference, and testimony; all other kinds of pramānas are regarded as falling within them.

It is the individual perceiver to whom things are proved by means of the pramāṇas. The object of the pramāṇas are the fivefold categories, namely kārya, kāraṇa, yoga, vidhi, and the dissolution of sorrow. Awareness or thought product is called saṃvid, saṃcintana, or sambodha. It is through these that knowledge is revealed. The process of knowledge continues from the first moment of inception to the completion of the knowledge.

Turning to the practices, it is said that one should collect ashes and bake them, and then smear the body in the morning, midday, and afternoon with these ashes. The real bathing is of course through the attainment of virtue by which the soul is purified. One should also lie down on the ashes and remain awake, for the person who is afraid of the cycles of birth and rebirth cannot have time to sleep. The ashes are to be used for bathing instead of water, both for purification and for bearing the signs of a Saiva. The ashes (bhasman) are therefore called linga, or sign of a Pāśupata ascetic. We must note here that the word linga, which is often used in connection with the Saiva doctrine for a phallic sign, is here regarded as a mere indicatory sign of a person's being a Pāśupata ascetic. The ashes which besmear the body are indicators

of the person being a Pāśupata ascetic. The *bhasman* therefore is regarded as *linga*. These ashes distinguish the Pāśupata ascetic from the adherents of other sects.

The Pāśupata ascetic may live in the village, in the forest, or in any place of pilgrimage, and there he may employ himself in muttering the syllable *om*, laughing, singing, dancing, and making peculiar sounds through his mouth and lips.

In introducing moral virtues, great emphasis is laid on the vamas consisting of non-injury, celibacy, truthfulness, and nonstealing. Next to these are the niyamas consisting of non-irritability (akrodha), attendance on the teachers, purity, lightness of diet, and carefulness (apramāda). Of these two yama and niyama, yama is regarded as being most important. Non-injury in the fashion of the Jainas is highly emphasised, and is regarded as the best of all virtues. We have translated brahma-carya by celibacy, but in reality it means all kinds of sense control, particularly the palate and the sex organs; association with women is strongly deprecated. Though verbal truth implying agreement of statements to facts is appreciated, it is held that the final standard of truth is the amount of good that is rendered to people by one's words. Even a misstatement or a false statement, if beneficial to all beings, should be regarded as preferable to a rigorous truthful statement. It is interesting to note that the Pāśupata system forbids all kinds of commercial dealings and trades, as they may cause pain to persons involved in mutual intercourse. Absence of anger (akrodha) has been enumerated above as a virtue. This includes both mental apathy consisting of jealousy, enmity, vanity and desire for the evil of others in one's own mind, as well as any action that may be committed in accordance with them. The Pāśupata ascetic has to earn his living by mendicancy alone.

It has been said above that the Pāśupata ascetic should be a Brahmin. It is prohibited for him to address women or Śūdras, except under special circumstances. Under such exceptional circumstances one should purify oneself by bathing in ashes and also prāṇāyāma, and the muttering of the raudrīgāyatrī. This prescription of practising prāṇāyāma, etc., in case one has to meet a woman or a Śūdra and to talk to them, is suggested for purifying the mind of the ascetic, for otherwise on being forced to meet them the ascetic may get angry in his mind, and that may cause injury to his own mind.

When the mind is purified, and one proceeds on the line of yoga with the Maheśvara, the supreme Lord, one attains various miraculous powers¹.

The Maheśvara, regarded also as Brahman, is beginningless and indestructible; He is unborn and without any kind of attachment. When one knows the nature of the Lord, one should take refuge in Him and follow the practices described by Him in His scriptures.

The supreme Lord is regarded as producing and destroying all things out of His nature as a playful being. The Lord is supreme as he controls the movements and tendencies of all beings. His eternity consists in his continual knowledge and action, by which he pervades all. He is called Rudra because he is associated with fear on the part of all².

The supreme Lord, being in Himself, creates, maintains and destroys the universe, that is, in Him the universe appears and dissolves like the stars in the sky. God creates the world at His will, as the world of effects exists in His own power and energy, and remains also by virtue of His power.

In explaining the position further, it is said in the bhāṣya (II. 5) that the category of Maheśvara is the all-pervasive one, and that the twenty-five categories like puruṣa, pradhāna, etc., are permeated by the supreme category. So also the category of the puruṣa, being the category of the self, is the all-pervading one, and the twenty-four categories of pradhāna, etc., are permeated by puruṣa. So also in the field of the categories, the buddhi is all-pervasive and the twenty-two other categories, beginning with ahankāra, are permeated by buddhi. So also the ahankāra is all-pervasive and the eleven senses are permeated by it; so again the eleven senses are the all-pervasive ones and the subtle five tanmātras are permeated by them. So also in the case of gross matter, where the same processes may be assigned to ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, etc.

The question is raised as regards the starting-point of difference between the cause and the effect. The writer of the $bh\bar{a}sya$ (II. 5) says that it has to be understood on the analogy of a mixture of

¹ See Pāśupata-sūtras I. 21-37.

rutasya bhayasya drāvanāt samyojanād rudrah.
Pāśupata-sūtras II. 4 (commentary).

turmeric and water; in turmeric water you have on the one hand the qualities of water, and on the other the qualities of turmeric. So when the supreme Lord is considered as being associated with the pleasures and pains that He gives to all beings, and the bodies with which He associates them, we may have a conception of a whole. So God can be associated with pleasures and pains that belong to the prakrti, though He himself is absolutely unchangeable. The same analogy may explain the other categories of pradhāna and prakṛti. Being all-pervasive, the supreme Lord naturally pervades both the causal and the efficient states. The effect as identified in the cause is eternal; the cause, the Lord, is eternal, and all creation takes place in and through Him. Arguing in this way the world becomes eternal, for if the protector is eternal, the things to be protected must also be eternal. The world being eternal, the supreme Lord only connects the relevant parts of it in a relevant order. The grace of God consists in bringing about the proper association of the relevant parts.

God's will being all powerful and unlimited, He can create changes in the world and in the destinies of men according to His own pleasure. He does not necessarily depend upon the person or his *karma* or action¹. God's will may operate either as the evolutionary process or as an interference with the state of things by inducing bondage or liberation. There is, however, a limit to the exercise of God's will in that the liberated souls are not associated with sorrow again. The limit of the effect world is that it is produced, helped and dissolved or changed by the causal category, the supreme Lord. This, therefore, is the sphere of cause and effect. Those who want the cessation of all sorrows should devote themselves to the worship of the Lord Siva and to no one else.

It is advised that the Pāśupata ascetic should not be too much delighted on the attainment of miraculous powers. He should go on behaving like a Pāśupata ascetic, smearing his body with ashes and smiling and so on, both in places of pilgrimage and temples, and also among people in general. These are called *caryā*. In this *caryā* the joy of the ascetic should be manifested in its pure form

¹ karma-kāminaś ca maheśvaram apekṣante, na tu bhagavān īśvaraḥ karma puruṣam vā'pekṣate. ato na karmāpekṣa īśvaraḥ. Pāśupata-sūtras II. 6 (commentary).

and not associated with any form of vanity which goes with the attainment of miraculous powers.

The process of spiritual worship can only be done through the surrendering of oneself in one's mind to the supreme Lord, and to continue to do it until the goal is reached. When one gives oneself up entirely to Siva alone, he does not return from the state of liberation. This is the secret of self-surrender¹.

The supreme Lord, called Vāmadeva, jyestha, Rudra, is also called Kāla. It is within the scope of His function to associate the different beings in different kinds of bodies and in different states of existence, with different kinds of experiences, pleasurable and painful, through the process of time. The individual beings are called kālva as they happen to be in God or Kāla. The term $kal\bar{a}$ is given to the effects ($k\bar{a}lya$) and their instruments ($k\bar{a}rana$). Thus, the five elements, earth, water, etc., are called kalā as kārya or effect. So also are their properties. The eleven senses together with ahankāra and buddhi are called kārana. God Himself is vikarana or without any senses, so there is nothing to obstruct His powers of perception and action. It is God who associates all things and beings with the different kalās as kālya and kārana. The supreme Lord is regarded as sakala and niskala, immanent and transcendent, but even in His transcendental aspect He has in Him all the powers by which He can extend His grace to all beings.

In the third chapter it is said that the real Saiva ascetic may dispense with all the external practices, so that no one will recognise him as a Saiva ascetic, and will not give him a high place in society. When the Saiva ascetic is thus ignored by the people among whom he lives, this very degradation of him serves to remove his sins. When the ascetic bears the insults showered upon him by ignorant persons, he naturally attains fortitude. People may often abuse him as a lunatic, an ignorant man, or a dullard, etc., and in such circumstances he should get away from the public attention and fix his mind on God. With such behaviour he is not only purified but is spiritually ennobled. When a person thus moves about like a poor lunatic, besmeared with ashes and dirt, with

¹ aikāntikātyantika-rudra-samīpa-prapter ekāntenaiva anāvṛtti-phalatvād asā-dhāraṇa-phalatvāc cātma-pradānam atidānam. Ibid. 11. 15 (commentary).

beard and nails and hair uncut, and when he does not follow habits of cleanliness, he is naturally regarded as an outcast. This leads him further on the path towards disinclination, and the insults he bears meekly make him advanced spiritually.

When a person is firm in *yama* and *niyama* practices, and meekly suffers the indignities and abuses showered on him by other people, he is well established in the path of asceticism.

Throughout the whole of the fourth chapter of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* the *pāśupata-vrata* is described as a course of conduct in which the ascetic behaves or should behave as a lunatic, ignorant, epileptic, dull, a man of bad character, and the like, so that abuses may be heaped on him by the unknowing public. This will enliven his disinclination to all worldly fame, honours, and the like, and the fact the people had unknowingly abused him would raise him in the path of virtue. When by such a course of action and by *yoga* one attains the proximity of the great Lord, one never returns again. India is supposed to have performed the *pāśupata-vrata* in the earliest time.

In the fifth chapter the process of pāśupata-yoga is more elaborately discussed. The supreme Lord is referred to by many names, but they all refer to the same being, the supreme Lord, and yoga means a steady union of the soul with Him. For this purpose the person should be completely detached from all objects, present, past and future, and be emotionally attached to Maheśvara¹. The union of the self with Śiva must be so intimate that no physical sounds and disturbances should lead the person away. In the first stages the attachment with Śiva takes place by the withdrawal of the mind from other objects, and making it settle on the Lord; then the association becomes continuous.

The soul or the Ātman is defined as the being that is responsible for all sense cognitions, all actions, and all attachments to objects. The constant or continuous contact of the self with the supreme Lord constitute its eternity. We can infer the existence of the self from the experiences of pleasure, pain, desire, antipathy, and consciousness. The self is regarded as unborn in the sense that it is not born anew along with the chain of sensations and other activities of the mind, or in other words it remains the same

¹ evam maheśware bhāvasthis tadasangitvam ity arthaḥ. Pāśupata-sūtras v. 1 (commentary).

through all its experiences. It is called *maitra* in the sense that it can remain in a state of equanimity and in attachment with the supreme Lord, when all its desires, antipathies, and efforts have disappeared.

The detachment referred to above can only be attained by the control of all the cognitive and conative senses, *manas* and *buddhi* and *ahaṅkāra*. The control of the senses really means that their activities should be directed towards good acts, and they should not be allowed to stray away into the commission of evil deeds¹.

Kauṇḍinya says that the definition of the goal as described by Sāṃkhya and Yoga is not true. That is not the way to liberation. The teachings of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are impure. To be liberated means to be connected with Lord Śiva, and not to be dissociated from all things².

The ascetic should live in some vacant room; he should devote himself to study and meditation, and make himself steady. He should be in continuous meditation for at least six months; and as he advances on the path of *yoga*, he begins to attain many miraculous powers through the grace of the supreme Lord.

The Pāśupata ascetic should live on mendicancy and should bear all hardships like animals. The yogin who has realised his goal, is not affected by any actions or sins. He is also unaffected by any mental troubles or physical diseases.

To sum up the whole position, one may say that when one becomes absolutely detached from all one's actions and sins, one should continue to meditate by drawing one's mind from all other objects and concentrating the mind on Siva or on some symbolic name. We have already seen that yoga has been defined as the continuous connection of the self with the Lord, and this is also called sāyujya, that is, being with God. The supreme Lord has the infinite power of knowledge and action by which He controls everything, and this Lord should be meditated upon in His aspect as formless (niṣkala). God should not be approached with the association of any of the qualities attributed to Him. This is expressed by the sūtra v. 27, in which it is said that God is

² ayanı tu yukta eva. na mukta iti visuddham etad darsanam draşţavyam. Ibid. v. 8 (commentary).

¹ tasmād akuśalebhyo vyāvartayitvā kāmataḥ kuśale yojitāni (yadā), tadā jitāni bhavanti. Pāśupata-sūtras v. 7 (commentary).

unassociated with anything that can be expressed by speech. The supreme Lord is therefore called vāg-viśuddha. The ascetic should often better stay in the cremation grounds where, not having any association, he will have greater time to devote to meditation, and attain merit or dharma which is identified with the greatness that is achieved by yama and niyama. In this way the ascetic cuts asunder all impurities. This cutting asunder of impurities means nothing more than taking away the mind from all sense objects and concentrating the mind on the Lord (vantrana-dhāranātmakas chedo drastvyah). This cheda or dissociation means the separating of the self from all other objects. By this means all the network of causes that produce the defects are cut asunder. The defects are the various sensations of sound, touch, etc., for from these we get in our minds desire, anger, greed, fear, sleep, attachment, antipathy, and delusion. Then again these defects manifest themselves in our efforts to earn things, to preserve them, to be attached to them, and to indulge in injuring others. As a result of this, one afflicts oneself and also others. When one is afflicted oneself, one suffers, and if one afflicts others, then also on account of this vice one suffers. All such suffering thus is associated with the self. The sense objects are like the fruits of a poisoned tree which at the time of taking may appear sweet, but in the end will produce much suffering. The suffering of a man commences from the time of his being born, and continues throughout life till the time of death, so one should see that one may not have to be born again. The pleasures of enjoying sense objects have to be maintained with difficulty, and they produce attachment; when they disappear they produce further sorrow. Moreover, it is hardly possible to enjoy a sense object without injuring other persons. Even in wearing ordinary apparel one has to kill many insects. So one should refrain from enjoyment of all sense objects and be satisfied with whatever one gets, vegetable or meat, by begging.

The dissociation recommended above is to be done through buddhi, the internal organ (antaḥkaraṇa) which is conceived as being put in motion through merit, meditation, commandments and knowledge. The buddhi is also called citta. Citta means to know and to give experience of pleasure and pain, to collect merit and demerit and other impressions. So, as buddhi is called citta,

it is also called manas and the internal organ, antahkarana. The mind has thus to be dissociated from all sense objects by the self. and attached to Rudra or Siva. When this is done then all intention of merit and demerit disappears; it slides away from the self like the old coil of a snake, or falls down like a ripe fruit. The self which is thus fixed in Siva becomes static (niskriva) and is also called niskala. The mind in this state is devoid of all good and bad thoughts. When this yoga ideal is reached, the person becomes omniscient, and he cannot any further be drawn to any kind of illusory notions. So the liberated person, according to this śaivayoga, does not become a kevalin like the yogin following the Pātañjala discipline, but he becomes omniscient and has no sorrows, and this happens by the grace of God. He becomes absolutely liberated in the sense that he can arrest any future aggression of evil or time, and he is not dependent on anybody. In this way he attains or he shares the supreme power of the Lord. Neither does he become subject to all the sufferings of being in the mother's womb, or being born, and the like. He is free from the sorrows due to ignorance, from which is produced egotism, which leads one to forget that one is bound. So the liberated person becomes free from all sorrows of birth and rebirth and all bodily and mental sorrows as well.

The supreme Lord is also called Siva, because He is eternally dissociated from all sorrows.

We thus see that there are five categories in this system. First, there is the *pati* or the Lord which is the cause, which is called by various names, Vāma, Deva, Jyeṣṭha, Rudra, Kāmin, Śaṅkara, Kāla, Kala-vikaraṇa, Bala-vikaraṇa, Aghora, Ghoratara, Sarva, Śarva, Tatpuruṣa, Mahādeva, Oṃkāra, Ḥṣi, Vipra, Mahānīśa, Īśāna, Īśvara, Adhipati, Brahmā, and Śiva¹. The Sāṃkhya system admits *pradhāna* as the cause, but in the Pāśupata system God, as distinguished from the *pradhāna*, is the cause.

The category of effect is the *paśu*, and *paśu* is described as knowledge, the means of knowledge, and the living beings. They are produced changed, or dissolved. By knowledge we understand the scriptures, wisdom, merit, attainable objects, values, desires, etc., leading up to the dissolution of all sorrows. The second constituent of *paśu* called *kalā* is of two kinds: as effect, such as

¹ Pāśupata-sūtras v. 47 (commentary).

earth, water, air, etc., and as the instrument of knowledge, such as buddhi, egoism, manas, and internal organs, etc. The living beings, the paśus, are of three types, the gods, men and animals. The category of pradhāna, which is regarded as cause in Sāṃkhya, is regarded as effect in the Pāśupata-śāstra. Whatever is known or visible (paśyana) is called pāśa, and is regarded as effect. So puruṣa, which is regarded as cause elsewhere, is regarded as an effect, a paśu, here. We have already discussed the categories of yoga and vidhi leading to the dissolution of all sorrows.

A survey of the Pāśupata-sūtras with Kaundinya's bhāsya leads us to believe that it is in all probability the same type of Lakulīśa-Pāśupata system as referred to by Mādhava in his Sarva-darśanasamgraha in the fourteenth century. It may also be the same system of Pāśupatas as referred to by Śańkara in his bhāṣya on the second book of the second chapter of the Brahma-sūtra. There is no reference here to the doctrine of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, nor to the doctrine of monism as propounded by Śańkara. Even at the time of emancipation the liberated souls do not become one with Siva, the supreme Lord, but the emancipation only means that by mental steadiness the devotee is in perpetual contact with Siva, and this is what is meant by the word sāyujya. We also hear that, though God is omnipotent, He has no power over the liberated souls. Apparently the world and the beings were created by God, but this Pāśupata system does not make any special effort to explain how this world came into being. It is only in acknowledging Siva as the instrumental cause of the world in this sense, that this Pāśupata system is very different from the Saiva system of Śrīkantha and of the Vāyavīya-samhitā, where the monistic bias is very predominant. Here we have monotheism, but not monism or pantheism or panentheism. It may also be pointed out that the Pāśupata system as represented in this work is a Brahmanical system. For it is only Brahmins who could be initiated to the Pāśupata doctrines, but at the same time it seems to break off from Brahmanism in a variety of ways. It does not recommend any of the Brahmanical rites, but it initiates some new rites and new ways of living which are not so common in the Brahmanical circle. It keeps some slender contact with Brahmanism by introducing the meditation on the syllable om. But as regards many of its other rituals it seems to be entirely non-Vedic. It does not refer to any of the Dravidian works as its

source book, and yet it cannot be identified with the Pāśupata system of Śrīkaṇṭha or the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā.

It is also important to know that the Pāśupata system of the Pāśupata-sūtras has but little connection with the idea of prakrti as energy or otherwise, as we find in the Purānic Pāśupata system. None of the categories of Sāmkhya appear to be of any relevance regarding the creation of the world. About Yoga also one must always distinguish this Pāśupata-yoga and the Pāśupata-yogas referred to in the Puranas or in the Yoga-sūtra of Patanjali. The word voga is used in the sense of continuous contact and not the suppression of all mental states (citta-vrtti-nirodha), as we find in the Pātañjala-yoga. The emphasis here is on pratyāhāra, that is, withdrawing the mind from other objects and settling it down to God. There is therefore here no scope for nirodha-samādhi, which precedes kaivalya in Pātanjala-yoga. It may not be impossible that the Saiva influence had somehow impressed upon the Yogasūtra of Patañjali, which apparently drew much of its material from Buddhism, and this becomes abundantly clear if we compare the Vyāsa-bhāsya on the Yoga-sūtra with the Abhidharmakosa of Vasubandhu. The Sāmkhya-sūtra that we now possess was probably later than the Yoga-sūtra, and it therefore presumed that the metaphysical speculations of Sāmkhya could be explained without the assumption of any God for which there is no proof. The Yogasūtra did not try to establish Īśvara or God which is also the name for Siva, but only accepted it as one of its necessary postulates. As a matter of fact, none of the systems of Indian philosophy tried to establish God by any logical means except the Naiyayikas, and according to tradition the Naiyāyikas are regarded as Saivas.

In this connection, without any reference to some Āgama works to which we may have to refer later on, we can trace the development of the Pāśupata system in the tenth, eleventh, and up to the fourteenth centuries. It has been said before that the Īśvara-kāraṇins, referred to by Śaṅkara, may refer to the Naiyāyikas, and now I shall be referring to Gaṇakārikā, a Pāśupata work attributed to Haradattacarya, on which Bhāsarvajña wrote a commentary, called the Ratnaṭīkā. Bhāsarvajña is well known as the author of the Nyāya-sāra, on which he wrote a commentary called Nyāya-bhūṣana. In this he tried to refute the views of Dinnāga, Dharma-kīrti, Prajñā-karagupta, the author of Pramāṇa-vārttikālaṃkāra,

who lived about the middle of the tenth century and is quoted by Ratnākaraśānti of about A.D. 980. Bhāsarvajña, therefore, seems to have lived in the second half of the tenth century. The $Gaṇak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ consists of eight verses, and its purport is the same as that of the $P\bar{a}\acute{s}upata-s\bar{u}tras$. The $P\bar{a}\acute{s}upata-s\bar{u}tra$ that we have dealt with is the same as that which is referred to as $P\bar{a}\acute{s}upata-\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$, as the $Sarva-dar\acute{s}ana-sangraha$ quotes the first $s\bar{u}tra$ of the $P\bar{a}\acute{s}upata-\dot{s}\bar{a}stra^1$.

Gunaratna in his commentary on Haribhadra's Saddarsanasamuccaya says that the Naiyāyikas are also called Yaugas and they walk about with long staffs and scanty loin-cloths, covering themselves up with blankets. They have matted locks of hair, smear their bodies with ashes, possess the holy thread, carry utensils for water, and generally live in the forests or under trees. They live largely on roots and fruits, and are always hospitable. Sometimes they have wives, sometimes not. The latter are better than the former. They perform the sacrificial duties of fire. In the higher state they go about naked; they purify their teeth and food with water, smear their bodies with ashes three times, and meditate upon Śiva. Their chief mantra is om namah śivāya. With this they address their guru and their guru also replies in the same manner. In their meetings they say that those men or women who follow the practices of Saiva initiation for twelve years attain ultimately salvation or Nirvāna. Siva the omniscient being, the creator and destroyer of the world, is regarded as a god. Siva has eighteen incarnations (avatāra), namely Nakulīśa, Kauśika, Gārgya, Maitreya, Kauruşa, İśāna, Para-gārgya, Kapilānda, Manusyaka, Kuśika, Atri, Pingala, Puspaka Brhadārya, Agasti, Santāna, Rāśīkara, and Vidyāguru. They adore the aforesaid saints.

They further say that the ultimate being that they worship is not associated with any of the Purāṇic characteristics of Śiva, such as having matted locks, or the lunar digit in the hair, etc. Such a supreme being is devoid of all such characteristics and passions. Those who desire mundane happiness worship Śiva with such associated qualities, and as possessing attachment or passion. But those who are really absolutely unattached, they worship Śiva as unattached. People attain just those kinds of fruits that they wish to have, and the manner in which they wish to worship the deity.

¹ Sarva-darśana-samgraha, Nakuliśa-pāśupata-darśana: Tatredam ādisūtram, "athātaḥ paśupateḥ pāśupata-yoga-vidhim vyākhyāsyāmaḥ" iti.

Gunaratna says that the Vaiśesikas also follow the same kind of external insignia and dress, because the Vaisesikas and the Naiyāyikas are very much similar in their philosophical attitudes. Gunaratna further says that there are four types of Saivas—Saivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas, and Kālamukhas, as well as other subsidiary divisions. Thus there are some who are called Bharata who do not admit the caste rules. He who has devotion to Siva can be called a Bharata. In the Nyāya literature the Naiyāyikas are called Saivas, because they worship Siva, and the Vaisesikas are called Pāśupatas. So the Naiyāyika philosophy goes by the name of Saiva and Vaisesika by the name of Pāsupata. Gunaratna says that he gives this description just as he has seen it and had heard of it. Their main dialectical works are Nyāya-sūtra, Vātsyāyanabhāṣya, Udyotkara's Vārttika, Vācaspati Miśra's Tātparya-tīkā, and Udayana's Tātparya-parisuddhi. Bhāsarvajña's Nyāya-sāra and its commentary Nyāya-bhūṣaṇa and Jayanta's Nyāya-kalikā and Udayana's Nyāya-kusumāñjali are also mentioned as important works.

The statement of Guṇaratna about the Saivas is further corroborated by Rājaśekhara's description of the Śaiva view in his Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya. Rājaśekhara further says that Akṣapāda, to whom the Nyāya-sūtras are attributed, was the primary teacher of the Nyāya sect of Pāśupatas. They admit four pramāṇas, perception, inference, analogy, and testimony, and they admit sixteen categories of discussion, namely, pramāṇa, prameya, saṃśaya, prayojana, dṛṣṭānta, siddhānta, avayava, tarka, nirṇaya, vāda, jalpa, vitaṇḍā, hetvābhāsa, chala, jāti and nigrahasthāna. These are just the subjects that are introduced in the first sūtra of Akṣapāda's Nyāya-sūtra. The ultimate object is the dissolution of all sorrow preparatory to liberation. Their main logical work is that by Jayanta and also by Udayana and Bhāsarvajña.

Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupata-sūtras* seems to belong to quite an early period, and it may not be inadmissible to say that it was a writing of the early period of the Christian era. But whether Kauṇḍinya can be identified with Rāśīkara, is more than we can say. Rāśīkara is mentioned in *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, and there is of course nothing to suggest that Kauṇḍinya could not have been the *gotra* name of Rāśīkara.

Apart from the $Ratnat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ on the $Ganak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, it seems that there was also a $bh\bar{a}sya$, but this $bh\bar{a}sya$ was not on $Ganak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, but it

was the *bhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya on the *Pāśupata-sūtras* which we have already examined. In the *Gaṇakārikā*, a reference is made to eight categories of a fivefold nature and also one category of a tripartite nature. Thus in speaking of strength or power (*bala*), which must be a source of the attainment of the other categories, we hear of faith in the teacher, contentment (*mateḥ prasāda*), fortitude (that is, power of bearing all kinds of sorrow), merit or *dharma*, and also conscious carefulness (*apramāda*).

The question of *bala* or strength may naturally come when one has to conquer one's enemies. One may, therefore, ask the significance of the attainment of *bala* or strength in following a course for the attainment of liberation. The answer to such an inquiry is that strength is certainly required for destroying ignorance, demerit, and the like. These are counted as destruction of ignorance in all its dormant seats, destruction of demerit, dissolution of all that leads to attachment, preservation from any possible failure, and also the complete cessation of the qualities that lead to animal existence as *paśu* through the meditation of God.

This strength may be exercised under different conditions and circumstances. First, when one shows oneself as a member of the Pāśupata sect, smearing the body with ashes and lying on the ashes, and so on; secondly, in the hidden stage, when one hides from other people the fact of one's being a member of the Pāśupata sect, and when one behaves like an ordinary Brāhmin. The third stage is a stage when one conquers all one's sense propensities. Next is the stage when all attractions cease. These include the other behaviours of a Pāśupata ascetic, such as dancing and acting like a madman. The final stage is the stage of *siddhi*, the final emancipation.

The fifth $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ refers to the process of initiation $(d\bar{i}k\bar{s}\bar{a})$, which consists of the necessary ceremonial articles, the proper time, the proper action, the phallic insignia of Siva, and the teachers.

The $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$ then go on to enumerate the different kinds of attainment ($l\bar{a}bha$). Of these the foremost is knowledge. This knowledge is to be attained methodically by the enumeration of the categories of knowledge, and thereafter by a sufficient description of them as we find in the $Ny\bar{a}ya-s\bar{u}tras$. This will also include the various kinds of $pram\bar{a}nas$ or proof, the differentiation between substance and attitude, the definition of action leading up to the

final action of dissociation of all sorrows. In other philosophies the dissociation of sorrows is merely a negative quality, but in this system the dissolution of sorrow involves within it the possession of miraculous powers. This attainment of miraculous powers is called also jñāna-śakti and kriyā-śakti. Jñāna-śakti means jñāna as power. This kriyā-śakti consists of various kinds of powers of movement. As this system does not hold the idea of evolution or self-manifestation, the attainment of these powers is by association with superior powers. This is quite in accordance with the Nyāya theory regarding the origination of qualities. All the categories of knowledge, merit, etc., are included as being within the range of attainment. This also includes the inanimates and the animate characters such as the elements, the five cognitive senses, the five conative senses, and the manas.

God is called the Lord or *pati*, because He is always associated with the highest powers; these powers do not come to Him as a result of any action, but they abide in Him permanently. For this reason He can by His will produce any action or effect which stands before us as creation and it is for this reason that the creation of the world is regarded as a sort of play by Him. This is what distinguishes Him from all other animate beings, and this is His greatness.

The whole course of vidhi or proper religious behaviour consists of those kinds of action which would ultimately purify the individual and bring him close to God. In this connection tapas is recommended for the destruction of sins and for the generation of merit. Dharma, also consisting of various kinds of ritualistic behaviour, is recommended for the attainment of knowledge. The continuous meditation on God with emotion (nityatā) and the complete dissociation of the mind from all defects (sthiti) are also advised. These ultimately lead to the final liberation when the individuals become associated with great miraculous powers liked Šiva Himself. In other systems the liberated souls have no miraculous powers; they have only all their sorrows dissolved.

The above attainments should be made by residence with the teacher, or where people live who follow the caste and the Aśrama rules, or in any vacant place which is cleaned up and which has a covering on it, or in the cremation ground; or finally the aspirant

with the cessation of his body may live in fixed association with the supreme Lord.

We must now turn to the means by which the aspirant may attain his desired end. The first is technically called vāsa. It means many things; it means the capacity to understand the proper meanings of words of texts, to remember them, to be able to collate and complete that knowledge in association with knowledge gained in other places, the ability to criticise the teachings of opposite schools in favour of one's own school, to be able to grasp the correct meaning of texts which have been differently interpreted, to be able to carry one's own conviction to other people, the ability to speak without contradiction and repetition and without any kind of delusion, and thereby to satisfy the teacher. To these must be added the proper courtesy and behaviour towards the teacher. This latter is called caryā, paricaryā, or kriyā. The term caryā is also used to denote various kinds of action, such as smearing the body with ashes, and so on. According to the Pāśupata system the bathing of the body with ashes is equivalent to proper sacrifice, that is, vajña. Other kinds of sacrifice are regarded as bad sacrifices.

Bhāsarvajña follows Kauṇḍinya's bhāṣya in describing caryā as being twofold or threefold. Thus the bathing of the body with ashes, lying down, muttering mantras, etc., are called vrata, which produces merit and removes demerit. All the other recommendations found in Kauṇḍinya's bhāṣya as regards shivering, laughing, making noises, etc., are also repeated here. In fact, the Gaṇa-kārikā and the Ratnaṭīkā closely follow the teachings of Kauṇḍinya in his bhāṣya, which is regarded as the most prominent work of the Pāśupata school.

One important point in this system deserves to be noticed. God Himself is absolutely independent. The introduction of the idea of *karma* and its fruit is not so indispensable, for the simple reason that no *karmas* can produce any fruit without the will of God. All *karmas* can be frustrated by God's will. So the introduction of the *karma* theory, which is held in so high an esteem in other systems of philosophy, is here regarded as superfluous. That this was the idea of the Nakulīśa-Pāśupata philosophy from the time of the *Pāśupata-sūtras* and Kauṇḍinya's *bhāṣya* to the fourteenth century when the *Sarva-darśana-samgraha* was written, is

thoroughly borne out by texts. The action of all living beings depends upon the will of God. God Himself having no purpose to fulfil, does not want *karma* as an intermediary between His will and His effect.

After considerable difficulty we obtained a copy of *Mṛgendrā-gama* from the Government Manuscript Library of Madras. It appears that this Āgama was one of the important texts of the Pāśupata sect. But the portions that we have recovered deal mainly with various kinds of rituals and they have no philosophical interest.

The Śaiva Ideas of Māṇikka-vāchakar in the *Tiru-vāchaka*.

In the present work the writer has refrained from utilising material from a Dravidian language such as Tamil, Telegu, and Kanarese. This is due to more than one reason. The first is that the writer has no knowledge of the Dravidian languages, and it is too late for him to acquire it, as it might take a whole life time to do so. The second is that this history in all its past volumes has only taken note of material available in Sanskrit. Thirdly, so far as the present author can judge, there is hardly anything of value from the philosophical point of view in Dravidian literature which is unobtainable through Sanskrit. A Tamil work could, however, be taken in hand, if there were any trustworthy translation of it, and if the work were of any great reputation. It is fortunate that Mānikka-vāchakar's Tiru-vāchaka, which is held in very high esteem, has a trustworthy translation by the Rev. G. U. Pope, who devoted his life to the study of Tamil, and may be regarded as a very competent scholar in that language. It appears that Tamil was particularly rich in poetry, and we have many devotional songs both in Tamil and in Kanarese, but I do not know of any systematic philosophical work either in Tamil or in Kanarese which is not presented in Sanskrit. The Tamil literature also abounds in mythical and legendary accounts of many of the saints, which go by the name of Purānas, such as Periya-purāna and Tiru-vātavurārpurāna, Nampiyāndār-nampi-purāna and Sekkilar-purāna.

Tiru-vāchaka is a book of poems by Māṇikka-vāchakar. It is full of devotional sentiments and philosophical ideas, but it is not

a system of philosophy in the modern sense of the term. Pope wishes to place Manikka-vachakar in about the seventh or eight century, apparently without any evidence. R. W. Frazer, in his article on Dravidians¹, places him in the ninth century, also without any evidence. Mānikka-vāchakar is supposed to have been born near Madura. The meaning of his name is "he whose utterances are rubies." He is supposed to have been a prodigy of intellect and was a consummate scholar in the Brahmanical learning and the Śaivāgamas. These Āgamas, as we have pointed out elsewhere, are written in Sanskrit verses and also in Tamil. It appears, therefore, that the background of Mānikka-vāchakar's thought was in Sanskrit. The mythical story about Māṇikka-vāchakar, available in the Tiru-vilaiyādil and in the Vātavurar-purāna as summarised by Pope, need not detain us here. We find that he renounced the position of a minister of the king and became a Saiva ascetic. His mind was oppressed with the feeling of sadness for all people around him, who were passing through the cycles of birth and death, and had no passionate love for Siva which alone could save them. This state of his mental agitation, and the confession of his ignorance and youthful folly, are specially described in some of his poems.

Later on Siva Himself meets him, and from that time forward he becomes a disciple of Siva. Siva appears before him with His three eyes, His body smeared with ashes, and holding a book in His hand called Siva-jñāna-bodha, the well-known work of Meykaṇḍadeva. Pope himself admits that the Siva-jñāna-bodha could not have been written by the sixth century A.D., the supposed date of Mānikka-vāchakar².

In the course of his career he travelled from shrine to shrine until he came to Chidambaram, where in a discussion he completely discomfited the Buddhists, partly by logic and partly by the demonstration of miraculous powers. He then returned to other devotees and set up a *lingam* under a tree and worshipped it day and night. It was from that time that he began his poetical compositions which are full of the glory of Siva and His grace.

¹ In Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

² Siva-jñāna-bodha is supposed to have been written by Meykandadeva in or about A.D. 1223. See article on Dravidians by Frazer in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

A study of his poems reveals the gradual evolution of his mind through various states of repentance, afflictions, sadness, and his extreme devotedness and love for Siva. Pope, in commenting on the poetry of Māṇikka-vāchakar, says "scarcely ever has the longing of the human soul for purity and peace and divine fellowship found worthier expression."

The fact of the omnipresence of God is often expressed in the Saiva songs as the sport of Siva. The whole universe is bright with his smile and alive with his joyous movements. This idea is so much overstressed that Siva is often called a deceiver and a maniac, and in the Pāśupata system the Pāśupata ascetics are advised to behave like mad people, dancing about and even deceiving others into thinking of them as bad people, and making all kinds of noise and laughing in an irrelevant manner. It is also supposed that Siva would often try the loyalty of his devotees in various forms of manifestations, trying to represent Himself in an exceedingly unfavourable light. The dancing of Siva is particularly symbolical of his perpetual gracious actions throughout the universe and in loving hearts. He reminds one of the pre-Aryan demon dancers in the burning grounds.

We assume that the teaching of Manikka-vachakar is in consonance with the teaching of the Siva-jñāna-bodha, which was composed at a later date. Umāpati has a commentary on the Śiva-jñāna-bodha which has been translated by Hoisington in the American Oriental Society Journal of 1895. In this book various types of liberation are described. Distinguishing the Saiva view from other views, one may find a number of variations in conception in the different Saiva schools. Some of these variations have already been noted in the different sections of Southern Saivism. There are many who think that the innate corruptions of the soul can be removed, and this may lead to a permanent release from all bonds (pāśa). The Śaiva-siddhānta, however, insists that even in this liberated state the potentiality of corruption remains, though it may not be operative. It remains there in the soul as a permanent dark spot. So the personal identity and the imperfections cling together in all finite beings, and they are never destroyed even in liberation. Other sectarian Saivas, however, think that by the grace of Siva the innate corruptions of the soul may be removed,

¹ Pope's translation, p. xxxiv.

from which it necessarily follows that there may be permanent release from all bonds. There are other Saivas who think that in liberation the soul acquires miraculous powers, and that the liberated persons are partakers of divine nature and attributes, and are able to gain possession of, and exercise, miraculous powers called *siddhi*. There are others who think that in emancipation the soul becomes as insensible as a stone. This apathetic existence is the refuge of the soul from the suffering and struggle of the cycle of births and rebirths. We have already mentioned most of these ideas of liberation in a more elaborate manner in the relevant sections. But according to Māṇikka-vāchakar the soul is finally set free from the influence of threefold defilement through the grace of Siva, and obtains divine wisdom, and so rises to live eternally in the conscious, full enjoyment of Siva's presence and eternal bliss. This is also the idea of the Siddhānta philosophy¹.

A great pre-eminence is given to the idea of the operation of divine grace (called arul in Tamil) in the Saiva Siddhanta. The grace is divine or mystic wisdom, to dissipate the impurities of the ānava-mala and to show the way of liberation. The souls are under the sway of accumulated karma, and it is by the grace of the Lord that the souls of men, in a state of bondage in the combined state. are let loose and find their place in suitable bodies for gradually working out and ultimately attaining liberation. Through all the stages, grace is the dynamic force that gradually ennobles the pilgrim towards his final destination. The grace of Siva through the operation of His energy (śakti) affords light of understanding, by which people perform their actions of life and accumulate their karma and experience joys and sufferings. The material world is unconscious and the souls have no knowledge of their own nature. It is only by the grace of Siva that the individuals understand their state and acquire the mystic knowledge by which they can save themselves; yet no one knows the grace of Siva and how it envelops him, though he is endowed with all sense perceptions. From beginningless time the individuals have been receiving the grace of God, but they have seldom come under its influence, and are thus devoid of the right approach to the way to deliverance.

The grace can be observed as operative when the proper *guru* comes and advises the person to follow the right course. When the

¹ Pope, loc. cit. p. xliv.

opposition of sins and merits is counter-balanced, Siva's emancipating grace begins to show its work. In order to be saved, one should know the spiritual essence of *karma* and the twofold kinds of *karma*, and the joys and sorrows which are associated with them, and the Lord Who brings the deeds to maturity at the appointed time so that the soul may experience their effects.

Just as a crystal reflects many colours under the sun's light and yet retains its own transparent character, so the energy or wisdom obtained as a grace of the Lord irradiates the soul and permeates the world. Without the mystic wisdom obtained through the grace of Siva, no one can obtain real knowledge. The soul is unintelligent without Siva. All the actions of souls are performed with the active guidance of Siva, and even the perception of the senses as instruments of knowledge is owed to Siva's grace.

In the second stage we are taught how to apply knowledge for the cleansing of the soul. Those who endure the delusive sufferings of worldly experience would naturally seek relief in the grace of God as soon as they became convinced of their impurities. To a jaundiced person even sweet milk appears bitter, but if the tongue is cleansed the bitterness is gone; so under the influence of the original impurities all religious observances are distasteful, but when these impurities are removed then the teachings of the *guru* become operative.

What cannot be perceived by the senses, supreme bliss, is known by the operation of grace in a spiritual manner. The grace of God is spontaneously revealed to us. The supreme felicity is thus a gift of grace which souls cannot obtain of themselves.

Only those who are introduced to this grace can combine with Siva in bliss. There is a curious notion that the souls are feminine and so is the śakti or energy, and Siva is the Lord with whom there is a mystic unification. Siva is perfect bliss. If there is a mystic union between the soul and the Lord, then they should become one, leaving the duality between the soul and God unexplained; it has to be assumed, therefore, that they both become one and remain divided. When the bonds are removed the devotee becomes one with God in speechless rapture, and there is no scope for him to say that he has obtained Siva. Those who obtain release, and those who attain the state of samādhi, are never torn asunder from the Lord. In that state all their physical actions are under the

complete control of the Lord. There thus comes a state when the knower, the mystic knowledge, and the Siva appear no more as distinct, but as absorbed in one another.

Though those who enter this state of *samādhi* gain omniscience and other qualities, yet while they are on this earth they know nothing whatever except the supreme Lord, the object of their mystic knowledge. All their sense-organs are restrained and sink deep into their source and do not show themselves. Within and without the divine grace stands revealed. In this mystic enlightenment the phenomenal universe is only seen in God.

In the Vātavurār-purāṇam as translated by Pope there is an account of the controversy of Māṇikka-vāchakar with the Buddhist teachers in Chidambaram. The controversy does not manifest any great knowledge of Buddhism on either side. The disputation hangs round this or that minor point and lacks logical co-ordination, so that it is unprofitable to follow it up. It is also extremely doubtful if that controversy were in any way responsible for the loss of prestige on the side of Buddhist thought, which must have been due, from the ninth century onwards, to the rise of various South Indian sects which quarrelled with each other, and also, mainly, to political reasons.

Māṇikka-vāchakar and Śaiva Siddhānta.

We read in Śańkara's commentary (II. 2. 27) that he mentions the name Siddhānta-śāstra written by Śiva Himself, and he gives us some specimen ideas of these which can be covered within two concepts: (1) that the Siddhāntas assume God to be the instrumental cause, against the Vedānta view that God represents the whole of reality and that there is nothing outside Him. He also (2) refers to the Śaiva doctrine which acknowledged three categories, the pati, paśu, and pāśa. Among the Śaivas he refers to the Mahā-kāruṇikas, Kāpālikas, etc. As I have often said, it is extremely difficult to discover with any exactitude the sort of Śaivism that Śańkara designates by the name Siddhānta, as also to define the characteristics of the systems that he wanted to refute. We have now before us a system of Śaivism which goes by the name of Śaiva Siddhānta and a whole lot of works regarded as the works of the Śaiva Siddhānta school. Much of it, particularly in

the way of commentaries, is written in Tamil: some of it is available in Sanskrit. A sort of Saivism very similar to this is found in the Vāyavīya section of the Śiva-mahāpurāna. It is said in those sections that the original doctrine of that philosophy was written in the Agama works as composed by the successive incarnations of Siva. The same teachings are to be found also in Tamil Agamas, which have the same authority and content. Pope says that the Śaiva Siddhānta system is the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. This seems to me to be a wild exaggeration. The fundamental facts of Saivism are composed of Vedantic monism and Samkhya, and sometimes the Nyāya doctrines have also been utilised. This latter refers to the Pāśupata school of Śaivism, as has been noted elsewhere. It is also doubtful if it is peculiarly South Indian and Tamil, for we have similar doctrines in the Vāyavīya-samhitā and also in a somewhat variant form in the Northern Saivism. There are many statements by Pope which seem to have no factual value, and if the present work had any polemical intention, it would be necessary to criticise him more definitely.

Some people say that the oldest form of Saivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, but I have not found any evidence to show the exact nature of an existent pre-Aryan, Dravidian religion which could be identified with what we now know as Saivism. It is as yet very doubtful whether the pre-Aryan Dravidians had any systematic form of philosophy or religion differing from that of the kindred classes of other aborigines.

In our view the Pāśupata-sūtra and bhāṣya were referred to by Saṅkara and were probably the earliest basis of Śaivism, as can be gathered by literary evidences untrammelled by flying fancies. We are ready to believe that there were ecstatic religious dances, rites of demon-worship, and other loathsome ceremonials, and that these, though originally practised for ancestor-worship and the like, were gradually accepted by the earliest Pāśupatas, whose behaviour and conduct do not seem to affiliate them with the Brahmanic social sphere, though holders of such Śaiva doctrines had to be Brahmins. Castelessness was not a part of the earlier Pāśupata Śaivism. In a separate section we shall try to give an estimate of the evolution of the concept of Śiva from Vedic times. The affirmation that one little Christian Church on the east coast

of India exerted its influence on the dominant Saiva and Vaiṣṇava faith in the country lacks evidence. We have found that as a rule those who held the Sanskritic culture hardly ever read even Pali texts of Buddhism, though Pāli is so much akin to Sanskrit. On this account we find that the reputed disputation of Māṇikkavāchakar with the Buddhists is uninteresting, as it does not seem that Māṇikka-vāchakar or the Ceylonese knew much of each other's faith. Pope's statement, that Kumārila Bhatta preached the doctrine of a personal deity in the South, is absolutely wrong, because the Mīmāṃsā view as expounded by Kumārila did not admit any God or creator.

Māṇikka-vāchakar, probably of the ninth century, was one of the earliest saints of the school of thought that goes by the name of Śaiva Siddhānta. Probably about a century later there arose Nāṇasambandhar and other devotees who developed the doctrine further. Their legendary tales are contained in the *Periya-purāṇa*. But it is peculiar that King Bhoja of Dhāra, who wrote a Śaiva work of great distinction called *Tattva-prakāśa*, does not take any notice of these Tamil writers. Similarly Mādhava, also in the fourteenth century, does not mention any of these Tamil writers. We are told that thereafter came fourteen sages, called *Santāna-gurus* (succession of teachers), who properly elaborated the system of philosophy known as the Śaiva Siddhānta. One of these was Umāpati, who lived in A.D. 1313. He was thus a contemporary of Mādhava, though Mādhava makes no reference to him.

The thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries were periods of great theistic enterprises in the hands of the Saivas and the Srīvaiṣṇavas. In interpreting Tiru-vachakam, Umāpati says that the real intention of all the Vedas is summed up in three mystic words: pati, paśu, and pāśa, the Lord, the flock, and the bond. These are the three categories of the Saiva Siddhānta system. But we have already pointed out that there were no special peculiarities of the Saiva Siddhānta; it was referred to by Saṅkara in the eighth century and it formed the cardinal doctrine of the Pāśupata school of Saivism, and also to the schools of Saivism as we find them in the Vāyavīya section of the Siva-mahāpurāṇa. The pati, paśu and pāśa are equally eternal, existing unchanged and undiminished through the ages. This pati is none else but Siva, who is called by various names, such as Rudra, paśūnām-pati, Siva, etc. Umāpati

says that Siva is the supreme Being, is neither permanently manifested nor unmanifested; He is without qualities or distinguishing marks, free from all impurities, absolute and eternal, the source of wisdom to innumerable souls, and not subject to any fluctuations. He is immaterial and of the nature of pure bliss. He is difficult of access to the perverse, but He is the final goal of those that truly worship Him. Siva is thus described to be niṣkala, without parts, perfect in Himself, but is capable of manifestation, and in order to energise in souls the various constituents of that eternal aggregate of impurity which constitutes the bond, He assumes a sakala nature, that is, one composed of pieces of spiritual bodies. He is formless and has the form of wisdom. He creates, preserves, and consigns all to the power of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, but He is the ultimate refuge who never leaves us. He dwells everywhere and pervades all things as fire pervades all wood. He offers His boon only to those who approach Him for it.

Turning to the groups of animate beings called paśu, it is suggested that from beginningless time an infinite number of souls must have obtained their release. Generally there are three kinds of impurities—darkness, deeds (karma) and delusion. When delusion is removed, darkness may still continue. The souls can perceive objects through sense organs only when their functions are supplemented by some innate divine faculty. All beings are infested with original impurities. The threefold impurities which constitute the bond are directly known by Siva.

Para-śiva or the supreme Lord and Parā-śakti are two in one. Siva is pure intelligence (jñāna) and Śakti is pure energy (kriyā). Out of their union, evolves (1) icchā-śakti, which is a combination of jñāna and kriyā in equal proportion; (2) kriyā-śakti which is a combination of jñāna and kriyā with an excess of kriyā; and (3) jñana-śakti, which is a combination of jñāna and kriyā with an excess of jñāna, also called aruļ-śakti. The aruļ-śakti is the jñāna-śakti active at the time of the liberation of the souls, while as tirodhāna-śakti it is active at the time when the souls are fettered.

To sum up the position of the Śaiva Siddhānta as far as we can understand it from authoritative translations of Tamil works, and also authoritative studies of Tamil literature like Pope and Schomerus, we find that the souls which pervade the body are themselves inanimate, and the intellectual apparatus by which

things are perceived are also unconscious. Conscious experience can only originate by the energy of Siva. This energy, like a ray of sun, is the original śakti or energy which is indistinguishable from Siva. The Saiva Siddhanta school is in direct opposition to the Cārvāka school which denies the existence of any creator. The Saiva Siddhanta school argues for the existence of a supreme Being who evolves, sustains, and involves the phenomenal universe. The whole universe, constituted of all beings, male and female, and those which are without life, but which come into phenomenal existence, subsists for a while and then subsides; but yet, as we have said before, this does not clarify our knowledge regarding the nature of the physical world and of the souls. It does not explain how beings became associated from the beginning with impurities called ānava-mala. Even at the attainment of release the souls could not be united or become one with God. Other forms of Saivism have attempted to follow slightly diverse lines to avoid these difficulties.

Though *śakti* is regarded as a part of Śiva—and this has led to many mystical aspects of Tantra philosophy—yet the relation of the individual devotees to God is one of servitude and entire self-surrender. It has none of the amorous sides of rapturous love that we notice among the Vaisnava saints, the Ārvārs.

Tiru-vāchakam may in some sense be regarded as a spiritual biography of Māṇikka-vāchakar which records his experiences at different times of his life and explains. The work is full of his religious experiences and enthusiasm, showing different states of religious pathology. Thus he says:

What shall I do while twofold deeds' fierce flame burns still out,—
Nor doth the body melt,—nor falsehood fall to dust?
In mind no union gained with the "Red fire's honey"
The Lord of Perun-turrai fair!

Shall I cry out, or wait, or dance or sing, or watch? O Infinite, what shall I do? The Siva who fills With rapturous image,—great Perun-turrai's Lord Let all with me bending adore!²

He filled with penury; set me free from 'births,' my soul With speechless fervours thrilled,—blest Perun-turrai's Lord,—The Siva in grace exceeding made me His; the balm For all my pain, the deathless Bliss!³

¹ Tiru-vāchakam, p. 334.

² Ibid.

³ *Ibid.* p. 336.

Glorious, exalted over all, the Infinite,—

To me small slave, lowest of all, thou has assigned.

A place in bliss supreme, that none beside have gained or known! Great Lord, what can I do for thee!

All ye His servants who've become, put far away each idle sportive thought;

Such refuge at the fort where safety dwells; hold fast unto the end the sacred sign;

Put off from you this body stained with sin; in Siva's world He'll surely give us place!

Bhujanga's self, whose form the ashes wears will grant you entrance 'neath His flow'ry feet!²

Saiva Philosophy according to Bhoja and his commentators.

Mādhava in his Sarva-darśana-samgraha of the fourteenth century refers to a system of philosophy Saiva-darsana which rejects the view that God of His own will arranges all experiences for us, but that he does so on the basis of our own karma and that this philosophy is based upon the Saivāgamas, supposed to have been composed by Siva, Maheśvara. In examining the philosophy of Śrīkantha and Appaya we have seen that they speak of twentyeight Agamas, which were all written by Siva or His incarnations, and that, whether in Dravidian or in Sanskrit, they have the same import. Though it will not be possible for us to get hold of all the Agamas, we have quite a number of them in complete or incomplete form. On the evidence of some of the Agamas themselves, they were written in Sanskrit, Prākrt, and the local country dialects³. We also find that, though written by Maheśvara, all the Agamas do not seem to have the same import. This creates a good deal of confusion in the interpretation of the Saivagamas. Yet the differences are not always so marked as to define the special characteristics of the sub-schools of Saivism.

Bhoja, probably the well-known Bhoja of the eleventh century who wrote *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and a commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra*, wrote also a work called *Tattva-prakāśa* which has

 ¹ Ibid. p. 336.
 ² Ibid. p. 329.
 samskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair yaś cāśiṣyānurūpataḥ,
 deśa-bhāṣadyupāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ.
 Śiva-jñāna-siddhi (Mysore manuscript, no. 3726).

been referred to by Mādhava in his Sarva-darśana-samgraha. Mādhava also refers to Aghora-śivācārya, whose commentary on Tattva-prakāśa has not yet been published, but he omits Śrīkumāra, whose commentary on Tattva-prakāśa has been published in the Trivendrum Series along with the Tattva-prakāśa. Aghoraśivācārya seems to have written another commentary on the Mrgendrāgama called the Mrgendrāgama-vrtti-dīpikā. In writing his commentary Aghora-śivācārya says that he was writing this commentary, because other people had tried to interpret Tattvaprakāśa with a monistic bias, as they were unacquainted with the Siddhanta of the Agama-śastras. From the refutation of the Māheśvara school by Śankara in II. 2. 37, we know that he regarded the Māheśvaras as those that held God to be only the instrumental agent of the world and the material cause of the world was quite outside Him. According to the monistic Vedanta of Sankara, Brahman was both the material and the instrumental cause of the world. The world was in reality nothing but Brahman, though it appeared as a manifold world through illusion, just as a rope may appear as a snake through illusion. This is called the *vivarta* view as opposed to the parinama view, according to which there is a material transformation leading to the production of the world. The parinama view is held by the Sāmkhyists; the other view is that God is the instrumental agent who shapes and fashions the world out of atoms or a brute māyā, the material force. The Naiyāyikas hold that since the world is an effect and a product of mechanical arrangement, it must have an intelligent creator who is fully acquainted with the delimitations and the potencies of the atomic materials. God thus can be proved by inference, as any other agent can be proved by the existence of the effect. This is also the viewpoint of some of the Śaivāgamas such as the Mrgendra, Mātanga-parameśvara, etc.

Śrīkumāra, in interpreting *Tattva-prakāśa*, seems to be in an oscillating mood; sometimes he seems to follow the Āgama view of God being the instrumental cause, and sometimes he tries to interpret on the Vedāntic pattern of *vivarta*. Aghora-śivācārya takes a more definite stand in favour of the Āgama point of view and regards God as the instrumental cause¹. In our account of Śaivism

¹ vivādādhyāsitam viśvam viśva-vit-kartṛ-pūrvakam, kāryatvād āvayoḥ siddham kāryam kumbhādikam yathā, iti śrīman-mātange' pi, nimitta-kāranam tu īśa iti. ayam ceśvara-vādo 'smābhiḥ mrgendra-vṛtti-dīpikāyām vistarenāpi darśita iti. Aghora-śivācārya's commentary on Tattva-prakāśa (Adyar manuscript).

as explained in the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā, we have seen how in the hands of the Purāṇic interpreters Śaivism had taken a rather definite course towards absolute monism, and how the Sāṃkhya conception of prakṛti had been utilised as being the energy of God, which is neither different from nor identical with Him. Such a conception naturally leads to some kind of oscillation and this has been noticed in the relevant places.

Mādhava sums up the content of the Śaivāgamas as dealing with three categories, pati, the Lord, paśu, the beings, and pāśa, the bonds, and the four other categories of vidyā, knowledge, kriyā, behaviour or conduct, yoga, concentration, and caryā, religious worship. Now the beings have no freedom and the bonds themselves are inanimate; the two are combined by the action of God.

Bhoja writes his book, *Tattva-prakāśa*, to explain the different kinds of metaphysical and other categories (*tattva*) as accepted by the Saiva philosophy. The most important category is Siva who is regarded as being *cit* by which the Saivas understand combined knowledge and action¹. Such a conscious God has to be admitted for explaining the superintendence and supervision of all inanimate beings. This ultimate being is all by itself; it has no body and it does not depend upon any thing; it is one and unique. It is also all-pervading and eternal. The liberated individual souls also become like it after liberation is granted to them, but God is always the same and always liberated and He is never directed by any supreme Lord. It is devoid of all passions. It is also devoid of all impurities².

Aghora-śivācārya follows the Śaivāgamas like the Mṛgendra or the Mātaṅga-parameśvara in holding that the existence of God can be inferred by arguments of the Naiyāyika pattern. It is, therefore, argued that God has created the world, maintains it, and will destroy it; He blinds our vision and also liberates us. These five actions are called anugraha, which we have often translated, in the absence of a better word, as grace. In reality, it means God's power that manifests itself in all worldly phenomena leading to

Aghora-śivācārya quoting Mṛgendra in his commentary on Tattva-prakāśa says: caitanyam dṛk-kriyā-rūpam iti cid eva ghanam deha-svarūpam yasya sa cidghanah. This cidghana is the attribute ascribed to Śiva in Tattva-prakāśa.

² moho madas ca rāgas ca viṣādaḥ soka eva ca, vaicittam caiva harṣas ca saptaite sahajā malāḥ. Aghora-sivācārya's commentary (Adyar manuscript) on Tattva-prakāsa, kārikā 1.

bondage and liberation, everything depending upon the karma of the individual. It is quite possible that in some schools of Saivism this dynamism of God was interpreted as His magnificent grace, and these people were called the Mahā-kārunikas. Anugraha, or grace, thus extends to the process of creation. If it were ordinary grace, then it could have been only when the world was already there1. This anugraha activity includes creation, maintenance, destruction, blinding the vision of the individuals, and finally liberating them2. Śrīkumāra explains the situation by holding that the act of blinding and the act of enlightening through liberation are not contradictory, as the latter applies only to those who have self-control, sense-control, fortitude, and cessation from all enjoyment, and the former to those who have not got them³. God thus is responsible for the enjoyable experiences and liberation of all beings through His fivefold action. His consciousness (cit) is integrally connected with His activity. Though God is of the nature of consciousness and in that way similar to individual souls, yet God can grant liberation to individual souls with powers which the individual souls themselves do not possess. Though God's consciousness is integrally associated with action, it is indistinguishable from it. In other words God is pure thoughtactivity.

The *śakti* or energy of Siva is one, though it may often be diversely represented according to the diverse functions that it performs. Śrīkumāra points out that the original form of this energy is pure bliss which is one with pure consciousness. For the creation of the world God does not require any other instrument than His own energy, just as our own selves can perform all operations of the body by their own energy and do not require any outside help. This energy must be distinguished from māyā. Taking māyā into consideration one may think of it as an eternal energy, called *bindu-māyā* which forms the material cause of the world4.

² Tattva-prakāśa, kārikā 7.

³ Ibid. Commentary on Tattva-prakāśa, kārikā 7.

¹ anugrahaś cātropalakṣaṇam. Ibid.

⁴ kārya-bhede'pi māyādivan nāsyāḥ pariṇāma iti darśayati tasya jaḍa-dharmatvāt. adyām pradhāna-bhūtām samavetām anena parigraha-śaktisvarūpam bindu-māyātmakam apy asya bāhya-śakti-dvayam asti. (Aghora-śivācārya's commentary, Adyar manuscript). Śrīkumāra, however, thinks that Śiva as

The monistic interpretation as found in Śrīkumāra's commentary is already anticipated as the Śivādvaita system in the Purāṇas, more particularly in the $S\bar{u}ta$ -samhitā¹.

Siva arranges for the experiences and liberation of the individual souls in and through His energy alone. The fivefold action, referred to above, is to be regarded as somehow distinguishing the one energy in and through diverse functions.

The object of Tattva-prakāśa is to explain the Śaiva philosophy as found in the Śaivāgamas, describing mainly the categories of pati, paśu, and pāśa. The pati is the Lord and paśu is called anu, and the five objects are the five pāśas or bonds. The anus are dependent on God and they are regarded as belonging to different classes of bondage. The fivefold objects are those which are due to the mala and which belong to bindu-māyā in different states of evolution of purity and impurity. Śrīkumāra points out that since the souls are associated with mala from eternity, it comes under the sway of the māyā, but since the souls are of the nature of Śiva, when this mala is burnt, they become one with Him. The fivefold objects constituting the bondage are the mala, the karma, the māyā, the world which is a product of māyā, and the binding power².

It may be asked, if the energy belongs to God, how can it be attributed to the objects of bondage? The reply is that in reality the energy belongs to the Lord and the force of the pāśa or bondage can only be regarded as force in a distant manner, in the sense that the bondage or the power of bondage is felt in and through the individual soul who receives it from the Lord³.

The pasus are those who are bound by the pasa, the souls that

associated with the māyā forms the instrumental and material cause of the world:

nimittopādāna-bhāvena avasthānād iti brūmah.

Such a view should make Saivism identical with the Advaitism of Sankara. Aghora-śivācārya wrote his commentary as a protest against this view, that it does not represent the view of the Saivāgamas which regard God only as the instrumental cause.

¹ Sūtasamhitā, Book IV, verse 28 et seq.

² malam karma ca māyā ca māyottham akhilam jagat, tirodhānakārī śaktir

artha-pañcakam ucyate. Śrikumāra's commentary, p. 32.

³ nanu katham ekaikasyā eva śiva-śakteḥ pati-padārthe ca pāśa-padārthe ca samgraha ucyate. satyam, paramārthataḥ pati-padārtha eva śakter antarbhāvaḥ. pāśatvam tu tasyām pāśa-dharmānuvartanena upacārāt. tad uktam śrīman Mṛgendre—tāsām māheśvarī śaktih sarvānugrāhikā śivā, dharmānu vartanād eva pāśa ity upacaryata, iti. Aghora-śivācārya's commentary (Adyar manuscript).

go through the cycles of birth and rebirth. In this connection Śrīkumāra tries to establish the identity of the self on the basis of self-consciousness and memory, and holds that these phenomena could not be explained by the Buddhists who believed in momentary selves. These are three kinds; those which are associated with mala and karma, those which are associated only with mala (these two kinds are jointly called vijñāna-kala); the third is called sakala. It is associated with mala, $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and karma. The first, namely the vijñāna-kala, may again be twofold, as associated with the impurities and as devoid of them. Those who are released from impurity are employed by God with various angelic functions, and they are called vidyeśvara and mantreśvara. Others, however, pass on to new cycles of life, being associated with a composite body of eight constituents which form the subtle body. These eight constituents are the five sensibles, manas, buddhi, and ahankāra, and they all are called by the name of puryastaka, the body consisting of the eight constituents.

Those whose impurities (mala) get ripened may receive that power of God through proper initiation by which the impurity is removed, and they become one with God. The other beings, however, are bound by God to undergo the series of experiences at the end of which they may be emancipated.

The bonds or $p\bar{a}\dot{s}a$ are of four kinds: first, the bond of mala and the karma. The bond of mala is beginningless, and it stands as a veil over our enlightenment and power of action. The karma also flows on, depending on the mala from beginningless time. The third is called $m\bar{a}y\bar{e}ya$, which means the subtle and gross bodies produced through $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, which is the fourth. Aghora-śivācārya says that $m\bar{a}y\bar{e}ya$ means the contingent bonds of passion, etc., which are produced in consequence of karma. Even those who have not the $m\bar{a}y\bar{e}ya$ impurity at the time of dissolution (pralaya) remain by themselves but not liberated.

But what is *mala*? It is supposed to be one non-spiritual stuff, which behaves with manifold functions. It is for this reason that when the *mala* is removed in one person it may function in other persons. This *mala* being like the veiling power of God, it continues to operate on the other persons, though it may be removed in the case of some other person. As the husk covers the seed, so the *mala* covers the natural enlightenment and action of the individual; and

as the husk is burnt by fire or heat, so this *mala* also may be removed when the internal soul shines forth. This *mala* is responsible for our bodies. Just as the blackness of copper can be removed by mercury, so the blackness of the soul is also removed by the power of Siva.

Karma is beginningless and is of the nature of merit and demerit (dharma and adharma). Śrīkumāra defines dharma and adharma as that which is the special cause of happiness or unhappiness, and he tries to refute other theories and views about dharma and adharma. $M\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is regarded as the substantive entity which is the cause of the world. We have seen before that bondage comes out of the products of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ ($m\bar{a}y\bar{e}ya$); so $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is the original cause of bondage. It is not illusory, as the Vedāntists say, but it is the material cause of the world. We thus see that the power or energy of God behaving as mala, $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, karma, and $m\bar{a}y\bar{e}ya$, forms the basic conception of bondage.

These are the first five pure categories arising out of Siva. The category of Siva is regarded as the bindu, and it is the original and primal cause of everything. It is as eternal as $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. The other four categories spring from it, and for this reason it is regarded as $mah\bar{a}-m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. These categories are the mythical superintending lords of different worlds called vidyeśvara, mantreśvara, etc. So, from bindu comes śakti, sadāśiva, īśvara, and vidyeśvara. These categories are regarded as pure categories. Again, in order to supply experiences to individuals and their scope of action, five categories are produced, namely, time ($k\bar{a}la$), destiny (niyati), action ($kal\bar{a}$), knowledge ($vidy\bar{a}$), and attachment ($r\bar{a}ga$). Again, from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ comes the avyakta or the unmanifested, the gunas, and then buddhi, and $ahank\bar{a}ra$, manas, the five conative senses and the five cognitive senses, and the gross matter, which make up twenty-three categories from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$.

We thus see that these are in the first instance the five categories of śiva, śakti, sadāśiva, īśvara, and vidyā. These are all of the nature of pure consciousness (cidrūpa), and being of such a nature, there can be no impurity in them. We have next the seven categories which are both pure and impure (cidacid-rūpa), and these are māyā, kāla, niyati, kalā, vidyā, rāga and puruṣa. Puruṣa, though of the nature of pure consciousness, may appear as impure on account of its impure association. Next to these categories we

have twenty-four categories of avyakta-guṇa-tattva, buddhi, ahaṅkāra, manas, the five cognitive senses, the five conative senses, the five tanmātras, and five mahābhūtas. Altogether these are the thirty-six categories.

If we attend to this division of categories, we find that the so-called impure categories are mostly the categories of Sāṃkhya philosophy. But while in the Sāṃkhya, prakrti is equated with the avyakta as the equilibrium of the three guṇas, here in the Śaiva philosophy the avyakta is the unmanifested which comes from $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and produces the gunas.

To recapitulate, we find that the system of thought presented in the Tattva-prakāśa, as based on the Śaivāgamas, is a curious confusion of certain myths, together with certain doctrines of Indian philosophy. One commentator, Śrīkumāra, has tried to read the monistic philosophy of Sankara into it, whereas the other commentator, Aghora-śivācārya, has tried to read some sort of duality into the system, though that duality is hardly consistent. We know from Sankara's account of the philosophy of the Saiva school that some Saivas called Māheśvaras tried to establish in their works, the Siddhantas, the view that God is only the instrumental cause (nimitta-kārana) of the world, but not the material cause (upādāna-kāraņa). In Śankara's view God is both the material and the instrumental cause of the world and of all beings. Aghora-śivācārya's pretext for writing the commentary was that it was interpreted by people having a monistic bias, and that it was his business to show that, in accordance with the Saivagamas, God can only be the instrumental cause, as we find in the case of the Naiyāyikas. He starts with the premise that God is the sum total of the power of consciousness and the power of energy, and he says that the māyā is the material cause of the world, from which are produced various other material products which are similar to the Sāmhkya categories. But he does not explain in what way God's instrumentality affects the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ in the production of various categories, pure and impure and pure-and-impure. He says that even the energy of māyā proceeds from God and appears in the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ as if undivided from it. There is thus an original illusion through which the process of the māyā as bindu and nāda or the desire of God for creation and the creation takes place. But he does not any further explain the nature of the illusion and the cause or the manners in which the illusion has been generated. The original text of the *Tattva-prakāśa* is also quite unilluminating regarding this vital matter. Aghora-śivācārya often refers to the *Mṛgendrāgama* for his support, but the *Mṛgendrāgama* does not follow the Sāṃkhya course of evolution as does the *Tattva-prakāśa*. There we hear of atoms constructed and arranged by the will of God, which is more in line with the Nyāya point of view.

Dealing with the nature of the soul, it is said that the souls are anus in the sense that they have only a limited knowledge. The souls are essentially of the nature of Siva or God, but yet they have an innate impurity which in all probability is due to the influx of māyā into them. Nothing is definitely said regarding the nature of this impurity and how the souls came by it. Śrīkumāra explains this impurity on the Vedantic lines as being of the nature of avidyā, etc. But Aghora-śivācārya does not say anything on this point. It is said that when by the fruition of action the impurity will ripen, God in the form of preceptor would give proper initiation, so that the impurity may be burnt out, and the souls so cleansed or purified may attain the nature of Siva. Before such attainment Siva may appoint some souls, which had had their impurities cleansed, to certain mythical superintendence of the worlds as vidyesvaras or mantresvaras. At the time of the cycles of rebirth, the individual souls, which have to pass through it for the ripening of their actions, do so in subtle bodies called the puryastaka (consisting of the subtle matter, buddhi, ahankāra, and manas).

Turning to the categories, we see that the so-called pāśa is also in reality a derivative of the energy of Siva, and for this reason the pāśa may be a blinding force, and may also be withdrawn at the time of liberation. The category of Siva or śiva-tattva, also called bindu, makes itself the material for the creation of the fivefold pure tattvas and the other impure categories up to gross matter, earth. These fivefold pure categories are śiva-tattva, śakti-tattva, sadāśiva-tattva, īśvara-tattva, and vidyā-tattva. The bodies of these pure categories are derived from the pure māyā, called the mahāmāyā. Next to these we have the pure-and-impure categories of kāla, niyati, kalā, vidyā, and rāga, which are a sort of link between the souls and the world, so that the souls may know and

work. Next from the *māyā* comes *avyakta*, the *guṇa-tattva*, and from the *guṇa-tattva*, the *buddhi-tattva*, from that, *ahaṅkāra*, from that *manas*, *buddhi*, the five conative and five cognitive senses, the five *tanmātras* and the five gross objects.

As we have hinted above, most of the Siddhanta schools of thought are committed to the view that the material cause is different from the instrumental cause. This material cause appears in diverse forms as $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, prakrti or the atoms and their products, and the instrumental cause is God, Siva. But somehow or other most of these schools accept the view that Siva, consisting of omniscience and omnipotence, is the source of all energy. If that were so, all the energy of the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and its products should belong to Siva, and the acceptance of a material cause different from the instrumental becomes an unnecessary contradiction. Various Siddhanta schools have shifted their ground in various ways, as is evident from our study of the systems, in order to get rid of contradiction, but apparently without success. When the Naiyāyika says that the material cause, the relations, and the instrumental cause are different, and that God as the instrumental cause fashions this world, and is the moral governor of the world in accordance with karma, there is no contradiction. God Himself is like any other soul, only different from them in the fact that He eternally possesses omniscience and omnipotence, has no body and no organs. Everything is perceived by Him directly. Again, if one takes the yoga point of view, one finds that Isvara is different from prakrti or the material cause, and it is not His energy that permeates through prakrti. He has an eternal will, so that the obstructions in the way of the developing of energy of prakrti in diverse channels, in accordance with karma, may be removed to justify the order of evolution and all the laws of nature as we find them. The Isvara or God is like any other purusa, only it had never the afflictions with which the ordinary purusas are associated, and it has no karma and no past impressions of karma. Such a view also saves the system from contradiction, but it seems difficult to say anything which can justify the position of the Siddhanta schools wavering between theism and pantheism or monism. In the case of the Sankara Vedanta, Brahman also is real and he alone is the material and instrumental cause. The world appearance is only an appearance, and it has no reality apart from it. It is a sort of illusion

caused by $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ which again is neither existent nor non-existent as it falls within the definition of illusion. The different forms of Saiva school have to be spun out for the purpose of avoiding this contradiction between religion and philosophy.

The category of Siva, from which spring the five pure categories spoken of above (sadāśiva, etc.), is called also the bindu, the pure energy of knowledge and action beyond all change. It is supposed that this pure śiva or bindu or mahāmāyā is surcharged with various powers at the time of creation and it is in and through these powers that the māyā and its products are activated into the production of the universe which is the basis of the bondage of the souls. This movement of the diverse energies for the production of the universe is called anugraha or grace. By these energies both the souls and the inanimate objects are brought into proper relation and the work of creation goes on. So the creation is not directly due to Siva but to His energy. The difficulty is further felt when it is said that these energies are not different from God. The will and effort of God are but the manifestations of His energy¹.

The different moments of the oscillation of God's knowledge and action are represented as the different categories of sadāśiva, īśvara, vidyā. But these moments are only intellectual descriptions and not temporary events occurring in time and space. In reality the category of Śiva is identical all through. The different moments are only imaginary. There is only the category of Śiva, bristling with diverse powers, from which diverse distinctions can be made for intellectual appraisal².

In the Sāṃkhya system it was supposed that the *prakṛti*, out of its own inherent teleology, moves forward in the evolutionary process for supplying to all souls the materials of their experiences, and later on liberates them. In the Siddhānta systems the same idea is expressed by the word *anugraha* or grace. Here energy is to co-operate with grace for the production of experience and for liberation. The fact that Siva is regarded as an unmoved and immovable reality deprives the system of the charm of a personal

¹ Thus Śrikumāra says, quoting from the Mātanga-parameśvara (p. 79): tad uktan mātange:

patyuh śaktih parā sūkṣmā jāgrato dyotana-kṣamā, tayā prabhuh prabuddhātmā svatantrah sa sadāśivah.

tattvam vastuta ekam śiva-samjñam citra-śakti-śata-khacitam, śakti-vyāpṛti-bhedāt tasyaite kalpitā bhedāḥ. Tattva-prakāśa 11. 13.

God. The idea of *anugraha* or grace cannot be suitably applied to an impersonal entity.

God's energies, which we call His will or effort, are the organs or means $(k\bar{a}rana)$, and the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is the material cause out of which the world is fashioned; but this $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ as such is so subtle that it cannot be perceived. It is the one common stuff for all. This $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ produces delusion in us and makes us identify ourselves with those which are different from us. This is the delusive function of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. The illusion is thus to be regarded as being of the $anyath\bar{a}-khy\bar{a}ti$ type, the illusion that one thinks one thing to be another, just as in Yoga. All the karmas are supposed to abide in the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ in a subtle form and regulate the cycles of birth and rebirth for the individual souls. $M\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is thus the substantial entity of everything else that we may perceive.

We have already explained the central confusion as regards the relation of the changeable māyā and the unchanging God or Siva. But after this the system takes an easy step towards theism, and explains the transformations of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ by the will of God, through His energies for supplying the data of experience for all individual souls. Time is also a product of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. In and through time the other categories of niyati, etc., are produced. Niyati means the ordering of all things. It stands for what we should call the natural law, such as the existence of the oil in the seed, of the grain in the husk, and all other natural contingencies. We have translated the word niyati as 'destiny' in other places, for want of a single better word. Niyati comes from niyama or law that operates in time and place. The so-called kalā-tattva is that function of niyati and kāla by which the impurity of the individual souls becomes contracted within them so that they are free, to a very great extent, to act and to know. Kalā is thus that which manifests the agency (kartrtvavyañjikā). It is through kalā that experiences can be associated with individuals1. From the functioning of kalā knowledge proceeds, and through knowledge all experience of worldly objects becomes possible.

In the Sāṃkhya system the *buddhi* is supposed to be in contact with objects and assume their forms. Such *buddhi* forms are

¹ Thus Śrīkumāra quoting from Mātanga, says (p. 121): yathāgni-tapta-mṛtpātram jantunā'lingane kṣaman, tathānum kalayā viddham bhogaḥ śaknoti vāsitum, bhoga-pātrī kalā jñeya tadādharaś ca pudgalaḥ.

illuminated by the presiding purusa. The Siddhanta system as explained in Tattva-prakāśa differs from this view. It holds that the *purusa*, being inactive, cannot produce illumination. Whatever is perceived by the buddhi is grasped by the category of vidyā or knowledge, because the $vidy\bar{a}$ is different from purusa and is a product of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ as such. It can serve as an intermediate link between the objects, the buddhi, and the self. Buddhi, being a product of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, cannot be self-illuminating, but the $vidy\bar{a}$ is produced as a separate category for the production of knowledge. This is a very curious theory, which differs from Sāmkhya, but is philosophically ineffective as an epistemological explanation. Rāgā means attachment in general, which is the general cause of all individual efforts. It is not a quality of buddhi, but an entirely different category. Even when there are no sense objects to which one may be inclined there may be raga which would lead a person towards liberation¹. The totality of kāla, niyati, kalā, vidyā, and rāga as associated with the paśu renders him a puruṣa, for whom the material world is evolved as avyakta, guna, etc. Here also the difference from the Sāmkhya system should be noted. In Sāmkhya the state of equilibrium of the gunas forms the avyakta, but here the gunas are derived from the avyakta, which is a separate category.

The Saiva system admits three pramāṇas: perception, inference, and testimony of scriptures. In perception it admits both the determinate (savikalpa) and the indeterminate (nirvikalpa), which have been explained in the first two volumes of this work. As regards inference, the Saivas admit the inference of cause from effect and of effect from cause, and the third kind of inference of general agreement from presence and absence (sāmānyato dṛṣṭa).

The category of *ahankāra*, which proceeds from *buddhi*, expresses itself in the feeling of life and self-consciousness. The *ātman*, the basic entity, is untouched by these feelings. The system believes in the tripartite partition of *ahankāra*, the *sāttvika*, *rājasa*, and *tāmasa*, after the pattern of the Sāṃkhya, and then we have virtually the same sorts of categories as the Sāṃkhya, the details of which we need not repeat.

¹ Thus Śrīkumāra says (p. 124): asya vişayāvabhāsena vinā puruşa-pravṛttihetutvād buddhi-dharma-vailakṣaṇya-siddhiḥ, mumukṣor viṣaya-tṛṣṇasya tatsādhane viśayāvabhāsena vinā pravṛttir dṛṣṭā.

The relation between the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and the category of Siva is called parigraha-śakti, by which the mechanism of the relation is understood as being such that, simply by the very presence of Siva, various transformations take place in the $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ and lead it to evolve as the world, or to be destroyed in time and again to be created. The analogy is like that of the sun and the lotus flower. The lotus flower blooms of itself in the presence of the sun, while the sun remains entirely unchanged. In the same way, iron filings move in the presence of a magnet. This phenomenon has been variously interpreted in religious terms as the will of God, the grace of God, and the bondage exerted by Him on all living beings. It is in this sense again that the whole world may be regarded as the manifestation of God's energy and will, and the theistic position confirmed. On the other hand, since Siva is the only ultimate category without which nothing could happen, the system was interpreted on the lines of pure monism like that of Sankara, wherein it appeared to be a mere appearance of multiplicity, whereas in reality Siva alone existed. This led to the interpretation of the system of Sivadvaita that we find in the Sūta-samhitā, Yajña-vaibhava chapter.

The śakti of God is one, though it may appear as infinite and diverse in different contexts. It is this pure śakti which is identical with pure will and power. The changes that take place in the māyā are interpreted as the extension of God's grace through creation for the benefit of the individual souls. God in the aspect of pure knowledge is called śiva and as action is called śakti. When the two are balanced, we have the category of sadā-śiva. When there is a predominance of action it is called maheśvara.

The theory of *karma* in this system is generally the same as in most other systems. It generally agrees with a large part of the Sāṃkhya doctrine, but the five *śuddha-tattvas*, such as *sadā-śiva*, etc., are not found elsewhere and are only of mythological interest.

The Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar not only advocates the niyamas, such as good behaviour, courteous reception, amity, good sense, blameless austerity, charity, respect, reverence, truthfulness, chastity, self-control, wisdom, etc., but also lays great stress on the necessity of loving God and being devoted to Him.

Śrīpati Paṇḍita's Ideas on the Vedānta Philosophy, called also the Śrīkara-bhāṣya which is accepted as the Fundamental Basis of Vīra-śaivism.

Śrīpati Paṇḍita lived towards the latter half of the fourteenth century and was one of the latest commentators on the *Brahma-sūtra*. Śrīpati Paṇḍita says that he got the inspiration of writing the commentary from a short treatise called the *Agastyavṛtti* on the *Brahma-sūtra* which is now not available. He also adores Revaṇa, who is regarded by him as a great saint of the sect, and also Marula who was supposed to have introduced the doctrine of six centres (*ṣaṭ-sthala*). He adores also Rāma, who flourished in the Dvāpara-yuga, and who collected the main elements from the Mīmāṃsā and the Upaniṣads for the foundation of the Śaiva philosophy as it is being traditionally carried on.

The Śrīkara-bhāṣya should be regarded as a definite classification of the views of the different Śrutis and Smṛtis, and for this our chief admiration should go to Rāma. But though this work keeps itself clear of the dualistic and non-dualistic views of Vedāntic interpretation, it holds fast to a doctrine which may be designated as Viśiṣādvaita, and the Śaivas, called Vīra-śaivas, would find support in the tenets of the doctrine herein propounded. It may be remembered that Śrīpati came long after Rāmānuja, and it was easy for him to derive some of his ideas from Rāmānuja.

Sankara, in his interpretation of the present sūtra "Now then the inquiry about Brahman," lays stress on the pre-condition leading to the necessity of inquiring about Brahman, and Rāmānuja also discusses the same question, and thinks that the Pūrvamīmāṃsā and the Vedānta form together one subject of study; but Srīpati here avoids the question, and thinks that the sūtra is for introducing an inquiry as to the ultimate nature of Brahman, whether Brahman is being or non-being. According to him the sūtra is further interested in discovering the influence of Brahman over individuals.

He took for granted the unity of the two disciplines of Pūrvamīmāṃsā and Vedānta as forming one science, but he fervently opposes the view of the Cārvākas that life is the product of material combinations. He explains that the Cārvākas' denial of Brahman is

based on the supposition that no one has come from the other world to relate to us what happens after death. He also points out that there are other schools within the *Vaidika* fold which do not believe in the existence of God or His power over individual beings, and that the power of *karma*, technically called *apūrva*, can very well explain the sufferings and enjoyments of human beings. So, if one admits the body to be the same as the spirit, or if one thinks that there is no necessity to admit God for the proper fruition of one's deeds, the twofold reason for the study of Vedānta could be explained away.

The doubt leading to an inquiry should therefore be located somewhere else, in the nature of God, Siva, or in the nature of the individual soul. The existence of the God Siva as being the only reality has been declared in a number of Vedic texts. The self, which shows itself in our ego-consciousness, is also known as a different entity. As such, how can the point of doubt arise? Moreover, we cannot know the nature of Brahman by discussion, for the self being finite it is not possible to understand the nature of the infinite Brahman by understanding the nature of such a soul. Moreover, the Upanişads have declared that the Brahman is of two kinds, consciousness and unconsciousness. So even when there is the Brahman knowledge, the knowledge of the unconscious Brahman should remain, and as such there would be no liberation.

Now the other point may arise, that the discussion is with regard to the attainment of a certitude as to whether the Brahman is identical with the self. There are many texts to that effect, but yet the contradiction arises from our own self-consciousness manifesting us as individual personalities. To this the ordinary reply is that the individuality of our ego-consciousness will always lead us to explain away the Upanisad texts which speak of their identity. But the reply, on the other side, may be that the Brahman may, through avidyā or nescience, create the appearance of our individuality, such as "I am a man." For without such an all-pervading illusion the question of liberation cannot arise. Moreover, the pure Brahman and all the objects are as distinct from each other as light from darkness, and yet such an illusion has to be accepted. For otherwise the entire mundane behaviour would have to be stopped. So there is hardly scope for making an inquiry as to the exact nature of the Brahman, the souls and the world. For one has to

accept the ultimate reality of the transcendent Brahman which cannot be described by words. Brahman is thus beyond all discussion.

In a situation like this Śrīpati first presses the question of the existence of God as being proved by the Upanișadic and Śruti texts, by perception and by inference. We know from experience that often people cannot attain their ends, even if they are endowed with talent, ability, riches and the like, while others may succeed, even if they have nothing. According to Śrīpati, this definitely proves the existence of an omniscient God and His relationship with human beings. In ordinary experience, when we see a temple, we can imagine that there was a builder who built it. So in the case of the world also, we can well imagine that this world must have had a builder. The Carvaka argument, that the conglomeration of matter produces things out of itself, is untenable, because we have never seen any such conglomerations of matter capable of producing life as we find it in birds and animals. In the case of cow-dung, etc., some life may have been somehow implanted in them so that beetles and other flies may be born from them. It has also to be admitted that in accordance with one's karma God awards punishments or rewards, and that the fruition of deeds does not take place automatically, but in accordance with the wishes of God.

In some of the Upaniṣadic texts it is said that there was nothing in the beginning, but this nothingness should be regarded as a subtle state of existence; for otherwise all things cannot come out of nothing. This non-being referred to in the Upaniṣads also does not mean mere negation or the mere chimerical nothing, like a lotus in the sky. Bādarāyaṇa in his Brahma-sūtra has also refuted this idea of pure negation (II. I. 7). In fact, the Vedas and the Āgamas declare God Śiva, with infinite powers, to be the cause of the world, whether it be subtle or gross. The individuals, however, are quite different from this Brahman, as they are always afflicted with their sins and sufferings. When the Upaniṣads assert that Brahman is one with jīva, the individual, naturally the inquiry (jijñāsā) comes, how is it possible that these two which are entirely different from each other should be regarded as identical?

Śrīpati thinks that the 'identity' texts of the Upaniṣads, declaring the identity of the individual and the Brahman, can well

be explained by supposition of the analogy of rivers flowing into the ocean and becoming one with it. We need not assume that there is an illusion as Śańkara supposes, and that without such an illusion the problem of emancipation cannot arise, because we have a direct and immediate experience of ignorance when we say "we do not know."

Śrīpati objects strongly to the view of Śankara that there is a differenceless Brahman of the nature of pure consciousness, and that such a Brahman appears in manifold forms. The Brahman is of an entirely different nature from the individual souls. If such a Brahman is admitted to have avidyā or nescience as a quality, it would cease to be the Brahman. Moreover, no such avidvā could be attributed to Brahman, which is often described in the Sruti texts as pure and devoid of any thought or mind. If the $avidy\bar{a}$ is supposed to belong to Brahman, then one must suppose that there ought to be some other entity, by the action of which this factor of avidvā could be removed for liberation. Brahman cannot itself find it; being encased by the $avidy\bar{a}$ at one moment and free at another, it cannot then retain its absolute identity as one. It is also fallacious to think of the world as being made up of illusory perceptions like dreams, for there is a definite order and system in the world which cannot be transgressed. Bādarāyana himself also refutes the idea of a non-existence of an external world (II. 2, 27, 28). Moreover, the differenceless Brahman can only be established by the authority of the scriptural texts or by inference, but as these two are included within our conceptual world of distinctions, they cannot lead us beyond them and establish a differenceless Brahman. Moreover, if the truth of the Vedas be admitted, then there will be duality, and if it is not admitted, then there is nothing to prove the one reality of the Brahman. Moreover, there is nothing that can establish the fact of world illusion. Avidyā itself cannot be regarded as a sufficient testimony, for the Brahman is regarded as self-illuminating. Moreover, the acceptance of such a Brahman would amount to a denial of a personal God, which is supported by so many scriptural texts including the Gītā.

Again, the Upaniṣad texts that speak of the world as being made up of names and forms do not necessarily lead to the view that the Brahman alone is true and that the world is false. For the same purpose can be achieved by regarding Siva as the material cause of the world, which does not mean that the world is false.

The whole idea is that, in whatsoever form the world may appear, it is in reality nothing but Śiva¹.

When Bādarāyaṇa says that the world cannot be distinguished as different from Brahman, it naturally means that the manifold world, which has come out of Brahman, is one with Him. The world cannot be regarded as the body of Brahman, and the scriptures declare that in the beginning only pure being existed. If anything else but Brahman is admitted, then the pure monism breaks. The two being entirely opposed to each other, one cannot be admitted as being a part of the other, and the two cannot be identified in any manner. So the normal course would be to interpret the texts as asserting both the duality and the non-duality of the Brahman. Thus the Brahman is both different from the world and identical with it.

Śrīpati thinks that on the evidence of the Śruti texts a Brahmin must take initiation in Śaiva form and bear with him the Śaiva sign, the *linga*, as much as he should, being initiated into Vedic rites. It is then that the person in question becomes entitled to the study of the nature of Brahman, for which the *Brahma-sūtra* has been written². The inquiry into the nature of Brahman necessarily introduces to us all kinds of discussions regarding the nature of Brahman.

Though Śrīpati emphasises the necessity of carrying the *linga* and of being initiated in the Śaiva form, yet that alone cannot bring salvation. Salvation can only come when we know the real nature of Brahman. In introducing further discussions on the nature of Brahman, Śrīpati says that wherever the scriptural texts describe Brahman as differenceless and qualityless, that always refers to the period before the creation. It is Śiva, the differenceless unity, that expands His energy and creates the world and makes it appear as it

¹ vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāro nāmadheyaṃ mṛttikety eva satyam iti śrutau apavāda-darśanād adhyāso grāhya iti cen na vācārambhaṇa-śrutīnāṃ śivopādā-natvāt prapañcasya tattādātmya-bodhakatvaṃ vidhīyate na ca mithyātvam. Śrīkara-bhāsya, p. 6.

² Śrīkara-bhāṣya, p. 8. Śrīpati takes great pains to show on the evidence of scriptural texts the indispensable necessity of carrying the insignia of Śiva, the *linga* in a particular manner which is different from the methods of carrying the *linga* not approved by the Vedas, pp. 8-15.

Śrīpati points out that only the person, who is equipped with the four accessories called the sādhana-sampad consisting of śama, dama, titikṣā, uparati, mumukṣutva, etc., is fit to have the linga.

is, though He always remains the ultimate substratum. The world is thus not illusion but reality, and of the nature of Siva Himself. This is the central idea which is most generally expanded, as we shall see. Brahman thus appears in two forms: as pure consciousness and as the unconscious material world, and this view is supported by the scriptural texts. Brahman is thus with form and without form. It is the pure Brahman that appears as this or that changing entity, as pleasure or pain, or as cause and effect. Such an explanation would fit in with our experience, and would also be perfectly reconcilable with the scriptural texts.

The suggestion of the opponents, that Iśvara or God is an illusory God, is also untenable, for no one is justified in trusting an illusory object for showing devotion to him. Such a God would seem to have the same status as any other object of illusion. Moreover, how can an illusory God bestow benefits when He is adored and worshipped by the devotee?

Śrīpati then tries to refute the idea of the pure differenceless Brahman, and summarises the arguments given by Rāmānuja as we have described them in the third volume of the present work; and we are thus introduced to the second *sūtra*, which describes Brahman as that from which the production of the world has come about.

Śrīpati, in commenting upon Brahma-sūtra I. I. 2, says that the pure consciousness as the identity of being and bliss is the cause of the production and dissolution of the world, as well as its fundamental substratum. The Brahman, who is formless, can create all things without the help of any external instrument, just as the formless wind can shake the forest or the self can create the dreams. It is in the interest of the devotees that God takes all the forms in which we find Him¹. He also refers to some of the scriptural texts of the bhedābheda type, which considers the relation between God and the world as similar to the relation between the ocean and the waves. Only a part of God may be regarded as being transformed into the material world. In this way Śiva is both the instrumental and the material cause. A distinction has to be made between the concept that there is no difference between the instrumental and

¹ bhaktānugrahārtham ghṛta-kāṭhinyavad-divya-mangala-vigraha-dharasya maheśvarasya mūrtāmūrta-prapañca-kalpane apy adoṣaḥ. Śrīkara-bhāṣya, p .30.

the material cause, and the concept that the two are the same¹. There is no question of false imposition.

The individual souls are spoken of in the Upanisads as being as eternal as God. The scriptural texts often describe the world as being a part of God. It is only when the powers of God are in a contractive form before the creation, that God can be spoken of as being devoid of qualities². There are many Upanisadic passages which describe the state of God as being engaged in the work of creation, and as the result thereof His powers seem to manifest. It is true that in many texts $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is described as the material cause of the world and God the instrumental. This is well explained if we regard māyā as a part of God. Just as a spider weaves out of itself a whole web, so God creates out of Himself the whole world. For this reason it should be admitted that the material world and the pure consciousness have the same cause. In this connection Śrīpati takes great pains to refute the Śańkarite doctrine that the world is illusion or imposition. If we remember the arguments of Mādhva and his followers against the doctrine of illusion as expounded in the fourth volume of the present work, the criticisms of Śrīpati would be included in them in one form or another. We thus see that the views of Śańkara were challenged by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Mādhva.

Śrīpati says that the so-called falsity of the world cannot be explained either as indescribable (anirvācya) or as being liable to contradiction, for then that would apply even to the Vedas. The phrase "liable to contradiction" cannot be applied to the manifold world, for it exists and fulfils all our needs and gives scope for our actions. So far as we see, it is beginningless. It cannot therefore be asserted that at any time in the future or in the present the world will be discovered as false. It has often been said that falsehood consists in the appearance of a thing without there being any reality, just as a mirage is seen to be like water without being able to serve the purpose of water. But the world not only appears, it also serves all our purposes. All the passages in the Purāṇas and other texts where the world is described as being māyā are only

¹ tasmād abhinna-nimttopādāna-kāraṇatvaṃ na tu eka-kāraṇatvaṃ. Śrīkarabhāṣya, p. 30.

delusive statements. So God alone is both the instrumental and the substantial cause of the world, and the world as such is not false as the Śańkarites suppose.

In the same way, the supposition that Isvara or the jīva represents a being which is nothing else but Brahman as reflected through $avidy\bar{a}$ or $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is also untenable. The so-called reflecting medium may be conditional or natural. Such a condition may be the māyā, avidyā or the antahkarana. The condition cannot be gross, for in that case transmigration to the other world would not be possible. The idea of reflection is also untenable, for the Brahman has no colour and therefore it cannot be reflected and made into Isvara. That which is formless cannot be reflected. Again if Iśvara or jīva is regarded as a reflection in māyā or avidyā, then the destruction of $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ or $avidy\bar{a}$ would mean the destruction of God and of the individual soul. In the same way Śrīpati tries to refute the theory of avaccheda or limitations, which holds that the pure consciousness as qualified or objectively limited by the mind would constitute the individual soul; for in that case any kind of limitation of consciousness such as we find in all material objects would entitle them to the position of being treated as individual souls.

The qualities of production and destruction, etc., belong to the world and not to Brahman. How then can the production and destruction of the world, of which God is the source, be described as being a defining characteristic of Brahman? The reply is that it cannot be regarded as an essential defining characteristic (svarūpalakṣaṇa), but only as indicative of Brahman as being the source of the world, so that even if there is no world, that would not in any way affect the reality of existence of God. This is what is meant by saying that the present definition (I. I. 2), is not a svarūpa-lakṣaṇa, but only taṭastha-lakṣaṇa. Siva alone is the creator of the world and the world is maintained in Him and it is dissolved back into Him.

In commenting upon the *Brahma-sūtra* I. I. 3, Śrīpati follows the traditional line, but holds that the Vedas were created by God, Śiva, and that all the texts of the Vedas are definitely intended for the glorification of Śiva. This is, of course, against the Mīmāṃsā view that the Vedas are eternal and uncreated, but it agrees with Śaṅkara's interpretation that the Vedas were created by Īśvara. In Śaṅkara's system Īśvara is only a super-illusion formed by the

reflection of Brahman through $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$. We have already noticed that Śrīpati regards this view as entirely erroneous. With him Īśvara or Maheśvara means the supreme God. Śrīpati further says that the nature of Brahman cannot be understood merely by discussion or reasoning, but that He can be known only on the evidence and testimony of the Vedas. He further says that the Purāṇas were composed by Śiva even before the Vedas, and that of all the Purāṇas the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa is the most authentic one. Other Purāṇas which glorify Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa are of an inferior status.

In commenting on Brahma-sūtra I. I. 4, Śrīpati says that the Mīmāmsā contention is that the Upanisadic descriptions of the nature of Brahman should not be interpreted as urging people to some kind of meditation. They simply describe the nature of Brahman. Knowledge of Brahman is their only end. In this interpretation Śrīpati shares more or less the view of Śankara. He further says that the nature of Brahman can only be known through the Upanisads. No kind of inference or general agreement can prove the fact that there is one God who is the creator of the world. In all things made by human beings, such as temples, palaces, or stone structures, many people co-operate to produce the things. We cannot, therefore, argue from the fact that since certain things have been made, there is one creator who is responsible for their creations. This is a refutation of the Nyāya view or the view of many of the Saivagamas, that the existence of one God can be proved by inference.

He further says that the force that manifests itself, and has plurality or difference or oneness, is in Brahman. We cannot distinguish the force or energy from that which possesses the force. The Brahman thus may be regarded both as energy and as the repository of all energies. There cannot be any energy without there being a substance. So the Brahman works in a dual capacity as substance and as energy¹. It cannot be said that mere knowledge cannot stir us to action; for when one hears of the good or bad news of one's son or relation, one may be stirred to action. Thus, even pure knowledge of Brahman may lead us to His meditation,

¹ bhedābhedātmikā śaktir brahma-niṣṭhā sanātanī, iti sṃrtau śakter vahni-śakter iva brahmādhiṣṭhānatvopadeśāt. niradhiṣṭhāna-śakter abhāvāt ca śakti-śaktimator abhedāc ca tatkartṛtvaṃ tadātmakatvaṃ tasyaivopapan-natvāt. Śrīkara-bhāṣya, p. 45.

so the Mīmāṃsā contention that the description of Brahman must imply an imperative to action, and that the mere description of an existing entity is of no practical value, is false.

Śrīpati makes fresh efforts to refute the Mīmāṃsā contention that the Vedas are not expected to give any instruction regarding a merely existing thing, for that has no practical value. Śrīpati says that a pure power of consciousness is hidden from us by avidyā. This avidyā is also a power of the nature of Brahman, and by the grace of Brahman this avidyā will vanish away into its cause. So the apparent duality of avidyā is false, and the instruction as regards the nature of Brahman has a real practical value in inducing us to seek the grace of God by which alone the bondage can be removed. The intuition of Brahman (brahma-sākṣātkāra) cannot be made merely by the study of the Upaniṣadic texts, but with the grace of God and the grace of one's preceptor.

Śrīpati says that the *nitya* and the *naimittika karma* are obligatory, only the *kāmya karma*, that is, those actions performed for the attainment of a purpose, should be divested of any notion of the fulfilment of desire. Only then, when one listens to the Vedāntic texts and surrenders oneself entirely to Śiva, the heart becomes pure and the nature of Śiva is realised.

Śrīpati again returns to his charge against the doctrine of the falsity of the world. He says that since the Upanisadic texts declare that everything in the world is Brahman, the world is also Brahman and cannot be false. The entire field of bondage as we perceive it in the world before us would vanish when we know that we are one with Siva. For in that case the appearance of the world as diverse and as consisting of this or that would vanish, for everything we perceive is Siva. Brahman is thus both the substantial cause and the instrumental cause of the whole world, and there is nothing false anywhere. The world cannot be a mere illusion or mere nothing. It must have a substratum under it, and if the illusion is regarded as different from the substratum, one falls into the error of duality. If the so-called non-existence of the world merely meant that it was chimerical like the lotus in the sky, then anything could be regarded as the cause of the world underlying it.

It may be held that the Sankarites do not think that the world is absolutely false, but that its truth has only a pragmatic value

(vyavahārika-mātra-satyatvam). To this, however, one may relevantly ask the nature of such a character, which is merely pragmatic, for in such a case the Brahman would be beyond the pragmatic, and no one would ask a question about it or give a reply, but would remain merely dumb. If there were no substance behind the manifold appearances of the world, the world would be a mere panorama of paintings without any basic canvas. It has already been shown that the Upanisads cannot refer to a differenceless Brahman. If any experience that can be contradicted is called pragmatic (vyavahārika), then it will apply even to the ordinary illusions, such as the mirage which is called prātibhāsika. If it is held that to be contradicted in a pragmatic manner means that the contradiction comes only through the knowledge of Brahman, then all cases of contradiction of a first knowledge by a second knowledge would have to be regarded as being not cases of contradiction at all. The only reply that the Sankarites can give is that in the case of a non-pragmatic knowledge one has the intuition of the differenceless Brahman and along with it there dawns the knowledge of the falsity of the world. But such an answer would be unacceptable, because to know Brahman as differenceless must necessarily imply the knowledge of that from which it is different. The notion of difference is a constituent of the notion of differencelessness.

Neither can the conception of the *vyavahārika* be made on the supposition that that which is not contradicted in three or four successive moments could be regarded as uncontradicted, for that supposition might apply to even an illusory perception. Brahman is that which is not contradicted at all, and this non-contradiction is not limited by time.

Again it is sometimes held that the world is false because it is knowable (dṛśya), but if that were so, Brahman must be either knowable or unknowable. In the first case it becomes false, in the second case one cannot talk about it or ask questions. In this way Śrīpati continues his criticism against the Śaṅkarite theory of the falsity of the world, more or less on the same lines which were followed by Vyāsatīrtha in his Nyāyā-mṛta. It is, therefore, unprofitable to repeat these, as they have already been discussed in the fourth volume of the present work. Śrīpati also continues his criticism against the view that Brahman is differenceless on the

same lines as was done by Rāmānuja in the introductory portion of his *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*, and these have been fairly elaborately dealt with in the third volume of the present work.

To declare Brahman as differenceless and then to attempt to describe its characteristics, saying, for example, that the world comes into being from it and is ultimately dissolved in it, would be meaningless. According to the opponents, all that which is regarded as existent would be false, which under the supposition would be inadmissible. If the world as such is false, then it is meaningless to ascribe to it any pragmatic value.

The question may be raised, whether the Brahman is knowledge or absence of knowledge. In the first case it will be difficult for the opponent to describe the nature of the content of this knowledge. The other question is, whether the opponent is prepared to regard the distinction between the false objects (the appearance of the world) and the Brahman as real or not. If the distinction is real, then the theory of monism fails. There is no way of escape by affirming that both the ideas of difference and identity are false, for there is no alternative. Moreover, if Brahman was of the nature of knowledge, then we should be able to know the content of such knowledge, and this would be contradictory to the idea of Brahman as differenceless. There cannot be knowledge without a content; if there is a content, that content is as external as Brahman Himself, which means that the manifold world of appearance before us is as external as Brahman. There cannot be any knowledge without a definite content. Moreover, if the world appearance is regarded as having a pragmatic value, the real value must be in that something which is the ground of the appearance of the manifold world. In such a case that ground reality would be a rival to the Brahman and would challenge His oneness. In this way, Śrīpati refutes the interpretation of Śańkara that the Brahman is differenceless and that the world-appearance is false. He also asserts that human beings are inferior to God's reality, and can have a glimpse of Him through His grace and by adoring Him.

The central idea of the Vīra-śaiva philosophy as propounded by Śrīpati is that God is indistinguishable from His energies, just as the sun cannot be distinguished from the rays of the sun. In the original state, when there was no world, God alone existed, and all the manifold world of matter and life existed in Him in a subtle

form wholly indistinguishable from Him. Later on, when the idea of creation moved Him, He separated the living beings and made them different and associated them with different kinds of karma. He also manifested the material world in all the variety of forms. In most of the philosophies the material world has been a questionable reality. Thus, according to Sankara, the world-appearance is false and has only a pragmatic value. In reality it does not exist, but only appears to do so. According to Rāmānuja the world is inseparably connected with God and is entirely dependent upon Him. According to Śrīkantha the world has been created by the energy of God and in that sense it is an emanation from Him, but Śrīpati refers to certain texts of the Upanisads in which it is said that the Brahman is both conscious and unconscious. Thus Śrīpati holds that everything we see in the world is real, and has Siva or God as its substratum. It is only by His energy that He makes the world appear in so many diverse forms. He denounces the idea of any separation between the energy (sakti) and the possessor of it (śaktimān). Thus, if the world is a manifestation of the energy of God, that does not preclude it from being regarded as of the nature of Siva Himself. Thus Srīpati says that liberation can only come when God is worshipped in His twofold form, the physical and the spiritual. This makes him introduce the idea of a compulsory visible insignia of God, called the *linga*. Śrīpati also advocates the idea of gradation of liberation as held by Mādhva and his followers.

It must, however, be noted that, though God transforms Himself into the manifold world, He does not exhaust Himself in the creation, but the greater part of Him is transcendent. Thus, in some aspect God is immanent, forming the stuff of the world, and in another aspect he is transcendent and far beyond the range of this world. The so-called $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ is nothing but the energy of God, and God Himself is an identity of pure consciousness and will, or the energy of action and power.

Though, originally, all beings were associated with particular kinds of *karma*, yet when they were born into the material world and were expected to carry out their duties and actions, they were made to enjoy and to suffer in accordance to their deeds. God is neither partial nor cruel, but awards joy and suffering to man's own *karma* in revolving cycles, though the original responsibility of association with *karma* belongs to God. In this Śrīpati thinks

that he has been able to bridge the gulf between the almighty powers of God and the distribution of fruits of *karma* according to individual deeds, thus justifying the accepted theory of *karma* and reconciling it with the supreme powers of the Lord. He does not seem to realise that this is no solution, as at the time of original association the individuals were associated with various kinds of *karma*, and were thus placed in a state of inequality.

Śrīpati's position is pantheistic and idealistically realistic. That being so, the status of dream experiences cannot be mere illusion. Saṅkara had argued that the experiences of life are as illusory as the experiences of dreams. In reply to this Śrīpati tries to stress the view that the dream-experiences also are not illusory but real. It is true, indeed, that they cannot be originated by an individual by his personal effort of will. But all the same, Śrīpati thinks that they are created by God, and this is further substantiated by the fact that the dreams are not wholly unrelated to actual objects of life, for we know that they often indicate various types of lucky and unlucky things in actual life. This shows that the dreams are somehow interconnected with the actual life of our waking experiences. Further, this fact demolishes the argument of Śaṅkara that the experiences of waking life are as illusory as the experiences of dreams.

In speaking of dreamless sleep, Śrīpati says that in that state our mind enters into the network of nerves inside the heart, particularly staying in the purītat, being covered by the quality of tamas, and this state is produced also by the will of God, so that when the individual returns to waking life by the will of God, this tamas quality is removed. This explains the state of suṣupti, which is distinguished from the stage of final liberation, when an individual becomes attuned to God and becomes free of all associations with the threefold guṇas of Prakṛti. He then finally enters into the transcendent reality of Śiva and does not return to any waking consciousness. So it must be noted that, according to Śrīpati, both the dream state and the dreamless state are produced by God. Śrīpati's description of suṣupti is thus entirely different from that of Śaṅkara, according to whom the soul is in Brahma-consciousness at the time of dreamless sleep.

Śrīpati supports his thesis that in dreamless sleep we, with all our mental functions, pass into the network of nerves in the heart, and do not become merged in Brahman, as Śańkara might lead us to suppose. For this reason, when we wake the next day, we have revived in our memory the experiences of the life before the sleep. This explains the continuity of our consciousness, punctuated by dreamless sleep every night. Otherwise if we had at any time merged into Brahman, it could not be possible for us to remember all our duties and responsibilities, as if there were no dreamless sleep and no break in our consciousness.

In discoursing on the nature of difference between swoon (mūrcchā) and death, Śrīpati says that in the state of unconsciousness in swoon, the mind becomes partially paralysed so far as its different functions are concerned. But in death the mind is wholly dissociated from the external world. It is well to remember the definition of death as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as being absolute forgetfulness (mṛtyur atyanta-vismṛti).

According to the view of Sankara, the Brahman is formless. Such a view does not suit the position of Vīrā-śaivism as propounded by Śrīpati. So he raises the question as to whether the Śiva, the formless, is the same as the Siva with the form as found in many Siva-lingas, and in reply Srīpati emphasises the fact that Siva exists in two states, as the formless and as being endowed with form. It is the business of the devotee to realise that Siva is one identical being in and through all His forms and His formless aspect. It is in this way that the devotee merges himself into Siva, as rivers merge into the sea. The individual or the jīva is not in any sense illusory or a limitation of the infinite and formless nature into an apparent entity as the Sankarites would try to hold. The individual is real and the Brahman is real in both the aspects of form and formlessness. Through knowledge and devotion the individual merges into God, as rivers merge into the sea, into the reality which is both formless and endowed with manifold forms.

Vīra-śaivism indeed is a kind of bhedābheda interpretation of the Brahma-sūtra. We have, in the other volumes of the present work, dealt with the bhedābheda interpretation, as made by Rāmānuja and Bhāskara from different angles. In the bhedābheda interpretation Rāmānuja regards the world and the souls as being organically dependent on God, who transcends the world of our experience. According to Bhāskara, the reality is like the ocean of which the world of experience is a part, just as the

waves are parts of the ocean. They are neither absolutely one with it nor different from it. The Vīra-śaivism is also a type of bhedā-bheda interpretation, and it regards the absolute reality of the world of experience and the transcendent being, which is beyond all experience. Śrīpati sometimes adduces the illustration of a coiled snake which, in one state remains as a heap, and in another state appears as a long thick cord. So the world is, from one point of view different from God, and from another point of view one with God. This example has also been utilised by Vallabha for explaining the relationship between God and the world. The individual beings or jīvas may, through knowledge and devotion, purge themselves of all impurities, and with the grace of God ultimately return to the transcendent being and become merged with it. So things that appeared as different may ultimately show themselves to be one with Brahman.

Śrīpati points out that by the due performance of caste duties and the Vedic rites, the mind may become purified, so that the person may be fit for performing *yoga* concentration on Śiva, and offer his deep devotion to Him, and may thus ultimately receive the grace of God, which alone can bring salvation.

There has been a long discussion among the various commentators of the Brahma-sūtra as to whether the Vedic duties, caste-duties, and occasional duties form any necessary part of the true knowledge that leads to liberation. There have been some who had emphasised the necessity of the Vedic duties as being required as an indispensable element of the rise of the true knowledge. Others like Sankara and his followers had totally denied the usefulness of Vedic duties for the acquisition of true knowledge. Śrīpati had all along stressed the importance of Vedic duties as an important means for purifying the mind, for making it fit for the highest knowledge attainable by devotion and thought. It may be noted in this connection that the present practice of the Lingavats is wholly the concept of an extraneous social group and this anticaste attitude has been supported by some authors by misinterpretation of some Vīra-śaiva texts1. But in commenting on the first topic of Brahma-sūtra III. 4, Śrīpati emphasises the independent claims of the knowledge of God and devotion to Him as leading

 $^{^1}$ See Professor Sakhare's $Linga-dh\bar{a}rana-candrik\bar{a}$ (Introduction, pp. 666 et seq.) and also $V\bar{\imath}ra-\dot{s}aiv\bar{a}nanda-candrik\bar{a}$ (Vādakāṇḍa, ch. 24, pp. 442 et seq.).

to liberation, though he does not disallow the idea that the Vedic duties may have a contributory effect in cleansing the mind and purifying it, when the person performs Vedic duties by surrendering all his fruits to God. Śrīpati, however, denounces the action of any householder who leaves off his Vedic duties just out of his personal whim.

In commenting on *Brahma-sūtra* III. 4. 2, Śrīpati quotes many scriptural texts to show that the Vedic duties are compulsory even in the last stage of life, so that in no stage of life should these duties be regarded as optional. In this connection he also introduces incidentally the necessity of *linga-dhāraṇa*. Though the Vedic duties are generally regarded as accessories for the attainment of right knowledge, they are not obligatory for the householder, who may perform the obligatory and occasional duties and yet attain a vision of God by his meditation and devotion.

The essential virtues, such as sama (inner control), dama (external control), titikṣā (endurance), uparati (cessation from all worldly pleasures), mumukṣutva (strong desire for liberation), etc., are indispensable for all, and as such the householders who have these qualities may expect to proceed forward for the vision of God. All injunctions and obligations are to be suspended for the preservation of life in times of danger. The Upaniṣads stress the necessity of the various virtues including concentration of mind leading to Brahma-vidyā. Śrīpati points out that every person has a right to pursue these virtues and attain Brahma-vidyā. This is done in the very best way by accepting the creed of Pāśupata Yoga.

The duties of a Siva-yogin consist of his knowledge, disinclination, the possession of inner and outer control of passions, and cessation from egotism, pride, attachment and enmity to all persons. He should engage himself in listening to Vedāntic texts, in meditation, in thinking and all that goes with it in the *yoga* process, like *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, and also in deep devotion to Śiva. But though he may be so elevated in his mind, he will not show or demonstrate any of these great qualities. He will behave like a child. Those that have become entirely one with Śiva need not waste time in listening to Vedāntic texts. That is only prescribed for those who are not very advanced. When a man is so advanced that he need not perform the *Varṇāśrama* duties or enter into *samādhi*, he is called *jīvan-mukta* in such a state; it depends upon

the will of such a man whether he should enter into the jīvan-mukta state with or without his body. When a person's mind is pure, he may obtain an intuitive knowledge of Śiva by devotion. A truly wise man may be liberated in the present life. Unlike the system of Śańkara, Śrīpati introduces the necessity of bhakti along with knowledge. He holds that with the rise of knowledge, all old bonds of karma are dissolved and no further karma would be attached to him.

INDEX1

abhāvayoga, 123	aparokṣa, 118
Abhidharmakosa of Vasubandhu, 143	Appar, 19
abhimāna, 35	Appaya Dīkṣita, 10, 17, 51, 65-95,
acetana, 94	105, 159
acit, 25	Appearance and reality, 71, 104-5;
adharma, 27, 32, 165	bhedābheda theory of reality, 49, 59;
Adhipati, 141	gross and subtle nature of the world,
Agasti, 6, 131 n., 144	79, 168-9, 184-8; Śańkara's views
Agastya, 47–8, 53 and n.	on, 83-4
Agastya-sūtra, 53	apramāda, 146
Agastyavṛtti, 173	apūrva, 94, 174
Aghora, 141	artha-kriyā-kāritā doctrine of the
Aghora-śivācārya, 10, 17, 21 n., 38, 39,	Buddhists, 34, 35-6
160-1, 164-6	arul, 152
Aghora-śivācārya's commentary on	Aruļ-nanti Šivācārya, 19, 20
Tattva-prakāśa, 14n., 160, 161 and	arul-śakti, 157
n., 162n., 163n.	Asceticism, 125, 130-1, 133-4, 136,
Agniveśa, 6	137-8, 140, 150
aham, 67	Ashes smeared on the body, 4, 8, 51,
ahankāra, 29, 90, 99, 124, 135, 137,	133-4, 136, 137, 144, 146, 148, 150
139, 164-6, 168; distinguished from	Aśrama rules, 147
buddhi, 34, 171	aşţamūrti, 119
ajñāna, 32, 104, 113	Atharva-veda, 2
Akşaka, 46	Atoms, 36-7, 111, 160, 167, 168
Akṣapāda, 6, 9, 70n., 145	atha, 73
alinga, 119n.	Atri, 6, 7, 13, 131n., 144
Allama-prabhu, 50, 53, 54, 55-6,	avaccheda, 180
59-60	avidyā, 49, 54, 104, 118, 174, 176,
Analogy, 145	180, 182
Anandagiri, 2, 3, 9n., 14, 15, 42, 50	avyakta, 109, 113, 121, 166, 168, 171
Ancestor-worship, 155	ācāra, 9n.
Anga-sthala, 61, 63	ācāra-linga, 63
Angira, 6	ācāryas, 6, 10
Animal life, injury to all forms of	āgama, 96
decried, 54	Agamas, 4, 5, 17–18, 46, 50–1, 69, 87,
anīśvara, 26	91, 98, 123, 155, 175; original lan-
antahkarana, 140-1, 180	guage of, 15–16, 96, 106, 150, 159;
aņu, 163, 167	listed, 16n.; philosophical achieve-
anubhava, 63	ment of Āgama literature, 20-3,
Anubhava-sūtra of Māyi-deva, 60,	29-41; date of, 40, 96; two types,
61-4	71-2
anugraha, 161-2, 169-70	Āgama-śāstras, 160
anyathā-khyāti, 170	āgantuka, 27
apānavāyu, 125	ākāśa, 37, 81-2, 103, 119, 135
7	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7

 $^{^1}$ The words are arranged in the order of the English alphabet. Sanskrit and Pāli technical terms and words are in small italics; names of books are in italics with a capital. English words and other names are in roman with a capital. Letters with diacritical marks come after ordinary ones.

āmnāya, 5 ānanda, 63, 67–8, 80–1, 82, 99–100 āṇava-mala, 11, 152, 158 Āpastamba-sūtra, 12n. Ārvārs, 158 Āsuri, 6, 70n. Ātman, 62, 64, 110, 114, 138 ātman, 26, 111, 171 Ātma-samarpaṇa of Viśuddha Muni, 6n.

Bādarāyaṇa, 65, 66, 70, 175-7 bala, 100, 146 Bala-vikarana, 141 Basava, 10, 12, 42-7, 52, 53, 55, 59-60 Basava-purāņa, 12, 42-4, 53, 59, 60 Basava-rājīya, 52, 54 Bhairava, 2 Bhairavas, 50-1 Bhaktas, 9-10 bhakti, 13, 54-5, 62-4, 102, 105, 107, Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., 2, 3n., 5 and n., 43 and n., 51 Bharatas, 9-10, 145 Bhatta-nārāyana Kantha, 21 n. Bhavabhüti, 2, 3 Bhavişyottara-purāņa, 11 Bhāgavata Purāņa, 187 Bhāmatī of Vācaspati Miśra, 15, 50, 69-70, 97 Bhärgava, 6 Bhāsarvajña, 9, 11-12, 14, 143-4, 145, Bhāskara, 65, 68, 187 bhāva, 122 bhāvalinga, 62 bhāvayoga, 123 bhāvī, 119 bhedābheda, 49, 59, 68, 178, 187-8 Bhīma-natha Prabhu, 61 bhoga, 30 bhogānga, 63 Bhoja of Dhāra, King, 10, 14 and n., 17, 23, 39, 156, 159 Bhrgu, 6 bhūtas, 36, 99 bindu, 28, 29-30, 38-9, 64, 120-1, 165, 166, 167, 169 bindu-māyā, 162, 163 Bio-motor forces, 125 Bliss, 63, 67-8, 80-1, 82, 93, 99, 153-4

Blood-rites, 3

Bodhāyana-vrtti, 68

Bondage, 22, 25, 27, 33, 40, 55, 70, 152, 162; as a veil of impurity that covers our wisdom, 88–9, 116–17, 118–19, 164; limited knowledge described as bondage, 100; destructible by true knowledge, 108–9; as dependence on the causal power, 131, 136, 163–4, 172; four kinds of bondage, 164–5; removed by the grace of God, 182

Boppa-nātha, 61 Brahmā, 107, 110–11, 119*n*., 141 brahma-carya, 134

Brahman, 24-5, 64, 67, 135; devoid of form or differentiation, 48, 49, yet said to be the souls of beings, 49, 175-6; identity of the self with Brahman the highest goal in life, 56-7, 174-5; qualityless and differenceless, 68, 94, 176, 177-8, 183-4; knowledge of Brahman liberates from all bondage eternally, 73; qualification for inquiry into the nature of Brahman, 73-7, 177; the nature of Brahman Himself, 77-85. 181-2; changeless, 92; the soul a part of Brahman, 93, 94-5, 118; as the unity of sat, cit and ananda, 99-100, 120; the material and instrumental cause, 160, 168, 178-9, 180, 182; denied by Carvakas, 173-4; fallacious to attribute nescience as a quality of Brahman, 176; the manifold world is one with Brahman, 177; reflected through avidyā or māyā, 180, 181; as energy and the repository of all energies, 181-2; whether Brahman is knowledge or absence of knowledge, 184, conscious or unconscious, 185, form or formlessness, 187

brahman, 75–6 Brahmanism, 43, 142

Brahma-sūtra, 65, 66, 70, 72, 80, 112, 175, 177, 187–8; Appaya Dikṣita's bhāṣya, 51, 65–95; Rāmānuja's bhāṣya, 2, 3, 50, 51n., 68, 80n., 184; Saṅkara's bhāṣya, 1, 14–15, 50, 66, 69, 71, 80n., 96, 97–8, 121n., 142, 154, 160, 173; Srikaṇtha's bhāṣya, 10, 11, 18n., 65–95, 98; Srīpati Paṇḍita's bhāṣya, 10, 53n., 60, 173–90; Vijnāna Bhikṣu's bhāṣya, 66, 69

Brahma-vidyā, 189 Breath control, 123, 124-5 Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 131n. Brhadārya, 6, 70n., 131n., 144 Brhaspati, 6 Buccayyārādhya, 46

buddhi, 91, 92, 124, 128, 135, 137, 139, 164, 165, 166; the self reflected through buddhi, 31-2; distinguished from ahankāra, 34, 171; the stuff of buddhi is material, 35; not a valid element of true knowledge, 37; as ordinary knowledge, 58; three ginas from, 99, 101, 119; also called citta, 140; cannot be self-illuminating, 170-1

buddhi-tattva, 168

Buddhism, 22, 34, 35-6, 40, 124, 143, 154, 156; doctrine of momentary selves, 164

Buddhists, 3, 150

caitanyam drk-kriyā-rūpam, 21 Caitanya school, 102 cakras, 55-6 Cannabasava, 53, 54, 59 cara-linga, 62 Carefulness, 146 Carelessness, 126 Cārvāka system, 31, 158, 173-5 caryā, 22, 122, 123, 136, 148, 161 Caste-division, 13, 43, 45, 92 Caste duties, 122, 147, 188 Caturveda-tātparya-saṃgraha, 11 Celibacy, 134 Chant, 122, 126 cheda, 140 cicchakti, 11, 33, 35, 76, 82, 90, 92, 100 cidacid-rūpa, 165 cidākāśa, 81 cidrūpa, 165 cit, 67-8, 99-100, 161, 162 citta, 101, 140, 143 Commandment of God, 116, 119

Conscience, 101
Consciousness, 21-2, 26-7, 48, 92, 99-100, 179; energy of consciousness is eternal, 32-3; ego-consciousness of one individual not confused with another, 34, 35; pure consciousness the valid part in knowledge, 37, 57, 58, 62; egohood of Siva as 'pure consciousness', 67, 103-4; energy controlled by Brah-

man, 76, 81-2; a personal quality of Brahman, 80-1; subtle and gross consciousness, 83, 90; in association with unconscious elements, 120; God's consciousness integrally associated with action, 162; five categories of the nature of pure consciousness, 165; theory that pure consciousness, when limited by mind, constitutes the soul, 180; continuity of consciousness after dreamless sleep, 187

Contentment, 146 Contradiction, 183

Creation: God as the agent of, 1, 15, 23, 24–5, 68, 70, 103, 147, 160, 180, 185; energy of consciousness as the instrument of, 81–2, 90, 99, 162; purpose of God in creation, 85–90, 135–6; as emanation from the state of avyakta, 113; limited by the will of Siva, 120; by anugraha, 161–2, 169; view of the falsehood of the world, 179–80, 182–3

Cruelty, 85, 86 Cycle of births and rebirths, 49, 73, 85-7, 92-3, 95, 108, 110, 115, 117, 118, 120, 133, 164, 170

Dakṣiṇa, 51 Dalal, Mr, 7, 11 dama, 189

daurmanasya, 127

Death as absolute forgetfulness, 187 Destiny, 23, 29, 33, 88, 90, 101, 109, 121, 165, 167, 170

Destruction, 85, 86, 98, 107; as the reversal of creation, 113, 135, 161,

Deśikāradhya, 46 Deva, 141

Devala, 6, 70 n.
Devotion, 13, 54-5, 62-4, 102, 103, 104, 107-8, 119, 188-9; must be spontaneous, not for some advan-

tage, 122

dharma, 27, 32, 73-5, 132, 140, 146, 147, 165

Dharmakīrti, 143 dhāraṇā, 124, 125-6, 189 dhyāna, 124, 126, 128-9, 189

Dinnāga, 143 Disease, 126 dīkṣā, 146 Doubt, 37, 78
Dravidian language, 16, 18, 47, 66, 72, 96, 98, 106, 142, 149, 159
Dream-experiences, 186-7
dṛk, 21, 33
dṛṣṭa, 133
duḥkhānta, 1, 131
Durvāsā, 53n.

Ekorāma, 10, 46, 52 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (ed. Hastings), 3, 8n., 150n.

Energy, 62; as material power, 75–6; as consciousness, 76, 82, 90, 99–100; the ultimate energy, 81–2; in itself changeless, 92; relationship with God, 112–13, 161–2, 165, 166, 169, 184–5; flows in the direction from which obstruction has been removed, 116; an emanation from Siva, 120, 127, 152, 158, 162–3; Brahman as energy and the repository of all energies, 181–2

Faith, 121-2, 146 Falsehood, 179-80, 182-3 Frazer, R. W., 3, 8n., 150 and n. Free will, 88-90, 94

Gaṇakārikā of Haradatta, 7, 11, 12n., 14, 143-4, 145-6, 148
Garga, 6
Gautama, 6, 9, 75
Gārgya, 6, 131n., 144
Ghoratara, 141
Gītā, 73, 176

God, 6n; the instrumental cause of the world, 1, 15, 23, 24-5, 28, 39, 40, 50, 70-1, 72, 76, 90-1, 111, 154, 160, 163n., 166, 168, 178-80; the material cause of the world, 1, 15, 40, 68, 72, 76, 82-3, 90-1, 166, 168, 178-80; the grace of God, 4, 13, 79, 86-7, 89, 94, 108, 113, 115-16, 131, 136, 152-3, 161-2, 182, 188; monotheistic views of, 12-13, 142; His existence known by inference, 22, 23, 25-6, 79-80, 84, 90, 160, 161-2, 175, 181; all change effected by, 25; all experience manifested by, 27; bestows the fruits of karma, 31, 86-8, 148-9, 175, 185-6; transcendent, yet a material cause, 48-9, 68-9; sixfold powers of, 60; oneness or identity with, 63, 64; reality of the world lies in the nature of God, 71, 113, 179-80, 182-3; though diversified, is regarded as one, 76, 78; His purpose in creation, 85-6; operates for the benefit of all beings, 86-7; determinism of God and the free will of persons, 88-90, 94; individual souls co-existent with Him, 92-3, 167; the cause of maintenance and destruction of all things, the cause of all causes, 107, 135-6, 161-2, 180; His energy the essence of time, 112-13, the instrument of creation, 162, 165, 166-7, 169, 172; the will of God, 113, 115-16, 117-18, 119, 121, 135, 148-9, 170, 172, 186; transcendental reality of God beyond all logic, 114; He inflicts punishment because He is not indifferent to vice and sin, 114; whole world a personification of God, 120; He pervades the world as the male and female powers, 120-1; associates different persons with different experiences, 137; immanent and transcendent, 137, 139, 185; has no power over liberated souls, 142; highest powers abide in Him eternally, 147; omnipresent, 151; always the same and always liberated, 161; as knowledge combined with action, 161, 169, 172, 185; responsible for blinding and enlightening, 161-2; eternally possesses omniscience and omnipotence, 168; His existence denied, 173-4, but the denial untenable, 178; indistinguishable from His energies, 184-5; the creator of dreams, 186

Goga, 53, 54 Goodness the commandment of God,

114–15 Gorakşa, 55–6, 60 gorakşa, 58

Gorakşa-nāth, 57

Grace of God: reveals the world as we ought to experience it, 4, 89, 94, 131, 136; an inner force which follows the course of creation, 13, 162; manifested in natural laws, 79; extended uniformly to all persons, 86-7; extension of God's grace in

Grace of God (cont.)
devotion, 108, in will, 113, 115-16;
mystic wisdom obtained through
the grace of God, 152-3, 182, 188
grāhaka, 33
grāhya, 33
Guṇaratna, 6n., 9 and n., 10n., 13, 15,
17, 144-5
guṇas, 28, 35, 36, 99, 109, 112, 115-16,
120-1, 165, 166, 171, 186
guṇa-tattva, 168
guru-linga, 63

Happiness, 165 Haradatta, 11, 12n., 143

13, 144

Harihara-tāratamya, 11
Harṣanātha, inscription in temple of,
5
Hatha-yoga, 59
Hayavadana Rao, 10 and n., 11
Hindu faith, 43
Hoisington's translation of Umāpati's commentary on Siva-jñāna-bodha,
151

Haribhadra Suri, 9 and n., 10 and n.,

icchā-śakti, 62, 63, 100, 157 Indolence, 126 Inference, 9, 11, 13, 28, 145; of the existence of God, 22, 23, 25-6, 79-80, 84, 90, 160, 161-2, 175, 181; based on perception, 132-3; of two kinds, 133; of the existence of self, 138-9; of cause from effect, effect from cause, and presence from absence, 171 Intuition, 33, 62, 73, 127; intuitive wisdom, 126; intuitive knowledge of Siva, 189–90 ista-linga, 62 Īśāna, 6, 131n., 141, 144 īśāna, 82, 119

īśāna, 82, 119 Iśvara, 79, 98–9, 124, 132, 141, 143, 168, 178, 180–1 īśvara, 165 Iśvara-kāraṇins, 1, 98, 143 Iśvarakriṣṇa, 115

jaḍa-śakti, 75 Jagaddhara, 2 Jaigīṣavya, 6 Jaimini, 73

īśvara-tattva, 167

Jainism, 22, 40, 118, 134
Jayanta, 9, 127, 145
jīva, 27, 58, 61, 62, 93, 180; not identical with Brahman, 24; can know the world and Siva, 25-6; a part of Brahman, 49, 104, 175; may ultimately return to the transcendent being, 187-8
jīvan-mukti, 11, 189-90
jīšana, 73-4, 80, 100, 105, 132, 157
jīšana-karma-samuccaya-vāda, 74
jīšana-ratnāvalī, 14n.
jīšana-sakti, 147, 157
Jīšana-sambandha, 19
Jyeṣṭha, 141
jyeṣṭha, 141

Kailāsa-samhitā of the Śiva-mahāpurāṇa, 99-102 Kala-vikarana, 141 kalā, 23, 28, 29, 33, 37, 64, 100, 137, 141, 165, 167, 170-1 kalā-tattva, 170 Kalpa-sūtras, 92 Kanarese language, 16n., 18, 149 Kapila, 6, 70n. Kapilāṇḍa, 6, 131n., 144 karma, 23, 28, 40, 108, 131, 157, 162, 163, 164, 170, 190; compromise between theory of grace and theory of karma, 13; experience manifested in accordance with karma, 27, 109, 110, 152-3; fruits of karma bestowed by God, 31, 50, 85-9, 94-5, 148-9, 168, 185-6; path of karma distinguished from the path of knowledge, 73-5; theory of karma in Siddhanta system, 172 karuṇā, 4, 131 Kaunāda language, 47 Kaundinya, 4, 5-6, 13-14, 17, 130-2,

139, 142, 145-6, 148

Kauruṣa, 6, 131 n., 144

Kauśika, 6, 131 n., 144

Kāla, 137, 141

kāla, 33, 90, 99, 101, 109, 112, 121, 165, 167, 171

Kālamukhas, 2-3, 9 and n., 50, 51, 70n., 91, 97, 145

Kālidāsa, 46

Kālottarāgama, 14 n.

kālya, 137 Kāmikāgama, 18 and n., 21, 46, 48, 50, 61, 72, 91, 124 Kāmin, 141 kāmya karma, 182 Kāṇāda, 6, 70n. Kāṇādas, 15 Kānphāţā Yogis, 58 Kāpāleśvara, temple of, near Nasik, Kāpālikas, 1, 2–3, 9n., 50, 70, 72, 91, 97, 154 Kāpālika-vrata, 2 kāraṇa, 1, 15, 131, 133, 137, 170 Kāravaṇa-māhātmya, 7, 13, 14 kārikā, 115, 146 Kāruņika-siddhāntins, 1, 2, 4, 50, 70 kārya, 1, 131, 132, 133 Kārikā, 11 Kāśikā-vṛtti, 12n. Kāśmīr form of Śaivism, 98, 101-2 Kāyārohana (Kāravana), Bhrguksetra, 7 kāya-siddhi, 59 Kena Upanișad, 119 kevalin, 141 Knowledge, 35, 48, 55, 63, 75, 165,

170-1, 174, 181; identical in essence with activity, 30-1; wrong knowledge, 32, 100; in the stage of ahankāra, 34; as pure consciousness, 37, 57, 58, 93; special quality of knowledge possessed by the soul, 92-3; an aspect of Siva, 100-1, 153-4; devotion identified with knowledge, 102, 103, 105; sorrow removed through knowledge, 108, 117; mediate and immediate knowledge, 118; leads to yoga, 122, 125; revealed through awareness, 133; Pāśupata view of, 141-2, 146-7; pragmatic and non-pragmatic knowledge, 182-3; whether Brahman is of the nature of knowledge, 184; acquisition of knowledge assisted by performance of Vedic duties, 188-9; intuitive knowledge of Siva, 189-90

Koluttunga I, Chola king, 45 kriyā, 33, 123, 148, 157, 161 kriyā-śakti, 62, 100, 147, 157 kriyākhyā śakti, 120 kṣara, 109 kula, 58 Kumāra, 6 Kumārila Bhatta, 156 kuṇḍalinī, 59 Kuṇi, 6

Kureśa, 45 Kuśika, 6, 13, 131*n.*, 144 *Kūrma-purāṇa*, 6*n.*, 66, 72, 73

Lakulīśa, 5, 6 and n., 7

lakulīśa, 7 Lākulas, 50-1 Lākulīśa-pāśupatas, 1, 51, 72, 142 Lākulīśa-pāśupata-darśana, 7 Liberation, 22, 67, 69, 70, 73, 76-7, 142, 145, 162, 171, 174, 186; although attainable by personal action, such action is due to the grace of God, 78-9, 88-9, 105, 115; and the enjoyment of pure bliss, 82, 86-7; soul becomes omniscient in liberation, 93, 141, 161, and one with Brahman, 94; four types of liberation, 102-3; attained through true knowledge, 105, 115, 118, 189-90, through meditation, 108, 147, through suffering, 117, through the will of God, 119, 136, through non-attachment to virtue and vice, 122, through yogic processes, 122-8, 152, through the grace of God, 131-2, 152-3, through strength or power (bala), 146, through the dispersal of the non-spiritual, 164-5, through the worship of God in the physical and spiritual form, 185; assisted by performance of Vedic duties, 188-9

linga, 42, 52, 61-2, 119n., 133-4, 177 and n., 185

linga-dhāraṇa, 38, 42, 44, 46, 53, 189

Linga-dhāraṇa-candrikā of Nandikeśvara, 52, 188n.

linga-sthala, 61–2 Lingāyats, 42 Logos, 121 Lokākṣī, 6

Mādhva, 65, 179, 185
mahat, 119n.
Mahābhārata, 5, 7, 67, 91, 97
mahābhūtas, 166
Mahādeva, 141
mahādeva, 120
Mahādevī, 53
mahādevī, 120
Mahā-guru Kaleśvara, 61
Mahā-kāruṇikas, 121n., 154, 162

Mahālakşmī, 4 mahāmāyā, 165, 167, 169 Mahānīśa, 141 Mahāpūrna, 45 mahātma-linga, 62 Mahāvrata, 2 Mahāvratadharas, 2, 9 and n., 145 Mahāvratadhārins, 51 Mahāvratins, 3 mahāyoga, 123, 124, 127 Maheśvara, 1, 7, 17, 58, 70, 71, 97, 121, 133, 138, 159, 181; beginningless and indestructible, 135 maheśvara, 62, 63, 64, 90, 172 Maheśvaras, 1, 14, 70, 91, 160, 166 maitra, 139 Maitreya, 6, 131n., 144 Makutāgama, 16n., 52 mala, 22-3, 24-7, 31, 32-3, 95, 100, 109, 116-17, 163, 164-5 Male and female principle, 99-100, 101, 120 Mallikārjuna-linga, 52 manas, 34, 35, 55, 90, 92-3, 99, 110, 139, 147, 164, 165, 166, 168 mantrayoga, 123 mantreśvara, 164, 165, 167 Manu, 53n. Manuşyaka, 6, 131n., 144 Marula, 47, 173 Marula-siddha, 52, 53n. mateh prasāda, 146 Matsyendra-nātha, 57 Mācaya, 53 Mādhava, 1, 4, 5, 10, 12, 14 and n., 17, 42, 50-1, 97, 142, 156, 159-61 Mādhavācārya, 10 māheśvarī śakti, 22 Mālatī-mādhava of Bhavabhūti, 2 Mānikka-vāchakar, 19, 41, 149-59 Māṇikyārādhya, 46 Mātanga-parameśvara, 16n., 160, 161, 169n., 170n. Mātanga-parameśvara-tantra, 28-9 māyā, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 49, 54, 55, 56, 62, 87, 99, 103, 112, 157; as the energy of God, 29, 109, 185; a material cause, 80, 82-4, 118-21, 160, 162, 164-72, 179-80; always associated with Siva, 82-3; pure and impure māyā, 90-1; as delusion, 107 māyēya, 164-5 Māyi-deva, 60, 61

Meditation, 122-9, 139, 142, 147, 189 Memory, 37, 164 Meykanda, 11 Meykandadeva, 10-11, 19, 20, 24-7, 150 and n. Mīmāmsā doctrines, 156, 173, 180-2 Mīmāmsā-sutra of Jaimini, 73 Miraculous powers attained by yogic processes, 56-7, 127, 135, 139, 147 moha-śāstra, 72 Mohenjo-daro, 7 Moral responsibility, 85-95 Movement, 35, 147; in creation, 62; an aspect of Siva, 100, 117 Mrgendrāgama, 14n., 16n., 18, 21 and n., 27, 38, 39, 72, 149, 160, 161, Mṛgendra-vṛtti-dīpikā of Aghora-śivācārya, 21 n., 26, 160 Mudda-deva, 48 Mukha-lingesvara, 46 Muktāyī, 54 mumuksutva, 189 Muni, Viśuddha, 6n. Mysore Oriental Research Institute, 38

naimittika karma, 182 naisthikī, 63 Naiyāyikas, 1, 9-10, 15, 50, 70, 93, 130-1, 143-5, 160, 161, 166, 168 Nakulīśa, 5, 6-7, 130, 131n., 144 Nakulīśa-pāśupatas, 1, 5, 14, 15, 17, Nakulīśa-pāśupata-darśana, 5, 144n. Namah-śivāya-deśika, 19 Nampiyandar, 19 Nampiyāndār-nampi-purāna, 149 Nandikeśvara, 52 Nandiperuman, 18 nāda, 64, 120, 166 Nāka-rāja Prabhu, 61 nānāgama-vidhāyine, 69, 70 Nānasambandhar, 156 Nārāyaņa, 4, 181 Nescience, 104-5, 107, 113, 118, 174, Nimbārka, 10, 179 nirvikalpa, 171 nirvisaya, 128 nişkala, 38-9, 137, 139, 141, 157 nitya, 182 niyama, 134, 138, 140, 172 niyati, 23, 29, 33, 88, 90, 101, 109, 121, 165, 167, 170

Index 198

Non-attachment, 29, 54, 55, 144; Pauşkarāgama of Umāpati, 14n., 19, causes disappearance of vices, 56; 39n.; summary of general arguleads to union with the supreme ment, 29-37 Lord, 138-9; of the self to all other objects, 140-1 Non-being, 175-6, 182 Non-injury, 134 Nyāya doctrines, 13, 111, 130, 155, blinding force, 167 167, 181 Nyāya-bhūṣana of Bhāsarvajña, 143, 145 Nyāya-kalikā of Jayanta, 145 Nyāya-kusumāñjali of Udayana, 145 Nyāya-mañjarī of Jayanta, 127 Nyāyā-mrta of Vyāsatīrtha, 183 Nyāya-sāra of Bhāsarvajña, 143, 145 Nyāya-sūtra of Akṣapāda, 9, 145, 146 om, 70, 134, 142 om namah śivāya, 144 Omkāra, 141 Pantheism, 168, 186 Pañcarātra school, 118 and n. Pañcaśikha, 6, 70n. Pañcārtha bhāṣya of Kaundinya, 4, 5, 6, 13-14 Pañcārtha-lākulāmnāya, 5, 7 trinal content, 130-49 Pañcārtha-vidyā, 5 Panditārādhya, 47, 52 Pāśupata-śāstra, 6n., 10, 142, 144 pāśupata-vrata, 138 Paragārgya, 6, 131n., 144 pāśupata-yoga, 138-9, 189 Parañjoti, 11 para-prakṛti, 81 Pāśupata-yoga, 91, 143 parāśakti, 100 Parāśara, 6, 70n. paricaryā, 148 in the Pauşkarāgama, 37 parigraha-śakti, 172 parināma, 92, 160 Periya-purāṇa, 19, 149, 156

parināmakrama-niyama, 4 paroksa, 118 paśu, 28, 70, 82, 108, 113, 146, 154, 161, 163, 171; defined as pure consciousness covered with impurities, 26; that which experiences and reacts, 29; inanimate, 111; connected with pāśa to mean 'cause and effect', 131, 141-2 paśūnām-pati, 156 Paśupati, 14 paśupati, 7, 82

Paśupati-pāśa-vicāra-prakaraņa, 26

Patañjali, 6n., 14, 49, 55, 124, 125, 143 pati, 141, 147, 154, 156, 161 163

pāśa, 25, 26, 33, 70, 82, 113, 154, 161, 163; threefold, 27; destructible, 108; inanimate, 111; connected with paśu to mean 'cause and effect', 131, 141-2; may be a Pāśupatas, 1, 6n., 9, 10, 12-13, 15, 42, 50-1, 70 and n., 97, 145, 155; ascetics, 130-1, 133-4, 137-41, 146, 151 Pāśupata-Śaivism, 10, 38, 70, 123 n.;

five categories, 1, 131, 141; identified with ascetic practices, 130-1, 133-4, 137-41, 146, 148; view of perceptual knowledge, 132-3, of moral virtues, 134, of the supreme Lord, 135; difference between cause and effect, 135-6, 141-2; contact with Brahmanism, 142; nature of Pāśupata-yoga, 143; development of the Pāśupata system, 143-6; categories of religious behaviour, 146-9 Pāśupata-sūtra, 4, 5-6, 7, 14, 155; Kaundinya's bhāṣya on, 5, 13, 14,

17, 130-2, 135, 139, 142, 145-6, 148, 155; philosophical and doc-

Perception, 145, 171, 175; and inference as the only two pramāņas, 9; sense-perception, 34-6, 92; defined

Phallic symbols, 8, 15, 20, 40, 45, 133, 146

Pillai, N., 19, 20

Pingalākṣa, 6, 131n., 144

Pope, G. U., 16, 20, 149-52, 154, 155, 156, 157

Prabhu-linga-līlā, 53 and n., 54 and n., 55n., 56 and n., 60

pradhāna, 29, 107, 109, 135-6, 141-2 prajñā, 63

Prajñā-karagupta, 143-4

prajñāloka, 126

prakṛti, 24, 29, 30, 35, 92, 93, 143; endowed with form and also formless, 36; as a material cause, 40, 80, 82, 98-9, 168; co-existent with God,

Rāma-siddha, 53n., 55 prakrti (cont.) 69, 161; gross and subtle prakrti, Rāśīkara, 5, 6, 131n., 144, 145 79; difference between prakrti and Rāśīkara-bhāṣya of Kauṇḍinya, 5, 13, Brahman, 84, 90, 107; manifests 14, 17 itself in the form of pleasure, pain Reality and appearance, 71, 104-5; and numbness, 109-13, 136, 166; bhedābheda theory of reality, 49, 59; moves for the fulfilment of the purgross and subtle nature of the world, pose of the purusas, 115-17, 119 79, 168-9, 184-8; Śańkara's views pramāņa, 9, 133, 145, 146 on, 83-4 Pramāņa-vārttikālamkāra of Prajñā-Religious persecution, 45 Renukācārya, 47, 48, 53, 54 karagupta, 143 prasāda, 132, 146 Renuka-siddha, 47, 53 Revana, 47, 173 Prasāda-ghana-linga, 62 pratibhā, 127 Revaņārya, 12, 44 pratibhāsika, 183 Revana-siddha, 52, 53 and n. pratyabhijñā-darśana, 1-2 Rsabha, 6 Pratyabhijñā system, 14, 15, 17, 18 Rsi, 141 pratyāhāra, 124, 125, 143 rși, 51, 58 Prākṛt dialect, 15, 18, 159 Rudra, 2, 5, 107, 119n., 135, 137, 141, prāṇa, 77 prāṇa-linga, 62, 64 Rudra-samhitā of the Śiva-mahāprāṇāyāma, 124-5, 128, 134 purāna, 98-9, 102 prārabha-karma, 94 Ruru, 6 prema, 105 Purāņas, 53, 68, 69, 91, 143, 149, 179, sac-cid-ānanda-rūpāya, 67, 100, 103, 181; Śaiva philosophy in, 96-129; Śivādvaita system in, 163 Sacrifices, sacrificial duties, 73-5, 125, puruşa, 29, 30, 31, 69, 99, 100-1, 103, 107, 109, 111, 115, 119, 135, 142, sadāśiva, 29, 90, 99, 121, 165, 169, 172 165, 168, 171 sadāśiva-tattva, 167 puryastaka, 164, 167 sahaja, 27, 28 sakala, 137, 157 Puspaka, 6, 131n., 144 Pūrva-mīmāmsā, 173 Sakhare, Professor, 52, 188n. Pūrva-mīmāmsā-sūtra of Jaimini, 73, samādhi, 124, 126, 153-4, 189 samāna, 125 sama-rasa, 59 pürvavat, 133 samsāra, 115, 117 Ratnākaraśānti, 144 Sanaka, 6 Ratnatīkā of Bhāsarvajña, 12 and n., Sanandana, 6 14, 143, 145, 148 Sanātana, 6 Ramanātha-linga, 52 Sangameśvara, 61 Raudra, 51 Sanskrit, 15-16, 18-19, 47, 66, 96, raudrī, 119 106, 149, 150, 155, 156, 159 rāga, 28-9, 90, 101, 109, 165, 167, 171 Santāna, 6, 131 n., 144 Rājarāja III, Chola king, 11 Sarasvatī-kanthābharana of Bhoja, 159 rājasa, 171 Sarva, 141 Rājaśekhara, 6n., 8-9, 13, 17, 145 Sarva-darśana-samgraha of Mādhava, Rāma, 173 4, 5, 11, 14 and n., 17, 20-1, 42, 50, Rāmakanda's Commentary on Kālot-72, 130, 142, 144 and n., 145, 148, tarā, 14n. 159-60 Rāmānuja, 4, 10, 45, 65, 70n., 80, 83, sat, 67-8, 80, 99-100 85, 93, 97, 173, 178-9, 185, 187; his Saumya, 51 bhāsya on the Brahma-sūtra, 2, 3, Saurabheyāgama, 14n.

savikalpa, 171

50, 51n., 68 80n., 184

200 Index

savisaya, 128 sādhana-sampad, 177n. sāmānyato dṛṣṭa, 133, 171 sāmarasya, 58 Sāmkhya doctrines, 34, 35, 40, 50, 70, 93, 99, 109, 111, 113, 115, 119 and n., 124, 139, 143, 155, 161, 165, 170-I Sāmkhya-sūtra, 115, 143 Sāmkhya-yoga, 13 Sāmkhyists, 160 sāttvika, 171 sāyujya, 139, 142 Schomerus, H. W., 16, 17, 18 and n., 19n., 123n., 157 Sekkilar, 19 Sekkilar-purāņa, 149 Self, 27, 29; not identical with Brahman, 24-5, 111, 174, 176; reflected through buddhi, 31-2; necessity of realising the unity of self with Siva, 54, 138; body and the self completely separate, 56-7, 110; existence of self known by inference, 138-9; separation of self from all other objects, 140-1; identity of self established through self-consciousness and memory, 164 Self-perception, 131-2 Self-realisation, 62, 118 Self-shiningness of God, 25 Self-surrender to Siva, 137, 158, 182 Sense perception, 34-6, 110; distinguished from self-perception, 132-3; unable to comprehend supreme bliss, 153 Siddha-nātha, 48 Siddha-rāmeśvara, 47-8, 53 Siddha-siddhanta-paddhati, 57-60 Siddhānta-dīpikā, 19 Siddhāntas, 1, 50, 52, 58 Siddhānta-śāstra, 154 Siddhānta-śikhāmaņi, 12, 44-50, 54 and n.; eclectic nature of its thought, Siddheśa-linga, 52 siddhi, 146, 152 Sleep, 186-7 Somanātha, 14, 52 Somas, 50 Someśa-linga, 52 Sorrow, suffering, 22, 93, 111, 133; related to the mercy of Siva, 79; as a part of creation, 85, 86, 94; caused by ignorance, 108, 127, 141; as a punishment of God, 114, 116, 185-6; caused by impurities in the soul, 117, 118, by the senses, 140; dissociation of, 146-7

Soul, 22-3, 28-9, 86, 163; not identical with Brahman, 24-5, 84-5; devoid of action, 26; an eternal entity, 31-2, 85, 161, 179; identified with Brahman in Siddhānta-śikhāmani, 49; practises worship of the supreme Lord, 71; directly controlled by Brahman, 83; co-existent with God, 92-3; omniscient in liberation, 93; a universal entity, 110; moved into activity by the motivity of God, 111-12; held in bondage by the existence of impurities, 116-17, 118, 151, 153, 157, 167; potentially corruptible even after liberation, 151-2; no knowledge of its own nature, 152; unintelligent without Siva, 153; mystic union of the soul with the Lord, 153-4; veiled by the non-spiritual mala, 164-5; categories which link souls and the world, 167-8; as pure consciousness limited by mind, 180;

and sleep, 186-7 spanda, 100, 101 sparśayoga, 123 Speech, 121, 125, 140, 148 sthala, 44, 60, 61-2 Sthala-māhātmya, 3 sthāna-samasyā, 126 Strength (bala), 100, 146 Sundara, 19 Suprabhedāgama, 16n., 52 Suradantācārya, 26 sūmsargika, 27 $S\bar{u}ta$ -samhitā, 18 and n., 21, 44, 50-1, 163, 172 Svāyambhuvāgama, 16n., 18, 26, 52 Saiva-darśana, 1, 159

Saivāgamas, 1, 4, 10, 14–15, 18–19, 21–2, 61, 66–7, 68, 69, 71–2, 92, 121, 150, 159–61, 163 and n., 166, 181

Saivas, 1, 52, 145; distinguishing signs and robes, 2, 14–15; orgiastic practices, 2, 3; practice of smearing the body with ashes, 4, 8, 51, 133–4, 136, 137, 144, 146, 148; teachers of the Pāśupata school, 6, 7, 8–9, 17, 131 and n., 144; as ascetics, 8, 125, 130–1, 133–4, 136, 137–8, 144

Saiva-siddhanta, 19–20, 97–8, 168–9; historical development, 154–6; three categories, 156–8; doctrine of grace (anugraha), 161–2, 169–70

Saiva-siddhanta, 19 and n. 151 Śaivism: Āgamic Śaivism, 17-18: philosophical content of Agama literature, 20-3, 29-41; doctrine of creation and experience, 24-7; categories of Mātanga-parameśvaratantra, 28-9; schools of, 51-2, 97, 123 and n., 145; antiquity of, 66-7, 155; view of the pure egohood of Siva, 67-8; relation between the universe and God, 68-71; some schools partly opposed to Vedic discipline, 72; view of the qualifications for inquiry into the nature of Brahman, 73-7, of the nature of Brahman Himself, 77-85; view of the determinism of God and moral responsibility of man, 85-95; philosophical content of the Puranas, 96-129; destruction of early Saiva literature, 106; doctrine of the Pāśupata-sūtras, 130-49; philosophical ideas in the Tiru-vachakam, 149-54; Saiva Siddhanta, 154-9; doctrines of Bhoja and his commentators, 159-72

Sakti, consort of Siva, 51, 100, 120-1, 128, 157

sakti, 28, 29, 31, 48, 90, 165, 185; as intuitive knowledge and action, 33; the will of God, 39; a material cause, 40, 84; Siva identical with his sakti, 58, 120-1, 152, 158, 162; as energy in creation, 62, 172; changeless, 92; existing in all time, 99-100; notion that sakti is feminine, 153

śaktimān, 185 śakti-tattva, 167 śama, 189

Sankara, 189

Šankara, 17, 24, 31, 42, 51, 54, 59, 65, 70, 73-4, 77, 79-80, 83, 93, 105, 106, 118, 131, 141, 154, 155, 166, 168, 172, 176, 180-1, 184-8, 190; his bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtra, 1, 14-15, 50, 66, 69, 71, 80n., 96, 97-8, 121n., 142, 154, 160, 173

Sankarācārya, 16

Sankara-vijaya of Ānandagiri, 9n., 14–15, 50
Sankarites, 12, 49, 50, 179, 182–3, 187 saraņa-sthala, 63
Sarva, 82, 141
Sālihotra, 6, 70n.
Sānkara Vedānta, 57 sāntyatīta, 30, 62 sārvī, 119
Sāstri, Anantakriṣṇa, 5, 130
Sāstri, K. M. Subrahmaṇya, 21n.
Sāstrī, Professor Shesagiri, 11

śesavat, 133 Siva, 6, 36, 44, 50, 51, 94, 128-9; a merciful Lord, 4-5, 79; incarnations of, 7, 12, 57-8, 66, 123, 130, 144, 155; devoid of all impurities, 21, 112, 118, 157, 167; instrumental agent of creation, 21-2, 50, 68, 72, 98, 111, 142, 162n., 175, 178; remains unmoved in creation, 29-30. 39, 80-1, 103-4, 169, 172; known by inference, 25-6, 80; remover of impurities, 27, 151-2; sole agent of all actions, 30-1; called niskala, 38-9, 141; unity of all with Siva, 54-7, 58; the ultimate category, 61, 103, 165; attainment of union with Siva, 63, 108, 116-17, 127, 138, 153-4, 163, 189-90; as 'pure being', pure consciousness' and 'pure bliss', 67, 82, 103; omniscient, 81, 144, 168; material cause of the universe, 82-3, 175, 176-7, 178, 180; denoted by the term śakti, 91, 158, 162; the author of Saiva scriptures, 96, 97, 154, 159, 181; true knowledge equated with devotion to Siva, 102, 104; energy of Siva, 112-13, 162-3, 169, 177-8; service to others his essential nature, 113, 114; the whole world a manifestation of Siva, 119, 157, 185; indivisible from his 120-1; approached only through sincere faith, 121-2; selfsurrender to Siva, 137, 158, 182; eternally dissociated from all sorrows, 141; appears before Māņikkavāchakar, 150; joyous and dancing, 151; the soul unintelligent without Siva, 152; perfect in Himself, 157; as knowledge combined with action, 161, 169, 172; as form and formlessness, 187

śiva, derivation of, 4, 69 taijas, 63 Siva-dharmottara, 15 and n. tamas, 186 Siva-jñāna-bodha of Meykandadeva, Tamil, 15, 16, 19 and n., 20, 66, 149, 10, 19 and n., 123 n., 150 and n., 151; 150, 155 summary of general argument, 24-7 Tamil-veda of Nampiyandar, 19 Śiva-jñāna-siddhi, 24, 40, 159n., 172 tanmātra, 34, 36-7, 91, 99, 109, 119, Siva-linga, 63, 187 124, 166, 168 Siva-linga-bhūpati, 11 tapas, 122, 126, 147 Siva-mahāpurāṇa, 2, 4, 5n., 6, 7, 18, Tatpuruşa, 141 51, 67 and n., 70, 72, 73, 91; philotat tvam asi, 56 sophical content, 96-129; most Tattva-prakāśa of King Bhoja of Dhāra, 10, 14 and n., 17, 23, 38, authentic purāņa, 181 Śiva-rahasya-dīpikā, 11 39, 156; philosophical content, 159-Śiva-siddānta-nirṇaya, 48 72 Śiva-siddhānta-tantra, 61 and n. tāmasa, 171 Tantric forms of worship, 3, 8, 158 Siva-sūtra, 100 śiva-tattva, 91, 100, 167 Tātparya-pariśuddhi of Udayana, Siva-worship, spread of, up to 8th century, 8; outcaste worship, 3; Tātparya-tīkā of Vācaspati Miśra, vow of service to Siva, 9-10; image 145 of Siva worshipped as Siva Himself, Telegu language, 16n., 149 114; the proper worship of Siva, Teleology, 115, 169 119-20; external expression of emo-Testimony, 145, 171 'Thou art that', 56 tion in worship, 122; brings cessation of sorrow, 136 Time, 33, 90, 99, 101, 109, 112-13, Śiva-yogīśvara, 48 121, 165, 170 tirodhāna-śakti, 157 Sivādvaita system, 99-102, 163, 172 Śrīkantha, 10, 11, 18 and n., 65-95, 97, Tirumular, 19 Tiru-vāchaka of Mānikka-vāchakar, 98, 101, 105, 142-3, 159, 185 19, 20, 41; philosophical content, Śrīkara-bhāsya of Śrīpati Pandita, 10 n., 53n., 60; philosophical content, 149-54 Tiru-vātavurār-purāna, 149 Srīkumāra, 10, 17, 160, 162 and n., 163 Tiru-vilaiyādil, 150 titiksā, 189 and n., 164, 165, 166, 169n., 170n., 171n. tyāgānga, 63 Śrīpati Pandita, 10, 11-12, 42, 43, 44, 53 and n., 60, 173-90 udāna, 125 Śrīśaila, Kāpālika centre in, 3 Udayana, 9, 145 Udbhaţārādhya, 53n. Sruti texts, 173, 176, 177 śruti, 11 Udyotkara, 145 śuddhādhva, 39 Ujjain, Kāpālika centre in, 3 Ulūka, 70n. śuddha-vidyā, 90 Suka, 6 Umāpati, 19, 20, 151, 156 śusupti, 186 Upamanyu, 53 n., 61, 98, 120 Śūdra Kāpālikas, 2, 72, 134 Upanișads, 14, 46, 53, 98, 110, 173, Sveta, 66-7, 69, 70 and n. 189; view of the soul in, 24, 85; Śvetaketu, 6 Sankara's interpretation, 59, 105; Śvetāśvatara Upanisad, 7, 112 thought expounded in Vedanta Saddarśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra teachings, 65, 67-71; texts on the Suri, 9 and n., 10n., 13, 144 nature of Brahman, 74, 75, 77, Saddarśana-samuccaya of Rajaśekhara, 80-1, 83, 92, 105, 112, 174-6, 6n., 8 and n., 9n., 13, 145 181, 182-3, 185; on the creation, sat-sthala, 15, 38, 42, 44, 49, 52, 53, 179 54-7, 59-60, 61, 173 uparati, 189

vacanas of Basava, 12, 53
vairāgya, 122
Vaiśesika, 130
Vaiśeṣikas, 1, 9-10, 93, 145
Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, 9
Vaiṣṇavism, 13, 43, 97, 156
Vaiṣṇavas, 4, 12, 64, 103
Vallabha, 65, 84, 188
Varāha-purāṇa, 72, 73, 91
Varņāśrama dharma, 98, 189
Vasubandhu, 143
Vasistha, 6
Vatsa, 70 n.
Vācaspati Miśra, 1, 2, 4, 14, 15, 17, 42,
50, 51, 69-70, 97, 98, 115, 117, 145
vāg-viśuddha, 140
Vāma, 51, 141
Vāmadeva, 6, 47, 53 n., 137
Vārttika of Udyotkara, 145
vāsa, 148
Vātavurar-purāņa, 150, 154
Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya, 145
Vātulāgama, 18n., 38, 48, 61
Vātula-tantra, 38-41, 42, 61
Vāyavīya-samhitā of the Śiva-mahā-
purāṇa, 4, 5, 6n., 10, 17, 18, 70n.,
72, 91, 96-7, 142-3, 155, 156, 161;
philosophical content, 106-29
vāyu, 55-6, 135
Vāyu-purāṇa, 6n., 7
Vedānta, 14, 22, 44, 50, 111, 165; view
of the soul, 49, 118; primarily
means the teaching of the Upani-
sads, 65, 67; leads to liberation, 104;
view of Brahman as reality, 120,
154, 160, 168; Śrīpati Paṇḍita's
ideas on, 173-90
Vedānta-kalpataruparimala of Appaya
Dīkṣita, 51
Vedas, 9n., 28, 71-2, 74, 110, 156, 179, 182; testimony of the existence of
Deliver On the existence of
Brahman, 84, 90-2, 181; declare
God to be the cause of the world,
175; created by God, 180
Vedic duties, 73-5, 76-7, 88-9, 188-9
Vedic worship, 21, 188
Vemanārādhya, 53 n.
Vibration, 100, 119
vibration, 100, 119
vidhi, 1, 6, 131, 132, 133, 142, 147
vidyā, 33, 62, 90, 101, 109, 121, 161,
165, 167, 171
Vidyāguru, 6, 131 n., 144
vidyā-tattva, 167
vidyeśvara, 164, 165, 167
, , , , ,

Vijjala, 42-3, 45 Vijñāna Bhikşu, 66, 69 vijnāna-kala, 164 Vijñānāmṛta-bhāṣya, 66, 69 vikaraņa, 137 Vipra, 141 vişayas, 119 Višistādvaita-vāda of Rāmānuja, 68, 85, 173 Vișņu, 107, 119n., 181 viśva, 63 Viśvārādhya, 52 Viśvarūpa, 5 Viśveśa-linga, 52 Viśveśvara-guru, 46 vivarta, 160 Vīra-bhadra, 46, 47 Vīra-malleśvarārādhya, 46 Vīraņārādhya, 46 Vīra-śaivāgama, 46, 51, 52, 54 Vīra-śaiva-guru-paramparā, 46-7, 52 Vīra-śaiva-siddhānta, 60 Vīra-śaivas, 15, 43-5, 97 Vīra-śaiva Tantra, 48 Vīra-śaivism, 10, 17, 18, 38; doubtful if Basava was really the founder, 12; the tradition of foundation by Basava, 42-4; history and literature, 42-8, 50-2, 61; origin of the name, 44-5; view of the nature of Brahman, 48-9; doctrine of karma, 50, of sthala, 53-60, 62-4; the Srīkarabhāṣya as the fundamental basis of, 173-90 Vīreśārādhya, 46 vrata, 148 Vrātyas, 2 Vṛṣabha, 46 vrtti, 92 vyakta, 91 Vyākhyāna-kārikā of Suradantācārya, 26 vyāna, 125 Vyāsa, 97, 115, 143 Vyāsatīrtha, 183

Will, 100-1, 186; free will, 88-90, 94; of God, 113, 115-16, 117-18, 119, 121, 135-6, 148-9, 170, 172, 186

yajña, 148 yama, 6n., 134, 138, 140 Yaugas, 9, 15, 144 yoga, 1, 131, 133, 161; arresting of physical processes by, 55-6; state of yoga attained by meditating on Siva, 108, 122-8, 188; the word 'yoga' denotes contact of the self with God, 132, 138, 143; miraculous powers attained through, 139

yoga-mata, 8 yogāṅga, 63 Yogaśāstra of Patañjali, 6n., 49-50, 55, 124, 127, 143 Yoga-sūtras, 115, 117, 124, 143, 159 Yogic processes, 56-7, 122-8, 135, 139





DASGUPTA, S.N.

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