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Surendranath Dasgupta

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## 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 Śaivism is a *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara (eighth century) on *Brahma-sūtra* II. 2. 37. In the commentary on this *sūtra*, Śaṅkara refers to the doctrines of the Siddhāntas as having been written by Lord Maheśvara. The peculiarity of the teachings of the Siddhāntas was that they regarded God as being only the instrumental cause of the world. Here and elsewhere Śaṅkara has called the upholders of this view Īśvara-kāraṇins. If Śiva or God was regarded as both the instrumental and the material cause of the world, according to the different Siddhānta schools of thought, then there would be no point in introducing the *sūtra* under reference, for according to Śaṅkara also, God is both the instrumental and the material cause of the world. Śaṅkara seems to refer here to the Pāśupata system which deals with the five categories, such as the cause (*kāraṇa*), effect (*kārya*), communion (*yoga*), rules of conduct (*vidhi*) and dissolution of sorrow (*duḥkḥānta*)<sup>1</sup>. According to him it also holds that Pāśupati (God) is the instrumental cause of the world. In this view the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas 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 Nakuliśa-pāśupatas who have been elsewhere mentioned as Lākuliśa-pāśupatas or Lakuliśa-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

<sup>1</sup> The skeleton of this system has already been dealt with in another section as *Pāśupata-śāstras*.

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called Kāśmīr Śaivism. This system will also be dealt with in the present volume. Vācaspati mentions the Kāruṇika-siddhāntins and the Kāpālikas. Rāmānuja in his *bhāṣya* on *Brahma-sūtra* II. 2. 37 mentions the name of Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas as being Śaiva 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 Purāṇas. Ānandagiri, a contemporary of Śaṅkara and a biographer, speaks of various sects of Śaivas 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 caste-system 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 *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa* that the Kālamukhas were-the same as the Mahāvratadharas. But the present author has not been able to trace any such passage in the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*, and Bhandarkar does not give any exact reference to the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa* 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 *Mālatī-mādhava*, where the *Kāpālika-vrata* is called *Mahāvrata*. Bhandarkar further points out that the ascetics dwelling in the temple of

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Kāpāleśvara near Nasik are called the Mahāvratins<sup>1</sup>. 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 Śaivism 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 Kṣatriyas with spurious pedigrees. Frazer further gives some instances in the same article in which non-Brahmins and outcastes performed the worship of Śiva 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 Śaṅkara, 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 Śrīśaila, mentioned by Bhavabhūti, 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. Śaṅkara 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

<sup>1</sup> *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (1913), p. 128.

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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 Śaivism, since we find the practice described in the *Pāśupata-sūtra* and in the *bhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya.

The Kāruṇika-siddhāntins mentioned by Vācaspati have not been referred to by Mādhava (fourteenth century) in his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, and we do not find a reference to these in any of the *Saivāgamas*. But from the statement of Śaiva philosophy in the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* of the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*, 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 Śaivism. We find that the doctrine of grace or *karuṇā* is not always found in the same sense in all the Āgamas, or in the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*, which was in all probability based on the Āgamas. Ordinarily the idea of grace or *karuṇā* would simply imply the extension of kindness or favour to one in distress. But in the *Saivāgamas* there is a distinct line of thought where *karuṇā* 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 *karuṇā* 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 (*pariṇāmakramanīyama*) 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 Vaiṣṇavas, who introduce the concept of Mahālakṣmī, one who intercedes on behalf of the sinners and persuades Nārāyaṇa to extend His grace for the good of the devotees.

The word ‘*śiva*’ is supposed to have been derived irregularly from the root ‘*vaś kāntan*’. This would mean that Śiva always fulfils the desires of His devotees. This aspect of Śiva as a merciful Lord who is always prepared to grant any boons for which prayers

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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 Śaivism of the South are those of the Pāśupatas, the Śaiva doctrines derived from the Āgamas and the Vaiṣṇavas. The other schools of Śaivism that developed in Kāśmīr in the ninth and tenth centuries will be separately discussed. The *Pāśupata-sūtra* with the *Pañcārtha bhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya was first published from Trivandrum in 1940, edited by Anantakriṣṇa Śāstri. This *bhāṣya* of Kauṇḍinya is probably the same as the *Rāśīkara-bhāṣya* referred to by Mādhava in his treatment of *Nakuliśa-pāśupata-darśana* in *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*. Some of the lines found in Kauṇḍinya's *bhāṣya* have been identified by the present writer with the lines attributed to Rāśīkara by Mādhava in his treatment of the Nakuliśa-pāśupata system. Nakuliśa was the founder of the Pāśupata system. Aufrecht in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions the *Pāśupata-sūtra*<sup>1</sup>. The *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* II. 24. 169, also mentions the *Pāśupata-śāstra* as the *Pañcārtha-vidyā*<sup>2</sup>. Bhandarkar notes that in an inscription in the temple of Harṣanātha which exists in the Śīkar principality of the Jaipur State, a person of the name of Viśvarūpa is mentioned as the teacher of the *Pañcārthā-lākulāmnāya*. 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 Lakuliśa's teachings had attained such an authoritative position as to be called *āmnāya*, a term used to mean the Vedas.

In the *Pāśupata-sūtra* published in the Trivandrum series, the first *sūtra* as quoted by Kauṇḍinya is *athātāḥ paśupateḥ paśupataṃ*

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar notes it in his section on the Pāśupatas, *op. cit.* p. 121 n.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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*yogavidhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. Here the *yoga-vidhi* is attributed to Paśupati or Śiva. In the *Sūtasamhitā* IV. 43. 17, we hear of a place called Nakula and the Śiva there is called Nakuliśa. The editor of the *Pāśupata-sūtra* mentions the names of eighteen teachers beginning with Nakuliśa<sup>1</sup>. These names are (1) Nakuliśa, (2) Kauśika, (3) Gārgya, (4) Maitreya, (5) Kauruṣa, (6) Īśāna, (7) Paragārgya, (8) Kapilāṇḍa, (9) Manuṣyaka, (10) Kuśika, (11) Atri, (12) Piṅgalākṣa, (13) Puṣpaka, (14) Bṛhadārya, (15) Agasti, (16) Santāna, (17) Kauṇḍinya or Rāśikara, (18) Vidyāguru. The present writer is in agreement with the view of the editor of the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, that Kauṇḍinya the *bhāṣyakāra* 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 Kauṇḍinya's *bhāṣya*. We have already seen that according to the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa* 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 Lokākṣi, Jaigīṣavya, Ṛṣabha, Bhṛgu, Atri and Gautama. The last and the twenty-eighth ācārya was Lakuliśa, born at Kāyā-vatarana-tīrtha. Among the 112 yogācāryas, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha, Parāśara, Garga, Bhārgava, Aṅgira, Śuka, Vaśiṣṭha, Bṛhaspati, Kuṇi, Vāmadeva, Śvetaketu, Devala, Śālihotra, Agniveśa, Akṣapāda, Kaṇāda, Kumāra and Ruru are the most prominent<sup>2</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> See *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*, *Vāyavīya Samhitā* II. 9, and also *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1. 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 Lakuliśa in his work called *Ātma-samarpaṇa*. See also Introduction to the *Pāśupata-sūtra*, p. 3 n.

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*.

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Mr Dalal in his introduction to *Gaṇakārikā* says that the *Lākuliśa-pāśupata-darśana* is so called from Lakuliśa, who originated the system. *Lakuliśa* means “a lord of those bearing a staff”. Lakuliśa 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 Kāyārohaṇa in Bhṛgu-kṣetra which is the same as Kāraṇa, a town in the Dabhoi Taluka of the Baroda State. In the *Kāraṇa-māhātmya* it is said that a son of a Brahmin in the village Ulkāpurī appeared as Lakuliśa and explained the methods and merits of worshipping and tying a silken cloth to the image of the God Lakuliśa. This work is divided into four chapters; the first is from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, the remaining three are from the *Śiva-mahāpurāṇa*. At the commencement of the work, there is obeisance to Maheśvara, who incarnated himself as Lakṣṇa-pāṇīśa. There is a dialogue there between Śiva and Pārvatī, in which the latter asks Śiva of the merits of tying a silken cloth. Śiva then relates the story of his incarnation between the Kali and Dvāpara yugas as a Brahmin named Viśvarāja in the family of the sage Atri. His mother was Sudarśana. Some miraculous myths relating to this child, who was an incarnation of Śiva, are narrated in the *Kāraṇa 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, Nakuliśa 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-lākulāmnāya*, which must be the same as the doctrine propounded in the *Pāśupata-sūtra*. It is difficult to say how early the concept of Paśupati might have evolved. From the Mohenjodaro excavations we have a statuette in which Śiva 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 *paśus* or *paśupati*, which is found in pre-Vedic times. The concept of Śiva may be traced through the Vedas and also through the Upaniṣads and particularly so in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad. The same idea can be traced in the *Mahābhārata* and many other Purāṇas. The religious cult of Śiva, which defines the concept of Śiva in its various mythological bearings, has to be given up here, as the interest of the present work is definitely restricted to



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philosophical ideas and the ethical and social attitude of the followers of Śiva<sup>1</sup>.

It must, however, be said that the Śaiva philosophy and the worship of Śiva 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 Śiva 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 Nakuliśvara temple in Calcutta, and the temple of Rāmeśvaram in extreme South India. This is only to mention some of the most important places of Śiva-worship. As a matter of fact, the worship of Śiva is found prevalent almost in every part of India, and in most of the cities we find the temples of Śiva either in ruins or as actual places of worship. Śiva 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 Śaiva forms of initiation and the Tāntric 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 Tāntricism, 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-mata*<sup>2</sup>. He describes the Śaiva ascetics as holding staves in their hands and wearing long loin cloths (*prauḍha-kaupīna-paridhāyinah*). 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

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

<sup>2</sup> *atha yoga-mataṃ brumah, śaivism-ity-aparā-bhidham*. Rājaśekhara's *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya*, p. 8 (2nd edition, Benares).



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them it was Akṣapāda who enunciated a system of logic in which he discussed the *pramāṇas*, perception, inference, analogy and testimony and also described the sixteen categories that are found in the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Gautama or Akṣapāda. 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 time<sup>1</sup>. He also regards the Vaiśeṣikas as Pāśupatas. The Vaiśeṣika 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 *pramāṇas* and that the other *pramāṇas* were included within them. He also mentions the six categories that we find in the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*. Rājaśekhara calls the Naiyāyikas Yaugas. The Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya are more or less of the same nature and both of them regard the dissolution of sorrow as ultimate liberation. Guṇaratna, the commentator of Haribhadra Suri's *Ṣaḍdarśana-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 Rājaśekhara borrowed it from Guṇaratna, the descriptions being the same in many places. Guṇaratna says that there were found kinds of Śaivas such as the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Mahāvratadharas and the Kālamukhas<sup>2</sup>. In addition to these both Guṇaratna and Rājaśekhara speak of those who take the vow (*vratis*) of service to Śiva and they are called Bharatas and Bhaktas. Men of any caste

<sup>1</sup> *śrutānusārataḥ proktam naiyāyika-mataṃ mayā. Ibid. p. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> *śaivāḥ pāśupataścaiva mahāvratā-dharas tathā,  
turyāḥ kālamukhā mukhyā bheda ete tapasvināḥ.*

Guṇaratna's commentary on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśana-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 Śaivas were originally Brahmins and they had the sacred thread. Their difference was largely due to their different kinds of rituals and behaviour (*ācāra*):

*ādihāra-bhasma-kaupīna-jaṭā-yajñopavītināḥ,  
sva-svācārādi-bhedena caturdhā syus tapasvināḥ.*

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

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could be included in the class of Bharatas (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 Pāsupata<sup>1</sup>. Haribhadra also says that the Vaiśeṣikas admitted the same divinity as the Naiyāyikas<sup>2</sup>.

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 Pāsupata system and the Śaiva philosophy as described in the Śaiva Āgamas. We have also the *Pāsupata-śāstra* as described in the *Vāyaviya saṃhitā*, the Śaiva philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha as elaborated by Appaya Dikṣita, 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 Paṇḍita who is generally placed in the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup>. Śrīpati Paṇḍita was posterior to the Pāsupatas 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 Paṇḍita. 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 Śrīkaṇṭha, who wrote a *bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtra*<sup>4</sup>. We have treated in a separate section the philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha. Śrīkaṇṭha lived somewhere in the eleventh century and may have been a junior contemporary of Rāmānuja. Śrīkaṇṭha in his treatment of *Brahma-sūtra* III. 3. 27–30, criticises the views of Rāmānuja and Nimbārka. Hayavadana Rao thinks on inscriptional grounds that Śrīkaṇṭha was living in A.D. 1122<sup>5</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> See Guṇaratna's commentary, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *devatā-viśayo bhedo nāsti naiyāyikair samam,  
vaiśeṣikāṇāṃ tattve tu vidyate'sau nidarśyate.*

Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> C. Hayavadana Rao's *Śrīkara-bhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41.