CHAPTER 5

IMPACTS OF THE EVOLUTION
Civilizations originated as the impacts of the creative responses of the society towards the challenges produced by the natural or social environments. In the same way, as both the encounters and responses influence the germination of novel developments in the thought systems too. Akin to the social conditions which style themselves as the phases of growth of civilizations, the changes in the thought systems also definitely affect the populace of corresponding geographical areas. Therefore the periodical updates and improvisations in the conceptions are measured as necessity in every live philosophical stream. Being a religious philosophical system, possibilities to get renovated are much more in Kashmir Śaivism.

It has been discussed that the concept of Śakti in Kashmir Śaivism has undergone notable changes in the course of its development through the four major streams. The main causes of this process have also been pointed out earlier. As they are the results of the operation of certain intentions, the causes definitely paved way to various after effects within the realm of Kashmir Śaivism. The later phase of Kashmir Śaivism exposes high inclination towards the monistic philosophy propounded by the school of Pratyabhijñā, and it eventually goes on with the evolution happened to the Śakti principle. The present chapter tries to examine how the evolution of Śakti affected the realm of Śaivite philosophy in the subsequent period.

1 The works emerged in this particular phase, of the authors like Abhinavagupta (except the two commentaries viz., IPV and IPVV) and Kṣemarāja are treated as the major sources for the analysis of impacts in the present chapter.
The predispositions for the institutionalisation of conventional thoughts of the Śaivite monism, following the demeaning of Śakti (especially occurred in ŚDṛ), were heterogeneous in nature. Diverse changes had happened to the terminologies, concepts, and even to the whole sub-systems. In this concern, the key impact created by the degenerative evolution of Śakti is nothing but the de-Śāktisation. Firstly it influenced the authors and teachers of the subsequent monistic Śaivite thought. In turn, it got shaped through the distinct exegetical tendencies. These exegetical tendencies are divided under three heads viz, interpolations in the scriptures, the formulation of new concepts, treatises, independent sub-streams etc. and the interpretations of the existing ideas and notions.

Among these, interpretations may be of different types. Sometimes some terms or concepts are seen interpreted. For instance, Krama, deviating from its early nature, has been interpreted as attributed to Śāktopāya and as having the pentadic tendency. In some other contexts certain concepts may become the objects of the complex explanation and admixture of related ideas. Several concepts were subjected to detraction while others underwent notable expansion in accordance with their range of functions. Many of them were dragged to the new meaning being disoriented from the original nature. Consequently, new-fangled concepts and sub-schools may come into being as the impacts in the domain of non-dual Śaivism. In fact, all these
exegetical trends- in a direct and indirect way- try to place Śakti in a
degenerated form even in the earliest Śakti-centred sub-schools of Śaivism. This ultimately causes for an all-embracing denunciation of the
earlier Śakti-centred stages. Notably, its far-reaching impact can be seen
in the approach of the scholars in the present day too. This makes a
detailed examination of these issues indispensible.

DE- ŚĀKTISATION THROUGH INTERPOLATIONS

Interpretation of any kind of text has its own hermeneutical role
capable for the genuine launch of the anticipated thoughts in the corpus
of texts. Tantric scriptures, as discussed earlier, had not only such
exegetical domains but have had the scribes who choose the technique
of interpolation for the fulfilment of the same aim. It is amazing that no
serious attempts had been made to analyse the Śaivite monistic
scriptures from the perspective of textual criticism for a clearer
understanding of the history and chronology of the sources. A general

2 Sanderson in his article, “History through Textual Criticism,” p.2, was very much clear about the
importance of the usage of textual criticism as a tool for the historical evidences of Tantric Śaivism and also about the prerequisites and ethical needs of the process of textual criticism. But unfortunately he tries to use the very technique for the establishment of early origin of the
sources than the age known through the references from the ninth or tenth century commentarial works, by noting that, “The knowledge of the history of this area that we can obtain by means other than textual criticism is meagre. For the most part we are reduced to
cautious generalisations. Concerning the chronology of the early scriptural sources of tantric Śaivism we can do little more than assert for most of the texts known to us that predates the
citations that appear in the works of the earliest datable commentators that is to say, in works
of the early tenth to eleventh centuries from Kashmir and Malva.” And he also gives least
importance to the philosophical ideas and their chronological development in the domain of Kashmir Śaivism through the post scriptural works.
observation itself would suffice to point out many instances for the interpolations found in the works of Kashmir Śaivism.

It is well known that the monistic Śaivism tried its level best for the subordination of the principle of Śakti in the whole system, which predominantly was adhered to the heritage of the earliest Śakti-centred systems of religious philosophy. It may be suggested here that the evolution happened to the very principle with the time period may have necessitated interpolation in the scriptures of Śaivism. Some instances are postulated as follows.

**Rudraśaktisamāveṣa in Early Śāktatantras**

Samāveṣa (possession), the entering of deity or spirit into the body of the practitioner, is discussed with appropriate emphasis even in the earliest scriptures devoted to the cult of Yogiṇī. Earliest texts give detailed descriptions about the types of possession. Even though it is found in the contexts of attainment of supernatural powers, possession is not a necessary means for the attainment of power. Judit Torzsok asserts that,

In fact, possession is never presented under a separate heading in early yoginiṭantras, but is mentioned in connection with some other topic. Such related topics include, as we shall see, the list of signs a good guru must display, the results one obtains thanks to various practices of mantra propitiation and recitation... Moreover, descriptions of yogini possession in tantras of the yogini cult imply in most cases that the possession is desirable but not strictly
controlled, and that it is the practitioner himself who intends to be and becomes possessed.\(^3\)

Even though the concept of Samāveśa in a technical sense is used by Abhinavagupta and succeeding teachers, conceptually it holds a significant position in the earliest esoteric ritualistic practices. But possession, as a metaphysical concept, perhaps has a short history. Torzsok also observes that there is no reference about the deity possession among the core rituals in the pre-Kaula Šaiva texts including Niśvāsa corpus and Viṇāśikhātantra (VŚT). But some early works like SYM links the deity possession with Rudraśakti - the power of Rudra. The compound ‘rudraśaktisamāveśa’ (possession by the power of rudra) does not match to the context of the Šākta tantric corpuses like SYM. Though the occurrences of such utterances are numerous (i.e., six times in SYM, five times in fragmented Timirodghāṭana and four times in MVU),\(^4\) chances are there to proclaim them as interpolations.

The term ‘rudraśakti’ itself is the significant factor which leads to the conclusion that it is an interpolation. It means the power of Rudra, which was not at all a discussion point in the earliest Tantra-s dedicated to Kula or generally to Šākta. The monistic doctrine of samāveśa is indeed connected with the supreme Šiva, who possesses all the powers.


\(^4\) "रुद्रशक्तिसामवेशो यत्रायं लक्ष्यते प्रिये I'': SYM, I. 13ab; "रुद्रशक्तिसामवेशात् दिःन्याचरणलक्षणम् I'': Ibid., II. 4ab; "रुद्रशक्तिसामवेशात् आचार्यश्च महात्मनः I'': Ibid., II. 5ab; "रुद्रशक्तिसामवेशात्मकवत्तानां वाजिण्ठप्रद: I'': Ibid., I.10cd; "रुद्रशक्तिसामवेशो यत्रायं लक्ष्यते प्रिये I'': Ibid., II. 11cd."
It is also absent in the chronologically former portions of the early Yoginī Tantras. Thus the inclusion of samāveśa in the early Śakti centered texts may be treated as the part of the de-Śāktisation process.

All the instances stress that the mantras and rituals will be worthless if the practitioner is not possessed with the Power of Rudra (rudraśakti) which is of a later origin especially after the theory of samāveśa in the developed monistic schools.

**Upāya-s and Siddhi-s in Devīpañcaśatikā**

*Dev.pañ* is one of the earliest Śākta (Kula) texts of Kashmir Śaivism. Presently available version of the text is the edition by Mark Dyckskowzki who made it using three manuscripts from National Archives, Kathmandu. There is a reference to the three means (upāya-s) of liberation in the introductory portion of the text.

Bhairava asks Devī to reveal all the three upāya-s which are śānta, ghora and gūḍha in nature, respectively known as śāmbhava, śākta and āṇava:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{शान्तं घोरं तथा गूढं शाम्भवं शाक्तमाणवम्} & \quad 1 \\
\text{निरस्तरं महादेवि प्रकटीकृत भैरवि} & \quad 2 \\
\text{यत्र च्छद्यमविश्वासो यत्र गवों न विद्यते} & \quad 1 \\
\text{विश्वासं लभ्यते येन तदुपायं वदस्व मे} & \quad 2^{5}
\end{align*}
\]

\[5 \text{ Dev.Pañ, l. 16-17.} \]
The concept of upāya is technically used by the monistic Śaivites as the means which leads the practitioner towards the supreme reality, Paramaśiva. As speculated by Abhinavagupta, upāya-s are three fold viz., śāmbhava, śākta and āṇava, but the Supreme may also be attained through no means (anupāya). Anupāya is the means for the superior Yogin-s who has had a highest fall of power. Dev.Pañ not only speaks about the three common means, but also denotes the exclusive concept of anupāya in its the seventeenth verse. Thus it is clear that these portions are interpolated with an aim to spread over the Śaiva-orientation.

Besides, Dev.Pañ refers to the hierarchical levels of siddhi as uttama, madhyama and adhama\(^6\). Such type of classification is also of a later age, when the ritualistic traditions especially the esoteric nature were its essence. It completely deviates from earliest Kaula concepts of siddhi. Such a conventional classification of triad is logically inadequate in this situation.

Moreover the aforesaid portions which are viewed as interpolations are seen in the first two chapters of Dev.Pañ and hence it could be assumed that the authentic portions of the text starts from the third and ends with the fifteenth.

\(^6\) Dev.Pañ, I. 21-22.
II. DE-ŚĀKTISATION THROUGH THE FORMULATIONS OF NEW CONCEPTS, TREATISES AND SUB-SCHOOLS

As is mentioned above, formulation of new ideas and new streams also played a vital role in the de-Śāktisation process. The following are some of the trends appeared in this respect.

Akula- The Supreme Self

The developed Kula stream of later period accentuates on a new supreme concept called Akula- the one who is not Kula. In the real sense, Akula is Śiva beyond which there is nothing. The vey nomenclature of the Kula is derived from the nature of the system itself, which basically was the clan of female practitioners. It is the later treatises on Kula that introduce the new supreme principle Akula as identical with Śiva, by prefixing a phoneme to the term kula. At first Akula was something subordinate to Kula as is described in JY:

... कुले दीनम् अकुलः राविणीकुलम्।
तत्कुलं कुलधामस्थं विरावयति गर्विणी॥

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7 JY, IV. 63- 64. On the contrary, first śāṭka of JY while discussing about the streams of Śaivism, the upper face (Ūrdhvasrotāḥ) is devoted to Śiva who is Akula. Kula comes under the nether face (Pātālasrotāḥ). Akula referred to here is the transcendental Śiva not influenced by any other sub streams. Bhairava-s are the teachers of this system who mastered in the Krama school. It says;

“ऊर्धवयवतत्रः शान्तगोत्रः सृष्टिगोचरवर्जितः।
निराचारः परः शान्तः निरपेक्षो निरकुलः॥
वस्तुविज्ञानविदितविज्ञानाचारगोचरः।
समयाचारानिमुक्तः परमार्थवोचकः॥”

जातिवर्णपदेहीनः अकुलः शिव उत्तमः॥
स्वभावस्थः परः शुद्धः परमानन्दभैरवः॥
Akula is presented as identical with the concepts and terms which had clear feminine or Śakti identities. For instance, TĀ, II. 96-97 use the term bija (the feminine sound principle) to indicate the supreme consciousness Akula. This identification is also could be viewed as a technique for the above mentioned process of masculinization.

Gradually Akula became the supreme possessor of the power called Kaulikīśakti with which he creates the universe. Kula is unmanifested phase and when manifested, it is called Akula. K. C. Pandey writes, “It is called Akula in as much as it is manifested. (कुलादन्यदवभािसतं िशवलक्षणम् अकुलम्).” Interpreting Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha establishes that Akula is distinct from Kula as:

“तत्तत्रव- यत्रोदतिमि चत्रं चत्रमययवस्त्रय्यति च ।
तत्कुलं विदेश सर्व्वो शक्तिरिविविचारितम् ॥

इत्यादितिक्तां चत्रपूर्णपरतत्तत्तत्ततत्तक्षणात् कुलादन्यदवभािसतं िशवलक्षणमकुलं
तस्य प्रकाशकपूर्णपत्रशास्त्रमययवस्त्रय्यति सा परा विश्वपूर्णदवभािसताः, अत एव
‘शक्तियोस्य जगत्तक्तृत्तत्तत्तस्य......’ इत्याविक्ष्याय कुलस्य शाक्तप्रसारात्मनो
जगतो यत्तत्तवर्धनं तेन शाल्लं तत्तवला, अत एव बुलेश्वरेभवम् अकुलात्म कोलं”

तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः तत्तत्रवांः ॥

ततरावांः ततरावांः ततरावांः ततरावांः ततरावांः ततरावांः ततरावांः ॥

8 Alexis Sanderson, “Śaivism and Brahmanism”, p.7.
The recognition of highest reality as Śiva in developed phase of early Śakti-centred tradition has been generally accepted by the scholars who never try to view this as a process of de-Śaktisation. K. C. Pandey considers the description of Akula as an evidence for identifying the text as a Kaula one;

The Parātrimśikā is a work, which deals with Akula, Kula and Kaulikiśakti and, therefore without much fear of contradiction may be recognised to be a work on the Kula system.¹¹

The use of technical terms like Kula, Akula etc., found in the texts in an ambiguous manner also did not treated as something which deliberately done.

**Bhairava: The All-Transcending Quintessence**

The Bhairava concept in Kashmir Śaivism is also used as very identical to the supreme Śiva. As the name indicates, he is the one with a fierce form, and is widely used as synonymous with Śiva. ¹² Eizabeth Chalier Visuvalingam opines that:

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¹⁰ TĀV, Vol. 2, pp.75-76.
¹² Many definitions for this name are available in dictionaries. The following passage gives a picture of its manifold derivations. “भैरवो िवश्वभरणरवणमनवरपुरः भीरुणाममयरस्या व्युत्तथ्या संसारिणामस्रयः, भवं भी, संसारार्धः, तत्त्यहो रवः आक्रन्दः, भीरकः, ततो जातः, तदाक्रन्दवताः स्फुरति अर्थयेक्षः संसारवस्य संसारमयममर्शस्यार्थ शक्तिपातवशोन्मथापकः, भानि नक्षत्राणि ईरण्यति इति मेवः
The blood thirsty virgin of the pre Aryan tribes became the submissive hindu bride bound in wedlock to one or the other of the classical trinity. It is above all in folk-religion and in the radical tantric practices that she reverts back-at least temporarily to her pristine form, the incarnation of unbridled violence and sexuality. Even then she has to suffer the ignominy of being accompanied by a chaperon, none other than her consort Siva disguised specially for the occasion as the terrible bhairava, to whom her countless other guardians and consorts are generally assimilated.”

This is the same character of Bhairava as a philosophical category in the Saiva texts. He acts as an instrument for the taming of the goddesses in mythology, while in monistic Śaivism the Bhairava is a transcending substitute for the principle of Śakti. In the exegesis of the sūtra, ‘etadguhyam mahāguhyam...’, Abhinavagupta says that this secret, this great non secret where the first refers to Bhairava, the second to the manifest Śakti.

Attainment of Bhairavahood is one among the five objectives behind the composition of TĀ15. As Navjivan Rastogi points out,
The fundamental aim is the achievement of Bhairavahood, i.e., the divination of the mundane. Abhinavagupta proudly declares that one who constantly practices the tenets of 37 āhnikas is one self-transformed to Bhairava, the absolute.\textsuperscript{16}

The acquaintance with this absolute principle gradually moves on and found replaced or identified with distinct forms of Śakti. It insists to worship Bhairava and rejects the form of Śakti who is the Bhairava himself. TĀ says,

\begin{quote}
भैरवं पूजियत्वा तु तस्योत्सङ्गे तु तं न्यसेत्।
यादृशं भैरवं रूपं भैरव्यास्तादृगेव हि॥\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

The naming of earliest Śaivatantra as Bhairavatantra is a construction of misunderstanding. Judit Torzsok says;

The main rituals they prescribe have the same structure as those of Śaivasiddhānta and the tantras teaching the cult of bhairava; but their pantheon their mantras and some of their additional rituals are different, all of them involving mantra goddesses as opposed to maledeities.\textsuperscript{18}

The three goddesses like Parā etc., are seen as attributed to the Bhairava.\textsuperscript{19} Above this a notable thing is the theory of creation of the varṇa god named as Śabdarāśi. He is in fact a construction of the later

\textsuperscript{16} NavjivanRastogi, \textit{Introduction to Tantrāloka}, p.78, TĀ. I.284-286:
"इति सत्ताधिकामेतां तृत्यं सवं च सत्ताधिकामेतां तृत्यं।
हैयण्यं सम्भवेतु स साक्षाद्भैरवो भवेत्॥
सत्ताधिकामेतां संपूणर्यो यद्यार्यो भवेत्।
किं चित्रमानां यथासंपूणर्यो भैरवानामिकस्॥"

\textsuperscript{17} TĀ. II. 115, p.233:“परतः परम् परिपूर्णम् भैरवर्यं ज्ञेत् वतः प्रकाशानां प्रत्येकेऽयं मित्यथाः:"

\textsuperscript{18} Judith Torzsock, “From Siddhayogeśvarimata to Timirodghātana”, www.academia.edu

\textsuperscript{19} TĀ, III.192.
Śaivites like Abhinavagupta. *MVT* gives references to the Śabdarāśibhairava as the synonym of Mālinī- the alphabet goddess of early Trika. Among the two alphabet goddesses, Mātṛkā has the nature of Śakti but Mālinī is transformed to its masculine version, says *TĀ*,

एक एव चिदालेष्व विश्वामर्त्तनस्यारकः।
शक्तिस्तद्वानतीती माता शब्दराशि: प्रकीर्तिती।
तयं तद्वान तेषै मात्तितत्वद् कल्पने।
शब्दराशिमालिनी च क्षोभात्म वपुरीदृशम्॥२०

For the establishment of this Bhairava form, i.e., Śabdarāśi Abhinavagupta and his successors descriptively explain the formulated equations. The knowledge systems are made of sound and sounds are haṃsa-s.  

Kṣemarāja also tries to interpret the usage 'शब्दराशिसमुत्थाकः' in *Sp.K* as follows:

"गर्भीकृताशेषविश्वसमग्रशास्त्रिसरिथमाङ्कुररूपो भगवान् शब्दराशि:।"

**Hṛdaya: the Primal Aspect**

Using the symbol of hṛdaya as related to the ultimate is common in Vedas, Upaniṣads and in the tradition of Vedānta. The scholars who studied the concept in the field of Śaivism accept the influence of main stream Vedic tradition on the Kashmir Śaivite notion of heart. The first

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20 *TĀ*, XXXIII. 20-21.

21 Kṣemaraja explains in the commentary on *Śv.T*, p.551: "शास्त्रं शब्दात्मकं सवं शब्दो हंसः प्रकीर्तितः।
यत् किचिदैव क्वचिच्चासनाचार्तेन। तत्र शब्दात्मकं पञ्चञ्चाश्वास्त्रमालाचर्यनां शब्दात्मकं पञ्चञ्चाश्वास्त्रमालाचर्यनां।
शब्दात्मकं पञ्चञ्चाश्वास्त्रमालाचर्यनां।
हंसोच्चारश्च परशक्त्वनुमवकारसार इति॥"

22 *Sp.Sam*, p.18.
reference of the symbol of heart is found in ŚŚ: “हृदये वित्तसंघट्टात्
दृश्यस्वापदर्शनम्” (By fixing the mind in the heart (the yogi) has a vision of the
perceivable and of dreams). But the present symbol attains a highly
philosophical nature through the explanation of Abhinavagupta, who
identifies the supreme sound as the heart of consciousness mentioned
by Utpaladeva. He explains thus,

हृदयं च नाम प्रतिष्ठास्थानमुच्यते, तच्च उक्ततिनयां जडानां चेतनम्,
तस्यापि प्रकाशश्चत्तमम्, तस्यापि विमश्चत्त तत् इति विश्वव्य परमे पदे
तिष्ठन्त भिष्मस्य तस्य इत्यावश विमश्चत्त परमन्त्रात्मकयत्र तत्र तत्र
अभिषीयते। सर्वस्य हि मन्त्र एव हृदयम्, मन्त्रश्च विमश्चत्तात्मा, विमश्चत्तन्य च
परावाक्चक्षत्तस्याम्।

(Hṛdaya means mainstay or resting place. According to formerly
established theory, the insentients rest in the sentient and the
latter rests in the light of consciousness, with which it is one. The
place of rest of this also is the power, the free-consciousness. ... The
Heart the resting place of all, is mantra, which, in its essence, is
nothing but free-consciousness, which also is simply the power of
the transcendental speech.)

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23 ŚŚ, I.15; Mark S. G. Dyczkowski, The Aphorisms of Śiva, p. 45. Kṣemarāja being a student of
Abhinavagupta, represents heart as connected to the realization of ultimate reality as discussed
by monistic Kashmir Śaivism. From this point of view, the realization is that the external world
is nothing but the consciousness abiding in the heart. Then the heart represents the functioning
of individual mind. It is important to note that the conclusion of Paul Eduardo Muller Ortega in
this regard as “The Śivasūtra-s, true to the usual terse and slightly opaque style common to
sutra texts, do not spell out these conceptions in any detail. Important religious concepts are
simply presented; it was left to the preceptor or commentator to make explicit the concepts’
24 ĪPK, I.5.14; सा स्फुररतं महास्तं देशकालक्षणिष्णि।
सैषा सार्तया प्रोक्तं हृदयं परमेष्ठिनः॥
PTV is the referent treatise which clearly discloses the exact purpose of the symbol and it explicitly uses the same nearly in eight places. The main effort to the demonstration of the very symbolic heart seemingly is to equate it with the ‘kha’ (sky), the essential part of the concept Khecarī, which in reality occurred owing to fall of Śakti from the prime position it had in the Kula stream. Bhairava, the narrator says that the central theme of Kula dwells in his own heart, and that heart is equated with the sky. This is explained as,

कौलिकोःयं विधिदैवि मम हृदयोम्यविस्थितः।
कथयामि सुरेशानि सद्यः कौलिकसिद्धिदम्॥

Paul Eduardo Muller Ortega views the usage of the symbol of heart as similar to that of the natural metaphors having close proximity with the heart like lotus, moon and ocean. He further argues,

The Heart equal to the abyss as constituting descriptions of the yogic immersion in the Heart. To suggest that these metaphorical correspondences are mere flights of poetic fancy would be to misjudge seriously the intention of the authors of the texts.

Later on heart is directly referred to as synonymous with Śakti to make it confirm that Khecarī- the former supreme feminine holds an inferior level in the monistic philosophy. For instance Kṣemarāja

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27 Khecarī appearing in the opening verse of PT, has been interpreted by Abhinavagupta
28 PT, I. 4.
following Abhinavagupta,\textsuperscript{30} emphasizes that, “एष एव च विमर्शः; चित्, चैतन्यं, चैतन्यं, स्वातन्त्र्यं, परमात्मनो मुख्यमैश्वर्यं, कर्तृत्वं, स्पन्द इत्यादिशब्देऽरागं स्वातन्त्र्, कतृयत्वं, स्पन्द इत्यादिशब्देऽरागं स्वातन्त्र्”\textsuperscript{31}

The identity between heart and Śakti confirms the Śiva’s dominance over the subordinate Śakti.

**Anuttara: The Unsurpassable Ultimate**

Anuttara is functionally most significant conception of state that directly indicates the ultimate reality. It is the phase in which the sense of duality gets disappeared and the union of Śiva and Śakti is fully realised.\textsuperscript{32} Nevertheless, Abhinavagupta’s position here does not exceedingly satisfactory to the inevitable hierarchical norms in the philosophy of Śaivite monism. Thus he frequently attempts to exemplify the Anuttara as the supreme lord himself rather than the supreme state. TĀ depicts Anuttara as Akula to whom the Kaulikīśakti belonged to:

अनुत्तरं परम् धाम तदेवाकुलमुच्यते।

\textsuperscript{30} Abhinavagupta associates heart with the word principle (which has already been established as the form of Śakti) in *Paryantapaṅcaśikā* (Par.Pañ), v. 1: “आद्यन्तान्तगय तानन्तशिततिवरृािन्तिनभयरा म्। अनुच्चायामहंवा च मधीये हृदयं िवभोः॥”

\textsuperscript{31} cf. *Virūpāksapaṅcaśikā* (Vir.Pañ), 9.

\textsuperscript{32} This highest state which is neither termed as immanent nor as transcendental, according to Abhinavagupta is the ultimate goal of the Kaula practitioners; “इत्थं यामलेतद्गिलतिभदा संकथं यदेव स्यात्। क्रमतारतम्ययोगात्सैव िह संिविद्वसगयसंघट्टः॥

तद्रुवधामानुत्तरमुभयात्मकजगदुदारसानन्दम्।

नो शान्तं नाप्युिदतं शान्तोिदतसूितकारणम् परं कौलम्॥”: TĀ, XXIX. 83.
He also tries to explain sixteen distinct meanings of the very concept while explaining the most significant reference found in PTV. According to it, Anuttara is the concept which is absolutely independent and higher than all the categories of manifestation; in which no questions and answers are possible; is the highest reality in complete freedom; is the supreme spiritual level attained by the Yogin-s through contemplation where there is no ‘going beyond’; is the state in which no bondage of any kind exists; is from which there is no liberation; relating to which any expression is impossible; in which the objective contemplation too is impossible; that which springs from something; from which the Paśyantī, Parā etc. are sprung out; that which cannot be attained through the thrust of the teacher; is absolutely contentless (śūnya); in which the creative power is predominant.34

33Ibid., III.143.
34 See K. C. Pandey, Op.cit, pp.636-641. PTV, pp.19-35; “अनुत्तरमिति न विद्यते उत्तरं अधिकं यतः: यथा च हि तत्वान्तरणिः प्रतिश्रृंखला अनाभिमतिययवर्धायन्ति परम्यजयोज्येवासात्तत्तत्त्तत्त्तत्त्तसिद्धीनि संविदमितिकथिताः, नैव च परा परिपुष्टि परम्यसंविदितत् तस्या: सदा स्वविदश्वलानिश्चात्तत्त्त्तत्तत्त्तमकासारत्वात्। तथा न विद्यते प्रसन्नप्रतिविश्वयं यत्र, यत एव हि महाभाष्यिन्ति: उत्तरसंस्कृतिभाषायत्वम् उत्तरस्यप्रसन्नप्रतिभाषायत्वत्वमानिष्ठादेव शिशुः तत्च वस्तुः तत्च सततोदितम्...उत्तरणम् उत्तरो भेदवादाभयस्यप्रकटीनारोत्तरम्। नामिन्त्यकण्ठानलुप्प्रद्, नैव पश्चिमहिन्दिनाशनक्रमे उत्तरणक्रम उत्तरः। तथा उत्तरण अति इति उत्तरो बनः...उत्तरणमुत्तरो मोक्षः, तत एव विषय उत्तरो यत्र न सनि; उत्तरण व शब्दनः ततु तत्सर्वः ईदुधिः तादुधिः इति व्यवस्थितं कुर्यां, ततं यत्र न भवित अययविद्विषिद्विनिद्रात्मनुसारम्...यावदुदुस्तः रूपे प्रकृतिः मायाय: प्रभोति तावत् कल्पतु एव विशेषत्वम्, तत्र तु अविकल्पितं यत् अविनामावाति तदहि कल्पितस्पासुर्वाभावात्, तदेव वस्तुः नृत्तरम्...तत् ईदुधिः मुक्तस्यभास्यं उत्तरणोऽय तथा च बिप्राज्ञयवेश्युद्वननाशितिविभासमूहाद्विषिद्विशुद्धिः ऊर्धवस्यतः यत्र न स्यात्, भावप्राप्तायमुत्तरश्चायस्। उत्तरण: पश्चिमवस्त्राः: अशक्ताः: अधिराष्ट्राः; पराशाः: ता: यत्र न स्यूः...तत् एवविवधो नुदा प्रकतिण तत्: तरणं यत्र न
The term Sarva is also generally used in the doctrine of monistic Śaivism as equivalent to Anuttara. According to Elisa Freschi, as it has the form of Anuttara, Sarva becomes unique in Śaivite theory of ‘sarvam sarvatmakam’\(^{35}\). Anuttara - the unsurpassable- is the supreme lord himself. Uttara is the three Śaktis viz., Ícchā, Jñāna, and Kriyā and one which transcends these three is Anuttara. Abhinavagupta gives about 16 definitions in his *PTV*.

Anuttarā, a notion referred to in feminine gender, at the same time, is a concept which creates misperception since it appears identical with the principle Anuttara- the masculine. It abides only in the state of Kaulikī Śakti, i.e., always subordinate to Śiva.

The entire universe is a reflection of pure void of consciousness of Bhairava and it is independent of anyone else. The lord with complete independence known as Anuttara, being the self of the universe is inseparably united with the goddess. The supreme lord with power, Akula, is beyond the group of manifestation.

\(^{35}\) Visit [www.elisafreschi.com](http://www.elisafreschi.com) for more details.
New Treatises of De-Śaktised Thoughts

*Mahārthamaṇjarī* (MM) - a 14th century work by Maheśvarānanda- is widely accepted as the authentic text of Krama school by the contemporary scholars. In fact its contents are affectionate towards the posterior philosophy of non-dual Śaivism, and to the classical orthodox tendencies of Mīmāṃsā, Smṛti, etc. The only Krama relation is found in the topics, Pañcārthakramāvamarśa (vv.82-106) and Mudrā-s. Vrajavallabh Dvivedi makes a sensible description in the forward of the text as follows;

But the final statement in the conclusion of the aforesaid passage, which says that there is no difference among the philosophies of Krama, Kula, Mata and Trika; and the difference lies only in the ritualistic regulations, is highly objectionable. Since their distinctive existence has been established on strong philosophical ground this statement clearly

36 See Vrajavallabh Dvivedi (Ed.), *Mahārthamaṇjarī*, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi, p.12 for the extensive discussion on confirmations about the author and the time of origin.
is an attempt to appropriate these systems into the domain of the new Śiva-centred Mahārtha (Krama) system.

Another work of later origin- yet considered as an authentic source of Kula system- is the Parātrimśikā (PT). It deals mainly with the principle of ultimacy known as Anuttara.

The independent works as well as the commentaries of texts or portions or passages even before the tenth or eleventh century are also to be included in the impacts of the evolution. The Jayadrathayāmala (JY) or Tantrarāja (TR) which is having four parts and among which the first is earlier than other parts has frequently been referred to by the texts like Tantrāloka and Viveka. This text, also known as Tantrarājabhaṭṭāraka, moved the early esoteric position of Kālī into the paddhati-s used by Kashmirian officiants for the fire sacrifices and the sacrifices especially reserved for the female deities\(^{38}\)

The Goddesses presented here include all the forms of female deities prevalent in the period of its composition. Sanderson views thus;

They may be summarised as comprising Durgā forms, the local goddesses, Tripurasundarī forms, the Kālī-s of the Kālīkula, Caṇḍākapālinī, Trika’s Mālinī, Kubjikā and Lakṣmī forms whose origin is not known to me.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{38}\) Refer to Alexis Sanderson, “Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir”, p.253.

Another important impact is the emergence of new sub systems within or outside the realm, with the help of the preceding scriptural doctrinal sources. This might be because of the idleness of the previous system in its context, or otherwise the external influence for the implementation of contradictory ideas to a particular stream.

**New Schools**

Just as the new concepts originated from the former, and as the novel representation of the existing concepts, so is the emergence and development of the fresh traditions. Many systems like this were originated within the safe domain of the tradition as their own sub-schools and progressively developed their own territory. There might be some constructive as well as uncertain social situations which played the role of cause for the origin of novel systems as the whole. These causes were too complex to be detected for they show the ability to create a real transit in the previous structure from which themselves originated; whereas some others intentionally move in a slower manner.

Early Śakti centred schools (Kula and Krama) later became the creators of the new schools by the complete or partial transformation of their essentiality. Up to an extent, these new sprouts made an end to the monistic philosophy that forcefully implied on the early traditions, through which apparently carried out the demeaning of Śakti in Kashmir Śaivism. Gradually they broke even the boarder of this identity of
'Kashmir Śaivism', by acting as the synthesisers of Vedic and Tantric streams- the widest pan-Indian process- occurred in the late medieval period and through modern ages.

Even though it was coined in a later time, the classification based on families (āmnāyas) is more familiar in the case of Kula system. The first group called pūrvāmnāya (eastern tradition) is closely related to the earliest Kula, and it includes exclusively Trika- comparatively a supplementary thought system. Second one is the uttarāmnāya (northern tradition)

The cults of Tripurā and Śrīvidyā are the consequential schools generally known as Śākta traditions, which have yet significant position in the modern society i.e., after its shifting towards the southern India. Scholars like Sanderson ascertain that Śrīvidyā is nothing but Vedāntized Tripurā. Schools such as Nityā, Kubjikā etc. are the emergent of the time in between, and influenced the origin of later local goddesses in South India.

The new doctrines in the esoteric tendencies of Krama especially Tripurā is also designated as Samayavidyā. Since the total diverse doctrines of Krama are reclined in Tripurā, the highly philosophical

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40 Teun Gaudriaan, a modern scholar of Śaivism posited this classification. The method used to the positioning of Kaula schools into the āmnāyas is disagreeable for several reasons. For instance, the first part pūrvāmnāya is considered to be consisted of the earliest Kula texts along with the Trikatantras- which definitely have a less history than the other.

41 Śitikantha in Mahānayaprakāśa (MP), defines the scope of Mahārtha as ranging from the pītha to samayavidyā i.e., Tripurā philosophy.
ideas of Krama such as Anākhyā, Bhāsā etc. are enclosed with Samayeśvarī. Atimārga is a term that directly related to the system of Tripurā. Atinaya is another term that indicates Krama as which links Tripurā with the Kula.

The biggest contribution made by Krama to the history of tantric thought lies in the emergence of various Krama ... thus the Tripurā and many other Śākta systems have evolved their own code of Krama. Even the Buddhist Vaiṣṇava Tantras had gone ahead with evolving their own Krama doctrine.42

There are some other traditions, which had comparatively lesser area of embellishment and hence very easy to locate in the parental system. Sāhasa and Chummā are other sub systems of Krama School of Śaivism.

Krama Sub-variants of Later Times

Sāhasa and Chummā are the later sub-schools which show the unique features of Tantrism, yet had been subjects to timely alterations.43 Both of these traditions bear the Krama elements as their undercurrents. At the same time they articulate a highly synthesized non-dual philosophy.

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42 Navijivan Rastogi, KramaTantricism of Kashmir, p.66.
43 Vātulanāthasūtra(VNS), published with Vṛtti by Anantaśaktipāda, (KSTS, Vol.39) and Chummāsampradāya (ms added as appendix in Navijivan Rastogi, Kashmir Ki Saivamskriti mem Kul aur Kram Mat, pp.111-133) are the available sources of the Sāhasa and Chummā respectively.
Sāhasa

As the name indicates Sāhasa postulates spontaneity-recognition of the real nature, in an immediate moment regardless of efforts of any sort-as its central philosophy. In the first sight it announces the relation with the doctrine of Pratyabhijñā than the Krama. The goal of Sāhasa performance is the realisation of the self: “महासाहसवृत्त्या स्वरूपलाभः”44

According to this school, when the real nature is acquired by the practitioner through the method called Mahāsāhasa, it suddenly restarts the continuing sequence, through वर्त्ति-s and pravर्त्ति-s.

The notions, Melāpa, Kañcuka, Devī, and Vāhinī are not treated in the Sāhasa tradition, which might mistakenly be correlated with Śakti and hence with Krama.45 But here Melāpa is the assembly of the Siddhas

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44 VNS, v. 1. The concept of immediacy is closely related with the key concepts like Anupāya that which is nothing but the lack of means: यदा खलु दूढशिष्टितपाताविद्यः स्वयमेवतः विते शूलिकानुक्रेय गुरुवचनमवधार्य तदा पुनरुपाविलित: नित्योदितः अस्य समावेशः, Tantrasāra, ; it is also expressed as: ‘महासाहससंयोगीतलिनाशितवृत्तिः’ (...). similarly, in his Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa, Abhinavagupta explains the term sadyaḥ in a detailed manner: ‘सद्य इति शब्दो समाने अहिन इत्यथयवृत्तः उक्तनयेन अहिनविक्षिप्तवत्त् समाने क्षणे इत्यत्र अर्थे विचारते । समानत्वं च क्षणस्य न सादृशायम् अधितु तत्वप्रति साधविचार्येव एव विन्यस्त: शब्दविचार्येव। The PTV, p.35. Actually, what Abhinavagupta aims through this instantaneous concept, is the exhibition of excellence of his non-dual theory over other traditions. The traditions under consideration, expose their doctrines in the very similar way well synthesized non-dual Śaivism, with the equivalent techniques and ideas such as Śaktipāta and Samāveśa: “अतित्वलुप्तिभविन्यूतलिनाशितवत्ति वृत्तिः स्वस्वरूपसमाविष्टस्य कस्यविकल्पात्वकम् दानादिक्षेत्रमादिदेव महासाहसवृत्त्यागच्छतः महाधामसदवधार्येव शर्मसाध्यनिरविकल्पसमस्मितिवहंत्वात् प्रवृत्तत्वात् प्राप्तिसिद्धिः।” VNSV, p.2.

45 It is easy to suppose the identity between Yoginī and Melāpa, Māyā or obscuring power and kañcukas and the twelve Kālī-ś in twelve Vāhinī-ś. Nevertheless these should not be attributed to the early form of Krama, the commentator does not choose these to express the Krama
and Yoginī-s instead of group of Yoginī-s alone. Kañcukas are differentiated as Bhāvika (Tanmātra-s), Bhautika (Bhūta-s) and Śūnya (Vāsanā named Nirīhā): अथवा भाविकं घटाकारं बाह्यं ग्राह्यविषयरूपं, भौतिकं पुनरान्तरमिन्द्रियात्मकं ग्रहणरूपम् । शून्यं तदुभयमध्यमाकाशम्।

The objective acquired by exceeding these veils is the Turyapāda (fourth stage). The conception of four stages of the existence is familiar with the main stream philosophical systems; alike is the division of Catuṣṭayadevī. Dvādaśavāha is also connected with the non-dual ideas the categories of non-dual principle.

Chummā

The notion of Chummā is somewhat obscure. Navjivan Rastogi defines it as the ‘psychological centres of spirituality’. The references from TĀ are the solid evidences to the later origin (as a sub system) and the Krama relations of Chummā.47 The direct references (including in relation. But he conjoins some principles with the time sequence of birth, life and death- with slight popularized appeal as srṣṭi, sthiti and laya.

46 Ibid., p. 8.
47 According to TĀ, IV. 267cd-268ab Chummā is a Mudrā which is of six types, allowed to each family of royal pupils with proper competence; “आदिशब्देन च खरं पल्ली पीठपीठकम्।
मुद्रा छुम्मेिति तेषां चविधानं स्वपरिस्थितम्।”
The six types of Chummā-s are described as;
“दद्वाङ्गुटठािदकिनिटठकान्तमथ सा कनीयसी वामात्।
हिदिष्टान्तोध्यगुण्डलिखितवहाभास्मिन्दमिति छुम्माः।” Ibid., XXIX. 37. The context, in which Chummā is described, is credited to the regulations of forming various types of sequences Kramas to be followed by the practitioners of the rituals succeeded to Kulayāga.
the very beginning verse)\textsuperscript{48} and thoughts very much similar to that of the Sāhasā deliver the close relationship of Chummā to it. Aniketa or Nirniketa (Śiva) is one among the unique conceptions of Chummā, which used widely to propose the non-dual theory of Śaivism. The forms of Śakti-s such as Karanēśvarī-s etc. are mere tools for the attainment of the Supreme status. This is described as;

\begin{align*}
ततोऽनल्पिचदुल्लासो येन सृष्टेनन्तरस्।
निराकरणनिर्धामपरमाकाशवृत्तयः।
चक्रेर्यो रशिमरुपा देवता: कुलवर्जिता:।
निर्नित्तितपदे द्वैते मिलिता व्याप्तिसंयुता:।
\end{align*}

I. DE-ŚĀKTISATION THROUGH INTERPRETATIONS

The Process of Synthesis

Synthesis of the principles is an effective procedure widely accepted in the massive range of religious philosophical systems of medieval India. This unique technique is effectively implemented in his exegesis by Abhinavagupta. This capacity to synthesise the ideas in various disciplines made him an epoch-making personality and the most potential figure in the field of Kashmir Śaivism. The polarised concepts

\textsuperscript{48} “निजपरशितसमुहसमग्गो अकमु महोधे अवधि अशाचि।
सपराको पशमैति अमग्गो वभवसाहसकोश अनाधि।”, Chummāsampradāya (Ch.Sam), v. 1.

\textsuperscript{49} This is the commentary Chummāśaṅketaprakāśa (Ch.Saṅ.Pr) by Dinanath Yaksh on Ch.Sam, v. 3, where the term advaita is an emended one instead of dvaita in the manuscript. Obviously, it is agreeable that there are many instances for the advaitic inclination of this system; e. g., Niruttara in vv. 9 and 58 and Akula in 22 deal with the non-dual principle.
include pure and impure; masculine and feminine; esoteric and exoteric; internal and external; real and virtual; orthodox and heterodox and so on which are undergoing synthesis. Rather it is interesting that all these binaries can be identified with the ultimate and dynamic principles (i.e., Śiva and Śakti) of the non-dualistic doctrine of Śaivism.

Non-dualism according to Abhinavagupta is nothing but the pūrṇatā (fullness) which is also denoted with the terms viz., sāmarasya, sāmastya (harmony and integrity in their respect). Fullness in exact sense is the integrity of the ultimate principle and the dynamic principle (unambiguously represents Śiva and Śakti). As jayaratha explains,

ईश्वराति: शक्तिः, तद्विद कूण्यस्वभावत्सदाशिशिवत्वाद:।
व्यापकत्वायापकत्वस्वभाववाद्विद्यात्। पूण्यस्वभाये हि रूपे उपासना: पूण्येव भुवितस्वितलक्षणं फलम् आसादयन्ति, अपूण्यस्वभाये पुनर्पूण्यत्वमेव।

Navjivan Rastogi further remarks thus, for Abhinavagupta, in a linguistic perspective, reality is the synthesis of the word and its meaning which are identified with Śiva and Śakti. Raffaele Torella illustrates about an enhanced mode of synthesis as,

Thus, Abhinavagupta’s ideas on the word turn out to be the elaboration of two distinct components: the esoteric one, deriving from the Śaiva scriptures, and the linguistic-philosophical one, deriving from Bhartṛhari’s teaching, which, however, also includes a scriptural and esoteric layer and, in turn, comes to be the source many later scriptures refer to.51

Kerry Martin Skora analyses distinctly the interpretative capacity of Abhinavagupta as a synthesizer. According to her, Abhinavagupta's interpretations of Śaivism could be termed as the 'intertwining of consciousness and sexuality’. This creative blending has manifold subjects as mentioned above. This very approach, Skora suggests, is generating a feeling of reconciliation of spirit and flesh i.e., pure consciousness and embodied sexuality. She describes,

That Abhinavagupta equates the pure light with Śiva, and this urge to know with Śakti, has extremely significant consequences. Not only does Abhinavagupta discuss cosmology using abstract prakāśa-vimarśa language, he also uses discourse that relies on Śiva-Śakti language, giving rise to a cosmology with a radically different flavor. When using Śiva-Śakti terminology, the primordial beginning of the cosmos becomes the masculine polar aspect Śiva in perpetual sexual union with the feminine polar aspect Śakti. In other words, the emission, ejaculation even, of the universe begins with a 'big bang' or 'banging together'.

TĀ is the work which follows such a tendency in a higher manner. She argues that,

on the one hand, chapters 3 and 4 where Abhinavagupta's discourse centres on consciousness, as he describes practices and rituals in terms of higher states of consciousness to which they lead, and on the other hand chapter 29 where the discourse becomes centred on the concrete ritual of sexual union. It is my contention that these two sets of discourse mutually inform one another: as rituals of sexual union are understood in terms of

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consciousness, so consciousness is understood in terms of sexuality.\(^{53}\)

In a sense, scholars including Kerry Martin Skora and Navjivan Rastogi want to observe this capacity (for the creative blending of the polarised ideas) as the exploration of the identity between the phenomena and ultimate unitary essence. Rastogi says;

This identity is realized not through the mechanism of a logically constructed superimposed entity but through the dynamism of the reality’s inherent agency. This unified essence, as a sequel, refuses to remain a mere simple unity but a unity, a unified essence, filled by a rich self-unfolding content.\(^{54}\)

But all the three processes explained above are inadequate to convey this process of blending as a technique to identify Śakti with Śiva. In the synthesis, Śiva-centeredness can easily be found everywhere.

The theory of fullness formulated by Abhinavagupta is focused entirely upon the ultimate, which is the masculine substratum for the relish of synthesised expressions. Thus Abhinavagupta argues that the supreme ‘I consciousness’ is the fullness which transcends all the divine principles including Sadāśiva and Īśvara. He says;

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\(^{53}\) Ibid., p.3. Scholars are of no doubt about the influence of sexuality in the conscious theory of Abhinavagupta. Sanderson called it as ‘erotico-mystical tradition’.

Similarly in the linguistic context, the blending of the twin concepts of word and meaning, (or else Śakti and Śiva respectively) is also meant for the de-Śaktisation as it differs from Bhartṛhari who viewed meaning as an evolute of the word-principle.

While discussing about cosmogony, the universe is considered by Abhinavagupta himself as the ejaculation of Śiva;

This is highly contradictory to the theory of cosmology mentioned above in which Śiva and Śakti holds an equal significance.

But synthesis of the dichotomies apparently indicates the stream which diplomatically demeans the primal position of feminine principle without rejecting it explicitly. It also shares an advanced view that the goal of Tantric practice is the attainment of primary beginning through the reversal of the cosmology. For this Abhinavagupta introduces the concept of Yāmala or Saṅghaṭṭa i.e., the union of Śiva and Śakti. In an

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exact ritualistic context, Abhinavagupta refers to this union as the sexual union of the supreme Śiva and His Śakti by which the entire world emerges. This united form is cued the energy of bliss.\textsuperscript{57}

However, Abhinavagupta has become an imitative model for the later scholars for merging the principles in the Śaivism. His discovery of interior sense in bodily ritual i. e., the internalisation of the ritual to form a philosophy highly influenced the formation of later schools of Kula and Krama.\textsuperscript{58} The later treatises like \textit{Paraśurāmakalpasūtra (PKS)} are adorned with a specific structure in which the physical super ritualism and the gnostic contemplation are inseparable.\textsuperscript{59}

**Kula, Krama and Trika: Renovated Expressions**

De-Śāktisation process is focused on the entire transformation of the real identity of concepts and notions in the early Śakti-centred systems. Hence it is necessary to address the issue of advanced definitions of the former designations of Kula, Trika and Krama.

\textsuperscript{57} TĀ, III. 68. Jayaratha explaining this verse says: "शिवशक्तिः संघट्ट इति सम्यक् घटनं चलनं स्पन्दरूपता स्वात्मोचलता इत्यर्थं: अत्यच प्रकाशितर्वाचार्यत्याचर्य रनुशि क्षात्योत्तरणयोरमेत्र संघट्टादानन्तरशक्ताल्लो द्वितीयवर्गयथ उदयो यतः।" इच्छाशक्तिः विश्वस्य सर्यतः!

\textsuperscript{58} This historical transition period was effectively happened in whole Tantric world. Annet Wilke says, "Tantra shaped Hinduism and was itself reshaped. Most of the early radical so called lefthanders disappeared from the scene, while the codes of secrecy and be more self-assured and assertive about their Veda- superior authority." Istvan Keul (Ed.), \textit{Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond}, "Recoding the Natural and Animating the Imagery. Kaula Body Practices in the \textit{Paraśurāmakalpasūtra}, Ritual Transfers and Politics of Representations", Walter De Gruyter GmbH & Co, Germany, 2012., p.15.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.19-76.
Kula

According to earlier Kula doctrine, Kaulikśakti or Kaulikśiddhi was the ultimate power to be attained. But as an impact of the evolution, the concepts and notions related to the school of Kula have greatly changed and transformed into the masculine centred philosophy. The later teachers like Abhinavagupta define the term Kula in a complex manner. In accordance with the emphasis on the philosophical nature, K. C. Pandey elaborates twenty three ways by which the term Kula is defined. Kula sometimes indicates the whole subtle and gross manifestations in the universe. On the one hand it is addressed as the thing that shines in the form of consciousness while on the other, known as the rays and freedom of ultimate consciousness. Rarely Kula is mentioned as higher than the highest category. It is also used as synonymous to Ātman, entire manifestations of Bhairava, vital air, body, union of Śiva and Śakti, and sacred days. Kula is rarely termed as Saṃvid and as Piṇḍa the stratum to which all the manifested belongs in an undifferentiated mode.

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60 The main shift appeared in the system is the origin of the masculine counter-concept known as Akula, who always transcends all the powers. Akula or Śiva is the absolute without any manifestation and also is beyond differentiation which absolutely is opposite to the totality, group of energies and simply the cosmos- Śakti. Refer to Tā, III. 67: “अकुलस्याः स्वरूपस्य कुलाध्यनशालिनी। कौलिकी सा पराशिकितविद्युक्तो यया प्रमुः। II” see also Parātrīṣikā, I. 2 and its Vivaraṇa as, “कुलस्य नाथिका सरीरप्राणसुखादेः स्फुरतादायिनी ... कुलं हि अकुलप्रकाशरुपमेव भवति।”
However every one of these definitions reminds the real earliest meaning of Kula i.e., the clan of women or semi-divine practitioners. So far from being a mere re-recovery of the systems, the present tendency degenerated the position of Śakti. The major arguments about the nature of Kula are the consideration as something beyond Śiva and Śakti, as the union of Śiva and Śakti and as the supreme consciousness. To be exact, the four-fold interpretation may be proposed as: a) Kula is gross, subtle, ulterior, life-breath, senses and five gross elements. These are postulated both in a collective sense and in the sense of cause effect; b) Related to psychic organs such as body, life breath and eightfold body; c) Highest sense of Jīvanmukti and d) Kaulikī- Kulajātā as the absolute who manifest in and as the world.61

Anyhow these explanations never indicate the real meaning of Kula although they share some ambiguous philosophical ideas. K. C. Pandey views this as a confusing irregularity happened to the authors only because of they accepted the Agama-s as such. Nonetheless this irregular way of presentation seems to be a necessary step preferred by the teachers, only by which they can reserve themselves without the complete refusal and the acceptance of the primal importance of Śakti concept.

61 TĀ, XXIX.
Krama

Being the most popular term used to connote the entire doctrine, Krama is selected for an analysis about the shift happened to it. The real meaning of succession in this early Kaula system is related to none other than the twelve Kālī-ś, which act as the steps for the ultimate siddhi. Other popular meaning attributed to the notion is the thought system that teaches about the successive triad of creation, sustenance and dissolution. Later on, exactly following the Sp.Pra, the definitions turned out to the four-fold and five-fold functions. Consequently Krama is found expressed as the reality or awareness (samvid). Every process- whether it may be emanation, reflective awareness or cognition- undergoes a specific succession and it is nothing but the supreme awareness. This transforms the simple Krama into functionally and philosophically complicated one i.e., Mahākrama. MMP explains it;

विश्वमयी संवित् भासते। ... सा वक्ष्माणवर्त्त्तानुगण्येन सर्वथा क्रमभाजनं
भवति। सैव महाक्रम इति नयविद्विभागियते ॥

With this definition, the circle of twelve Kālī-ś is described in a philosophical way. Navjivan Rastogi observes,

Because the twelve Kālī-ś are the epistemic metaphysical-mystic transformation of the four-fold (or five-fold) functionalism with

62 MMP, p.179.
regard to the object, subject and means of knowing or the first three acts, in epistemic and cosmological settings respectively.\textsuperscript{63}

While describing the very term as Kālakrama (not as Kālikrama), the feminine goddess is forsaken and the creative time which has potential to be the emergent reality of emanation is placed therein. In fact the multiple identities of Kālī-s were reduced into the supreme single eternal principle. As Rastogi again notably views;

The sole underlying idea is to expatiate upon and account for the phenomenon of succession in our routine experiences ranging from the microcosmic level to the macrocosmic one, and also how the discrete units coming in a series flow from the non-dual supra-sequential source.\textsuperscript{64}

The attempts are found to be grown rapidly to conjoin Krama with the monistic thought of Śaivism especially the logical epistemological theory. So that Krama is designated with the suffixes such as anupāyakrama, anuttarakrama, mahārthakrama and far ahead, Krama had been replaced by mahārtha. mahānaya and atinaya are termed as indicative of both Krama and Kula.

**Trika**

In its earliest usage Trika has represented the triad of goddesses, which itself was a later development. This agreement of threefold

\textsuperscript{63}Navjivan Rastogi, *Krama Tantricism of Kashmir*, p. 13. Subsequently he also argues, by quoting *Cidgaganacandrikā (CGC)*, that the tryarthakrama is the proper context where the successive process of cosmic emergence and the trans-successive monistic principle take place. cf. Krama as the synthesis of bhoga and mokṣa.

arrangement has superimposed the triadic goddesses upon the Yoginī-the central attraction of early Kula system. It was actually necessary for the sustenance of the doctrine. In Judit Trzósok’s words,

*Siddhayogesvarimata* is in fact the result of the fusion of two opposite streams: one that attempts to subjugate and control impure focus related to the cult of eight mothers and another that mainly confirms to orthodox Hindu forms of purity adopting in its cult the orthodox goddess, Sarasvatī.

So there is no doubt that the other meanings attached to the term are of course bear new characteristics. Such a shifted paradigm necessitated the new versions of Trika. The siddhi-s and early goddesses are classified into the triad in accordance with their qualities as their characters. *Tantrasadbhāva (T.Sad)* for instance, classifies seven Yoginī-s into three groups viz., sāttvika (heavenly Yoginī-s), rājasa (Yakṣa Yoginī-s) and tāmasa (rākṣasa Yoginī-s). Whereas *TĀ* speaks about a new triad, abheda, bheda and bhedābheda that corresponding to the pramāṭṛ, prameya and pramāṇa. This identification of early goddesses with the new epistemological triad, being a later process led the early texts to lean to get interpolated. As a result, passages indicating the new triads got included in the works like *MVUT* and *JY*.

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65 This observation does not seem tenable for it is already observed by Trzósok herself that *SYM* is one among the earliest literary sources of Kula stream of Tantrism. And she does not speak about the intermixture of the Brāhmaṇic and Tantric materials as the interpolation done in relation with the de-Saktisation.

66 *SYM, XXIX.* 8: “सिद्धस्तु ित्रिवधा ज्ञेया उत्तमाधममवमा: ।
अिणमािदगुणावािप्त
मोक्षश्चैवोत्तमा स्मृताः ॥”

67 Aghorā, Ghorā and Ghoraghoratarā; Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā; Śiva, Śakti and Nara etc are some of the new notions of Trika found in these works. This is an activity of appropriation which
In spite of these, the term ‘Trika’ in the modified meaning is appended with the newly emerged synthesized systems as Anuttaratrikakula.

**Khecarī- the Concept Common to Kula and Krama in the Later Time**

Kashmir Śaivism in later stages, discarded the concept of Khecarī and the related ideas of Khecaratva and Khecarīsamatā which they had in the early traditions. Here these were replaced by the new meanings to the terminologies.

The beginning verse of *PT* is very good example for the process of infusing new notions to the earlier terms. It is performed there to infiltrate the concept of Kaulikīsiddhi into the Khecarīsamatā. It says,

अनुत्तरं कथं देव! सद्यः कौँसिलिकिसिद्धदम्।
येन विज्ञातमात्रेण खेचरीसमतां प्रजेत्॥ ।

Khecarī in the earlier phase has had an ordinary meaning as the goddesses or female divinities that move in the sky. But it is out-dated in the new circumstances. Kha now has become the void in the heart of the supreme i.e., hṛdayākāśā. Khecarīsamatā means harmony with the energy of consciousness moving in the void. This “absolute void is identified with Brahman, symbolised by the sky, the inner space in the

ultimately negates the difference between earlier and later characteristics of the principles. Compare with the *PT*, v.3: “न्यथावितिश्वान्तं ह्रदये या विनिधाय भास्येत्।
प्रणर्म म परं अनुत्तरं निजभास्या प्रतिमां चमकृतिलिम्॥

68 *PT*, v.1.
69 Here the concept of hṛdayākāśa is more akin to the ideas of the Brāhmaṇic texts like *Atharvaveda* and *Chāndogyopaniṣad*.
heart...”

When khecarī is distinct from the divine, then it will be the cause of all the emotions such as desire and anger etc.

Reference of Khecarī as a state of Śiva is also found in ŚŚ. But it has got developed into the level of evolutionary impact in Abhinavagupta and his disciples.

**Krama as the Attribute of Śāktopāya**

According to Śaiva philosophy, the individual self is enwrapped with the veil of ignorance resulted by the impurity which is a heterogeneous and external element, classified under three heads viz., Āṇava, Māyīya and Kārma. In conformity to these three impurities there are three types of spiritual disciplines to get purified from them. They are āṇavopāya (associated to the individual), śāktopāya (associated to the power) and śāmbhavopāya (associated to the lord).

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71 ŚŚ, II. 5: “विघ्रास्मृत्यां स्वाभाविकेः खेचरी शिववस्था ।”
72 Indian philosophical systems generally believe that ignorance is the cause of bondage. Even though the monistic Śaivism does not agree with the concept of ignorance, it postulates the theory of bondage through the mala-s (impurities) that limit and cover the consciousness. āṇavamala is the innate ignorance, which hides the infinite capabilities of transcendental supreme and reduces it into anus (individuals). The second category i. e., māyīyamala is the condition caused by māyāśakti in the remains of consciousness, which has already been affected by the innate impurity. kaṇcukas, the accompanying powers of māya also help in this stage to create a feeling of differentiation and conceal the real qualities and nature of individual selves. Further the kārmamala is the egocentric feelings about the actions, and related directly to the physical body. Here, obscuration takes place due to the desire for action associated to the body. Three of these impurities are also to be associated with the triad of powers Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā. Compare with the theory of erroneous cognition in Chapter 2 of this study.
73 Four of these Upāyas are also seen treated distinctly by the writers on Pratyabhijñā, especially by Abhinavagupta. Although it is believed that any one of these means is capable to make someone attain the reality, Abhinavagupta ultimately tries to convey that each of these acts as the steps to the attainment of final goal i. e., Supreme Śiva. There is also a fourth procedure,
These are the cognitive methods as the philosophical streams mostly stress upon their metaphysical domains, Abhinavagupta himself addressed these as the cognitive methods- the vital principles of every philosophical stream:

इति ज्ञानचतुर्दशं यत्सिद्धिमुक्तिमहोदयम् ।
तन्मया तत्त्वस्य तत्त्रालोकनान्यन्त्र शासने॥७४

Śāktopāya, under the scheme of these four spiritual approaches, comprehensively leads the way to the realization of the supreme. The present Upāya is commonly referred to in the non-dual Śaivite extents, as ‘the traditional way of presenting Krama system’, and hence is recognized by its proper name Jñānopāya. In the discussion about the Upāya-s in Śaivism, a question would certainly arise about the relevance of these varieties of means in the system (according to which the cognitive freedom is uniform and unitary in nature). The answer to this question is related to their sequential character. Śakti inherently is of dynamic nature and represents the succession obviously. Here the Upāya-s as a whole can be identified with Śakti- the state of being reflectively aware of one’s true Self.

anupāya (absence of means) which is described as the means of recognition (pratyabhijñā) of one’s real nature.

74 TĀ, I. 245. Abhinavagupta treats this means of knowledge as the very nature of the supreme lord himself. Also see ibid., II. 4.

75 As this seems to be historically untrue, an inquiry should be done if anybody else than Navjivan Rastogi has made such a statement or not.

76 See TĀ, I. 241. Navjivan Rastogi proposes that this distinct means are related to the theories of distinct geniuses of the system such as Abhinavagupta, who evolved out a correlated, coherent
The fundamental character of Śāktopāya mostly fits to this concept of successive steps. Śākta as the name indicates is the way to the attainment of Śāktasamāveśa.

There are two major definitions available for Śāktopaya, which are interrelated. First description stresses that it is a stage where no importance has given to the pronunciation,\(^{77}\) that otherwise leads to the fact that the attainment of the object without the help of Uccāra, means with the help of citta, the consciousness.\(^{78}\) Śākta has been defined as a practice in "refining ideation" (vikalpasamskāra) i.e., a process of bringing about gradual perfection in the correct conceptual knowledge of the person. Abhinavaguta says;

\[\text{इत्थं भावे च शाक्ताख्यो वैकल्पिकपथक्रमः }\]
\[\text{इह तू ततो यतस्तस्मात्िितयोिवकल्पकम् }\]  

Jayaratha explains this ‘vaikalpikapathakrama’ as an upgrading from the unclear and imperfect to the clear and perfect.\(^{80}\) This discussion posits a

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\(^{77}\) उच्चाररिहतं वस्तु चेतसैव िविचन्तयन् ।
\[\text{यं समावेशामनोति शक्ता- सोिस्रामिभीयते } II \text{TĀ, II.22.}\]

\(^{78}\) त्रिका विवेक के अनुसार के सामान्यतः।

\(^{79}\) This reflects the ontological status of Citi.

\(^{80}\) ताव, Vol. 3, p.618 also says that Vikalpasamskāra is the process by which the indeterminate stages lead to the determinate level's recognition.
hierarchy between the stages, which is not much similar to the early Krama thoughts.\footnote{There exists gradation in original Krama, but it doesn’t make clear any hierarchical steps from the first to final Kālī-ś in the cakra. It could be imagined that the steps are in the same and single plane. It is entirely different from the steps of a stair. Similarly there is no pure-impure bifurcation in early Krama. cf. Raffaele Torella’s argument that in Pratyabhijñā too there is no prominence to the very dichotomy: “Purity and Impurity in Non-dualistic Kashmir Śaivism”, Proceedings of the International Conference “Religions: Fields of Research, Method and Perspectives”, Studia Religiologica, Cracow Jagiellonian University, 2015, Vol. 48, No.1, p.8.} This also can be viewed as a forceful addition to the domain, the motive of which is the subordination of Śakti. Thus it can be assumed that the sequence of Kālī-ś in early Krama is not capable of moving to the highest principle. If the wisdom is momentary, then how this vikalpa could be accepted? Here the vikalpa raises a question that which vikalpa-ś are to be accepted- pure or impure? As the ideal recognizable principle is indeterminate, then both the śuddha and aśuddhavicāra-ś (pure and impure determinacies) are to be rejected. Then one vikalpa should decay in the arousal of the second and there must be another one in whom its essence would rest.

It is fascinating that these conceptions of redemptive knowledge ultimately do not shatter the ignorance that cause the bondage, except one among them. Then the problem arises is nothing but what is the purpose of lower ways especially Śāktopāya.

The major reason for the postulation of the Śāktopāya’s attribution to Krama is an impact of the evolution of Śakti. In the context of Abhinavagupta’s thesis on Pratyabhijñā, it is enough to discuss about the utmost and only means to the attainment of the
supreme goal, as it is ubiquitous in nature. But here these systems of thoughts and subsequent ways are explained only for illustrating the subordination of Śakti and Śakti oriented systems to the supreme Śiva and Śiva-c entered systems respectively. Again the introduction of Sattarka, holds no minimum logic for a philosophical argument.

**The Pentadic Tendency of Krama**

The later texts on Krama present fivefold action nature of Śiva, not of Śakti. Being the form of Śaktis, they are addressed as the powers of Śiva. Srṣṭi, sthiti, saṃhāra, anākhyā, and bhāsā, then are identified with the stages of speech, Śaktis, Yoginī types and Cakras etc.\(^{82}\)

K. C. Pandey opines that the pentadic tendency is not exclusively Krama’s own; but might have been inspired by the Lakulīśa theories copied from Āraṇyakas and so on. This also in fact indicates the subordinate position of Śakti, as Kālī has the same pentadic nature as that of Śiva. But Kālī or Śakti always comes under Śiva. In this manner, the theories and goddess of vāc are accepted having been avoided their supremacy. Navjivan Rastogi remarkably states;  

One of the most basic tenets of the entire monistic Saiva thought of Kashmir is its theory of the five acts of the Absolute, namely, Srṣṭi (emanation or emergence), Sthitī (sustenance), Samhāra (withdrawal or submergence), Tirodhana (concealment), and Anugraha (dispensing grace). The functionalistic doctrine, in question, maintains that the Absolute is unceasingly busy in

bringing about these five acts, be it phenomenal order of existence or the trans-phenomenal one. It is the unfoldment of his being. Therefore, those who always reflect upon this pentadic activity of the Godhead, knowing the universe as an unfoldment and expression of the essential nature of Awareness, never fail to attain perfection and realize their true self in this very life.

Contemporary Attitudes

De-Śaktisation tendencies in the interpretations were not only limited to the ground of Abhinavagupta and his close descendants but it is found extended to the modern scholars also. The present academia of South Asian studies is tremendously ardent towards the discussions on the features, conceptions and experiential traditions of Tantrism. Many of the modern scholars are highly influenced by the traditional overviews on the philosophy of Tantrism. They explicitly believe in the hierarchy created by the dichotomies which necessarily lead them to consider the ideas like pure, internal, knowledge, masculine etc. as exceeding the impure, external, ritual and feminine. Hence the predisposition to the interpretation of the whole system as Śiva-centred is common in them. Accordingly present chapter tried to monitor the

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83 Ibid., p.67.
84 The modern interpreters are interested in propounding the philosophy of Śaivite monism as all mystical theology and thus they preserve an affable perspective on the Śiva-centredness of later phase of the monistic Śaivism. They try to transform all the earliest esoteric concepts into highly philosophized or soteriologized ones. The liberation from the circle of birth and death acquires a higher level than the worldly enjoyments attained through the Tantric contemplations. (see Alexis Sanderson, “Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir”, p.237. He further remarks that the Śaivite rituals which effect the soul is greater than the Brāhmaṇic rituals which affect body. Here also soul- the internal- becomes higher than the body- external, Ibid., p.240. Also refer to Betina Baumer, Op.cit., p.21.) This is the reason for their acceptance of Yoginīs as the later concepts originated from Śaivism. (H. V. Dehjia, Navijivan Rastogi and Olga Sebeava Saraogi are of the same opinion in this regard.) They obviously accept that Atimārga is the first branch of Śaivism then the Śākta- mantramārga has originated. The modern Śākta
long term tendencies of de-Śāktisation (handled through the different schemes of exegesis such as interpolation, formulation and interpretation) as the impacts of the evolution of Śakti in Kashmir Śaivism.

scholars too are not seems to be set free from the impacts of Brāhmaṇic ideas. (For instance, during the discussion of Goddess-spirit duality Judit Torzsok and Shaman Hatley deviate from the fundamental Śākta understanding.)