CHAPTER I
CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF SAIYXGAMAS:

Kashmir Saivism, as it implies to, is a school of Indian philosophy brought-up and developed in the snow clad mountain valley of Kashmir. In distinguishing it from the other branches of Saivism i.e. Southern Saivism (dualistic Saivism) and the Saiva siddhānta (vīra Saivism), being practised in Southern Indian states, the history of Monistic Saivism of Kashmir has to be traced out in the Śiva Sūtra, an important work dedicated to Lord Śiva.¹

The distinctive names of the Śaiva literature are frequently used in various

¹ śiva siddhānta is different from Viṣṇusāivism.

Siva Sūtra does not deal with history.

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TA I:P40
scriptures of this school. It has been referred to as Śiva Śāsana by the great Śaiva exponent Abhinavagupta.

Trika Śāsana, trika śāstra or simply trika or gaḍardha are so often referred to, as the Rahasya sampradāya, while Śaivism in its general is spoken of as Śiva Śāsana or Śaivāgamas.

The peculiarity of Śaivāgamas lies in the part of their containing pure monism, Suddha-advaita, whilst other branches of Śaivism being practised in some parts of India establish the theory of dualism (dvaita). Thus, the name trika clearly amplifies the Śaivāgamas, of which the

1. कप्याग्रदायकसुभुमिनः शिखासन
   इतिपूर्वमन

2. स व सत्यानां गण्यास्य एव परं प्रमेयम
   उँचात् ।

3. स सत्यानां स्वसत्यानां प्रमुखे प्रक्षेप
   जित्यापारः भवादत्सं विधानां विधानां इतिपूर्वमन ॥
form, the tantras, are said to be existing in the literature of the Śaivāgamas.

Though the history of Śaivāgamas, as opposed to say present tantras-Śaivāgamas¹ seem to have made its first appearance or reappearance as some traditional scholars may put it, in the end of the ninth century A.D., Śaivāgamas are far older than the above mentioned date. The first mortal being, Vasugupta, whom the Śiva-sūtras are said to be revealed, was the Guru of Kallajā, the author of Spanda Vyitti, must have flourished in the opening of the ninth century, because Kallajā is said to have been taught by him, and Kallajā, according to Kalhaṇa, lived in the reign of the King Avanti-varman of Kashmir, who ruled the land of Kashmir in the later part of the ninth century A.D. To clarify this contention in the light of reliable information the tracing out from the Vedic literature is necessarilly required.

1. Also called āgamas, RJ, K.U.P 273
2. Vide "Kashmir Shaivism" By J.Rudrappa, P23
In the Yajurveda the word Satarūḍrīya is found used in the sense of tantras. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka tells that the whole universe is the manifestation of Rudra. In Mahābhārata and Purāṇas also Siva is glorified and the literature pertaining to Siva has been spoken of as Śaiva-śāstras.

The concept of the eulogation of Parā Śakti is also found in Vedic literature, where Parā Śakti has been described as Supreme Goddess. In Purāṇas also it is asserted that the worship of Parā Śakti alone is the abode of the Highest beatitude. According to A.S. Gupta, at the end of the Dvāpara age and before the onset of the Kali age, Pīthvī, oppressed by the burden of the wicked kings, such as Kaśśa, Siśupāla and many other, along with Indra, approached Brahmā and related to him her woe. She then was asked to approach Viṣṇu, and by doing that she was told that every body was ignorant of

1. Vide "A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy", P 386
the Ultimate Reality. Therefore, none of them could relieve the Earth of her woes. Then Brahma and other Gods meditated upon the Highest Goddess, Parāšakti, the supreme and the foremost energy. She then appeared before them in visible form and all those eulogised her as possessor of Supreme energy.

It is also contemplated that Parāšakti is Supreme and absolutely independent, whereas, other šaktis as Lakṣmī and other Goddesses are manifestations of the Parāšakti.

The šākta, with the rise of this šakti cult have substituted this male aspect of Mahādevī, Parāšakti etc., and thus they generally conceive this aspect as mother. However, in non śākta literature the male deity himself is conceived as both, Mother and Father.

1. पराशक्ति प्रभावते देवाः न जातवा मौलिमानाः।
   तेषामुज्ज्वलाः तदव ज्ञातविभक्षा।
   DB XII:V 18-19

2. Vide "Purāṇa", RJ, All India Kashirāj Trust, P3

3. पिलाहनसय अगता माता अता पिलामः।
   BG IX:V 19
Though it is not possible to state when exactly the evolution of Śaivāgamas took place. It is believed by some scholars that its rise was definitely simultaneous with the Vedic cult. A learned scholar, in this respect quotes various references from the works belonging to the period prior to the fourth century A.D., and points out that there, in Mahābhārata (257,7) there is a reference to the Śaivāgamas in regard to the worship in Śānti parva, proving that Śaivāgamas were existed in the epic age. He states that it appears that there arose a controversy between the Vedikas and Śaivāgama followers in respect to the consistency of the Śaivāgamas with the Vedas. The question was debated by the Śaiva-Ācāryas with the Vedikas, and it was established that the Śaivāgamas are consistent with the Vedas in philosophical question but independent with regard to Śiva question¹.

¹. Papers read by S.G.Sakharpekar, "Evolution of Śaivāgamas" and "Ṛgmic viRa Śaivism". P 65, 300
In this context it has been contemplated that with regard to the date of the evolution of āgamas, as there is no direct information to be availed of, indirect methods have, therefore, to be adopted for the purpose of ascertaining them.

Considering that the Saivāgamas are spoken of in Sūta Saṁhitā, the exact date of this work is likely to provide a clue to the date of the āgamas. The work also refers to the Buddhism and Jainism, which flourished even as early as the third and the second century B.C. By this time, the Saivāgamas were in existence.

S.S.Suryanarayanan Shastri has also observed āgamic lore in the time of Brahmaṇas and pointed out that the āgamas were developed out of the Brahmaṇas in the same way as the Upaniṣadas, though at a much later time. Some of the later Upaniṣadas like Svetāsvatara which addresses the supreme being by a sectarian title not Para Brahman, probably grew under the shadow

1. Paranjyoti: Šaiva Siddhānta, P 2
of the āgamas. Antagonism to the Vedānta is vividly present in the āgamas as seen from frequent criticism thereof. It is also pointed out that the present āgamas are Sanskrit translations of the Tamil originals, which constitutes an altogether independent body of doctrines. These Sanskrit translations carries the views of the translators of the Vedic religion, and owing to many causes, partly natural and partly political, the Tamil originals were lost. The Sanskrit translations alone survived, and thus there is strong indication in the support of this contention.

But the intensive studies and researches so far made in this direction reveal that the Śaiva āgamas, known to Kashmirians, have nothing to show that they are the translations of the Tamil originals. The language and the numerous references

1. Śrīkaṇṭha: Sīvādvaita, P 1
2. Śrīkaṇṭha: Sīvādvaita, P 1
to the names of the later authors like 
Śaṅkarācārya, Govinda and other show that they 
are written very late or some portions of them 
were added lately.

The Śaivites in Kashmir strongly refuse 
that the Śaivāgamas have any connection with 
the Vedas. They go to the extent of claiming 
them only to be of Divine origin and they entirely 
deny that there is any authority of the Vedas. 
It clearly shows that the Kashmiri Śaivāgamas 
have been treated as quite independently of the 
Vedic scriptures.

In this context V.P. Raman Shastri has 
observed that it seems ridiculous to determine 
the date of the composition of the Āgamas, yet 
there is enough scope to consider the internal 
arrangement and the flow of the language of the 
Āgamas. The findings of Dr. M.A. Stein in Central 
Asia arrive at this conclusion that the Śaivā-
āgamas can not be placed after the fourth 
Buddhist conference held in Kanishkapura, near 
Srinagar in the reign of King Kanis̱ka of Kashmir.
J.M. Nallaswami also claims the relation of the Śaivāgamas with the ancient history of Hinduism. According to Narayan Swami the Śaivāgamas were in existence at the time of the composition of the Āraṇyakas.¹

According to R.R. Divakara the Śaivāgamas were composed two thousand years before the modern time. In this context Shakuntla Hora has contemplated that the Śiva cult has been revealed in the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro and Harrappa, which proves the wide prevalence of Śiva cult in the time of the rise of the Indus Valley Civilization. It is also pointed out that the glory of Āgamas has been highlighted in the Mahābhārata, which would indicate the existence of the Āgamas in the epic age and even before that. John Woodrofe also maintains that some parts of the Vedas show a great impact of the Śiva cult, which is definite evidence to prove the existence of the Āgamas in earlier times.²

1. Vide "Sanyāsa" Āgama Viśeṣāṅka, P 81
2. Vide "Sanyāsa" Āgama Viśeṣāṅka, By Shakuntla Hora P 81
P.T. Srinivas Iyengar has pointed out that the first adumbration of the Śiva tantras was found in the Taittirīya Yajurveda. The tantric systems were developed into an organised system of belief and practised in South India in the earliest centuries of the Christian Era.

In this context Pt. Lacchami Dhar Kalla has propounded that Śaivism was almost in its full prevalence in Kālidāsa's time, for he had great respect and reverence to the knowledge of the āgamas. He himself was most proficient in Śaiva-āgamas. In Raghuvaṃśa (VI Canto) he appreciates the King of Anupas for his knowledge of Śaiva-āgamas and refers to him as āgama-vīddhasevaI. He has also accepted that he was well versed in the āgamas. He appears to have very high regards to the āgamas.

It is also known that Kālidāsa's Śaivism was completely free from wild and fanatic ideas that are generally associated with the Śaivism.

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1. English Translation of ŚSVim by P.T. Srinivas Iyengar, preliminary notes
outside Kashmir. It was completely monistic in its character. All other schools prevalent outside Kashmir are described as dualistic and even pluralistic in their philosophy against the monistic philosophy of Kashmir. Thus, it appears that the Śaivāgamas were present in Kālidāsa's time and therefore, can not be denied the existence of Śaivāgamas in very early period, for it found home in Kashmir.

It would thus allow to say that in whatever form the Śaivāgamas may be existed in Kālidāsa's time but they were extensively studied by the scholars as Kālidāsa did himself. Also great Saṅkarācārya who revived them in the eighth century might had studied them well and then, he, having given final blow to the Buddhism, established the monistic thought of Śaivāgamas in Kashmir.

The aforementioned findings of the scholars would thus conclude that the definite chronology

of the āgamic and tantric literature, and its original sources are still unascertained. However, the view held by them would at least show that the tantras and the Śaivāgamas originated much earlier than the Christian Era, the Buddhistic age, and even the age of Taittirīya Saṁhitā, if they can not directly be affiliated with the Vedic scriptures in any respect.

In this respect learned scholar A.B.Keith maintains that the tantra or tantric literature is reasonably old and is proved in all probability by the existence of manuscripts from 609 onwards, but the exact date of the extant texts are hard in case of determine, they include the Kulārṇava tantra, the Kulacāḍāmaṇi tantra, the Jñānārṇava tantra, the Tantrarāja, the Mālinī Vijaya, the Mahānirvāṇa and so on. It is further added that many high claims have been raised for the cultural interest of these works but there remain the essential fact that so far they contain philosophy, that is better given in other
texts, and, so far they are original, in addition to inculcating all sorts of magic practices, they teach the doctrine of the eating meat, the drinking of the spirit and promiscuous sexual intercourses, the deity being supposed to be present in the shape of the female devotee, as a means to the end of the union with the highest principle of the system. The original texts seem to have been composed in rather barbarous सांस्कृत, while the latter compilations are badly arranged and collected. It is, however, true that the tantric cult has had, and still possess, an enormous power over the minds of Indians, even in high ranks of society and of superior culture. The school of Kashmir शाविषम was predominant in the beautiful land of Kashmir and, there developed two schools with close affinity in many regards to the वेदांत. Among the literature, came into existence and revealed to the mortals स्वात्र of वसुगुप्त, the स्पंडकारिक of कल्लात्ता, the commentary on स्वात्र of कज्ञराज, the स्वात्र of
Somānanda, the Iśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā of Utpaladeva, the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta are prominent.

The special point of this system is the insistence of the necessity, in order to enjoy the delight of identity with God, for man to realize that he has within him the perfection of God, just as a maiden can enjoy her lover if she realize that he possess the perfection of which she had been told.

In the Buddhist's literature there is a considerable number of tantras, and there was time when Buddhism was dominated by the Śaivism. One aspect of Buddhism was named as Śākta-system. Certain yoga practices laid down by Śaivite yoga system have been adopted and closely followed by the Buddhist yoga system. In one of

1. Keith, A.B.: HSL, PP 481-482
texts Śaivism has been named as Kulācāra. It also advise the sādhaka to attain perfection in yoga and also in all left handed observances as frequent use of wine, woman, meat and matsya etc. It is also held that the Buddhistic literature only came into existence in the ninth century and before that there was only Śaivism practised and followed by the common folk and the people of the high rank in the society. In the Buddhist's literature, the names of deities generally used in Śaivism have been openly accepted as indicating the highest deities of the Buddhism, at one place Buddha has been called as Mahākāla, and his supreme power, Tārā as Śaktī. Thus it is proved that before Buddhism there was a system fully popular among the people and that was Śaivism itself. The literature of Śaivism also seem to have existed in its completion at that time. The Rudrayāmala and the Brāhmaṇyaśāmala Tantras were among those which were highly popular in those days.

In this context Pt. Durga Prasad has observed that the development of human thoughts and by the time the country had become pregnable, the religion of the place had begun to assume a definite shape. The Brahmanism of Pre-Ashokan time was definitely rationalized as Saivism and adopted a good number of ritualistic dogmas. But this was not to last long. Ashoka (273-232 B.C.) missionary advent created a venue for Pre-Ashokan Buddhistic activities in Kashmir. He made charitable gifts to both and thus conversion started. He built temples for both Saiva and Buddhistic faiths. This combines with the fact that there is nothing fundamentally inconsistent in the two religions, made them to flourish side by side.

Buddhism is primarily an ethico-philosophical religion and Saivism of Kashmir a religious devotional system.

In fact, one must confess it to the credit of the land of Kashmir that rival faiths
have developed side by side in a most peaceful manner. Even today such a common worship harmony is seen in this land, where a tree is worshipped by both or a tomb of Muslims is visited by both faiths.¹

It thus appears that Šaivism was almost a rooted faith among the inhabitants of the Kashmir before the Buddhism and as Dr. N.N. Datta has maintained that the credit for Buddhistic studies is being a centre for the dissemination of Buddhism and Hindu culture in the countries abroad.²

The antiquity of Šaiva-gamas or monistic Šaivism of Kashmir is also unique in the fact that despite many upheavels with social, political and religious changes, it is still

¹. Durgaprasad: Utpala Saint Mystic of Kashmir, P.1-2
². Datta, N.N.: Introduction on Gilgit Manuscript
very popular and fully practised with complete belief in the orthodox families of Kashmiri Pandits. These people confess their appearance, or as they put it reappearance in the eighth century of the Christian Era and regard and place them side by side with the Vedas. They believe in their eternity and that they have been manifested by Lord Siva himself for their benefit. Since the earthly existence of the divine scriptures is evidently known at the end of the eighth century or in the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian Era, therefore, it may be interesting to note that there are many references in the Buddhists literature, which have already been referred to in this context and still are many more containing the ingredients pertaining to the field of Śaiva-gamas, claiming the prevalence of the Śaiva-gamas in the prima of second or third century of the Christ and its wide impact on social life even before that.

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Kalhaṇa, the author of Rājataraṅgaṇī also contemplates that Śaivism was definitely prevalent before the Buddhism. He indicates the wide prevalence of Śaivism or Śiva cult in the valley of Kashmir from an early period. Many references are found regarding the creation and existence of temples in the honour of Śiva. Kalhaṇa contemplates that there was a shrine Vijayesvara in Pre Ashokan days. Ashoka himself built two temples in honour of Śiva. This fact has been propounded by J. Rudrrappa in his book Kashmir Shaivism originally recorded by Kalhaṇa and found in the translated version of the Rājataraṅgaṇī. According to Kalhaṇa, the tantric lore of worshipping Lord Śiva with His spouse as God is described in the Niḷamata Purāṇa. Because when a religious point arises after the coronation of Yaśovatī, the third of Gonada line of Kashmir, Krīṣṇa quotes the authority of the Niḷamata Purāṇa in support of his view. Similarly, when the religion of the land is represented to have suffered to the hands of the
Bauddha with Nāgārjuna as their head, the reference is nothing else than the ritualistic performance prescribed in the Nīlamata Purāṇa.1

Dr. Pandey also agrees with above mentioned statement proving that there was tantric worship in pre historic days. He observes whatever opinion may be held about Kalhapa's account of the Kings of Kashmir and their administration in the earlier part of his chronicle, in view of the fact that tantric worship was as late introduced into Kashmir as the eighth century A.D., and that when Buddhism entered in Kashmir at the time of Ashoka there was already a religion there, the prominent feature of which was the worship of Ardhanārīśvarī, therefore, at least Kalhapa in his statement with regard to the ancient faith of the land, is generally not wrong.2


The spread of the teachings of Buddhism which was headed then by Nāgārjuna, when contrasted with the Śaivism, on account of its support by the kings, inspired the Śaivites to systematize their tradition. This is historical truth recorded by Kalhaṇa in regard to the destructive fall of snow sent by Nīla, who was enraged at the abeyance of religious rites prescribed in the Nīlamata Purāṇa in consequence to Nāgārjuna's propaganda.¹

Before the rise of Buddhism, Śaivism was a popular practice in the religious worship of Kashmir. The Buddhists, then led by Nāgārjuna, who was a great authority on that school, and is still today regarded as a great authority on the Buddhism, defeated the Śaivas in a cross debate, in result Buddhism earned a great repute and found place in the court and dynasty. This was a great shock to Śaivism. Buddhism began to

¹ At that period the Buddhas, whom the wise Bodhisatva protected, obtained preponderance in the land. Nīla having manifested himself to him, removed the affliction of excessive snowfall, and revealed anew the rituals prescribed in his own Purāṇa.

RT:1; V. 177-184
spread so fast that śaivism almost vanished, or as some philosophers may call it buried it for the time being. The recognition of kings and patronage paid to Buddhism resulted in a wide spread of it among the people—common in Kashmir, not only in Kashmir but outside Kashmir also. In that time it earned a great respect and continued to reach its hights. However, the eighth century A.D. when great Śaṅkarācārya came to Kashmir and having given final blow to Buddhism, established the monistic thoughts of Śaivāgamas, imparted new life and again rose to its hights.

The tradition, which is still in current in Kashmir, and framed on the basis of the scriptural evidences, recorded by great Abhinavagupta, Somānanda and other prominent authorities, proclaim the evolution of Śaivāgamas a far back from the time cited above, i.e. eighth century A.D. They admit Śaivāgamas as eternal and ever-existing. The difficulty which does not allow to record the exact date of the evolution of such divine scriptures is the unavailability of the concrete evidences, so that claim could be more valid.
Another problem which hinder one making further exploration, is the statements recorded by the different scholars at many places point out the time of the composition and existence of the Śaivāgamas. The adverse situation and bad handling of the literature pertaining to this school is also to some extent responsible for the rise of problems which scholars very often have to meet with.

The above furnished information, gathered from the different sources and the traditional belief, though accept the emantion of the Śaivāgamas in the period extended before Christ, but differ in some fields, therefore, it is necessary to look into the literature pertaining to the Śaivāgamas, in which the ingredients which would enlighten this fact, are certainly embodied.

The current which is fully believed and said to be living faith also supported by the scriptures is propounded as follows:
Before the manifestation of the śāstras or āgamas, they were merely thoughts expressed as speech, like the universe itself, which forms the object of thought and speech. It existed as yet thought. The existence of the Supreme Deity in form of the All Pervading and transcending word¹, the Parāvāk, which is not even called avyaktā, is beyond all objective though and speech in every one of their forms, completely rested in highest consciousness, in the most germinal form. The whole universe was so germinal and undifferentiatedly existed that it could not be thought².

There was nothing being spoken of as constituting of this or that, vācya or vācaka, that supreme Parāvāk assumes or appears in another form which is to be a vision, consisting of the whole universe in the undifferentiated form. This state or the next state of Parāvāk is Paśyantī, which assumes the form of vision.³

1. शिव श्रीयाःशिवीलपदैश परा प्रतिष्ठा पूः।
   परस्परचपीता पश्यन्तिसवर । परापथविषा: पवहली ॥
   *P.T.V.*: P. 130
2. अविवागा उ पश्यन्ती
   SD:II; V.11
3. चित्रं पश्यन्ती दर्शनात्यका
   SD:II; V.35
As the progress of the manifestation of the universe appeared in the second state, a vision beyond the expression of this or that, the thought and experience still indistinguishable began to become distinguishable as distinct from one another as this or that. Then the field of vision, assumed a new state, the third state, the Madhyamā, which forms a filling of the gap between what was an undifferentiated state of Paśyantī, and on the other hand the last stage of the development of Parāvāk, soon going to be spoken word.

The Vaikharī vāk forms itself by reaching up to the mouth and other vocal organs, it is expressed by means of the letters. In this state all the letters, thoughts and experiences expressed not as this or that, or in vision or in most germinal seed form, but they are expressed as distinguished from one another. This fourth state of all transcending word, Parāvāk, is the means of
expressing this universe as separated, vikalpa-
kalpita: 

Vaikharī vāk expresses the thoughts and experiences of the Madhyama, by means of the vocal organs, and comes under the name of Siva Śāsana. In fact, all śāstras or āgamas are not different from this divine Madhyama. Flowing out in these forms as Vaikharī vāk or expressed by differentiated words, these five currents may be deemed as the five fold faces of the deity.

1. विमत्तत्काराविभिक्षणविभागः
   वैवरी कायमः सर्व विभिन्नतया फळादृष्टा
   वाणां कार्न विभागः कान्त्यवेव प्रकटते

   VP: V.16
   विमत्तत्काराविभिक्षणविभागः वैवरी कायमः
   Comm. on SD:P.43

   स्मायै विभिन्नतया वाणो विभागादयता
   वैवरी वाणो विभिन्नतया प्राणो नवर्षन्विधतयता

   Ibid. P.43

   विमत्तत्काराविभिक्षणविभागः वैवरी Comm. on TA:III:P.136
These five faces represent the five aspects of this five fold power and glory, 
cit
śānta
icchā
jñāna
kriyā
and which are respectively called:
īśāna
tatpurusa
sadyojāta
aghora
vāmadeva
Thus the śaivāgamas streamed forth from the five fold faces of the deity. Originally it consisted of sixty four systems, representing as many aspects of thoughts as suited to the needs of the people. All those sixty four āgamas were divisible under the three classes;
1. Advaita: unity and identity of all what appears as many.
2. Dvaitādvaita: where unity of thought and experience could be comprehended as divided thought and experience.
3. Dvaita: the diversity in constituent principles, and comprehended as the essence of the universe.

But as the Kali grew and begun to spread over the world of intellectuals, the Śīgis who were the possessors of the knowledge, gradually started moving to unapproachable places, thus, the śāstras were also disappearing from the world. The spiritual darkness started engrossing the world. But Siva, as the deity is called "doer of samblince and all good", took pity on humanity, and appeared on the mount of Kailasha in the form of Śrīkaṇṭha. There He in the form of Śrīkaṇṭhanātha commanded the sage Durvāsā to spread the knowledge of these śāstras back to the world for the removal of darkness and ignorance which was due to their disappearance.
Sage Durvāśa, thus commanded by Lord Śrīkaṇṭha
Nātha, by the power of mind created three mind
born sons; Tryambaka, Āmardaka and Śrīnātha, and
each was charged with the mission of establishing
the knowledge of the Śāstras in the world again
and to teach the ancient faith of Śaiva tradition.
The doctrine of such teachings were in the three
aspects of;

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<tr>
<th>Abheda</th>
<th>advaita</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bheda</td>
<td>dvaita</td>
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<td>Bhedābheda</td>
<td>dvaitādvaita</td>
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Tryambaka, the eldest one, was engaged to
teach the first aspect, Abheda, complete monism.
Āmardaka was assigned with the mission of teaching
Bheda, dvaita, while the last Śrīnātha was to have
the charge of bhedābheda, dvaitādvaita.

It was Tryambaka who taught the monism
or complete advaita to the world, which indeed is
the best of all, and is spoken of as trika, complete
essence of all the Śaivāgamas.

Originally these āgamas, consisting of nine crores of verses, were handed down from one divine being to another, a considerable portion of these, therefore, unfortunately lost. The eight divine beings, who successively received these āgamas from their predecessors were:

1. The information presented above is based on a paragraph existing in the Tantrāloka

Comm. of Jayaratha on TA:I; V.18

Comm. of Jayaratha on TA:I; V.18
The remaining portion of the Śāstras was again taught by Guru, the last divine being to the following in succession, according to their individual capacity:

1. Dakṣa  Two parts
2. Samvarta  Two parts of the two pādās
3. Vāmana  One pāda
4. Bhārgava  Half pāda
5. Bāli  One fourth of a pāda
6. ......  Pāda of a pāda
7. Simha  One half of a pāda of a pāda
8. Vinatabhū  One third of a pāda of a pāda
9. Vāsukināga  One fourth of a pāda of a pāda
Thus the Sāstras travelled down through these divine beings and semi divine beings. In heaven Rāvaṇa took half of the remaining āgamas and handed them down from generation to generation in the following succession:

1. Vibhiṅgāṇa
2. Rāma
3. Lākṣmīṇa
4. Siddhas
5. Dānavas
6. Guhyakas
7. Yoginis

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1. बायातिष्ठ शास्त्राय कथिते वस्त्रान्तः ॥
ब्रह्म विद्वानिनिर्मिता मुरारिन्धर निरंजिता ॥
दैत्यो भौतिकी दैत्य रक्षकं लोकलोकपूर्वक ॥
गणेशं स्वयंः श्रीरुपं कोषदक्षिणः ।
वायुम: श्रीमानं नवमिट्ट प्रकट्कर्ण ॥
कृषि एकस्ततः गुरुं कौटियासाह पादं स्विरिष्यवाह ॥
विनादिन्यः उपायं पादं सज्जितिस्वतं स्वं स ॥
पादं व कामनादिम्यः पादस्य नामं व गयं स ॥
पादं व तु बलस्य पादपावसं गी वरः ॥
सिद्धांमि काः: कृष्टार्कां नानाकं विकारणैः ।
पादं वासुकं नामं क्षणं: रथवंश तेषां ॥
सकारविश्वं रावणेऽयं तत्ते रामं अविष्टं ॥
विनादिन्यं वुवावायं गुरुं स्विरिष्यवाहस्यमः ॥
रामेऽविष्णुकाः सिद्धार्क्ष्यं काः दातिवः: दुःखातिष्ठतं सम्यक-वाग्निनी वृत्तिपताः ॥
Abhinavagupta has very clearly stated that the aforesaid information, pertaining to the evolution of the āgamas, is recorded in the Siddhāmārgita tantra and the information as accepted and put into the scriptures by our masters is as given below:

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TA:XXXVI; V.1-10

1.

एव श्रीसिद्धामार्गस्य अद्वितीयपरिशिष्टपतिप्रस्तुतम्

गुरुनिरपितमिश्रचापम्

Comm. of Jayaratha on TA

XXXVI; V.1
As the gradual disappearance of the āgamas took place, on account of their passing down from one generation to the other, by order of Lord Śiva Srīkapṭhanātha, the siddhas took incarnation on the earth. Those incarnates were three, and named as Tryambaka, Āmarādaka and Srīnātha and were equally proficient in advaya, dvaya and dvayādvaya respectively. One more school was founded by the descendants of the Tryambaka, named Ardhatriyambaka, on the side of his daughter.

The fourth was founded by the descendants of the Monistic followers. This school in time brought-up many thinkers to the monistic school of Śaivism in Kashmir.

1. | TA:XXXVI; V.11-13
Initially the tantras were emancipated in three classes:\(^1\)

Dvaita \(\rightarrow\) Bheda
Dvaitādvaita \(\rightarrow\) Bhedābheda
Advaita \(\rightarrow\) Abheda

These three classes are also known as:

1. Siva Tantras
2. Rudra Tantras
3. Bhairava Tantras

A list of tantras, according to the material supplied in the Tantrāloka by Great Abhinavagupta and commented upon by Jayaratha, which is based

\(^{\text{1.}}\) अलंकृत कौन-कौनसा प्रत्यादिक्ष शिवराधानेनवाचे
स्यमेवे शास्त्रपुस्तकेन संविदा-नः

TA:I; P.45
on the authority of Srīkāśi, is given below:¹

(i) Dvaita Tantras

1. Kāmaja
2. Yogaja
3. Cintya
4. Maukuṭa
5. Aṣṣumat
6. Dīpta
7. Kāraṇa
8. Ajita
9. Sūkṣma
10. Sahasra

In the Tantrāloka, however, the first six names are given and the names after sixth are based on the list supplied by Dr. Farquhar in his "Outlines of Religious literature in India"² and

1. एकम श्रीकाश्यमापिकायामपव मित्तरत उवलम्
   TA:I; P.39
2. Farquhar; ORLI: P.193
quoted by Dr. Pandey in his book entitled "Abhinavagupta".

(ii) Dvaitadvaita Tantras

The following eighteen tantras have been included in Dvaitadvaita Tantras:

1. Vijaya
2. Niśvāsa
3. Madgīta
4. Pārameśvara
5. Mukhabimba
6. Siddha
7. Santāna
8. Nārasimhaka
9. Candrāmū
10. Virabhadra
11. Agneya
12. Svayamvara
13. Visāra
14. Raurava
15. Vimala
16. Kiraṇa

1. Pandey; K.C.: Abhinavagupta, P.139
17. Lalita
18. Saurabheya

(iii) Advaita Tantras

In this category, there are sixty four tantras which are divided into eight groups, each group comprises of eight tantras and bears a separate title, as given below:

1. नित्यसौरस: समालाला राजसौरसं तत्त्त्वाध्यात्मकः इ
   विषयं भवति सभस्यं महत्त्वं पारस्परकः ॥
   पुष्पावद्धं च सिद्धं च सत्त्वं नारसिकः ॥
   वन्यार्थं कीर्ति तथा वर्णं च स्वयमर्णः ॥
   विषयं राशि: पंवन विकल्पं वितरणं तथा ॥
   नित्यं और पैदं ख तन्त्र यथूं सौरसं हैरवि ॥

Comm. of Jayaratha on
TA:I; P.40

2. दत्ते सांपिक शास्त्रं स्वतंत्रे व शैविकः ॥
   विश्वास्त्रावत तत्त्वार्थं श्रीपदरावासिकः ॥
   बत्त्वालं संहारकः वच्चे गीतं कथ्यमाहितज्ञ नः ॥
   तच्च प्रभुं: प्रवचनाभिः व चापिनें विभागः ॥

Comm. of Jayaratha on
TA:I; P.41-43
(a) Bhairava Tantras
1. Svacchanda
2. Bhairava
3. Ca$£a
4. Krodha
5. Unmata Bhairava
6. Asit$a$na
7. Mahocch$£$ma
8. Kapali$sa

(b) Yamala Tantras
1. Brahmayamala
2. Vijyuyamala
3. Svacchandayamala
4. Ruru
5. ....
6. Atharva$a
7. Rudra
8. Vetala

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1. चारां ग्यानं कैल नलाखं मनमेता॥
   कृष्णानं बिनाखं बहुरघं च गपनमृह॥
   वायुं हि राजरम सृवशी मंत्रं शिवं वै विनिदते॥

TA: I; P.42
(c) **Mata Tantras**
1. Rakta
2. Lampāṭa
3. Lakṣmīmata
4. Mata
5. Gālikā
6. Piṅgalā
7. Utpühlakā
8. Viśvādya

(d) **Maṅgala**
1. Picu Bhairavī
2. Tantra Bhairavī
3. Tata
4. Brāhma Kalā
5. Vijayā
6. Candrā
7. Maṅgalā
8. Sarvamaṅgalā

(e) **Cakrāṣṭaka**
1. Mantrāṣṭaka
2. Vargāṣṭaka
3. Sakticakra
4. Kalacakra
5. Binducakra
6. Nādacakra
7. Guhyacakra
8. Khacakra

(f) Bahurāpa
1. Andhaka
2. Rurubheda
3. Aja
4. Mūla
5. Varṣabhṛṣṭha
6. Viṣāṅga
7. Jvālin
8. Mātīpirodana

(g) Vāgīśa
1. Bhairavī
2. Citrikā
3. Haṃsa
4. Kadambikā
1. The information supplied here, according to Jayamatha, is based on the authority of Śrīkapṭhī.
Thus there were ninety two tantras which were manifested in this universe, of monistic, monistic cum dualistic and dualistic nature.¹

It becomes obvious from the evidence shown that the tantras, including Mālinī Vijaya, were previously taught in a dualistic way, and therefore, it was no other than trika, which was

１. कैवयं चक्रवांच ब वर्गांच यस्मां तुग्रितियते ।
दशाण्तरसवेदस्य ततः समेवव्यवस्यताः ॥

मतशूच शास्त्रप्राप्ते दशाण्तरस्वेदः प्रतिपादकः
शिवादृश औरवाय निर्गुणेद्व शास्तरमुद्व नु
हतिं विद्यान्तः ॥

TA:I; B.45
incorporated in the complete monism.¹

In Siva Drṣṭi, a slightly different account of the evolution, or the reevolution of the tantras-āgamas is furnished. Somānanda, who was a disciple of Vasugupta, gives a good account of the revelation of the āgamas to divine beings and to the mortals also with a detail of his lineage. The following account is given:

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1. तथा वाहू तेत्तात: शब्दराशीविसिष्टाति ।
   स्वायम्पुरुष दीर्घाणां वाधिक्षालिने गुरुः ।
   तथा पारंपीयागां चार्श्च निदुरुष्णानविन्द्या ॥
   मन्नावानामानुका वार्ता न बलैति ॥
   तत्र वा तद्वाय यत्वानपरमः नौष्ट्वायिता ॥

SD:III; V.13-15

देवै तेत्तास्फीते: रवचन्द्रदौष्ट्रि अर्थानः

ST.

देवध्रुवाधिवर्धित प्राप्ते जयं ते रहस्य संप्रवाचे मा विवर्धिदि

SSVim:P.2
Formerly the āgamas were lying in the divine souls and by the grace of those divine souls they were established in the divine speech of the Viśis. But as the time passed over, by the increasing darkness of spiritualism, the sages hid themselves from the worldly people. On account of their leaving for unapproachable places, the Śiva Śāsanas, which were once spread all over the universe, disappeared. In the form of Śrikaṭṭha, Lord Siva, while wandering on the mount of Kailāśa saw humanity engrossed in the veils of ignorance. For the good sake of humanity, He appeared on the earth and commanded the sage Durāśā, who was Urdhvaretas, to establish the knowledge of Śaiva- āgamas, so that it may not be vanished from the Earth. Thus, commanded by Lord Siva, sage Durvāśā created a mind born son, named Tryambakāditya, and having imparted him with all the Śaiva- Śāstras to their perfection, charged him with the mission to establish the knowledge of Śāstras again on the Earth. Then Tryambakāditya like his
creator, having practised in the forests, all the teachings imparted to him, created a mind-born son and accordingly imparted him all the Śaiva Śāstras. Upto the fifteenth generation the race of Tryambakanātha was continued by sons, who were all created by the mind by their respective parents, and were equally proficient. The descendant of the fifteenth generation, however, was attracted to the daughter of a certain Brahmin. Incapable to maintain the ārdhva-retas reputation of his ancestors, he violated the rules, and took that girl as wife and bore a son of her, named as Saṅgamāditya. He was the first son born of a woman's womb in the line of those siddhas. In his wandering he came to Kashmir and got settled in the valley of Kashmir. Saṅgamāditya had a son named Vargāditya, who had a son named Arupāditya. Arupāditya also had a son named Ānanda, and this Ānanda was the father of Somānanda.

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1. नामकरणिरहस्यानि प्रवैभव्यावहात्सनां ||
   केषीर्व वाशवर्ते तैलवाकुशलिया ||
   कृष्णादर्श्च चमत्कारे पुल्लां वीरसं परे धृपया ||
   अवभूत्या यवतीष स्त्रियेः दयायमानाः पूरते ||
In the observation of the two references mentioned above, it is clear that the first command to reestablish the Śāstras was definitely made to sage Durvāsā and that it was made by Lord Siva himself in the form of Śrīkapṭhamātha.

The passage referred to in the above translated context clearly indicated that orthodox Pandits in Kashmir are substantially strong in their contention of the eternity and the divinity of Śaiva-gamas, and their manifestation by Lord Siva.

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"śBvī VII; V.107-120"
Only their reappearance can be said to have taken place in the eighth century or in the ninth century A.D.

In this context the reading given by J.C. Chatterjee in his Kashmir Shaivism differs from what given in the published text of the KST&S. According to Chatterjee the reading what existed is now a lost commentary (vritti) on the Śiva Drīḍī. A long set of verses is found missing in the present edition of KST&S.

In the commentary of Kāmarāja on the Śiva sūtra the evolution of Śaiva gamas has been observed in this way; it tells how sage Vasugupta while residing in his hermitage below the peak of Mahādeva mountain, one night had a dream in which Lord Śiva, moved by the darkness of spiritual ignorance, spread over the whole world and being

compassionate to humanity, appeared and extended the secret of the existence of the sutras-saivagamas, embodying the essence of the saiva Sāsanas, and which were said to be received inscribed on the rock. Saint Vasugupta was informed in the dream that the inscribed part of the rock was hidden from the personage gazw, lying on a certain part of the valley. He was further advised to go there in the morning and that the rock would, by its own accord, turn upside down by the mere touch of his hands, and that, Vasugupta should learn those inscribed sutras. The meaning of which would be revealed to him, after having learnt and understood them well he should teach them to worthy pupils.

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1. इह श्रीकृष्ण लेखितपालकोड़ि-प्रकाशकायांतिविदाय जान्य शिक्षाक्षर-पाय ज्ञानदेशा शिवाराजनन्दा:----

कदाचिति-नन्दिभयों जैत्यानिर्धारितशिक्षा श्रीकृष्ण रथवसंदोधरीय जहाँदहि जिव्विधों हत्याधिका: अनुशासिकारणें परमावर्षन रथवसंद महत्त्वम्

उपमणिप्रकाशम्: यथात् कन महामूर्तिगति बलित शिक्षाताय रघुवंदी वस्मकाचा वविश्वय वत्रह योग्यसो व्रजवन विकारम् तस्मात् स्वयम् तस्मात् विकारम्।

सांतायणेण स्वप्नां प्रकाशिता: संदर्भकालिका कृति-म् प्रकाशितात् स्वन्दर्भकालिकानि श्वेतितवाः।

सम्पूर्ण २१
It would, however, be painful for the scholars to know that the rock, on which the sūtras are said to have been revealed, is in utter neglected form, and no such inscription has been detected on the rock, now known as Sāṅkara Pala or Sāṅkaropala, which in Kashmiri language means mountain of Sāṅkara. It is lying on the riverside inside the boundary of the National Park, near Dachigam, 18 Kilometer, North East of Srinagar, at Harvāṇ.

Thus, the sūtras were revealed to sage Vasugupta and were afterwards taught to Bhatṭa Kallāṇa, who propounded them in the Spanda Kārikā and other works.

In Siva sūtra Vārtika a slightly different version of the story is found. Firstly it is said that the sūtras were composed by Lord Siva.  

1. शिव: सांखरियकृ शिवा: उपमान-
Secondly that the sūtras were taught to Vasugupta by a super human being. In Siva sūtra Vimaraśīni also it is not recorded that the sūtras were found inscribed on the rock, therefore, it is observed that the sūtras were transmitted to Vasugupta by a super human being.

Another version in this context is found in the Spanda Vivṛitti, recorded by Rājānaka Rāmakṛṣṇha and Kallājha Bhaṭṭa. In this version it is said that Vasugupta received the sūtras from lord Siva in a dream, and those sūtras were composed by Vasugupta under the title Spandāṃpīta. Later on as sūtras were taught to Kallājha by him, expounded in Spanda sūtras or Kārikā. The current theory which propounds that the sūtras were taught to

1. \textit{शति प्रकरणात्यम् पुक्षयमीतिं का}
\textit{शिव गुलामदत् पुक्षयितिः कार्यविपुलम्।}
\textit{तिमां गत्यशेषसिद्धभवन्नुष्कं ग्राहिनं।}
\textit{पुब्ज्याय मलिक मद्वः सिद्धि: मौलानवम्।}

SSV Last V.
Vasugupta by a mortal being is thus refuted, therefore, it becomes clear that Lord Siva himself taught the sutras to Vasugupta.

There is yet another version of this tradition given by Bhaskara, the author of Siva sutra Vartika. He contemplates that on the holy mountain Mahadeva, from the teachings of a siddha, Sivasutras with their mysterious meaning were transmitted to Guru Vasugupta. He then imparted them to revered and learned Kallaja Bhatta. He, Kallaja, having reviewed the sutras in four parts, expounded three of the parts in his own Spanda sutras and the last part by a Tikā, called Tattvacintārthamāpi.

1. सत्यं महादेवगिरि महाशंस्कृतिस्वचिल्लं सुकृत्यन्तः । स्वन्दपुत्रं यथाशुपथ्यपादः श्रीकल्पकल्पकारारः ॥

2. श्रीमन्नास्यदेव्यं निर्गीत चित्ति सिद्धार्थात ।

BSV: Bhaskara
Utpalavaigāvā endorses another version in the context to the revelation of the sūtras. He declares that Śaivāgamas or Śiva sūtras are not mere sūtras but āgamas, revealed with their secret meaning by siddhas to Vasugupta. From Vasugupta, Kallāṭa Bhāṭṭa received and further expounded in Anuṣṭūpava metre, entitled Spanda Sūtras.¹

With this reference it is obvious that the sūtras were originally revealed to Vasugupta and then imparted to Bhāṭṭa Kallāṭa².

The philosophy, in a country like India, has played a great role in Indian life. For a popular religion, as Kashmir trika system was, to find its place in common mass it must have full philosophical reasoning to support it. The belief which is still in current in Kashmir, accepts

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1. लघुप्रतिवादिकतां तत् तद्विवेदनानांर्हस्य यथा |
   कविताः बहुत्तरायण्यां स्थितः कृत्यात् ||

   SPrd.Introduction

2. व्याघ्रद्वायेणुपृण्युपन्नवचनानि बुद्धिनिः से |
   रहस्य निरंकामायास सम्यकः श्रीपदद्वालयः ||

   SPrd.Introduction
that śaiva-gamas, presently tantras, as explained beforehand, are just a reappearance, and that they are eternal and everlasting.

In this context Abhinavagupta has contemplated in the Mālinī Vijaya Vārtika, duly supported by the Mālinī Vijaya Tantra.

It is said that according to trika, the creation, extraction of manifestation is of two kinds, one of these is related to speech (vācaka) and the other to substance (vācyā). Speech itself, is also represented as two kinds, human and divine. śaiva-gamas are the divine speech and the grossest manifestation of Paravimarṣa, which is opposite to individual or Jīvavimarṣa, but also the cause of individual speech.

In Parātrināika Vivarāṇa, it has been found that this vimarṣa has an eternal existence,

l. Introduction:MVT, P.VII
as well as an identity with the Para. The Saivagamas, therefore, have similar eternity and are of divine speech. According to trika, the origination of Saivagamas is unique, and their appearance of re-appearance is only a matter of divine will.

Since a majority of tantras, listed in the scriptures, have been lost, it is, therefore, considerably difficult to find out the exact date of their composition, especially when they are attributed to Lord Siva. Unless a respective number of such scriptures are made available for the reviewing and cross through, a firm and final decision of such contention is hardly possible.

In brief, the information furnished above pertaining to the evolution of the Saivagamas, tantras in present form, would conclude that the Saivagamas are of eternal existence and completely

\textbf{\textit{Notes}}: 

1. कैलासकल्प प्रमाणं संविक्षणयोगे सत्तमेव वर्तमान स्पर्शे 
   स्वविविधं सिद्धायं तत्त परा वाक्यं: 
   
   PTV: P.4-5
divine scriptures. No definite date or even possible claim of the time as to when they originally evolved is possible. To an extent, their origination could be put on the same level as the Vedas. As far as their appearance to the mortals is concerned the evidences given above would certainly reveal that it was Vasugupta to whom the śūtras were revealed. According to Kalhaṇa's information furnished in the context to the chronicle of the kings of Kashmir in the Rājatarāgīṇī, Vasugupta lived in the closing part of the eighth century A.D.¹

Besides this, the sage Vasugupta was the first known earthly creature whom the śūtras are known to have been revealed evidently. It is, however, not clear that the śūtras were revealed

₁ Kallaṇa flourished in the reign of King Avantivarman who ruled the land of Kashmir in the second half of the ninth century (855-883), therefore, Kallaṇa's Guru, Vasugupta, whom the śūtras were revealed must have lived not later than the first part of the same century or in the closing part of the eighth century of the Christian Era.

Vide RT:V.66
to him in a dream or taught by siddha, or he himself went to the foot of Mahādeva mountain where the inscribed rock turned upside down to him.

It now becomes obvious that, though āgamas are eternal and everlasting, in the beginning of the Kali age they disappeared. And when the humanity was seen 'immersed' in the spiritual darkness they were by the grace of Lord Siva revealed again. It is not clear when and how they were revealed, as different tradition give different views. As far as

l. Kṣemarāja in SSVim mantains that Vasugupta went to the foot of Mahādeva mountain and received the sūtras there. Kallāṣa, the author of Spanda Vivṛitti, however, alongwith some other authors mantains that the sūtras were taught to him, either by siddha or Lord Siva himself.

Vide SSVim.P.2, and Chatterjee; Ā.C.:KS.PP.30-31
their manifestation to the mortals is concerned, it is clear and unanimously held by all that in whatever form they may reside, whether āgamas or tantras, they are pure, originals, and essential elements of philosophy. Their manifestation to Vasugupta is the first revelation to the mortals, who lived in the closing part of the eighth century or in the opening of the ninth century of Christian Era.

1. According to śaiva tradition, śaivismāgas, while in the state of parāvāk, reside in Lord Siva and nominated as āgamas, but when they are presented in scriptures and voiced forth, are known as tantras, which literally means expansion, expanded for the benefit of humanity.

Oral tradition in Kashmir