

EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY ŚĀKTA TRADITIONS IN REGIONS OTHER THAN KASHMIR

Handout for a lecture recorded online on 7 November, 2020 for release on 11 November
for the Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies

Alexis Sanderson

Not to be quoted without the author's permission

Contents:

1. The Kaula Trika (Pūrvāmnāya) in Southern India.
2. The Anuttara system of the Trika, also known as the Parākrama or Ekavīra, in Southern India.
3. The Anuttara in Eastern India.
4. The Trika in Eastern India.
5. The Trika in Western India.
6. The Mahārtha/Mahānaya/Krama in Southern India.
7. The Kālikula and Mahārtha in Eastern India and Nepal.
8. The Paścimāmnāya in Eastern India.
9. The Śaḍanvayaśāmbhava variant of the Paścimāmnāya in Southern India.
10. The worship of Tripurasundarī in Southern India.
11. Kaula syncretism in Southern India.
12. Pratyabhijñā in Southern India.
13. What does this survey not cover?
14. Evidence of the impact of these Śākta (Kaula) cults.

1. THE KAULA TRIKA (PŪRVĀMNĀYA) IN SOUTHERN INDIA

1. Early presence on the Deccan Plateau ?

- a) Textual dependence of the early Paścimāmnāya scriptures on scriptures of the Trika (SANDERSON 2001, pp. 32–35): *Tantrasadbhāva*, *Triśirobhairava*, *Kularatnamālā*. The Paścimāmnāya is the tradition of the cult of the goddess Kubjikā and her consort Navātman,

“a system whose scriptural corpus comprises principally the *Kubjikāmatal Śrīmata*, *Laghvikāmnāya*, and *Ṣaṣṣāhasra-Kulālikāmnāya*, but also such works as the *Śrīmatottara Gorakṣasamhitā*, *Kularatnoddyota*, and *Manthānabhairava*. The last contains several remarks that reveal the provenance of this tradition to be the Deccan plateau, more specifically Desh (*deśaḥ*), the central subregion of the modern State of Maharashtra. It tells us that it is in the Deccan (*dakṣiṇāpathaḥ*) that the initiatory tradition (*ājñā*) of the Kubjikā cult is maintained; that it is “here in Desh” that Siddhi can be achieved; that those in Konkan, the coastal region of Maharashtra, Goa, and Karnataka, should travel up to the Deccan plateau to obtain the scriptures, since without them this tradition will bear no fruit; and that the *Khaṅjinīmata* of 24,000 verses, which was brought back to earth from the subterranean paradise at

the beginning of the current age of Kali, is (already) well-known in the Deccan in the form of the *Kulālikāmata*, its redaction in 3,500 verses. That redaction is surely the *Kubjikāmata* in the principal of its three redactions. That and that alone is of this length; and it is referred to in its colophons with the synonym *Kulālikāmnāya*. That the *Manthānabhairava* was composed in the Deccan is confirmed by its practice of compounding the names of goddesses with -avvā. This is surely a reflex of the vernacular usage in this region, where goddess-names of this kind are commonplace, *avvā* ‘mother’ being used in Kannaḍa as a feminine title of respect and affection. This feature is also found in the *Kubjikāmata*. It is probable, then, that it too is a product of the Deccan, and therefore that the whole tradition emerged and developed in that region. This should be taken to include Konkan. For the claim of the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava* that those in Konkan should go to Desh for this Tantra admits that the teaching is found in Konkan too, claiming only that the best tradition is to be found inland. Moreover, the *Ṣaṣṣāhasrasaṃhitā* begins with the information that it was at Candrapurī/Candrapura in Konkan, probably the ancient port town of Goa now called Chandor, that Śrīnātha first propagated this teaching at the beginning of the current Kaliyuga.

This evidence establishes, moreover, that the Trika (Pūrvāmnāya) was present in the Deccan, and that it was so before the literature of the Paścimāmnāya was redacted. For the *Kubjikāmata* drew extensively on the Trika’s scriptures, embedding the cult of its deities in a modified Trika substrate.”

= SANDERSON 2014 (The Śaiva Literature), pp. 61–63, without the footnotes.

Epigraphic evidence of the Paścimāmnāya in the Deccan: Inscription at Sōlandevanhalli (Nelamaṅgala hobli), *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Nelamaṅgala Taluk, 1; date A.D. 1029. A certain person was appointed to preside [in the Maṭha] at the foot of the Śrīvr̥kṣa (*śrīvr̥kṣamūle dhikṛto dhināthaḥ*) in Candrapurī on the shore of the western ocean. His disciple was the Chāyādhinātha, the abbot of the Chāyā[maṭha] and the most senior person of the Jyeṣṭhāvalī (*jyeṣṭhāvalījyeṣṭhatarah*), who was engaged by kings (*narapārajusyaḥ*) [as their Rājaguru (?)]. His disciple was Stambha[nātha], the abbot of Ḍahala (*ḍahalādhināthaḥ*). He was succeeded by his world-renowned disciple Dvīpanātha. His disciple [and successor] was Mauninātha, an embodiment of Rudra (*rudrarūpaḥ*), who was invincible [in debate] by those of other faiths. His disciple was the donor, the brahmin minister, the Daṇḍanāyaka Vāmana (Vāmanayya). When his Guru died Vāmanayya built a stone temple in his name, calling it Siddheśvara, giving it money and land in Bāṇapura for its support. This is a most unusual inscription in that it records a Kaula lineage. From various indications it is clear that this lineage followed the cult of Kubjikā proper to the Paścimāmnāya: the reference to Candrapurī, the Vr̥kṣamūla, the Jyeṣṭhāvalī, and, if my emendation is correct, the Kulāgama.

- b) Account of the Trika in the Campūkāvya *Yaśastilaka* of the Jaina scholar and poet Somadevasūri, composed in the Deccan near Vēmulaṅḍā (18° 28' 06" N, 78° 52' 01" E) in the modern State of Telangana in Śaka 881 (A.D. 959/960), considerably before evidence

of Kashmirian influence on the Śākta Śaivism of the region:

sarveṣu peyāpeyabhakṣyābhakṣyādiṣu niḥśaṅkacittād vṛttād iti kulācāryakāḥ. tathā ca trikamatoktir madirāmodameduravadanas tarasarasaprasannahṛdayaḥ savyapārśvaviviveśitaśaktiḥ śaktimudrāsanadharāḥ svayam umāmaheśvarāyamāṇaḥ kṛṣṇayā śarvāṅ-īśvaram ārādhayed iti.

Yāstīlaka, pt. 2, p. 269, ll. 14–18; Cod. = BORI MS 230 of 1902–1907

śarvāṅīśvaram Cod. : *sarvāṅīśvaram* Ed.

The vile Kulācāryas maintain that liberation comes about from practice in which the mind is free of inhibition in such matters as the distinction between permitted and forbidden foods and drinks. For the Trika doctrine teaches that one should propitiate Ardhanārīśvara at night, with one's mouth full of the fragrance of alcoholic liquor, with one's heart tranquil from the taste of meat, adopting the Śakti-seal and Yoga posture, with one's consort positioned beside one to the left, assuming [thereby] the likeness of [Śiva in his] Umāmaheśvara [form].

This account prompts the hypothesis that the form of the Trika known to Somadevasūri is that seen in the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a Trika scripture that was heavily cannibalized in the composition of the Paścimāmnāya's *Kubjikāmata*, providing, for example, the latter's chapters 4 to 6. For of the Trika texts that have reached us only the *Tantrasadbhāva* teaches forms of worship in which the deity is propitiated in the Ardhanārīśvara mode. There it is central:

- i. Worship of Mārtaṇḍabhairava in the Umāmaheśvaracakravidyā: Ardhanārīśvara of Śabdarāśibhairava and Mālinī.
- ii. Worship of Parāparā: Ardhanārīśvara of Śabdarāśibhairava and Parāparā.
- iii. Mālinī within the Ardhanārīśvara comprising herself and Bhairava is the proto-Yoginī, the source of all Yoginīs:

*evamādyair anekais tu paryāyair bahubhiḥ sthitā |
ekā eva parā yogī anantānantatām gatā ||*

Tantrasadbhāva 16.45

The supreme Yoginī, although she is one alone, becomes infinitely multiple, being present [throughout the universe] in many diverse transformations such as these.

*ekā eva parā yogī sarvavarṇamayī śubhā ||
58 nādīphāntasvarūpeṇa vighraḥasthā parā kalā |
sarvavarṇamahesasya bhairavārdhaśarīrīṇī ||
59 tasyās trīśūlavāsīnyo bhairavesasya caiva hi |
krīḍanti hṛdayāntaḥsthāḥ sṛṣṭisamhārakārikāḥ ||
60 aparās tv adhikāriṇyaḥ sthitāḥ sarvagatā śubhāḥ |
yābhir vyāptam jagat sarvam śāntamiśrograkarmabhiḥ ||*

Tantrasadbhāva B f. 109v3–5 (16.58–60)

58a *nādiphāntasvarūpeṇa* em. *nādiphāntāsvarūpeṇa* B

[In reality] there is just one supreme Yoginī. This is [Mālinī,] the exalted [goddess] who embodies all the speech sounds as the alphabet from NA to PHA. She is the ultimate power within the body of Maheśvara, occupying half of Bhairava’s person. It is from her [that there arise] within the heart of Lord Bhairava those [Yoginīs] that reside on the trident and engage in [cosmic] play, causing [all] the emissions and retractions [that constitute the cosmic process]. There are other [Yoginī]s who are present everywhere as office-holders, pervading the universe with their peaceful, fierce, and intermediate actions.

iv. *Tantrasadbhāva* A ff. 66v6–67r1, B f. 36v2 (7.51–52b):

51 *bālarūpaṃ tu yat proktam upadeśena kīrtitam |*
utsaṅge sampradāye tu yantrārūḍhaṃ tu suvrate ||
52 *kulamārge samuddiṣṭam ardhhanārīśa kaulike |*

51c *utsaṅge* conj. : *ucchamgaṃ* AB 52a *samuddiṣṭam* A : *samuddiṣṭe* B

My devoted wife, it has been declared that on [the level of instruction by Yoginīs termed] Upadeśa (‘oral instruction’) the deity should [be visualized] as a young girl on [Bhairava’s] lap. On the level of instruction by Yoginīs termed] Sampradāya (‘transmission’) the deities should be visualized copulating; and on the Kula path, [that is to say,] on the Kaulika level one should visualize [them as] Ardhhanārīśvara.

c) Abhinavagupta’s Guru Śambhunātha is reported to have been the disciple of Sumatinātha, pupil of an unnamed Guru “who lived in the [Śākta] seat of the Deccan”:

kaścid dakṣiṇabhūmipīṭhavasatiḥ śrīmān vibhur bhairavaḥ
pañcasrotasi sātīmārgavibhave śāstre vidhātā ca yaḥ |
loke ’bhūt sumatis tataḥ samudabhūt tasyaiva śiṣyāgraṇīḥ
śrīmān chambhur iti prasiddhim agamaj jālandharāt pīṭhataḥ ||

Unattrib. qu. (*yat tu [...] ity anyatroktam*) in *Tantrālokaviveka* vol. 1, p. 236, ll. 6–9

And there arose among mankind an extraordinary (*kaścit*), illustrious, all-powerful Bhairava,¹ dwelling in [the sacred site that is] the seat [of the goddess] in the Deccan (*dakṣiṇabhūmipīṭhavasatiḥ*), an authority (*vidhātā*) on the Śaivism (*śāstre*) of the five streams together with the majestic [Kaula] Atimārga (*sātīmārgavibhave*). He was succeeded by Sumati. Sumati’s principal disciple, the illustrious Śambhu[nātha], achieved exceptional spiritual attainment from the Pīṭha Jālandhara.

¹A human Bhairava is a Guru who is believed to have come to embody Bhairava through adherence to his path to liberation.

- d) The four goddesses of the Trika (1 + 3) in Kāñcīpuram (Conjeevaram), near Chennai, in connection with the cult of the goddess Lalitā/Kāmākṣī, the presiding goddess of that temple city. In the *Kāñcimāhātmya* that is the 35th chapter of the *Lalitopākhyāna* the sage Agastya asks Hayagrīva about the nature of Kāmākṣī and receives the following reply:

5 *kāñcīpure pavitre 'smin mahīmaṇḍalamāṇḍane |*
keyam vibhāti kalyānī kāmākṣīty abhiviśrutā ||
6 *dviḥhujā vidyudullāsavilasattanuvallarī |*
adr̥ṣṭapūrvasaundaryā parajyotirmayī parā ||
7 *agastyenaivam uktaḥ san parānandāvṛtekṣaṇaḥ |*
dadhyau tat traipuram tejo hayagrīvo mahāmanāḥ ||
8 *iti dhyātvā namaskṛtya tam agastyam athābravīt |*
rahasyam sampravakṣyāmi lopāmudrāpate śṛṇu ||
9 *ādya yānuttarā sā syāc citparā tv ādikāraṇam |*
anākhyeti tathā proktā svarūpatattvacintakaiḥ ||
10 *dviṭīyābhūt tataḥ śuddhā parā dviḥhujasamyutā |*
dakṣahaste yogamudrām vāmahaste tu pustakam ||
11 *bibhratī himakundendumuktāsamavapurdyutiḥ |*
parāparā trītiyā syād bālārkaḥyutasammitā ||
12 *sarvābharaṇasamyuktā dakṣahastadhṛtāmbujā |*
vāmorunyastahastā ca kiriṭārdhendubhūṣaṇā ||
13 *paścāc caturbhujā jātā sāparā tripurārunā |*
pāśāñkuṣeḥkukodaṇḍapañcabāṇālasatkarā ||
14 *lalitā saiva kāmākṣī kāñcyām khyātim upāgatā |*

Lalitopākhyāna 35. 5–14b (N)

N = Nirṇaya Sāgara ed.; V = Veñkaṭeśvara Steam Press ed.

7c *dadhyau* diagn. conj. : *dhyāyams* N 9a *yānuttarā* conj. : *yānuttarā* V : *punyatarā* N 9c *anākhyeti* N : *antākhyeti* V 9cd *tathā proktā svarūpa* conj. : *tathā proktāsvarūpāt* V : *trayīproktasvarūpā* N 10a *dviṭīyābhūt tataḥ śuddhā* conj. : *dviṭīyābhūt tataḥ śuddha* V : *dviṭīyā bhūtale siddhā* N 12b *dakṣahastadhṛtāmbujā* N : *daśahastadhṛtāmbujā* V 12c *vāmorunyastahastā ca* N : *vāmorunyastahastā vā* V 14b *khyātim* N : *vyaktim* V

[5] Who is this illustrious goddess whom we call Kāmākṣī, who shines forth in this holy city of Kāñcī that beautifies the whole world, [6] two-armed, her slender, creeper-like body shining like lightning, with a beauty never seen before, embodying the highest radiance [of consciousness], supreme. [7] Thus addressed by Agastya, the all-knowing Hayagrīva meditated upon (*dadhyau*) that radiance of Tripurā, his eyes closed in deepest joy [8]. Having done so, he bowed before it in obeisance. He then answered Agastya and said: I shall now impart a secret teaching. Hear me, husband of Lopāmudrā. [9] The first [goddess], she than whom nothing is higher, is **Parā** as consciousness (*citparā*), the First Cause. Those who contemplate the nature of the Self also call her the Nameless (*anākhyā*). From her arose the second [Power], pure **Parā**. Two-armed, she shows with her right hand the gesture of meditative

absorption[, placing it at the level of her heart with the tips of the thumb and index finger joined to form a circle], and holds a manuscript [of her scripture] in the left. Her body shines [white] as snow, jasmine, the moon, and pearls. Third is **Parāparā**. Red with the radiance of a myriad of rising suns, she is decked out with every variety of adornment, holding a lotus in her right hand and placing her [left] hand on her left thigh. She wears a crown and the new moon upon it. After her came **Aparā**. This is the red, four-armed Tripurā. She carries a noose, a goad, a sugar-cane bow and [a set of] five arrows. It is this same goddess Lalitā, who has become famous in Kāñcī as Kāmākṣī.

This presence of the Trika pantheon in Kāñcīpuram may well predate influence from Kashmir.

2. THE ANUTTARA SYSTEM OF THE TRIKA, ALSO KNOWN AS THE PARĀKRAMA OR EKAVĪRA, IN SOUTHERN INDIA

1. *Trīśikālaghuvṛttī Anuttaravimarśinī*. Not by Abhinavagupta in my view, but already attributed to him by the southerner Maheśvarānanda in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*.
2. Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Trīśikālaghuvṛttivimarśinī* (not accessed).
3. *Trīśikātātparyadīpikā* (author not recorded). The Trika in Cidambaram:

1 vande kundendunihāradhavalam | vighnahāriṇam |
 haragaurīsamārabdham herambam hastipuṅgavan ||
 2 akalaṅkaśaśāṅkābhā tryakṣā candrakalāvātī |
 mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu vaḥ paramā kalā ||
 3 śrīmatkailāsakaśmīrakāśīvyāghrapurīsthitam |
 trikārthadarsīnam vande devam somāśabhūṣaṇam ||

1b dhavalam conj. (cf. *Niśvāsottara* 2.15a and *Svacchanda* 2.79a: *śāṅkhakundendudhavalam*; *Mataṅga, Yogapāda* 2.57a: *kundenduśāṅkhadhavalam*) : *valakṣam* K_{ED}

[1] I venerate Gaṇeśa, the foremost of elephants, who has the colour of jasmine, moon, or snow, the son of Śiva and Gaurī, that he may banish the impeding spirits [that will seek to prevent the completion of this work].

[2] May the highest Śakti protect you, white as the moon's disc without its marks, three-eyed, [her hair] adorned with the sickle moon, her [two] arms beautiful with the gesture [of gnosis] and the manuscript [of her scripture shown by her hands].

[3] I praise the god adorned with the new moon, who as the revealer of the Trika's teachings is present on holy Mt. Kailāsa, in Kashmir, Vārāṇasī, and Cidambaram (Vyāghrapurī).

531 anuttarasya somasya sudatīm naumi śoḍaśim |
 eṣa spandanidhānasya pure citparīṣatpateḥ ||

532 tenaiva pañcakṛtyātmanātyābbhinayavedhasā |
 pumāmsaṃ puṇyasampūrṇaṃ kaṃ apy āviśateccchayā ||
 533 itthaṃ vadanataḥ svasmāt vyākhyā śrītrīśikātmanaḥ |
 śāsanasya svakīyasya svālokādarśarūpināḥ ||
 534 tathābbhinavaguptoktavivṛtivyākṛtātmanaḥ |
 tātparyaikaprathātmatvāt nāmnā tātparyadīpikā ||
 535 seyaṃ prakāśītāśeṣatrīśikāśāsanāśayā |
 saṃvitsamsannabhomadhye sarvamaṅgalayā samam ||
 536 sadārabdhatrijagatīnaṭanodyogaśālināḥ |
 purataḥ śāsvatīm āptvā sthitim dedīpyatām śivam ||

532a pañcakṛtyātma em. : paśvakṛtyātma K_{ED} 533a iyaṃ conj. : idaṃ K_{ED} • vadanataḥ conj. : vādinataḥ K_{ED}
 534b vyākṛtātmanaḥ em. : vyāpṛtātmanaḥ K_{ED} 535c saṃvitsamsannabhomadhye conj. : savisāsaṃnabhormadhye
 K_{ED} 536ab sadārabdhatrijagatīnaṭanodyogaśālināḥ conj. : sadārabdham tu jagati tvaṭanodyoga K_{ED} 536d dedīpyatām
 conj. : dedīpyate K_{ED}

Behold, here in [Cidambaram,] the town of the Lord who is the source of the subtle pulse [of manifestation] (*spanda-*), [the town of] the Lord of the Hall of Consciousness (*citparīṣat-*), I sing the praise of young Ṣoḍāśī, [the Śakti] of Anuttara Śiva. The *Trīśikā* has already been explained by Abhinavagupta in his analytic commentary [*Trīśikāvivarāṇa*]. But [Naṭarāja] himself, the creator of the dramatic dance that is the five cosmic acts, by choosing to enter a remarkable man rich in piety, has in this way manifested from his own lips this [new] explanation of that scripture, Śiva's own most intimate revelation, the mirror of his radiance. He has named it *Tātparyadīpikā*, because it [does not offer a verse by verse commentary but] clarifies only its core teaching. Yet it contains the *Trīśikā*'s intention in its entirety, omitting nothing. May [this commentary] shine far and wide having attained a permanent place in the presence of him who with [his consort] Sarvamaṅgalā is eternally engaged in the task of his cosmic dance in the heart of the space within the Hall of Consciousness (the Citsabhā in Cidambaram).

4. Sadānanda, a commentary on the *Parātrīśikā* (*Trīśikā*) (Mysore Cat. Sl. No. 4076I, MS No. B 170/2).
5. *Anuttaraprakāśapañcāśikā/Parāpañcāśikā* of Ādyanātha.
6. *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* of Mādhura/Madhurāja.
7. *Parāprāveśikā* of Nāgānanda, also known as *Svarūpaprakāśikā*, with a commentary (*Svarūpavimarśinī*) by one Cidānanda, and another (*Nāgānandasūtravivarāṇa*) by Heddase Hariharasārman written for Basavappa Nāyaka of Kēlaḍi in Karnataka (r. A.D. 1697–1714).
8. Paddhatis:
 - a) *Anuttarasamvidarcanācarcā*, anon. University of Trivandrum, Ms. No. COL 247A.
 - b) **Parārcanakrama*. Found within IFI T. 307 (*'Aghoraśivācāryapaddhati'*), frames 148–157 [folios 138–144 of exemplar], lacuna [folios 145 and 146 are missing], 158–166 [folios

147–153a (b blank) of exemplar]. This is a thorough prose Paddhati following the *Trīśikā-laghuṛṭṭi* requiring as an ancillary the recitation of the *Trīśikā*, the text of which is given earlier in this same manuscript. The work, which I have given the provisional descriptive title *Parārcanakrama*, is related to, though much more detailed than, the *Anuttarasamvid-arcanaṅcārā*. Other closely related and yet more detailed material, partly in verse, begins on frame 250 and breaks off incomplete on 253 [folios 58–60 of the exemplar].

- c) *Parākramavāsanā* of Śāmbhavānanda (in his *Paramaśivādvaitakalpalatikā*). IFI T. 594, pp. 211–219. It is followed and supported by a quotation from a text called simply *Rahasya* (*tad uktam rahasye*) consisting of 18 and a half verses on the inner nature of the various ritual acts that constitute worship. The first 12 verses are a version of the ten verses of the *Mahārthamūlasamketasūtra* of Mahāmaheśvarācārya Paraśambhudeva, IFI T. 1027, pp. 90–91.
- d) The *Parāpaddhati* of Umānanda's *Nityotsava* (A.D. 1745).
- e) The *Anuttarapaddhati* of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* with the commentary (*Saubhāgyasudhodaya*) of Rāmeśvara (Aparājītānandanātha) (A.D. 1831).

→ 3. THE ANUTTARA IN EASTERN INDIA:

- 1. *Parājapavidhi* and *Parāmantravidhi Āṅgirasakalpa* of the Paippalādin Atharvavedins of Orissa, published in SANDERSON 2007 (Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory).

4. THE TRIKA IN EASTERN INDIA:

- 1. Trika scriptures in the Kathmandu Valley:
 - a) *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* MS (short recension).
 - b) *Tantrasadbhāva* MSS.
 - c) *Trikasāra*, a MS fragment.
- 2. Trika and related texts cited by Vimalaśiva, Guru of Malayasiṃha, king of Magadha, disciple of Dharmāśiva, Guru of the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti (the south-western Midnapore District in West Bengal), in his Saiddhāntika Paddhati *Vimalāvatī*, composed in Śaka 1023, = A.D. 1101/2:
 - a) *Netratantra*, *Svacchanda*, *Svacchandodyota*.
 - b) *Śrīpūrva/Mālinīvijayottara*.
 - c) *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.
 - d) *Tantrāloka*.
 - e) *Kubjikāmata*.

Vimalaśiva tells us that he studied in Kashmir and was resident in Vārāṇasī when he wrote the *Vimalāvatī*.

3. Trika and related texts cited by Jñānaśiva in his Saiddhāntika Paddhati *Jñānaratnāvalī*:

- a) *Svacchandabhairava*.
- b) *Mālinīvijaya*.
- c) *Nirgūdhajñānārṇava*.
- d) *Kulālikāmnāya* (= *Kubjikāmata*).
- e) *Mahākaulajñānanirṇaya* (= *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*).

Jñānaśiva was from Coḷadeśa in the South but, like Vimalaśiva, resident in Vārāṇasī. He declares himself to be an ardent devotee both of the Lord of the Little Hall (*dabhrasabheśvaraḥ*), that is to say, of the Śiva Naṭarāja of Cidambaram in the Tamil country, and of Viśveśvara (Viśvanātha), the principal Śiva of Vārāṇasī. He was active around the middle of the 12th century.

5. THE TRIKA IN WESTERN INDIA:

1. Trika scriptures excerpted by the Saiddhāntika Hṛdayaśiva of Mālava in his *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, a digest of scriptural passages on penances:

- a) *Siddhayogeśvarīmata-Trikasārottara*
- b) *Siddhayogeśvarīmata-Bijabheda*
- c) *Siddhayogesvarimata-Bhairavodyāna* (probably an alias of the *Trisīrobhairava*).

Hṛdayaśiva was a spiritual descendant of Lambakarna, an ascetic of the Mattamayūra lineage and the Raṇipadrakamaṭha (founded c. A.D. 800), who moved to Mālava and initiated the Paramāra King Siyaka in Dhārā around the middle of the 10th century. Hṛdayaśiva was active at some time during the 11th century or the early 12th. The earliest dated manuscript of his work was completed in A.D. 1157/8.

6. THE MAHĀRTHA/MAHĀNAYA/KRAMA IN THE SOUTHERN INDIA (*devipāṇisampradāyah*)

1. *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* of Maheśvarānanda of Coḷadeśa (c. A.D. 1300).
2. *Pādukodaya* of Maheśvarānanda (qu. in *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*).
3. *Mahārthodaya* of Maheśvarānanda (mentioned in *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*).
4. *Kramodaya* (qu. in *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*).
5. *Cidgaganacandrikā*. Strongly dependent on the *Mahānaya prakāśa* of the Kashmirian Arṇasiṃha (active c. 1050–1100), cited in the *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*, c. 1300. Provenance uncertain, but probably from South India: (1) There are no Kashmirian or Nepalese MSS; (2) all known MSS are South Indian: Kerala (Devamaṅgalam Vāriyam) [lost], Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras (Telugu script; paper), and Adyar Theosophical Library [the last two were used for the Tantrik Texts edition]; (3) it has been quoted only in the works of South Indian authors;

and (iv) its author claims to have composed it in Pūrṇapīṭha. Verse 307c–308a: *pūrṇapīṭham *up-agamya* (conj. : *avagamya* Ed.) *maṅgale tvatprasādanakṛte mayā kṛtaḥ || eṣa cidgaganacandrikāstavaḥ* ‘O Maṅgalā, I have composed this hymn, *Cidgaganacandrikā*, after coming to Pūrṇapīṭha to propitiate you’; and the final verse (312): *pūrṇapīṭhakṛtam *siddhas* (conj. : *siddhes* Ed.) **tvad-bhāvastavam* (*tvad* em. : *tad* Ed.) *ādarāt | *vāsānārtham* (conj. : *vā narārtham* Ed.) **mahāguhyam* (conj. *mahāguhya* Ed.) *śrīvatsa vidadhe sa tu* ‘The famous Siddha Śrīvatsa has authored [this] highly esoteric hymn to your nature, which he has composed with zeal in Pūrṇapīṭha, for the purpose of [explaining] the internal awareness [that should animate the process of worship]’. Pūrṇapīṭha is an abbreviation of Pūrṇagiripīṭha. That site has not been identified precisely. But our texts do tell us that it was in southern India, in the Sahyādri region of the Western Ghats.

6. Krama scriptures quoted by Maheśvarānanda.

- a) *Kramasadbhāva*.
- b) *Kramasiddhi*.
- c) *Kālikāmata*.
- d) *Devikākrama*.

7. Other Krama works quoted by Maheśvarānanda:

- a) *Paramārcanatriṃśikā* of the Kashmirian Nāga.
- b) *Kramasūtra*.
- c) *Kramakeli*, Abhinavagupta’s lost commentary on the *Kramastotra* of Erakanātha.
- d) *Mahānayapṛakāśa* of the Kashmirian Arṇasiṃha.
- e) *Mahānayapṛakāśa* published from Trivandrum; author not identified, but surely Kashmirian.

8. Mahārtha texts that have reached recent times in South Indian MSS;

- a) *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*.
- b) The *Mahānayapṛakāśa* of unknown authorship.
- c) *Cidgaganacandrikā* of Śrīvatsa.
- d) *Mahārthakalpa*. Listed as a MS (No. 1209) of the Deśamaṅgalaṃ Vāriyam near Triprangrot/Triprangode on the banks of the Bharathappuzha river, in Malappuram District, Kerala. This MS and most of the extensive family collection that contained it was lost in the floods of August 1907. The owners were learned Sanskrit scholars of the non-brahman Vāriyar caste. The Vāriyars refer to themselves in Sanskrit as Pāraśavas (see the introductory verses to the *Śisupālavadhālabodhini* of Śrīkaṇṭha of this lineage cited in K. V. SARMA 1993, p. ix), and are also known as Rudradāsas and Kailāsavāsins. They serve as assistants of the Nambuthiri brahmins in Śaiva temple worship and receive Śaiva initiation (*śivadīkṣā*)

between their twelfth and sixteenth years. Those of the Deśamaṅgalam Vāriyam were hereditary tutors in the court of the Samoothiris (Zamorins) of Kozhikode (Calicut) on the Malabar coast. On the Vāriyars in general see THURSTON 1909, s.v. (vol. 7, pp. 322–329).

The library also included mss of the *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla*, the *Cidgaganacandrikā*, the *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* of Somānanda, the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpala, the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta, the *Trīśikālaghuvṛtti*, the *Śivasūtravārtika* of Varadarāja, the *Rahasyapañcāśikā* (= *Paryantapañcāśikā*), the *Prabodhapañcadaśikā* of Abhinavagupta, the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*, the *Virūpapañcāśikā* with the commentary of Vidyācakravartin, and Śivānandayogin’s commentary *Rjuvimarśinī* on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*. The collection appears to have contained no Saiddhāntika Śaiva works.

The codex unicus of the anonymous *Mahānayaṅprakāśa*, published on this basis in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, is reported by the editor to have belonged to one Brahmaśrī Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭathiripād of Parambūrilla, Thiruvalla, in the same State. So the study of the Mahārtha was not restricted to the Vāriyars. For the title Bhaṭṭathiripād is one that can be earned only by Kerala’s Namboothiri brahmins. The edition of the *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla* was based on three mss, one belonging to this same Bhaṭṭathiripād of Thiruvalla, one to Aryan Nārāyaṇan Moosathu of Kottayam—Moosathu indicates that he too was a brahman—and one to a Mr. Thekkunkoor Raja respectively. The last appears from his name to have been a descendent of the non-brahman nobility of Thekkumkur, a small kingdom in southern Kerala that remained independent until 1750.

9. Paddhatis of South Indian origin (surviving in the Kathmandu Valley):

- a) The *Kālikulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha, Guru of King Nepalese Arimalla, who ruled in Kathmandu between A.D. 1200 and 1216. Survives in a number of Nepalese mss.
- b) The *Mahārthamantrapaddhati*, anon. A Nepalese ms in the Cambridge University Library, which gives only the Mantras seen in the *Kālikulakramārcana*, in the order of their use in worship.

In the *Kālikulakramārcana* we see a distinct southern variant of the Mahārtha. It exactly matches that of the *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla* and *Pādukodaya* of the Tamil Maheśvarānanda, and that of the Mahārtha in two related South Indian syncretistic Kaula Paddhatis, namely the *Ānandakalpalatikā* of Maheśvaratejānandanātha and the *Padyavāhinī* of Śaṅkara. This system is put to work by Vimalaprabodha as a Paddhati for the worship of the Nepalese goddess Guhyakālī, who with Kubjikā and Siddhilakṣmī (=Siddhalakṣmī) plays a major role in the royal Śāktism of the Malla period. The *Kālikulakramārcana* and the ancillary *Mahārthamantrapaddhati* provide all the details of Mantras, deity names, visualizations, and the like that are mostly lacking in the theoretically orientated *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla*, though the latter is just specific enough for us to see the identity of its system with that of Vimalaprabodha. That this system, which Maheśvarānanda calls the Devapāṇisampradāya ‘the tradition passed down from Devapāṇi’, is South Indian, is strongly implied by the agreement between the *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla*, the *Kālikulakramārcana*, and these two unpublished syncretistic works, the *Ānandakalpalatikā* and the

Padyavāhinī, that weave into a single ritual system Tripurasundarī worship, the Anuttara, the Śaḍanvayaśāmbhava, and the Mahārtha. The hypothesis of the *Kālikulakramārcana*'s system's southern origin is further supported by the discovery that the *chommakāni* or 'secret words' that are to be uttered by initiates in each of the five successive phases of worship, from the Phase of Emission (*śṛṣṭikramah*) to the Phase of Illumination (*bhāsākramah*) are Dravidian:

- i. HĀ HĀ (Śṛṣṭikrama, Emission). Tamil *ā-* 'to come into existence'.
- ii. HIṬI HIṬI (Sthitikrama, Stasis). Tulu *hidi* 'a hold, grasp, handful', Kannaḍa *pidi* 'to seize, catch, grasp'; Tamil *piṭi* 'to grasp, cling to'.
- iii. KRE KRE (Saṃhāarakrama, Resorption). Tamil *karai* 'to dissolve, become gradually attenuated'.
- iv. ĀRA ĀRA (Anākhyakrama, the Nameless). Tamil *ār* 'to become full, be satisfied', Kannaḍa *ār* 'to abound, be filled'.
- v. KULURU KULURU (Bhāsākrama, Pure Light, representing final quiescence). Tamil *kuḷir* 'to feel cool, get numbed (as in death), to be satisfied', 'to sit, rest', Kannaḍa *kuḷir* to be cool or cold'; and Malayalam *kuḷir*, *kuḷur* 'coldness, cool, refreshing'.

The expressions have the appearance of second person singular imperatives, consisting as in Tamil (WICKREMASINGHE 1906, §39) of the simple base of the verb. Each is repeated once, a 'stacked construction' (*aṭukku*) that is common in Tamil as a means of expressing "intensity, certainty, urgency, or repetition of the action of the verb" (RAJAM 1992, p. 930–932).

Scriptural works of the Mahārtha cited as his sources by Vimalaprabodha in the *Kālikulakramārcana*:

- i. *Kramasadbhāva*.
- ii. *Pañcacāmarāśekhara*.
- iii. *Dvīpamata*.
- iv. *Dvīpottara*.
- v. *Śaktikaulika*.
- vi. *Kaulakamala*.
- vii. *Kharapuccha*.
- viii. *Mahārthakramabheda*.
- ix. *Haṭṭākhyā-Kālikāgama*.
- x. *Rājeśvara* (= *Tantrarājabhāṭṭāraka*, *Jayadratha[yāmala]*, Śaṭka 4 [*Mādhavakula* section]).

Only the first and last of these has reached us, the first incomplete; and none but those two are mentioned anywhere else in our surviving literature.

The South Indian Traipura Vidyānandanātha quotes a passage of nine verses from the first Ṣaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala* in his *Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇāvārtharatnāvalī*, referring to its source as the *Tantrarājīya* (ed. Dviveda, pp. 81–82. I emend his edition's *mantrarājīye* to *tantrara-jīye*, following the reading of his MS *ja* (GOML Madras, MS D 6521) and the fact that this text refers to itself, and is always referred to by Jayaratha, as the *Tantrarāja* or *Tantrarājabhṭṭāraka*.

10. *Ūrmikaulārṇava*, teaching a form of the Kālīkula, quoted by Abhinavagupta and surviving in the Kathmandu Valley, associates itself with Kaulagiri (Kolhapur) in the Deccan.

7. THE KĀLĪKULA AND MAHĀRTHA IN EASTERN INDIA AND NEPAL

1. A palm-leaf MS of the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* written in the Māgadha (Pāla-Sena) script with the scribal date [Lakṣmaṇasena] Saṃvat 122, = a year between A.D. 1230 and 1242, property of the Guru Vimalaprabodha, author of the *Kālīkulakramārcana* (Kathmandu, Kaiser Library, MS No. 524 (*Kālīkārama*): *paramahamsaparivrajakaśaḍanvayācāryaśrīvimalaprabodhapādānām*).
2. Nepalese MSS of the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, *Yonigahvara*, *Kālasamkarṣaṇīmata*, *Kālīkastotra* of Jñānānātha, *Pīṭhadvādaśīkā* of Cakrabhānu, *Mahānāyaprakāśa* of Arṇasiṃha, *Bhāvopahārestotra* of Cakrapāṇi, *Kramavilāsastotra*, *Khacakrapañcakastotra*, and, in the Uttaramnāya section of the Paścimānāya's *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya*, the *Kālīkāramaślokadvādaśīkā* and *Kālīkāramapañcaśīkā*.
3. A Krama scriptural text of 115 verses, most of which are found in the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, incorporated into the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the Paścimānāya's *Manthānabhairava*. MS in the Nandināgarī/Pāla script, copied in A.D. 1219. The same work recognizes the Kālīkārama as above the Trika and surpassed only by its own system.
4. *Ūrmikaulārṇava* MSS in the Kathmandu Valley.
5. Nepalese MSS of each of the four Ṣaṭkas of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. They probably reached the Kathmandu valley from Eastern India rather than directly from Kashmir.
6. Numerous Nepalese ritual manuals, often with Newar instructions, for the propitiation of Guhyakālī and Siddhilakṣmī (Nepalese rendering of Siddhalakṣmī) independently or together with Kubjikā, and Tripurasundarī.
7. Nepalese MSS of later literature for the propitiation of Guhyakālī: *Hāhārāvatāntra*, *Guhyatantra*, *Saptamuṇḍākramagrābheda*
8. Mithilā: *Mahākālasambhitā*, *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa*.

8. THE PAŚCIMĀMNĀYA IN EASTERN INDIA

1. A MS of the *Laghvikāmnāya* in Old Newari script, completed by its scribe in A.D. 1037/8 (NAK 5-877/57).

2. A MS of the *Kubjikāmata* penned in the Pāla script during the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (r. c. A.D. 1077–1112) with corrections or additions in Maithila or early Bengali script (NAK 1-1633/32).
 3. A palm-leaf MS of the *Kubjikāmata* in the Bengali script (NAK 5-7996/49), c. A.D. 1200–1250.
 4. A palm-leaf MS of the *Kubjikāmata* in early Maithila or Gauḍa script, c. A.D. 1200 (NAK 5.778/58).
 5. Numerous Nepalese MSS of the *Kubjikāmata*, *Ṣaṣṭhasahasraṃhitā*, and a gloss on the latter.
 6. *Nityāhnikatilaka* of Jaya, son of Śrīkaṇṭha, which reaches us in Nepalese and East-Indian MSS, the earliest dated in A.D. 1268/9,
 7. The *Nityaprakāśa* of Vīracandra, composed in A.D. 1072/3. Nepalese MSS.
 8. The commentary *Nityaprakāśavivaraṇapañjikā*, also called *Nityakaumudī*, written on the *Nityaprakāśa* of Vīracandra by his chief disciple Gaṅgādhara at the request of the latter's pupil Śambhudatta, the personal physician of the Pāla monarch Rāmapāla (r. c. 1072–1126). Nepalese MS.
 9. The *Śrīmatapaddhati*, also called *Siddhasaṃtānasopānapanīkti*, of Jasorāja (Yaśorājacandra), of which we have an incomplete copy in a composite Nepalese codex of the twelfth century and a copy in an East-Indian manuscript dated in year 144 (of the Lakṣmaṇasena era), = a year between A.D. 1252 and 1275
 10. Many Newar manuals for the propitiation of Kubjikā and her consort Navātmabhairava.
9. THE ṢAḌANVAYAŚĀMBHAVA VARIANT OF THE PAŚCIMĀMNĀYA IN THE SOUTH
1. Scripture: *Śambhunirṇaya*.
 2. *Śambhunirṇayadīpikā* of the South Indian Śivānandamuni, author of the *Rjvumarśinī* commentary of the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, Guru of the Guru of Maheśvarānanda, active c. A.D. 1225–1275
 3. Paddhati *Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhavakrama* of Umākānta, disciple of Amṛtānandanātha,.
 4. Another *Kubjikāmata*, quoted by Maheśvarānanda.
 5. *Caranaśūtra*, quoted by Maheśvarānanda.
 6. *Rasānvaya* (= *Ṣaḍanvaya*), quoted by Maheśvarānanda.
10. THE WORSHIP OF TRIPURASUNDARĪ IN SOUTHERN INDIA
- Major works:
1. Commentaries by Śivānanda (*-rjvumarśinī*) and Vidyānanda (*-artharatnāvalī*) on the scripture *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*.

2. Traipura opuscula of Śivānandamuni: *Subhagodaya*, *Subhagodayavāsanā*, *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*.
3. Puṇyānanda (active c. 1275–1325), *Kāmakalāvilāsa*.
4. The scripture *Yoginīhṛdaya*. Nowhere mentioned by Śivānanda in his commentary (*-rjuvimarśinī*) on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*. Embeds the understanding of the cult, as do the commentaries of Śivānanda and Vidyānanda on the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, in the doctrinal framework of the Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva dynamic non-dualists from Somānanda to Kṣemarāja.
5. Commentary (*-dīpikā*) of Amṛtānanda, active c. A.D. 1300–1350, on the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva doctrinal framework
6. Traipura opuscula of Amṛtānandayogin: *Saubhāgyasudhodaya* and *Cidvilasastava*.
7. Bhāskararāya Makhin (Bhāsurānandanātha) (A.D. 1690–1785), commentary (*Setubandha*) on the *Vāmakeśvaramata* (the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* and the *Yoginīhṛdaya* construed as the prior and posterior halves of a single work).

Some Paddhatis:

8. Vidyānanda, *Jñānadīpavimarśinī*.
9. Śrīvidyānandanātha, *Saubhāgyaratnākara*.
10. Cidānandanātha (fl. c. 1375–1425), *Svacchandapaddhati*.

The cult of Lalitā/Kāmākṣī in Kāñcīpuram:

11. The Paddhati *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*.
12. The Paddhati *Nityotsava* of Umānandanātha, based on the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. A.D. 1745/6.
13. The commentary (*Saubhāgyasudhodaya*) on the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* by Rāmeśvara, A.D. 1831.

The modified cult of Lalitā/Kāmākṣī in Kāñcīpuram (Parā replaced by Bālā Tripurasundarī):

14. *Paramānandatantra*.
15. Commentary (*Saubhāgyānandasamdhoha*) on the *Paramānandatantra* by Maheśvarānandanātha, A.D. 1828/9. Quotes Utpaladeva, Kallaṭa, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja, and Jayaratha. He tells us that he is following Śivānanda's *Saubhāgyaprapaṅcodyotapaddhati* and Mādhavānanda's *Saubhāgyakalpadruma*.
16. Kṣemānandanātha, the son of Maheśvarānandanātha: author of a commentary (*-saurabha*) on the *Saubhāgyakalpadruma* of his father, and the *Saubhāgyakalpalatikā*.

17. *Tripurārcanamañjarī*, a massive Paddhati composed by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (Jñānānandanātha). Completed in A.D. 1843/4. By his own account he was a learned *devyarcakaḥ* born in the Gauḍajāti but living in Gurjaradeśa.
18. Lakṣmīnāthaśāstrī (Ambikānandanātha), Drāviḍa brahmin, author of the *Saubhāgyakalpadrumamahāyāgapaddhati*, commissioned by Mahārāja Sawāī Rām Singh II of Jaipur, b. A.D. 1833, r. 1835–1880) King of Jaipur.

11. KAULA SYNCRETISM IN THE SOUTH

1. *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*: cult of Lalitā (Tripurasundarī) incorporating sub-Paddhatis of the Anuttara's Parā, Śyāmā/Mātaṅgī, Vārāhī, and Gaṇapati.
2. The marriage of the cults of Tripurasundarī and the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava variant of the Paścimāmnāya:
 - a) *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, c. A.D. 1200.
 - b) *Saundaryalaharī* (containing the *Ānandalaharī*).
3. Combined cults of Tripurasundarī, the Anuttara, the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava, and the Mahārtha:
 - a) *Padyavāhinī* of Śāṅkara, disciple of Somānanda.
 - b) *Ānandakalpalatikā* of Maheśvaratejānandanātha, disciple of Kṛṣṇadāsa.
 - c) *Paraśambhumahimnaḥstotra*.

12. PRATYABHIJÑĀ IN THE SOUTH:

1. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinīvyākhyā*, anon.
2. Śāmbhavānanda, *Paramaśivādvaitakalpalatikā* (which includes a Paddhati for the Parākrama form of the Trika). The work is in the tradition of the Kashmirian Saṃvidadvayavāda (the doctrine of the non-duality of awareness) as developed in the Tamil South. It makes efforts to show that this doctrine is in harmony both with reason and with Śruti and Smṛti. The work is particularly rich in its citations of Purāṇas. After establishing its doctrine against all others it elaborates a programme of internalized worship based on the system of the Parākrama and ends with a detailed exposition of the universal Śaiva Mantra (pañcākṣara [NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA] and ṣaḍakṣara [OM NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA]), the Mantra of Tripurā, the Mantra of Parā (of the Parākrama), and the Vedic Gāyatrī, all as embodying the truth of this doctrine. Its Śākta Śaiva sources are similar to those cited by Maheśvarānanda in his *Mahārthamañjarīparimāla*.
3. Sadānanda, *Īśvarapratyabhijñātātparyānvayadīpikā* (only on the *jñānādhikārah*). Also wrote a commentary on the *Trīśikā* (Mysore Cat.)
4. Śrīnivāsaḥṭṭa's commentary *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Jñānakhaṇḍa* of the *Tripurārahasya*. Composed in A.D. 1832. Śrīnivāsaḥṭṭa was an inhabitant of Mahāpuṣkara, one of the five Grāmas of Madurai. The commentary follows the [Kashmirian] Śivādvaita of the text (itself composed in Tamilnadu), supports it with quotations from the works of Vasugupta, Somānanda,

Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, and has a keen sense of the opposition between its own Śākta non-dualism and that of the illusionist Aupaniśadas (following the Advaitavedānta of the Śaṅkarācāryas).

13. WHAT DOES THIS SURVEY NOT COVER ?

1. The Parāprāsāda Kaula cult of the *Kulārṇavatantra*.
2. The later Śākta (Kaula) system of the ten Mahāvidyās that seems to have emerged in Eastern India and then spread throughout the subcontinent, in which Tripurasundarī is joined by such new deities as Dakṣiṇakālī and [the Buddhist Vajrayāna] goddesses Tārā/Ugratārā and Chinnamastā.
3. The smārtized Tantrism of such texts as the *Śāradātīlaka* and the *Prapañcasāra*.
These later systems have in common that they lack the distinctive Śaiva doctrinal framework of the early literature.

13. EVIDENCE OF THE IMPACT OF THESE ŚĀKTA (KAULA) CULTS:

1. The Buddhist Yoginītantras of Eastern India (9th century onwards).
2. The impact of the cult of Tripurasundarī on the Jaina Mantraśāstra.
3. The Smārta assimilation (with expurgation) of the the cults of the Kaulas, especially the cult of Tripurasundarī and the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava (witness the success of the *Saundaryalaharī* and its numerous commentaries). Note also the prominent position of devotion to Tripurasundarī in the Sanskrit and Telugu lyrics of the great composers of the classical Carnatic musical repertoire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: Muttuswami Dikshitar (1775–1835), Tyagaraja (1767–1847), and Shyama Shastri (1762–1827).