



# TACKLING THE TANTRĀLOKA

DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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HANDOUT

1. A brief introduction to the *Tantrāloka* (Kashmir, c. 1000 CE): its historical context, scope, and purpose
2. What is entailed in editing, translating, and interpreting this text? The obstacles to be overcome:
  - a) The poor state of the manuscript transmission
  - b) The long period of time, about 250 years, that separates the *Tantrāloka* from its commentary by Jayaratha (fl. c. 1250 CE)
  - c) The absence of works on the Trika by scholars other than Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha
    - i. The exception of the Anuttara subsystem of the Trika based on the *Parātrimśikā*
  - d) Doubts about Jayaratha's standing as a reliable witness:
    - i. Probably not an initiate of the Trika
    - ii. Decline of the knowledge base in his time
  - e) The surprising lack of Paddhati literature as evidence of the Trika in practice (in Kashmir or elsewhere)
  - f) Abundance of materials in the Kālīkula traditions (in Kashmir and elsewhere)
  - g) How well established was the Trika in Kashmir?
3. Oxford and Kashmir 1969–1977. My attempt to understand the *Tantrāloka* with the guidance of Swami Lakshman Joo.
  - a) The insider view as a starting point
  - b) Its limitations:
    - i. The contraction of practice. The evidence of the *Mṛtitattvānusmaraṇa* (Göttingen, Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, MS Mu I 108, ff. 39r1–43v12: *śribhṛṅgīśasamhitāyām bhairavībhairavasamvāde karmayogajñānamārgaprakāśanam nāma navamaḥ pāṭalaḥ*). The relevant parts of this chapter have been edited in the footnotes of pp. 116–121 of my study 'Swami Lakshman Joo and his Place in the Kashmirian Śaiva Tradition' (2007).

- ii. Denial of change or loss
  - iii. Disconnection from historical context
  - iv. Refusal to recognise decline, and indifference to the rediscovery of sources presumed lost
  - v. The reflection of aspects of this mentality in some Indology
    - A. The tendency to divorce doctrine and ritual
    - B. Lack of interest in the historical dimension: neglect of epigraphical and material evidence
    - C. Tendency to study one 'school' in isolation without thinking about its relationships with other traditions
4. Recovering history in order better to understand the "inner meaning" of the text, by which I mean not an esoteric message hidden beneath its surface, but the kinds of meaning that emerge when one hears a text in the evolving context in which it arose and on which it was seeking to have an impact. Recovering the **complexity** and **originality** of the work.

a) *Tantrāloka* as Paddhati

1.14 *santi paddhatayaś citrāḥ srotobhedesu bhūyasā |*  
*anuttaraśaḍardhārthakrame tv ekāpi neksyate ||*  
 1.15 *ity alam bahusāḥ sadbhiḥ śisyasabrahmacāribhiḥ |*  
*arthito racaye spaṣṭām pūrṇārthām prakriyām imām ||*

Tantrāloka 1.14–15

14b *srotobhedesu* K<sub>ED</sub> ABDJLO<sup>ac</sup>PQRSU W : *srotobhedena* C : *srotobhūtesu* OP<sup>cT</sup> *bhūyasā* ABCDJP-  
 QR<sup>p</sup>STU W : *bhūyasāḥ* LOR<sup>ac</sup> 14d *krama* K<sub>ED</sub> ACDLQPQRSTU W Jayaratha : *krama* BJ 15a *alam*  
 ABDJPQSU<sup>ac</sup> W : *aham* K<sub>ED</sub> CGLORTUP<sup>c</sup> 15c *spaṣṭām* K<sub>ED</sub> ACDGLPQRTU W : *spraṣṭām* BJS

There exist Paddhatis in abundance and of various kinds for the each of the [other] currents [of Śiva's teachings]. But we find not even one for the ultimate system, the teachings of the Trika. So fervently requested many times by my devout disciples and the disciples of my Guru I shall now compose this explicit and comprehensive treatise.

b) What is a Paddhati?

*paddhatiḥ pratiśāstram vikṣiptasya śrutasya tatsāmarthyākṣiptasya*<sup>1</sup> *ca mantratantrā-*  
*nuṣṭhānāya samkṣepāt*<sup>2</sup> *kramenābhidhānam*<sup>3</sup> *yajurvedādaḥ yajñasūtrādivat.*

Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, *Sārdhatriśatikālotavarṭti*, p. 45, ll. 6–7

1 *tatsāmarthyākṣiptasya* conj. : *tatsāmarthyāt kṣiptasya* BHATT 2 *samkṣepāt* conj. : *samkṣepa* BHATT 3  
*kramenābhidhānam* conj. : *kramenābhidhānād* BHATT

For any scripture a Paddhati is a text that enables the performance of the rituals [of that scripture] along with the Mantras [that accompany them] by succinctly arranging in the order [of performance] (i) the [instructions] explicitly stated [in that scripture but] dispersed in various places [throughout its length], and (ii) whatever [else] those explicit statements imply. An example is the *Yajñasūtra* in the case of the *Yajurveda*.

- c) The potential of Paddhatis as channels of radical innovation: the illusory rigidity of the principle of maximal proximity that governs the supplementation required to compose a complete Paddhati
- i. The Saiddhāntika Śaiva Paddhati of Mahārājādhirāja Bhojadeva (*Siddhāntasārapaddhati*) (covert)
  - ii. The *Tantrāloka* (explicit, based on a theory of a hierarchy of scriptural authority)
- d) The *Tantrāloka* as exegesis of one text, the *Mālinīvijayottara*, as the core of all the Śaiva scriptures

*na tadastīha yan na śrīmālinīvijayottare |  
 devadevena nirdiṣṭam svaśabdenātha liṅgataḥ ||  
 daśāṣṭādaśavasvaṣṭabhinnam yac chāsanam vibhoḥ |  
 tatsāram trikaśāstram hi tatsāram mālinīmatam ||  
 ato 'trāntargatam sarvaṃ sampradāyōjjhitair budhaiḥ |  
 adrṣṭam prakatīkurmo gurunāthājnāyā vayam ||*

*Tantrāloka* 1.17–19

There is nothing here that has not been taught by the God of the Gods in the *Mālinīvijayottara*, either explicitly or by implication. For that is the highest of the Trika's scriptures, which are themselves the highest within the [entire] teaching of the Lord comprising the ten and eighteen [scriptures of the Saiddhāntika canon], and the sixty-four [scriptures of the Bhairava canon]. So with the authorisation of my Guru I shall now make clear everything in this text that [other] scholars have failed to see, lacking as they did the teaching privately transmitted from Guru to disciple [that is the key to its teachings].

- e) The *Tantrāloka* as exegesis of all of Śaivism, except the Atimārga (The three -mārgas: Atimārga, Mantramārga, Kulamārga); the four lineages:

11 *teṣāṃ krameṇa tan madhye bhraṣṭam kālāntarād yadā |  
 tadā śrikanṭhanāthājnāvasāt siddhā avātaran ||*  
 12 *tryambakāmardakābhikhyāsrīnāthā advaye dvaye |  
 dvayādvaye ca nipunāḥ krameṇa śivaśāsane ||*  
 13 *ādyaśya cānvayo jajñe dvitīyo duhitṛkramāt |  
 sa cārdbhatryambakābhikhyāḥ samtānaḥ supratīṣṭhitāḥ ||*

14 *ataś cārdhacatasro 'tra maṭhikāḥ saṃtatikramāt |*  
*śisyapraśisyair vistīrnāḥ śataśākham vyavasthitaiḥ ||*  
 15 *adhyuṣṭasamtatisrotahsārābhūtarasāhrtim |*  
*vidhāya tantrāloko 'yam syandate sakalān rasān ||*

*Tantrāloka* 36.11–15

After some time that [transmission of knowledge] among the [best of men] was interrupted. Then in response to a command issued by Lord Śrīkaṇṭha [three] Siddhas descended into the world, each expert in one of the [three] divisions of Śiva's teachings: Tryambak[āditya] in the non-dualistic division, Āmardaka in the dualistic, and Śrīnātha in the dualistic-cum-non-dualistic. A second transmission emerged from the first of these Siddhas through his daughter; and this lineage became famous as the Half-Traiyaṃbaka. So through these lines of descent three and a half lineages came into being and these have spread out into hundreds of branches through their disciples and the disciples of their disciples. This *Tantrāloka* exudes all the flavours [of Śaivism] because it has absorbed those of the essences of all [six] streams of revelation[. For all are encompassed] within these three and a half lineages.

60 *āmardasamtatimahārṇavakarnadhārah saddaiśikairakavarātmajavāmanāthah |*  
*śrīnāthasamtatimahāambaragharmakāntih śrībhūtīrājanayah svapitrprasādah ||*  
 62 *traiyambakaprasarasāgaravīcisomānandātmajoṭpalajalakṣmaṇaguptanāthah |*  
*turyākhyasamtatimahodadhīpūrṇacandrah śrīsaumatah sakalavīkila śambhunāthah ||*

*Tantrāloka* 37.60–61

60a *āmarda* corr. : *ānanda* K<sub>ED</sub> WU 62d *śrīsaumatah* em. : *śrīsomatah* K<sub>ED</sub> WU

(i) Vāmanātha, the fine son of the excellent Guru Eraka, [my] helmsman on the great ocean of the Āmardaka lineage; (ii) [Parameśvara,] the son of Bhūtīrāja, who had received the favour [of initiation] from his father, my sun in the vast firmament of the lineage of Śrīnātha; (iii) Lakṣmaṇaguptanātha, the [spiritual] son of Utpala[deva], the [spiritual] son of Somananda, the moon (*somaḥ*) that caused the waves of the surging ocean of the Traiyaṃbaka lineage [to rise]. and (iv) all-knowing Śambhunātha, the [spiritual] son of Sumati, the full moon to the ocean of the lineage known as the Fourth ...

- f) The main constituents:
- i. The Tantraprakriyā of the Vidyāpīṭha
  - ii. The Kula (Pūrvāmnāya)
  - iii. The higher Kaula Trika: *Bhairavakula*, *Vīrāvalī* etc.
  - iv. Utpaladeva's Pratyabhijñā doctrine (*Īśvarapratyabhijñākarikā* and commentaries)
  - v. The Krama/Mahārtha/Mahānaya (Uttarāmnāya)
  - vi. The systems of non-Saiddhāntika worship taught in the *Svacchanda* and *Netra*

vii. The Siddhānta

- g) The shift from the Krama to the Trika in the course of Abhinavagupta's career: Bhūtīrāja, Paramēśvara, and Śambhunātha
5. The place of the *Tantrāloka* in the history of Śaivism: the rise of Śākta Śaivism from the Atimārga to the Kulamārga and its role in sustaining the conviction of transcendence in a Śaiva élite while mainstream initiatory Śaivism was fast surrendering this conviction and earning general acceptance in the orthodox consensus
6. The attempt to colonise Śaivism from the Trika/Krama base: the exegetical program of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja.
- a) Abhinavagupta's reading of the Siddhānta's scriptures
- b) Kṣemarāja's commentaries on the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* (evidence of the centrality of these two texts), on the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā*, and on popular hymns and hymn collections: the *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, and the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*; his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*
- c) Evidence of the popularity of the *Stavacintāmaṇi*.

*sa vṛtaḥ sevakaśataih sadā dambaharārcane |*  
*stotraṃ pathati hāheti kurvan sāśruvilocanaḥ ||*  
*sugirā cittahāriṇyā paśyantiyā drśyamānayā |*  
*hyah kiyanto mayā dattāḥ prāyasthā vijayeśvare ||*  
***jayaty ullāsītānantamahimā paramēśvaraḥ |***  
*ādau sthitānām upari prayāntu ete trisaptatih ||*  
***yaḥ sphītaḥ śrīdayābodhaparamānandasampadā |***  
*prāyasthāne mṛtā bhāṭṭāḥ kṛsyantām gulphadāmabhiḥ ||*  
*vidyoddyotitamāhātmyaḥ sa jayaty aparājitaḥ |*  
*nirdhāmadhūmakartāro grāmān yāntu niyoginaḥ ||*  
*sarvānandasvarūpāya sarvamaṅgalyahetave |*  
*sarvasvahanāṃ kṛtvā vadhyā daṇḍanisedhinaḥ ||*  
***sarvakleśāpahartre ca cidrūpabrahmane namah |***  
*piḍitāḥ prasravanty eva prajā guggulubhijavat ||*  
*ityādīstotramukharo ghaṇṭābadhiritākhilāḥ |*  
*samādiśyāviśac cāśu niyoginibidāṃ sabhām ||*

Kṣemendra, *Narmamālā* 1.38–45. Lines in bold = *Stavacintāmaṇi* 1.1–2 followed by a verse from an unknown hymn

Cf. Evelyn Waugh, *Decline and Fall* (Penguin Books, 1937), Part Three, Chapter III: The Death of a Modern Churchman, pp. 183–184:

At last the hymn was announced. The organ struck up, played with great feeling by a prisoner who until his conviction had been assistant organist at a Welsh cathedral. All over the chapel the men filled their chests for a burst of conversation.

'O God, our help in ages past', sang Paul.  
'Where's Prendergast today?'  
'What, ain't you 'eard? 'e's been done in.'  
'And our eternal home.'

'Old Prendy went to see a chap  
What said he'd seen a ghost;  
Well, he was dippy, and he'd got  
A mallet and a saw.'

'Who let the madman have the things?'  
'The Governor: who d'you think?'  
He asked to be a carpenter,  
He sawed off Prendy's head.

'A pal of mine what lives next door,  
'E 'eard it 'appening;  
The warder must 'ave 'eard it too,  
'E didn't interfere.'

'Time, like an ever-rolling stream,  
Bears all its sons away.'  
'Poor Prendy 'ollered fit to kill  
For nearly 'alf an hour.

'Damned lucky it was Prendergast,  
Might 'ave been you or me!  
The warder says – and I agree –  
It serves the Governor right.'

What survived and for how long: the evidence of the ritual manuals of the Kashmirian Śaiva priests/officiants.

wordy in manner of  
medieval commentary  
(hybrid Indian & Western)  
approach

(juvenile)  
"surprisingly modest"

← As Bhūtirjās disciple  
Krama stotra  
earliest work 991 AD  
ZPVU  
1015

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Makayalam  
Ms in Kerala Library - complete text.  
Ritual complexity fell away eventually  
Only 2 mss reliable

Language is difficult & poor transmission  
- fine points of metre & use of particles  
Kashmir isolated (culturally) till Alcabir  
Poo Jayarathas root text is different  
Need to rely on (plausible) conjecture  
Kashmir Shaivism

Identified with whose only author is Abhinavāra (despite Jayarathas :- contraction of knowledge base).  
J. Often gets it wrong (in compare to Vāmekesvari mata. commentary, tradition in which he was interested. (J. is unreliable).  
Trika gets a small shot in paddhati's Haravijaya mihākāvya (but this is an exception).  
devoted to worship of Trika Goddess (chance not ~~over~~ over-esoteric).  
But abundant material has survived from Krama traditions (despite Islamic dominion)

Tantrāloka written in between concentrated his later years on philosophical dimension. Still inspired by early education in Krama. Spiritual (if not merely intellectual) enterprise - Rahasya-sampradaya -> could have by passed TA. Trika not a Kashmiri (but a Deccan) invention. Both down rich diversity to its essence.

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2. What is entailed in editing, translating, and interpreting this text? The obstacles to be overcome:

- a) The poor state of the manuscript transmission *contraction of literary base* → several (but 'worthless') mss
  - b) The long period of time, about 250 years, that separates the *Tantrāloka* from its commentary by Jayaratha (fl. c. 1250 CE)
  - c) The absence of works on the Trika by scholars other than Abhinavagupta and Jayaratha
    - i. The exception of the Anuttara subsystem of the Trika based on the *Parātrimśikā*
  - d) Doubts about Jayaratha's standing as a reliable witness:
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- The surprising lack of Paddhati literature as evidence of the Trika in practice (in Kashmir or elsewhere)
- f) Abundance of materials in the Kālikula traditions (in Kashmir and elsewhere)
  - g) How well established was the Trika in Kashmir?

3. Oxford and Kashmir 1969-1977. My attempt to understand the *Tantrāloka* with the guidance of Swami Lakshman Joo.

- a) The insider view as a starting point
- b) Its limitations:
  - i. The contraction of practice. The evidence of the *Mritattvānusmaraṇa* (Göttingen, Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek, MS Mu I 108, ff. 39r1-43v12: *śrībhṛṅgīśasamhitāyām bhairavībhairavasamvāde karmayogajñānamārgaprakāśanam nāma navamaḥ pāṭalāḥ*. The relevant parts of this chapter have been edited in the footnotes of pp. 116-121 of my study 'Swami Lakshman Joo and his Place in the Kashmirian Śaiva Tradition' (2007).

→ to doctrine & a few yogic practices

Overtaken by the pan-Indian cult of Tripura-sundari.

Abhinava had aestheticized what was essentially a cremation cult.

Inspired by Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka — Locana.

Genius of India is in synthesizing to  
the point of eclipsing the history.

Put off by <sup>AS</sup> desire to read all the texts — Lakshman Joo.

Mitya tattva

~~recited~~

recited 11 days after death.

Knowing ~~is~~ disjoined from Doing  
a tradition became polarized

Antinomianism did not survive, but was ~~is~~

projected onto past gurus, as proof of transcendence.

Independent traditions were being melded together  
through equivalences, etc.

Could recover simple Krama nos. ~~from~~ from Nepal,  
but met with indifference — just a book without oral tradition.

Friendly parting of the ways, as a result.

Like studying Vedānta without ~~reference~~ reference to  
Śrauta ritual or Mīmāṃsā.

Buddhist & Hindu tantrism; Śaivism & Vaiṣṇavism. (context)

Shared meaning of author & his audience is not explicit.

Advanced handbook for other Śaiva śāstras.

Jñāna is important & horribly neglected (highly tantric)

Nirvāṇa-kālikā (= Bhejāś)

tradition.

~ not well received by contemporary Jain scholars &

→ substituted by creative exegesis (imagination)  
 → dialogic → i.e. from other Śaiva systems that were dominant (esp. the Siddhānta)

- ii. Denial of change or loss
- iii. Disconnection from historical context
- iv. Refusal to recognise decline, and indifference to the rediscovery of sources presumed lost
- v. The reflection of aspects of this mentality in some Indology
  - A. The tendency to divorce doctrine and ritual → no dialogue between the two.
  - B. Lack of interest in the historical dimension: neglect of epigraphical and material evidence
  - C. Tendency to study one 'school' in isolation without thinking about its relationships with other traditions

narrow sectarianism

4. Recovering history in order better to understand the "inner meaning" of the text, by which I mean not an esoteric message hidden beneath its surface, but the kinds of meaning that emerge when one hears a text in the evolving context in which it arose and on which it was seeking to have an impact. Recovering the complexity and originality of the work.

for an entirely new audience

Before Utpala dynasty (Vaiṣṇava) Avantivarman, Vaiṣṇavism & Buddhism were dominant in Kashmir. Rise in social standing of Śaiva brahmins, rubbing shoulders with Pāṇḍitaśāstrīś. Resort to pan-Indian categories.

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Need to be aware of surrounding brahmanical orthodoxy.

b) What is a Paddhati?

→ frequently anonymous.

*paddhatīḥ pratiśāstram vikṣiptasya śrutasya tatsāmarthyākṣiptasya*<sup>1</sup> *ca mantratantrānuṣṭhānāya samkṣepāt*<sup>2</sup> *kramenābhīdhānam*<sup>3</sup> *yajurvedādau yajñasūtrādivat.*

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→ scripture reordered into Handbook of performance by resorting to supplemental texts.

- c) The potential of Paddhatis as channels of radical innovation: the illusory rigidity of the principle of maximal proximity that governs the supplementation required to compose a complete Paddhati
- The Saiddhāntika Śaiva Paddhati of Mahārājādhirāja Bhojadeva (*Siddhāntasāra-paddhati*) (covert)
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→ hierarchy of textual traditions.

→ descent from

specific to general determines priority of text to cite.

Baseline provided by the Saiddhāntika.

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simultaneous by commentary on single text & entire Śaiva tradition (only Atimārga has been left out).

- e) The *Tantrāloka* as exegesis of all of Śaivism, except the Atimārga (The three -mārgas: Atimārga, Mantramārga, Kulamārga); the four lineages:

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 sa cārđhatryambakābhikhyāḥ samtānaḥ supratīṣṭhitāḥ ||

Big change occurred in 3rd phase  
 Kaul as suddenly adopted Kāpālika  
 (Goddess, through Śāktika practice)

14 *ataś cārdhacatasro 'tra mathikāḥ samtatikramāt |*  
*śisyapraśisyair vistīrnāḥ śataśākhāḥ vyavasthitāḥ ||*

15 *adhyuṣṭasamtatisrotāḥsārabhūtarasābr̥tim |*  
*vidhāya tantrāloko 'yaṃ syandate sakalān rasān ||*

*Tantrāloka 36.11-15*

After some time that [transmission of knowledge] among the [best of men] was interrupted. Then in response to a command issued by Lord Śrīkaṅṭha [three] Siddhas descended into the world, each expert in one of the [three] divisions of Śiva's teachings: Tryambak[āditya] in the non-dualistic division, Āmardaka in the dualistic, and Śrīnātha in the dualistic-cum-non-dualistic. A second transmission emerged from the first of these Siddhas through his daughter; and this lineage became famous as the Half-Triayambaka. So through these lines of descent three and a half lineages came into being and these have spread out into hundreds of branches through their disciples and the disciples of their disciples. This *Tantrāloka* exudes all the flavours [of Śaivism] because it has absorbed those of the essences of all [six] streams of revelation[. For all are encompassed] within these three and a half lineages.

60 *āmardasamtatimahārnavakarnadhārah saddaiśikairakavarātmajavāmanāthah |*  
*śrīnāthasamtatimahābaragharmakāntiḥ śrībhūtīrājanayah svapitrprasādah ||*

62 *traiyambakaprasarasāgaravīcisomānandātmajoṭpalajalakṣmaṇaguptanāthah |*  
*turyākhyasamtatimahodadhīpūrnacandraḥ śrīsaumataḥ sakalavitkila śambhunāthah ||*

*Tantrāloka 37.60-61*

60a *āmarda* corr. : *ānanda* K<sub>ED</sub> WU 62d *śrīsaumataḥ* em. : *śrīsomataḥ* K<sub>ED</sub> WU

(i) Vāmanātha, the fine son of the excellent Guru Eraka, [my] helmsman on the great ocean of the Āmardaka lineage; (ii) [Parameśvara,] the son of Bhūtīrāja, who had received the favour [of initiation] from his father, my sun in the vast firmament of the lineage of Śrīnātha; (iii) Lakṣmaṇaguptanātha, the [spiritual] son of Utpala[deva], the [spiritual] son of Somananda, the moon (*somaḥ*) that caused the waves of the surging ocean of the Traiyambaka lineage [to rise]. and (iv) all-knowing Śambhunātha, the [spiritual] son of Sumati, the full moon to the ocean of the lineage known as the Fourth ...

f) The main constituents:

- i. The Tantraprakriyā of the Vidyāpīṭha
- ii. The Kula (Pūrvāmnāya)
- iii. The higher Kaula Trika: *Bhairavakula*, *Vīrāvalī* etc.
- iv. Utpaladeva's Pratyabhijñā doctrine (*Īśvarapratyabhijñārikā* and commentaries)
- v. The Krama/Mahārtha/Mahānaya (Uttarāmnāya)
- vi. The systems of non-Saiddhāntika worship taught in the *Svacchanda* and *Netra*

Kaula & non-Kaula  
 strands of Trika,  
 then Siddhānta,  
 finally (mysterious)  
 tradition of Śrīnātha  
 comprehensive  
 education in Śaivism,  
 revealed by his  
 attribution of teachers  
 from all the diverse  
 lineages.

→ Mantramārga → Bhairava  
 (aestheticized)  
 Kaula as prolongation of  
 cremation-cult.

## Questions

1) Gary Tubb - how to account for Abhinavās  
(growth of) interest in ~~the~~ Trika  
→ Saṃbhūnātha (not a Kashmiri)  
- from a Jālandhara - pīṭha  
disciple of Sumati.  
who was based in Deccan.

b) Paśānāmnāya - also derives of Deccan  
( & Konkan)

↳ indebted to Trika (hence flourishing in South)

Very personal connection -

repeated fulsome praise.

2) a) Courtly? - withdrawal from social life (end of TA)  
patronage of a ~~wealth~~ wealthy ~~home~~ woman,  
who built him a home.

b) ?

3) Eric - defense of conjecture. - what about Lalasman Joo's  
conjectures?

7) Well, show me the text?

~~Violent~~ Violent exegesis, esp. in Buddhist commentaries.

CJ reconstructed rather from his knowledge  
of Śrīnātha ritual.

Hugh's took offence at AS's question

vii. The Siddhānta

- g) The shift from the Krama to the Trika in the course of Abhinavagupta's career: Bhūtīrāja, Parameśvara, and Śambhunātha

The place of the *Tantrāloka* in the history of Śaivism: the rise of Śākta Śaivism from the Atimārga to the Kulamārga and its role in sustaining the conviction of transcendence in a Śaiva élite while mainstream initiatory Śaivism was fast surrendering this conviction and earning general acceptance in the orthodox consensus

- 6. The attempt to colonise Śaivism from the Trika/Krama base: the exegetical program of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja.

- a) Abhinavagupta's reading of the Siddhānta's scriptures
- b) Kṣemarāja's commentaries on the *Svacchanda* and *Netra* (evidence of the centrality of these two texts), on the *Śivasūtra* and *Spandakārikā*, and on popular hymns and hymn collections: the *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, and the *Sāmbapañcāśikā*; his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*
- c) Evidence of the popularity of the *Stavacintāmaṇi*.

*sa vṛtaḥ sevakaśataih sadā dambaharārcane |*  
*stotraṃ paṭhati hāheti kurvan sāsrūvilocanaḥ ||*  
*sugirā cittahāriṇyā paśyantiyā drśyamānaya |*  
*hyah kiyanto mayā dattāḥ prāyasthā vijayeśvare ||*  
*jayaty ullāsītānantamahimā parameśvaraḥ |*  
*ātau sthitānām upari prayāntu ete trisaptatih ||*  
*yah sphītaḥ śrīdayābodhaparamānandasampadā |*  
*prāyasthāne mṛtā bhattāḥ kṛsyantām gulphadāmabhiḥ ||*  
*vidyoddyotitamāhātmyaḥ sa jayaty aparājitaḥ |*  
*nirdhāmadhūmakartāro grāmān yāntu niyoginaḥ ||*  
*sarvānandasvarūpāya sarvamaṅgalyahetave |*  
*sarvasvaharaṇaṃ kṛtvā vadhyā daṇḍaniṣedhinaḥ ||*  
*sarvakleśāpahartre ca cidrūpabrahmaṇe namaḥ |*  
*piditāḥ prasravanty eva praḥā guggulubhijavat ||*  
*ityādistotramukharo ghaṇṭābadhiritākhillah |*  
*samādiśyāviśac cāsu niyoginibidāṃ sabhām ||*

Kṣemendra, *Narmanalā* 1.38-45. Lines in bold = *Stavacintāmaṇi* 1.1-2 followed by a verse from an unknown hymn

Cf. Evelyn Waugh, *Decline and Fall* (Penguin Books, 1937), Part Three, Chapter III: The Death of a Modern Churchman, pp. 183-184:

At last the hymn was announced. The organ struck up, played with great feeling by a prisoner who until his conviction had been assistant organist at a Welsh cathedral. All over the chapel the men filled their chests for a burst of conversation.

Śaiva-Śākta authors distinguished by highly elevated, elect education (from Siddhānta, etc.)  
 Colonizing Śaivism from Kāpālika base (Śākta-Bhāṛṭa) Kṣemarāja's extensive commentarial project.

→ 1st line of *Stavacintāmaṇi*  
 → 2nd line even corrupt text.  
 officers knew elevated hymns such as *Stavacintāmaṇi*  
 "I wasn't born to be a teacher, but now I have 10 disciples."

"Tantric tradition has been obsolete since at least 50 yrs. - whom AS visited Kashmir. Big push away from yoga towards inner 'intellectual' crisis (transcendence) (Rationalization) → Return to brahminical model of knowledge & ritual, appropriating Trika into mainstream Hinduism. has killed the tradition."

'O God, our help in ages past', sang Paul.  
'Where's Prendergast today?'  
'What, ain't you 'eard? 'e's been done in.'  
'And our eternal home.'

'Old Prendy went to see a chap  
What said he'd seen a ghost;  
Well, he was dippy, and he'd got  
A mallet and a saw.'

'Who let the madman have the things?'  
'The Governor: who d'you think?'  
He asked to be a carpenter,  
He sawed off Prendy's head.

'A pal of mine what lives next door,  
'E 'eard it 'appening;  
The warder must 'ave 'eard it too,  
'E didn't interfere.'

'Time, like an ever-rolling stream,  
Bears all its sons away.'  
'Poor Prendy 'ollered fit to kill  
For nearly 'alf an hour.

'Damned lucky it was Prendergast,  
Might 'ave been you or me!  
The warder says – and I agree –  
It serves the Governor right.'

What survived and for how long: the evidence of the ritual manuals of the Kashmirian Śaiva priests/officiants.