RĀJA RĀJA-THE GREAT

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was in answer to Sankara's denial of the authority of the Agamas. On this basis Yāmuna justified the temple worship and rituals (Cf Āgamaprāmņya).

- 2. Rejection of Sankara's doctrine of Advaita (monism) and expounding the doctrine of qualified monism (Visishtadvaita)
- 3. Rejection of Sankara's concept of Nirguna-Brahman and description of the Lord as the embodiment of all auspicious qualities (Sarvakalyāna-guņa Sampannaḥ).
- 4. Glorification Srī or Lakshmī as the embodiment of mercy and grace (Chatuslokī) and as complementary to the Lord.
- 5. Preaching of the *Bhakti* and *prapatti-mārga* as the only effective means of salvation (Stotraratna).
- 6. Glorification of the Tamil saints \bar{A} lvars and their sacred hymns as revelations worthy of equal veneration. In one of the verses in the *Stotraratna*, he describes Nammalvar as his father, mother, consort, child, wealth and in short, everything.

Thus, Yāmua, following his preceptor Nāthamuni was profoundly influenced by the inspired Tamil hymns of Nammalvar and other Alvars and his works are replete with their teachings and ideas. Actually, some of the stanzas seem to be Sanskrit renderings of the Tamil hymns. All these ideas and precepts mentioned above inspired Rāmānuja and helped in the crystallisation of his philosophy. The galaxy of acharyas who followed Ramanuja continued this tradition and expanded the Divyaprabandhas in the light of Rāmānuja's tenets. Thus, we can say that Rājarāja's period witnessed a very important and formative period in the history of Sri Vaishnavism thanks to Yāmunāchārva's exposition. This was a prelude to a period which witnessed a new form of religion centering round the temple and the idol (arcā form) within it, reticent to the vedic orthodoxy and accepting the Agama as also valid and authoritative. venerating Tamil saints Alvars and their inspired hymns as divine revelations preaching the path of devotionalism (Bhakti) and surrender which could be practised irrespective of caste status.

Aghorasivacarya and the Dvaita School of Saivism in Chola Period

PIFRRE - SYLVAIN FILLIOZAT

The importance of Saivism, i.e. not only monuments, cult and bhakti but also the philosophical doctrine of Saivasiddhanta, in Tamilnadu in Cola period, is well-established through inscriptions. Inscriptions are indeed the best documentary source and they allow us to approach the most authentic reality in the past. But there are other documents which can be taken into consideration. Our purpose here is to present two documents of a different nature and to examine their validity and interest.

They are two short Sanskrit texts. One is already known and published. It is an account which Aghorasivācārya has himself given of religious, intellectual and even familial lineage. It is a chapter of his magnum opus, Kriyākramadyotikā, and is entitled "gotrasaṃtatih" (55 verses). It comes at the end of the section on mahotsavavidhi. The second document is less known because to our knowledge it is available in only one unpublished manuscript preserved in Tiruvadudurai Math, a transcript of which is in the collection of the French Institute of Pondicherry. It contains a story about the same Aghorasivācārya and establishment of a śaiva maṭha in Cidambaram: it is entitled "Aghorasivācāryacaritam".

The first text contains in the beginning an exposition of the theoretical organization of Saiva lineages, what is common to all lineages in the first 23 verses and then the particular lineage of the author, Aghorasiva, as an example of an application of the theory. To summarize briefly the theory there are four gotras and 16 gocaras or kula, 4 gotra munis and 36 bhrātrs, 4 sthānas, 15 (?) mathas and four vrkṣas. There is a regular correspondence between one gotra, 4 kulas, 1 muni, 9 bhrātrs etc.

Then Aghorasiva gives his own lineage. The first part is mythical. It starts from supreme Siva. From Siva residing in non-agitated kundali-sakti comes the Siva-kula which is supported by Gāyatrī-sakti and which descends in Durvāsas. The dwelling

of rṣis who received the grace of this sage, is Āmardaka embellished by a kadamba tree. The mythical origin is thus: Sivagotra, Bharadvāja-muni, his ninth brother (bhrātr) Durvāsas, Prājāpatya-gocara, Āmardakamatha, kadamba tree. Āmardaka is non-mythical. Aghoraśiva says himself: "sthānam atrābhavad bhūmau bhārate mokṣasādhanam (it was a place on this earth, in Bhārata (khanḍa), a means to achieve liberation)". Then he gives his own guru-samtati on the human and historical level. It starts with Vyāpakaśiva, chief of Āmardaka, and hailing from Lāṭa. For all gurus in the line Aghoraśiva gives indications on their origin and place of residence, occasionally a few historical facts. We will see that the line covers all parts of India. The line is:

Vyāpakaśiva, residing in Amardaka.

Disciple, Sarveśapandita from Gauda, residing in Nilalāţa (?).

Disciple, Uttungasiva from Lāṭa; resided in kalyāṇa; author of a paddhaii; his younger brother was guru of King Bhoja "who determined the meaning of all āgamas", and who is probably the author of Tattvaprakāsikā and earlier than King Bhoja of Dhārā, as he is very early in the long lineage coming before Aghorasiva in the middle of 12th century and this line may have covered more than a century which is the distance between Aghorasiva and King Bhoja of Dāhrā.

Disciple, Somaśiva, of Lata (?)

Disciple Pūrnasivācārya, honoured by a King of Vārāņasi.

Disciple, Aryottungasiva of Aryadesa.

Disciple, Vidyeśānasiva of \bar{A} ryadeśa.

Disciple, Vidyāntasiva of Codadesa, guru of the King of Vārāṇasi.

Disciple, Brahmasiva of Lata.

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Disciple, Mūrtiśiva residing in Vijayapura.

Son, Sarvātmadesika residing in Māyāpurī.

Disciple, Srikanthasivadesika from Gauda. By his desire to see the Lord of citsabā in Cidambaram he came to Coladesa

and Cola Kings, Vikrama and others, appointed him as their guru. If Vikrama Cola is referred to here, Srikanthasiva came to Tamilnadu in the beginning of 12th century.

Disciple, Dhyānasiva from Gauda, 'skilled in commenting the 28 tantras; honoured by a Cola King.

Disciple or son, Hrdayasamkara; the relation between this guru and the previous one is expressed by the imprecise words "tasmād babhūva"; therefore we have no certainty about his origin; it appears that he was settled in Tamilnadu, he is the elder son of the paternal uncle of Aghorasiva's grandfather.

The next guru which is mentioned is Parameśvara, His relation with the previous one is problematic. It is expressed by the verse: "mātulo 'smatpitus tasya kanisthah paramesvarah" If "tasya" refers to Hrdayaśamkara mentioned in the previous verse, Parameśvara appears to be a younger brother of Hrdayaśamkara and the maternal uncle of Aghorasiva's father. implies that Aghorasiva's grandfather had married a sister of Parameśvara, i.e. a cousin in the same gotra, If "tasya" qualifies only "asmatpituh", Parameśvara has no connection with Hrdayasamkara, has another gotra, and is the younger brother of the mother of Aghorasiva's father. Paramesvara is told to have received ācāryābhiṣeka from Dhyānasiva and to have resided in Kañci. Aghorasiva has a special reverence for him and for Hrdayasamkara He eulogizes them in longer verses, vasantatilkā and sārdūlavikrīdita. He probably received dīkṣā from Parameśvara as he qualifies him as madbandhavicchedaka. He had himself the name Parameśvara, Aghoraśiva being his diksa name.

At the end Aghorasiva introduces his own Kriyākramadyotikā by saying that he has composed it after the model of his spiritual ancestors, of Uttungapaddhati, Siddhāntasārāvalī and the teachings of Sarvātmasiva. The final verses give the date of composition in saka era, 1080/1158 A.D. and describes the paddhati as composed in 3500 granthus at the order of his guru.

The second document to be presented here is entitled "śrīmad aghoraśivācāryacaritam" but it also claims to be an extract of a larger text of puranic nature "cidambarasāre brahmānanda-śamkarayatīśvarasamvāde". Therefore no composer is acknow-

ledged for it. It is not found in the different māhātmyas and legendary accounts of Cidambaram. Nor is a Cihdmbarasāra known to us. And we may suspect that it is in fact an independent text asserting its subordination to the literature devoted to the glorification of the holy place. It is very short. What we have consists in 31 anustubh verses. We suspect that there is a lacuna in the unique manuscript, as we shall see below.

It narrates the following story. A teacher explains to his disciples the story of a matha situated outside the temple of Cidambaram, to the South-East of it. There were in Cidambaram Trisahasra brahmins who followed the cult of Natesa and won fame for their generosity in giving food to all. Durvāsas, the irascible sage, wants to test it. He goes to Tilvaranya when everybody is asleep. He approaches the linga worshipped by Sesa and asks three times for bhikṣā. No woman comes to give him food, because of sleep. He gets angry and begins to say some derogatory sentences about Tilvaranya. At that moment Nrttaganapati thinks of his mother...

Here there must be a lacuna in the manuscript, because without continuity, we come to a scene in which Durvasas receives the desired bhiksā, recognizes Gauri and worships her. implies that in the gap Gauri had appeared for some reason determined by Ganapati. Then it is told that Gauri addresses Durvāsas, asking him to instal in this place his disciple, as a naisthikabrahmacārin, with the name Aghorasiva, so that he will give dīksā to śūdra devotees. At the behest of Gauri Durvāsas builds a residence and with the necessary preparations performs the pattabhişeka of Aghorasiva. Then he brings his disciple in the citsabha, accomplishes different worships of the god in front of Trisahasra brahmins. Then he returns to the house instals a linga and asks Aghorasiva to worship it and, after studying the agamas, to establish the rule of linga murtis and sakti worship. the rules of different $d\bar{\imath}ks\bar{a}s$ for twice-borns and for $s\bar{u}dras$. Aghorasiva obeys the order of his guru and composes the Kriyākramadyotikā.

An important detail is the mention of the date of the abhişeka. The details of the date are given is: śrimukha year, śuklapakṣa, puṣyanakṣatra, 5th tithi, vaiśākha month, Thursday. In Swami-

kannu Pillai's Ephemeris we find all these details, with the exception of the nakṣatra, occurring on Thursday 10th April 1153. We have seen that the date of composition of the paddhati is 1158.

Now we may examine the historical validity of these two documents. It is clear that they contain a large part of myth-But when Aghorasiva gives himself the history of his family and his religious lineage at a not-too-far-away distance in the past, we have no reasons to doubt the historicity of the tradition he records. There is no impossibility or inadequacy in his account. The other text has certainly taken more distance from reality. But still we find in it some interesting historical information, by interpreting the myth as a mythical transposition of some reality. There is in Cidambaram still now, a matha which claims to have been established by Aghorasiva. This text has certainly been composed there. When we compare its contents with the gotrasamtati of Aghorasiva, we see that the guru of ācāryābhiseka who is actually Paramesvara, has been transposed into the mythical sage Durvāsas. And Durvāsas has been selected, because he is the original sage of the mythical lineage. The installation of the matha may be accepted as a historical fact. Its date fits well with the date of composition of the paddhati. The present matha which claims to have been established by Aghorasiva is connected with a temple of Anantesvara. This reminds us of the "Linga worshipped by Sesa" near which the story of Durvasas and the establishment of the matha are located in the text.

We have thus enough corroborations to accept these two texts as documents for history. And we may infer some historical value of the line of gurus given by Aghorasiva, a few of these names such as King Bhoja being known by their works or by other sources. An interesting point which can be drawn from Aghorasiva's gotrasamtati is that the Saivasiddhānta movement spread all over India. The Āmardaka-matha was not the only one. The Golaki-matha has had in the same and later periods a great number of ramifications from Central India upto the South-The presence and activities of these mathas in Tamilnadu is one of the great contributions of this land to the overall Saiva movement.

The name of Saivasiddhanta is primarily attached to the group of $28 \bar{a}gamas$ beginning with $K\bar{a}mika$. The basic $\bar{a}gamas$ are mainly manuals of religious practice. Their main purpose is to describe the activities of devotees, i. e. their private rituals or temple rituals. The doctrine contained in $vidy\bar{a}p\bar{a}das$ is the formulation of the basic principles, the theory of creation, the six adhyans etc. which have an application in rituals. It is presented at length only in a few $\bar{a}gamas$ or $up\bar{a}gams$. Because of their practical destination $\bar{a}gamas$ do not contain much of philosophical matter. And the activities in the temple can be conducted without adoption of particular ontological views.

The important development of philosophical speculation in Saivasiddhānta is found in a later stage of the literature. It appears to be the contribution of saivācāryas residing in mathas. Philosophical matter is presented mostly in commentaries on āgamas and in short treatises or prakaraņas generally written in a very refined and polished literary form. The best part of it seems to have been written in Kasmīr in 10th and 11th century. The prominent figure in Kashmirian Saivasiddhānta is Bhaṭṭa Rāmakanṭha, a great sāstrin and polemist. He has defended with great dialectical power his dualistic and realistic doctrine against the idealistic views of Buddhists. The contribution of Tamilnadu to the same movement is equally important and it occurred through the person of Aghorasivācārya.

We cannot speak of Saivasidhānta as a unitary doctrine. There are basic principles common to all authors. But there are also many differing fundamental ontological views, so that every author has to be examined with care. Aghorasiva has written several commentaries on prakaraṇas of Sadyojyoti and Rāmakaṇtha, and an important sub-commentary on Mrgendrāgama's vidyāpāda, to mention only those works of his which are available to us. His style is very clear and his thought very well systematized. Sometimes he is really forcing the interpretation of an original text he claims to explain. These passages are particularly interesting for the historian, because in such cases the originality of the commentator appears more clearly. To show the originality of Aghorasiva we have to compare his conceptions with those of his predecessors. I may give as an example his conception of tativas or fundamental entities of creation.

In āgamas there is no established number of tattvas !t varies from āgama to āgama Rauravāgama's vidyāpāda gives several times a list of 30 tattvas. It enumerates 28 material tattvas, the well-known 24 of Sāmkhya school and, above that. rāga, vidyā, kalā and the basic māyā. Two more tattvas are spiritual entities, Siva and Purusa Rauravāgama knows also several spiritual entities such as Mantreśvaras, Mantras, Rudras headed by Vīrabhadra, etc. He introduces them as emanating from Siva, Siva being their material cause (upādāna-kārana). Thus in Rauravāgama the difference between matter and Siva is clearly marked. But nothing is told nor can be directly inferned about the relation of Purusa and Siva

Sadyojyoti an early ācārya (before Somānanda of 9th cent.), has written a Tattvasamgraha which is an exposition of the contents of Rauravāgama on the subject of tattvas. He gives the same number and list. He presents a more definite ontological position. He upholds a view according to which there is complete difference between matter and Siva. Siva is made of cit which is kriyā and jñana. Cit is that by which a being is animate and has knowledge. Matter or māyā is acit and it is an eternal entity, having the same deree of reality as cit entities. Sadyojyoti is the first ācārya to assert with clarity this realism and dualism

Chronologically we find next the $Tattvaprak\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ of King Bhoja on the same subject. This text gives a list of 36 tattvas, adding $k\bar{a}la$ and niyati in the material sphere and a few spiritual entities, Sakti, $Sad\bar{a}siva$, Isvara and $Suddhavidy\bar{a}$ at the top of the scale. Bhoja accepts the dualism of cit and acit, but he admits in the scale of tattvas spiritual entities above the material ones.

Aghorasiva has commented on these two *Prakaraṇas*. In spite of the difference between the two, in spite of their unequal number of tattvas, he interprets them as presenting the same conception. In addition to this he makes an important modification in the doctrine. He conceives the scale of tattvas as comprising only acit or material entities. His dualism is extreme. The cit principle Siva is only an efficient cause (kartr). It cannot be a material cause (upādānakāraṇa) and cannot have any contact with matter. Therefore it cannot have any place in the scale of

creation. In a realistic view where the matter principle is an eternal entity, creation is not the making of new entities, it is only a process of transformation. Now Aghora has to comment a text which places pure spiritual entities in the scale of tattvas of creation. He interprets that the name Siva denotes bindu or mahāmāyā, a duplicate of māyā in the pure sphere at the top of the scale, that the name Sakti denotes nāda, the primordial sound conceived as matter and first evolute of mahāmāyā, etc.

Bhoja defines Sivatattva as:

"vyāpakam ekam nityam akhilasya tattvajātasya /

jñānakriyāsvabhāvam śivatattvam jagadur ācaryāḥ //

"Teachers have told that *Sivatattva* is all-pervasive, unique, eternal, cause of all the class of *tattvas* and having the nature of knowledge and action."

Aghorasiva reads the words of this definition as referring to the pure material entity bindu. The words vyāpaka, etc. can be applied to this material entity. But "jñānakriyāsvabhāvam" in its obvious sense of bahuvrīhi compound "whose nature is knowledge and action" cannot be applied to matter. Therefore Aghorasiva takes it as an upapadasamāsa of a krdonta,—bhāva with two upapadas, one signifying the object (karman) jñānakriyā, the other signifying the location (adhikarana) sva-: "jñānakriye svasmin sthite ātmanām bhāvayatīti (it makes the knowledge and action of souls to be placed in itself)". It means that matter allows the powers of knowledge and action of souls to stand in itself. The separation of cit and acit is thus preserved.

Aghorasiva is a sāstrin. He uses etymology for the purpose of asserting his dualistic conception. He uses logic to establish on rational grounds all his concepts. He has not devoted much of his talent to polemics with rival schools. His main contribution is the sytematizing and establishment of an extreme form of dualism with the instrument of Sanskrit śāstras. The main trend of ancient Saivasiddhānta is dualistic. But I have not seen in any other author such an extreme and systematic form exposition. This conception of tattvas as pure material entities, even at the top of the scale, does not appear in other authors. Saivasiddhānta is an original and independent system with

dualistic and realistic inclinations directly opposed to the general monistic and idealistic trends of other systems. And in Saivasiddhānta Aghorasiva stands as an extremist drawing the dualistic and realistic tendency to its farthest consequences.

To conclude a word has to be told on the influence of Aghorasiva. His influence has been maintained upto our days in the field of rituals, by his Pāddhati which is still remembered and used by priests in temples of Tamilnadu. Many manuscripts of his Kriyākramadyotikā, complete or in the form of extracts, are found only in South India, especially in Tamilnadu, unlike manuscripts of Somasambhupaddhati, which has been current in Tamilnādu but also elsewhere in India, as manuscripts of it are found in Kaśmīr and Nepal. In the field of the doctrine Aghorasiva does not seem to have been followed. The prominent trend after him is also a kind of dualism, but blended with monism. The main movement is that which has its origins in the Sanskrit āgamic literature, but which has taken Tamil as a medium of exposition, from the time of Meykandadevar in 13th century. It has different ontological foundations.

Tamil Saivasiddhānta literature is a great contribution of Tamilnadu. Earlier in Cola times Tamilnadu had already contributed a lot to the history of Saivasiddhānta and produced the most extreme and pure form of the doctrine in the philosophical works of Aghorasivācārya.

Appendix.

We give below the text of the Aghorasivācāryacaritam from a transcript preserved in the French Institute of Pondicherry, of the unique known manuscript belonging to Tiruvadudurai Math.

Cidambarasāre brahmānandaśamkarayatīśvarasamvāde śrīmadaghoraśivācāryacaritam

yatra pratisthitam lingam patanjalimahātmanā tatra gatvā mahādevam śisyaih sākam yatīīśvarah // 1 // phalapuṣpākṣatair gandhaih samabhyarcya yathāvidhi dvārād bahih samāgacchan brahmānandayatīśvarah // 2 // "śivā!ayasya purato vahnikoņe virājitam drśyamānam idam sthānam viṣņor vā śamkarasya vā // 3 //

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iti teşām vacah śrutvā tatkathām gurur abravīt
trisahasramunindrāś ca cidambarapure vare // 4//
śrautasmārtādikarmāni prakurvanto yathāvidhi
nateśārādhanam krtvā vedenoditavartmanā // 5 //
tatrāgatebhyah sarvebhyo dvijātibhyo yathākramam
tebhyo 'nnam samprayacchanti nivasanti dvijottamāh // 6 //
samtatam sarvavarnebhyo dadaty annam cidambaram
evam vadanti lokeşu [manu] gandharvanirjarāh // 7 //
durvāsās tadvacah śrutvā śisyena sahito munih
annadānaparīksārtham sarvalokesu visrutam // 8 //
susuptesu ca sarvesu tilvaranyam samāyayau
śesapūjitalingasya nikate munipumgavah // 9 //
bhavati bhiksam dehīti trivaram samudīrayat
bhikṣām dātum kāpi nārî nāyayau nidrayā tayā // 10 //
munis tadānim durvāsāh kopasamtaptamānasah
"tilvaranye "rkabhūyisthasamam tat paridršyate // [1] //
iti pūrvam samuccārya cottaram gaditum tatah
na vidyate śivas tilva iti vaktum samudyatah // 12 //
tadā nrttaganādhyaksah svamātaram acintayat
bhiksām ādāya tām gaurī iti matvā mudānvitah // 13//
pradaksinanamaskāraih stotraih sampūjya sādaram
mūrdhāñjaliputas tisthan sivakāmīm hrdā smaran // 14 //
gaury uvāca
"he vatsa śrnu bhadram te lokanugrahakarinam
aghorasivanāmānam naisthikabrahmacāriņam // 15//
śivāgamārthatattvajñam tvacchisyam śuddhamāna [sa] m
śūdrānam śivabhaktānām dīksām kartum yathvāidhi // 16 //
asmin sthale sthāpaya [tvam] bhaktānām hitakāmyayā"
ity uktvāntardadhe gaurī cidambarasabhāntare // 17 //
sasisvo munisārudūlas tām disam sampraņamya ca
samkalpya vāsasadanam sarvālamkāraśobhitam // 18 //
grham praviśya vidhivad vāstuśāntipurashsaram
śrimukhābde śuklapakse pusyarkse pañcamitithau // 19/
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vaisākhe guruvāre ca subhalagnasamanvite
gauryāś cājñām hṛdi dhyātvā durvāso munipumgavah // 20 //
sambhrtya sambharan anayitva rsin tatah
pattābhisekam akarod aghorasivanāmakam // 21 //
tatah sisyam samaniya citsathayam munisyarah
puspānjalim kārayitvā trisahasramunisvaraih // 22 //
națesasya națesasyai ca phaladini nivedya ca
cidambaram darsayitvā nīrājanapurahsaram // 23 //
śivārpitasankhatoyair elagandhadhivasitaih
proksayitvā sisyamūrdhni devasya tveti mantratah // 24 //
aghorasivācārya iti nāmadheyam cakāra sah
trisahasramunindrebhyah syarnapuspam samarpya ca // 25 //
pradakşinanamaskāraih prīnayitvā sabhāpatim
tatah svamāśramam prāpya sasisyo munipumgavah // 26 //
tatra lingam pratisthāpya samabhyarcya yathāvidhi
"aghoraśiva he vatsa lingam enam supūjaya // 27 //
śivadvijanam sarveśam śūdranam ca yathavidhi
dīkṣāṇām samayādīnām tattadvarņānusārata h // 28 //
l
ingānām sivaberāņām saktīnām ca tathaiva ca
āgamāni samālokya paddhatih kuru suvrata" // 29 //
ity uktvā sthāpayāmāsa naisthikabrahmacāriņam
tatah kailasam agamat pañcaksaraparayanah // 30 //
tathaiva paddhatim krtvā diksākarma karoti ca
caritram śivabhaktasya bhaktanam avadad guruh // 31 //
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