

- 1 Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, 'La Secte Des Pāṣupata dans L'ancien Cambodge', *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 243, No. 2, 1955, p.479. 'The existence of the Indian Pāṣupata sect has long been recognized in ancient Cambodia. But our data, which we owe exclusively to epigraphy, is still scattered. The aim of this study is to gather all the dispersed information and study the problems this presents.'
- 2 *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (PABh) verse 1.6. *Pāṣupatasūtras with Pañcārtha-bhāṣya* of Kaunḍīya, ed. Ananthakrishna Sastri. Trivandrum: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143, 1940 p. 12.
- 3 Inscription no. C 96, Anne-Valerie Schweyer, Chronologie des inscriptions Publiées du Campa, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, 86 (1999), p. 326 and Thomas Maxwell, (2001:442) The Analysis of Cham and Khmer Sanskrit Temple Inscriptions. In *Proceedings of Papers, International Sanskrit Conference on Sanskrit in Southeast Asia: The Harmonizing Factor of Cultures*. Bangkok: Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University, 2001, p. 442.
- 4 C. 230 bas-reliefs blocks from Mý SónE1. See Arlo Griffiths *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Campā at the museum of Cham Sculpture in Đà Nẵng*, Vietnam: VNUHCM, 2012 pp. 277-9.
- 5 *Pāṣupatasūtra* is the oldest surviving text. Minoru Hara's in depth study on this religious school clearly demonstrates the wide spread of the Pāṣupatas all over India during the medieval period. Minoru Hara, *Materials for the study of Pāṣupata philosophy*. Ph. D. diss. Harvard University, 1966.
- 6 Dominic Goodall, 'On K. 1049, a tenth-century cave inscription from Battambang and on the sectarian obedience of the Śaiva ascetics of non-royal cave inscriptions of Cambodia', *UDAYA: Journal of Khmer Studies*, 13 2015: p. 12. *Pāṣupatasūtra* 5.9-40 mentions the last 3 stages. See Hara, 1966: 394-450.
- 7 Hara, 1966: 6.
- 8 *PABh* is been variously dated from 4th through early 6th century. See R. A. Sastri, 1940:12-15, Cf. Hara, 1966:129-30.
- 9 *GK* and *RT* can be dated to the 8th and 10th centuries respectively. See Hara, 1966: 136-37. The later text is of *ācārya* Bhāsarvajña on *Gaṇakārikā* the eight-verse by Haradaṭṭa (with four appendices including the *Kāravana-Māhātmya*). Edited by C. D. Dalal, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 15. Baroda: Oriental Institute Baroda, 1920, reprint, 1966. Prior to publication of all these texts (*PS*, *PABh*, *GK* and *RT*), the only available source for the study of Pāṣupata Saivism was Madhava's 14th century account entitled *nakulīśa-Pāṣupata-darśanam* in the sixth chapter of his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (SDS).
- 10 A single 9th century Nepalese manuscript transmits what appears to be the oldest surviving Śaiva tantra, called the *Niśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*. The manuscript consists of 5 separate books: *Niśvāsamūkha*, *Mūlasūtra*, *Nāyasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra* and *Guhyasūtra*. Goodall and Isaacson have dated the text to 45-550 CE. Workshop on the *Niśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*, in the Newsletter of *Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project* (NGMCP), Vol. 3, pp. 4-6
- 11 Hans Bakker, *The World of Skandapurāṇa Northern India in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 7.; SP, IIA p. 52. Peter Bisschop, *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: Sects and Centres*, Gröningen Oriental Series 21, Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 2006 p. 14, n. 31.
- 12 *PABh*; 1.7, pp. 12. Āyatana-vāsī.
- 13 *PABh*; 1.8, pp. 13.
- 14 Dalal, *RT*, pp. 17-19.
- 15 Hara, (1966): 182.
- 16 *Natyāśāstra* 17.77 says 'protagonists are to address Buddhists and Jains as 'Bhadanta'. As for the members of the other sects, they are to be addressed using the terms that belong to their convention/religious tradition'. See *Natyāśāstra of Bharatamuni with the commentary Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavaguptācārya*. Chapters 8-18. Vol. II Edited with an introduction and Index by Late M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. A., Revised and critically edited by V. M. Kulkarni and Tapasvi Nandi. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 68, Vadodara: Oriental Institute, 2001 p. 381.
- 17 Nirajan Kafle, *The Niśvāsmukha, the introductory book of the Niśvāsattattvasaṃhitā*: critical edition, with an introduction and annotated translation appended by Śivadharmaśaṅgraha, PhD. diss. Leiden University, 2015 pp. 204, 205, 219, 220.
- 18 Regarding the importance of *liṅga* for Pāṣupatas, see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism, and Minor religious Systems*, reprint; Varanasi, 1965, pp. 119-24; H. Chakraborti, *Pāṣupata Sūtram* (Calcutta, 1970) Appendix I, 'On Liṅga Worship and the Pāṣupatas', pp. 194-203.
- 19 David Lorenzen, *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two lost Śaivite sects*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasiadaas, 1972 revised 1991 p. 220, Kafle, 2015 pp. 273, 281.
- 20 *Mattavilāsa* seems to address a *Kāpālika* as *Mahāpāṣupata*. See Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat eds *Mattavilāsaprahasana (The farce of Drunken Sport) by king Mahendravikramavarma*, Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1981.
- 21 Bhavabhūti. *Mālatī Mādhava*. With Jagaddhara's commentary. ed. and Trans. C. R. Devadhar and N. G. Suro Poona, 1935. Act I vs. 15; Act V, vss. 3-4; 25.
- 22 *Kuṭṭanimatam* by Damodaragupta 9th century translation by A. H. Shastri *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanimata of Damodar Gupta*, 1st edition 1975, reprint 1995) Cf. Csaba Deszö and Dominic Goodall, *Dāmodaraguptaviracitam Kuṭṭanimatam: The Bawd's counsel: Being an Eighth-century Verse Novel in Sanskrit*. Newly edited and translated into English. Gröningen Oriental Series XXIII. (Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 2012)
- 23 Kṣemīśvara's *Caṇḍakaśūka*. ed. and trans. Shibani Das Gupta. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1962. Act IV, vs. 26; 34.
- 24 Kṛṣṇamīśra. *Prabodhacandraloka*. With Candrikāvyaḥyā & Prakāśatikā commentaries. Ed. V. L. Panshikar. 6th ed. Bombay: Nirya Sagar Press, 1965. In the play, a Kāpālika ascetic and a Kāpālīni are brought on the stage and Kāpālika practice is described and illustrated with great vividness. Act III, vs. 13, vs. 22.
- 25 According to *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 5.1, 'babhru' denotes Śiva; see Bisschop/Griffiths, 'The Pāṣupata Observance (*Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 40)', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 46, 2003, p. 336. The name Babhrukulpa, 'equal to Śiva', seems suitably chosen for an adherent of a tradition whose highest goal is rudrasāyujya, 'union with Rudra/Śiva'. (cf. Hara 1966:14).
- 26 D. N. Lorenzen, 'A Parody of Kāpālikas in the *Mattavilāsa*' in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. Gordon White, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 94.
- 27 *Mattavilāsaprahasana* ('The Farce of Drunken Sport') edited and translated by Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, (Chennai: Christian Literature Society, 1981, verse 20.
- 28 *Kuṭṭanimatam* v. 539 and 753 in Sastri, 1995: 68, 123. See, ed. and trans. Csaba Deszö and Dominic Goodall.
- 29 8th century, Lodhiā copper plates of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna mention the land grant by a king under Pāṣupata *ācārya*, Pramāthācārya for the repair of the temple, which specified endowment for the provision of ancestors and deity along with dance and music – OHRJ, Vol. 1, pp. 63-64; *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, 1950, Vol. 1-XXVI page 319-325. (Cf. Rajguru S. N. Inscription of Orissa (IO) 4, Bhubaneswar: Orissa State Museum, 1966: 70, 86-87); For 9th century Sirpur grants- see A. M. Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas, Paṇḍuvamśins and Somavamśins*. 1995, Part II: 376-379 (2 Vols. Part I: Introduction, Part II: Inscriptions) In an article in *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 18 (1992:15-23) he discusses the content of these charters in more detail; The 1058 CE Nāgeśvara temple inscription no. 93 at Sudi, Karnataka built by Nāgadeva mentions the 'ones acting for the god's enjoyment and dancers graced the four pillars'. Further on, the inscription also mentions the beneficiary assigned to the performance rituals in the temple, which include Pāṣupata *ācārya* Somesśvara I, a flute player and dancing