Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions

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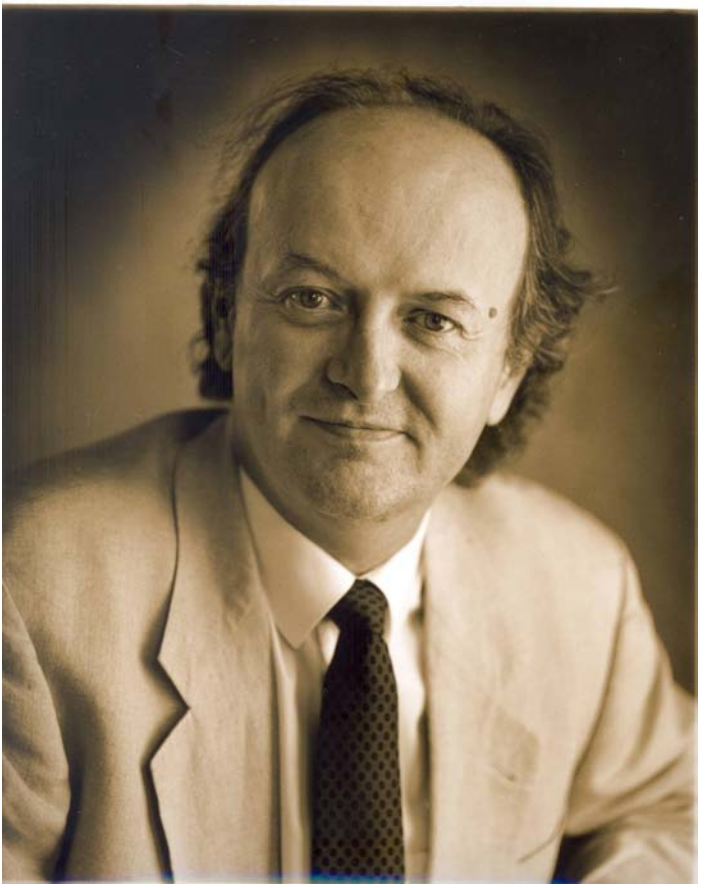

Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson

Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions

Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson

Edited by

Dominic Goodall
Shaman Hatley
Harunaga Isaacson
Srilata Raman

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Contents

Preface xi
List of Figures and Tables xii
Notes on Contributors xiv
A Note on Alexis Sanderson and Indology xxv
Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson
Bibliography of the Published Works of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson (1983–2019) xxxi

Introduction 1
Dominic Goodall, Shaman Hatley, Harunaga Isaacson and Srilata Raman

PART 1
Early Śaivism

1 From Mantramārga Back to Atimārga: Atimārga as a Self-referential Term 15
Peter C. Bisschop

2 Why Are the Skull-Bearers (Kāpālikas) Called Soma? 33
Judit Törzsök

3 Dressing for Power: On *vrata*, *caryā*, and *vidyāvrata* in the Early Mantramārga, and on the Structure of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* 47
Dominic Goodall

PART 2
Exegetical and Philosophical Traditions

4 Further Thoughts on Rāmakaṇṭha's Relationship to Earlier Positions in the Buddhist-Brāhmaṇical Ātman Debate 87
Alex Watson

5 Some Hitherto Unknown Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* (II): Against the Existence of External Objects 106
Isabelle Ratié

6 Alchemical Metaphors for Spiritual Transformation in Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* 144
Christopher D. Wallis

7 On Vāgīśvarakīrti's Influence in Kashmir and among the Khmer 170
Péter-Dániel Szántó

8 Reflections on the King of Ascetics (*Yatirāja*): Rāmānuja in the Devotional Poetry of Vedānta Deśika 194
Srilata Raman

PART 3
Religion, the State, and Social History

9 Not to Worry, Vasiṣṭha Will Sort It Out: The Role of the *Purohita* in the *Raghuvaṃśa* 217
Csaba Dezső

10 Buddhism, Kingship and the Protection of the State: The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* and *Dhāraṇī* Literature 234
Gergely Hidas

11 Adapting Śaiva Tantric Initiation for Exoteric Circles: *Lokadharmiṇī Dīkṣā* and Its History in Early Medieval Sources 249
Nina Mirnig

12 Innovation and Social Change in the Vale of Kashmir, circa 900–1250 C.E. 283
John Nemec

13 Toward a History of the Navarātra, the Autumnal Festival of the Goddess 321
Bihani Sarkar

PART 4
Mantra, Ritual, and Yoga

14 Śārikā's Mantra 349
Jürgen Hanneder

15 The *Kāmasiddhistuti* of King Vatsarāja 364
Diwakar Acharya

16 The Lotus Garland (*padmamālā*) and Cord of Power (*śaktitantu*): The *Brahmayāmala*'s Integration of Inner and Outer Ritual 387
Shaman Hatley

17 The *Amṛtasiddhi*: *Haṭhayoga*'s Tantric Buddhist Source Text 409
James Mallinson

18 A Sexual Ritual with Māyā in *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 40 426
Csaba Kiss

19 *Haṭhayoga*'s Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism 451
Jason Birch

PART 5
Art and Architecture

20 The Early Śaiva Maṭha: Form and Function 483
Libbie Mills

21 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta and Its Parallels in the Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras 507
Ryugen Tanemura

22 Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-Armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three *Nāmasaṃgīti*-Related Texts 539
Anthony Tribe

23 Life and Afterlife of *Sādṛśya*: Revisiting the *Citrasūtra* through the Nationalism-Naturalism Debate in Indian Art History 569
Parul Dave-Mukherji

Index 589

Preface

This volume results from a symposium held at the University of Toronto in honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson. The symposium was convened in March 2015 in anticipation of his retirement as the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at All Souls College, Oxford University. The event was conceived by Srilata Raman, who worked tirelessly and resourcefully to make it a success. In this she was aided by Shaman Hatley, co-convener of the symposium, and a number of graduate students, especially Kalpesh Bhatt, Tamara Cohen, Larissa Fardelos, Nika Kuchuk, and Eric Steinschneider, to whom we offer our sincere thanks. It was immensely satisfying to have so many of Professor Sanderson's former doctoral students assemble from across the world for the occasion, students whose graduate studies at Oxford spanned more than three decades of Alexis Sanderson's teaching career. The volume is based mainly on papers presented in the symposium, with additional contributions by several of his former pupils who had not been able to present their work at that time (Parul Dave-Mukherji, Csaba Dezső, Csaba Kiss, Ryugen Tanemura, and Anthony Tribe), as well as by Diwakar Acharya, his successor to the Spalding Professorship. We would also like to extend our thanks and recognition to those who enriched the symposium with excellent papers, but who for various reasons could not include these in the present volume: Hans Bakker, Gudrun Bühnemann, Shingo Einoo, Alexander von Rospatt, and Somadeva Vasudeva.

We would like to acknowledge the sponsors who made the symposium possible: All Souls College, Oxford University; the Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Toronto; the Department of Religion of the University of Toronto, and its Chair, John Kloppenborg; Brill Publishers; and Srilata Raman, who contributed quietly and generously from her own research funds. We would also like to thank University College of the University of Toronto, and John Marshall, its Vice Principal, for making available the lovely Croft Chapter House, in which the symposium was held.

The contributors to the volume and the publisher have endured a long wait for this volume to come to fruition, and we would like to thank them for their patience and cheerful support. Special thanks are due also to Anusha Sudindra Rao, who proofread the volume carefully on short notice, and to Liwen Liu, who prepared the index.

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

4.1 Self as essence 88
4.2 Self as substance 88
4.3 Self as agent 89
4.4 Rāmakaṇṭha's view in the middle ground 91
4.5 Rāmakaṇṭha's view as equivalent to Nyāya 94
4.6 Rāmakaṇṭha's view as more extreme than Nyāya 96
4.7 Nyāya as equivalent to Rāmakaṇṭha's view 99
5.1 Manuscript S3 of Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (f. 43A), with fragments 4 and 5 of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* on vv. 1.5.8–9 in the top and right margins (photograph: National Archives of India). 108
14.1 Śārikā stone. Photograph by Walter Slaje. 350
16.1 Garland of the Devīs and Dūtīs (*padmamālā* 1) 396
16.2 Garlands of the Mātṛs and Yoginīs (*padmamālā*s II–III) 397
16.3 The pure body of power (*avadhūtatanu*) 398
20.1 The 9×9 plan, *Bṛhatkālottara*, chapter 112 (the *vāstuyāgapaṭala*) 486
20.2 Deity, *nakṣatra*, and consequence of door position. *Bṛhatkālottara, prāsādalakṣaṇapaṭala* 238c–243b. 487
20.3 The *nandyāvarta*/*nandikāvarta* set of nine chambers 490
22.1 Eight-armed Mañjuśrī, uppermost level, Sumtsek, Alchi. Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar (JP93 26.4.05 WHAV) 540
22.2 Maṇḍala of eight-armed Mañjuśrī, uppermost level, Sumtsek, Alchi. Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar (JP83 26.4.01 WHAV) 541
22.3 Eight-armed Mañjuśrī, two-armed Maitreya Chapel, Mangyu. Photograph by Christiane Papa-Kalantari (CP02 44,39 WHAV) 542
22.4 Standing eight-armed Mañjuśrī, Village Stūpa, Mangyu. Photograph by Christiane Papa-Kalantari (CP02 41,14 WHAV) 543
22.5 Maṇḍala of eight-armed Mañjuśrī, Serkhang, Lalung. Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar (JP92 500,15 WHAV) 544

Tables

6.1 Two types of Turyātīta in the ĪPVV 164
13.1 Developmental phases of the Navarātra 326
14.1 The *bīja*s as defined in the *Śārikāstotra* 360
16.1 Deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā 393
19.1 A comparison of the number of verses in early and late texts on Haṭhayoga 457
19.2 The Proliferation of post-fifteenth Haṭhayogic techniques 460

Notes on Contributors

Diwakar Acharya
is the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, a fellow of All Souls College. Before succeeding Professor Sanderson at Oxford, he was a visiting lecturer and then associate professor of Indological Studies at Kyoto University (2006–2016), before which he held positions at Hamburg University and Nepal Sanskrit University. His research covers a wide range of topics in Indian religious and philosophical traditions, Upaniṣadic studies, epigraphy, the early history of Nepal, ritual, and Sanskrit literature. Recent publications include *Early Tantric Vaiṣṇavism. Three Newly Discovered works of the Pañcarātra: The Svāyambhuvapañcarātra, Devāmṛtapañcarātra and Aṣṭādaśavidhāna* (Pondicherry, 2015), and a number of articles, such as "'This world, in the beginning, was phenomenally non-existent': Āruṇi's Discourse on Cosmogony in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*" (*Journal of Indian Philosophy* 44.5, 2016). Acharya now also serves as editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*.

Jason Birch
(SOAS University of London) completed a first class honours degree in Sanskrit and Hindi at the University of Sydney under Dr Peter Oldmeadow, and was then awarded a Clarendon scholarship to undertake a DPhil in Oriental Studies at Balliol College, University of Oxford, under the supervision of Professor Sanderson. His dissertation (submitted 2013) focused on the earliest known Rājayoga text called the *Amanaska* and included a critical edition and annotated translation of this Sanskrit work, along with a monographic introduction which examines the influence of earlier Śaiva tantric traditions on the *Amanaska*, as well as the significance of the *Amanaska* in more recent yoga traditions. Birch is currently a post-doctoral research fellow at SOAS University of London on the Haṭha Yoga Project, which has been funded for five years by the ERC. His area of research is the history of physical yoga on the eve of colonialism. He is editing and translating six texts on Haṭha and Rājayoga, and supervising the work of two research assistants at the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondicherry. Birch has taught courses at SOAS and Loyola Marymount University, and given seminars on the history of yoga at the Università Ca' Foscari in Venice, Italy and Won Kwang University in Iksan, South Korea. He also collaborates with Jacqueline Hargreaves on *TheLuminescent*.

Peter Bisschop
is Professor of Sanskrit and Ancient Cultures of South Asia at Leiden University. In 2004, after finishing his PhD at the University of Groningen under Hans Bakker, co-supervised by Harunaga Isaacson, he was offered the opportunity of spending a year in Oxford as a Junior Research Fellow at Wolfson College. During his spell at Oxford, he met on a weekly basis with Alexis Sanderson in All Souls College to discuss his ongoing work on the Pāśupata tradition. In particular he was able to read with him a draft of his critical edition of chapter 1 of Kauṇḍinya's *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, including a previously lost passage of Kauṇḍinya's commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.37–39 on the basis of a newly identified manuscript from Benares. An edition and translation of this passage was published the year after in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 33. In 2005 he was appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit Studies at the University of Edinburgh, where he remained until his move to Leiden in 2010 to take up the chair of Sanskrit. He has published extensively on different aspects of early Śaivism, in particular the Pāśupatas and associated lay traditions, from his monograph *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: Sects and Centres* (2004) to his contributions to the ongoing critical edition of the *Skandapurāṇa*, as well as a new book entitled *Universal Śaivism: The Appeasement of All Gods and Powers in the Śāntyadhyāya of the Śivadharmaśāstra* (Brill, 2018). He is also the editor-in-chief, with Jonathan Silk, of the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, and general editor of the Gonda Indological Studies.

Parul Dave-Mukherji
is professor of Visual Studies and Art History at the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. She holds a DPhil from Oxford University, where she worked with Alexis Sanderson on a critical edition of the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* from 1988–1991. Introduced to the rigour and intricacy of critically editing a text based on manuscripts, her work vindicated Sanderson's view that the earlier work by Priyabala Shah was far from being a critical edition. In 2001, her critical edition, *The Citrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, was published by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi. The *śilpaśāstras* and pre-modern Indian aesthetics remain important areas of research, along with modern/contemporary Indian/Asian Art. Dave-Mukherji has held fellowships at the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, USA; South Asia Institute, Heidelberg, Germany; British Academy fellowship, Goldsmiths' College, London; and Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence. Her recent publications include "Whither Art History in a Globalizing World" (*The Art Bulletin* 96.2, 2014); *Arts and Aesthetics in a Globalizing World*, co-edited with Ramindar Kaur (Bloomsbury, 2014); and

"Who is Afraid of Mimesis? Contesting the Common Sense of Indian Aesthetics through the Theory of 'Mimesis' or *Anukaraṇa Vāda*" (in *Indian Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art*, ed. Arindam Chakrabarti; Bloomsbury, 2016). Currently, she is co-editing, with Partha Mitter and Rakhee Balaram, a comprehensive history of modern and contemporary Indian art in a volume entitled *20th Century Indian Art*.

Csaba Dezső

studied Classical Philology, History and Indology at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. After finishing his masters degrees (Latin Language and Literature and Indology), he went to Oxford in 1998 to study for a PhD under the supervision of Professor Alexis Sanderson. He submitted his doctoral thesis in 2004, a critical edition and annotated translation of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's *Āgamaḍambara*, a satirical play about religious sects and their relations with the court in Kashmir around 900 CE. He then returned to Budapest and has been teaching Sanskrit since then at the Department of Indo-European Linguistics, Eötvös Loránd University. He has published, among others, first editions of fragments of Sanskrit plays based on *codices unici*, as well as a new critical edition and English verse translation of Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata*, "The Bawd's Counsel," in collaboration with Dominic Goodall. Recently he has been working on the critical edition of Vallabhadeva's commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* together with Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson and Csaba Kiss.

Dominic Goodall

began studies in Classics and German at Pembroke College, Oxford, before finishing a BA in Sanskrit with Pali. After two years spent in Hamburg to learn medieval Tamil with S.A. Srinivasan, he returned to Oxford, to Wolfson College, where, under Alexis Sanderson's guidance, he produced a critical edition of the opening chapters of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's tenth-century commentary on the *Kiraṇatantra*, which he submitted as a doctoral thesis in 1995 and published from Pondicherry in 1998. He was attached to the French Institute of Pondicherry as a junior researcher in 1996–1997 before returning to Oxford as Wolfson Junior Research Fellow of Indology from 1998 to 2000. In 2000, he became a member of the École française d'Extrême-Orient and was appointed Head of its Pondicherry Centre in 2002. For his habilitation, he submitted to Hamburg a first edition of the *Parākhyatantra*, which was later published from Pondicherry in 2004. Posted in Paris from 2011 to 2015, he gave lectures at the École pratique des hautes études (Religious Sciences Section), at the invitation of Gerdi Gerschheimer, on Cambodian inscriptions in Sanskrit and on Śaivism. Now back in Pondicherry, he continues to pursue his interests in

Sanskrit poetry (both Indian and Cambodian) and in the history of the Śaiva-siddhānta. With Marion Rastelli, he co-edits the Viennese dictionary of tantric terminology, the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*. In May 2016, he was elected membre correspondent étranger de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

Jürgen Hanneder
studied Indology, Tibetology and Comparative Religion in Munich, Bochum, and Bonn, where he took his MA. His interest in the Śaiva traditions of Kashmir led him to Oxford, where he studied under the supervision of Alexis Sanderson. After completing his PhD in Indology in Marburg, and working as a research assistant in Bonn, he joined the Mokṣopaya Research Group initiated by Walter Slaje in Halle. After some terms as substitute professor in Freiburg he followed his former teacher Michael Hahn to the chair of Indology in Marburg in 2007. The main areas of his research interests are within classical and modern Sanskrit literature, i.e. poetry, religious and philosophical literature, including Indo-Tibetan studies and occasional excursions into neighboring fields, as for instance the names of lotuses ("The Blue Lotus. Oriental Research between Philology, Botany and Poetics?," *ZDMG* 152.2 [2002]: 295–308), and a study of Indian crucible steel, which has played an important role for the modern steel industry (*Der "Schwertgleiche Raum". Zur Kulturgeschichte des indischen Stahls*; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005). Current larger projects include *August Wilhelm Schlegel als Indologe* and *The Minor Works of Sahib Kaul*.

Shaman Hatley
completed an interdisciplinary liberal arts degree at Goddard College (1998), and then studied Indology and Religious Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He completed his doctorate on the *Brahmayāmala* and Śaiva *yoginī* cults in 2007 under the direction of Harunaga Isaacson. In 2003 and 2006, he had the opportunity to read the *Brahmayāmala* with Professor Sanderson while a visiting student at Oxford, a formative scholarly experience that was crucial to his doctoral project. He taught at Concordia University, Montréal, from 2007 to 2015, and is now an associate professor of Asian Studies and Religious Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston. His research mainly concerns early Tantric Śaivism, goddess cults, and yoga, and he regularly contributes to the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*. Recent publications include *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata, Volume 1: Chapters 1–2, 39–40, & 83. Revelation, Ritual, and Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra* (Pondicherry, 2018).

Gergely Hidas
started a DPhil in Oriental Studies under the supervision of Alexis Sanderson at Balliol College, University of Oxford, in 2002, after earlier studies in Budapest. The revised version of his doctoral thesis, on a principal scripture of Buddhist *dhāraṇī* literature, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī, The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells*, was published in New Delhi in 2012. Between 2007 and 2012 he held research and teaching positions at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and thereafter contributed to the Cambridge Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, an Oxford medieval sources project, and the Vienna Viscom project, and was also was awarded a research grant by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 2013–2014 he was appointed as Khyentse Fellow at the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Eötvös Loránd University. Since 2014, he has had a postdoctoral affiliation with the British Museum in the ERC Synergy project "Asia Beyond Boundaries: Religion, Region, Language and the State," where, among other forthcoming publications, he is finalizing a book manuscript entitled *Vajratuṇḍasamayakalparāja, a Buddhist Ritual Manual on Agriculture*.

Harunaga Isaacson
was born in Kuma, Japan, in 1965; he studied philosophy and Indology at the University of Groningen, and was awarded a PhD in Sanskrit in 1995 by the University of Leiden for a thesis on the early Vaiśeṣika school of philosophy (1995). From 1995–2000 he was a Post-doctoral Research Fellow in Sanskrit at the Oriental Institute, Oxford University. After holding teaching positions at Hamburg University (2000–2002) and the University of Pennsylvania (2002–2006), he was appointed Professor of Classical Indology at Hamburg University in 2006. He has been a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, and is a member of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Hamburg. His main areas of study are: tantric traditions in pre-13th-century South Asia, especially Vajrayāna Buddhism; classical Sanskrit belles-lettres (*kāvya*); classical Indian philosophy; and Purāṇic literature.

Csaba Kiss
began his doctoral studies at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Professor Alexis Sanderson in 2003. After defending his thesis, a critical edition of selected chapters of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, he worked at ELTE University, Budapest, as a research assistant. From 2008 to 2010, he was member of the Early Tantra Project, conducting research on the *Brahmayāmala*, since published as *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata, Volume II. The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tāntric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45* (Pondicherry, 2015). He has since been taking part in a number of research

projects: writing entries for the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, contributing to the edition of Vallabhadeva's *Raghupañcikā* led by Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, and contributing to research on *jāti*s, as well as to digitization of Gupta-era inscriptions within the ERC Project "Beyond Boundaries."

James Mallinson

met Alexis Sanderson at an open day for prospective undergraduates at the Oriental Institute in Oxford in 1987. As a result of this meeting he changed his choice of course to Sanskrit. As an undergraduate he had Professor Sanderson as his essay tutor. Mallinson was not always the most diligent of students, so was delighted when Professor Sanderson agreed to supervise his doctoral studies at Oxford, which he started in 1995. His doctoral thesis was a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Khecarīvidyā*, an early text on *haṭhayoga*. After receiving his doctorate, Mallinson worked as a principal translator for the Clay Sanskrit Library for six years. In 2013 he became Lecturer in Sanskrit and Classical Indian Studies at SOAS, University of London. Since his doctorate he had continued to work on unpublished materials on yoga, often reading his working editions with Professor Sanderson, and in 2015 Mallinson was awarded an ERC Consolidator Grant for a five-year project on the history of *haṭhayoga*. Among the members of the project team is Jason Birch, another former doctoral student of Professor Sanderson, and the team have continued to work closely with him. Among Mallinson's publications is *Roots of Yoga* (Penguin Classics, 2017), an anthology of translations of texts on yoga, including several by Professor Sanderson and his former students, together with a detailed analysis of the history of yoga and its practices.

Libbie Mills

teaches Sanskrit and Pali at the University of Toronto. She completed her doctorate under Alexis Sanderson's supervision at Oxford University in 2011. Her principal research interest is in South Asian architectural theory and practice. Her work on the architectural instruction given in the early Śaiva installation manuals (*pratiṣṭhātantra*s) of North India features the first exposition of these texts' contents. By examining extant buildings in light of texts, her research introduces new tools for dating, which are valuable for these as well as other sources. Her textual study has since expanded to cover domestic and temple building practices up to the modern period, in both South Asia and its diaspora. She is currently engaged in two research projects: "The Nāgara Tradition of Temple Architecture: Continuity, Transformation, Renewal," funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and "Tamil Temple Towns: Conservation and Contestation," funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

Nina Mirnig
undertook her studies at the Oriental Institute at Oxford University. She first met Alexis Sanderson during the second year of her undergraduate course when joining an MPhil reading class in 2002. His inspiring teaching and the insights he offered into the fascinating world of Śaiva Tantrism prompted her to do her BA special paper in this field. She continued her post-graduate studies under his supervision on the topic of the socio-religious history and development of Śaiva tantric cremation rites (*antyeṣṭi*) and post-mortuary ancestor worship (*śrāddha*). Upon completing her DPhil in 2010, she continued to work on early Śaiva religious history in an NWO-funded project on the composition and spread of the *Skandapurāṇa* under the direction of Hans Bakker. After a Jan Gonda Fellowship at the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden and briefly joining an AHRC project on the manuscript collections at the University Library in Cambridge, under the direction of Vincenzo Vergiani, she moved to her current position at the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In addition to the early Śaiva tantric traditions, her research now concerns early Śaiva lay traditions, a critical edition of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 1–5 and 9, and the cultural history of early medieval Nepal, with special focus on the Sanskrit Licchavi inscriptions.

John Nemec
is Associate Professor of Indian Religions and South Asian Studies at the University of Virginia. He earned his PhD from the University of Pennsylvania (2005), an MPhil degree in Indian Religions from Oxford University, an MA in Religious Studies from the University of California at Santa Barbara, and a BA in Religion and Classics from the University of Rochester. At Oxford, he worked extensively with Alexis Sanderson in the course of completing his MPhil degree and thesis, most notably in the form of weekly private tutorials on Śaiva literature in Sanskrit, which Alexis generously offered every academic term for two full years. Nemec again profited from Alexis's boundless generosity as a visiting doctoral student, when he once more read Sanskrit with him at All Souls College in the Trinity Term of 2002. His publications include *The Ubiquitous Śiva: Somānanda's Śivadṛṣṭi and His Tantric Interlocutors* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Srilata Raman
is Associate Professor of Hinduism at the University of Toronto and works on medieval South Asian/South Indian religion, devotionalism (*bhakti*), historiography and hagiography, religious movements in early colonial India from the South, as well as modern Tamil literature. Her areas of interest are Tamil

and Sanskrit intellectual formations from late medieval to early colonial periods, including the emergence of nineteenth-century socio-religious reform and colonial sainthood. Her publications include *Self-Surrender* (*Prapatti*) *to God in Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Tamil Cats and Sanskrit Monkeys* (Routledge, 2007).

Isabelle Ratié

is Professor of Sanskrit Language and Literatures at the Sorbonne Nouvelle University (Paris). She defended her doctoral thesis in 2009 at the École pratique des hautes études after reading about two thirds of Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśīnī* in Oxford under Alexis Sanderson's guidance (2005–2006). She has published several monographs on Śaiva and Buddhist philosophies (*Le Soi et l'Autre. Identité, différence et altérité dans la philosophie de la Pratyabhijñā*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, Weller Prize 2012; *Une Critique bouddhique du Soi selon la Mīmāṃsā*, Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2014; and with Vincent Eltschinger, *Self, No-Self, and Salvation. Dharmakīrti's Critique of the Notions of Self and Person*, Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2013). She has also coedited with Eli Franco the collective volume *Around Abhinavagupta. Aspects of the Intellectual History of Kashmir from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2016). She is currently editing and translating recently discovered fragments of Utpaladeva's lost *Vivṛti* on the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* treatise, and she is working with Vincent Eltschinger, Michael Torsten Much and John Taber on a translation of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* 1 (the section on *apoha*).

Bihani Sarkar

completed her BA (First Class) in English from St. Hilda's College, Oxford, then undertook an MPhil in Classical Indian Religions and a DPhil in Sanskrit (Oriental Studies) from Wolfson College, Oxford, both under the supervision of Alexis Sanderson. Her doctoral thesis, now the book *Heroic Shaktism* (Oxford University Press, 2017), is a history of the rise and spread of the cult of Durgā between the 3rd and the 11th centuries CE and its influence on heroic ideology and the rising Indian kingdom. She was a Nachwuchsinitiative Postdoctoral Fellow in Hamburg University from 2012–2014, and a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at Oxford University from 2014–2017. She is presently a Teaching Fellow in South Asian Religions at Leeds University and Associate Member of Christ Church College, Oxford. She is working on her second book, on the subject of grief and lamentation in *kāvya*.

Péter-Dániel Szántó
began his studies at ELTE Budapest, where he received diplomas in Tibetology in 2004 and in Indology in 2006. He first met Alexis Sanderson at his department in 2002, where he held a week-long intensive reading of Abhinavagupta. These sessions were so inspirational that Szántó decided to apply to Oxford, where he was successful in joining in 2006 with the help of Csaba Dezső, thus becoming both the *śiṣya* and *praśiṣya* of Sanderson. His doctoral thesis, defended in 2012, was on the *Catuṣpīṭha*, an early Buddhist *Yoginītantra*. After being a Junior Research Fellow at Merton College, Oxford, and then having a ten-month stipend in Hamburg, Szántó returned to Oxford as a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at All Souls College, thus having the enormous pleasure and privilege of spending many splendid dinners with Sanderson. He is currently a postdoctoral fellow at Leiden University in the Open Philology project. Most of Szántó's publications deal with the literature of esoteric or tantric Buddhism in India, but he has also authored papers on poetics, epigraphy, and material culture. His latest publication, "Mahāsukhavajra's *Padmāvatī* Commentary on the Sixth Chapter of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*: The Sexual Practices of a Tantric Buddhist Yogī and His Consort" (*Journal of Indian Philosophy* 46), was co-authored with Samuel Grimes. Szántó is currently working on the *editio princeps* of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, a project featuring much input and inspiration from the man we celebrate in this volume.

Ryugen Tanemura
is an associate professor of Buddhist studies and classical Indology at Taisho University, Tokyo, Japan. After having been educated at the University of Tokyo, he went to Oxford in 1997, where he did his doctoral research on tantric Buddhism under the supervision of Professor Sanderson for five years. He took his DPhil in classical Indology at the University of Oxford (2003). After postdoctoral research at the University of Tokyo and some other institutions, he began his current position in 2014. His main research field is Indian tantric Buddhism, and he has authored many works in this area, including *Kuladatta's Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Selected Sections* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2004) and *Kriyāsaṃgraha of Kuladatta, Chapter 7* (Tokyo: Sankibo, 1997). His recent publications include critical editions of Śūnyasamādhivajra's *Mṛtasugatinīyojana*, a manual of the Indian Buddhist tantric funeral, and chapters 1 (part), 13 (part), 19, and 22 (*pratiṣṭhā* section) of the *Padminī*, a commentary on the *Saṃvarodayatantra* by Ratnarakṣita (chapters 1 and 13, in collaboration with Kazuo Kano and Kenichi Kuranishi).

Judit Törzsök
completed an MA in Indic Studies at ELTE University, Budapest, and then continued her studies at the University of Oxford in 1993, where she was funded by the George Soros Foundation to do research on Abhinavagupta under Professor Sanderson's supervision. In 1994, having received the Domus Senior Scholarship at Merton College, she started working on the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* for her DPhil, supervised by Sanderson. The years spent in Oxford under his guidance determined the course of her research, which has focused on the early history of *yoginī* cults ever since. After postdoctoral research fellowships at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and at the University of Groningen (supervised by Professor Hans Bakker), she was elected Associate Professor (*maître de conférences*) in 2001 at the University Charles-de-Gaulle Lille III in France, and professor (directeur d'études) at the École pratique des hautes études (EPHE) in 2018. She defended her Habilitation in 2011, at the École pratique des hautes études (Religious Studies Section), entitled *The Yoginī Cult and Aspects of Śaivism in Classical India*, supervised by Professor Lyne Bansat-Boudon. She regularly contributes to the dictionary of Hindu tantric terminology (*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna) and participates in the *Skandapurāṇa* Project (Leiden-Kyoto). In addition to papers on various aspects of Śaivism and the early *yoginī* cult, she has also published on epigraphy, Tamil Śaiva devotional poetry, and classical Sanskrit literature.

Anthony Tribe
is an independent scholar working in the field of Indian tantric Buddhism, and at present a senior fellow of the Center for Buddhist Studies at the University of Arizona, Tucson. He received his doctorate in Indian Buddhism from Oxford in 1995. Subsequently, he taught in the Asian Studies program at the University of Montana, Missoula, USA. In Oxford, his doctoral thesis on Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* was supervised by Professor Sanderson. He remembers with deep gratitude and much warmth the personal tutoring, encouragement and friendship he received from him during that time. Many afternoons and evenings were spent in Professor Sanderson's study at his home in Eynsham: learning how to read manuscripts and produce critical editions; exploring Vilāsavajra's tantric Buddhism; and being fed before catching a late bus back to Oxford. He remembers too the infectiousness of Professor Sanderson's enthusiasm and commitment, his humour, looking after his house and cat, the clatter of the keyboard on his early, tiny-screened but magical, Apple Macintosh computer, and the kindness of being given the use of it while he was on sabbatical for a term lecturing in Paris. Dr. Tribe is also a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, and his publications include *Tantric Buddhist Practice in*

India: Vilāsavajra's commentary on the Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti. A critical edition and annotated translation of Chapters 1–5 with introductions, and (as co-author) *Buddhist Thought: a complete introduction to the Indian tradition*, both published by Routledge. At present he lives in Tucson, Arizona, with two cats and too many books. He tries to keep cool in the summer.

Christopher D. Wallis

holds a BA (*magna cum laude*) in Religion and Classics from the University of Rochester, an MA in South Asian Studies from U.C. Berkeley, an MPhil in Classical Indian Religions from Oxford, and a PhD in South Asian Studies (Sanskrit) from U.C. Berkeley. His doctoral dissertation of 2014 focuses on the role of religious experience in the traditions of Tantric Śaivism, and is entitled "To Enter, to Be Entered, to Merge: The Role of Religious Experience in the Traditions of Tantric Shaivism." He has studied with Professor Sanderson formally and informally at Oxford, Leipzig, Kyoto, and Portland. He is currently a freelance scholar lecturing internationally and a guest lecturer at Naropa University in Boulder, Colorado.

Alex Watson

completed his BA in Philosophy and Psychology (Oxford), and MA in Hindi, Hinduism and Indian Philosophy (SOAS, University of London), before returning to Oxford to complete an MPhil in Classical Indian Religions. After this, he began his DPhil under Alexis Sanderson's supervision on the Śaiva thinker, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II, and his arguments against the Buddhist doctrine of no-self. Following a postdoctoral fellowship at Wolfson College, he taught Sanskrit at St James' School, London, and then held short-term visiting appointments at the University of Vienna and Kyushu University, Japan. He was associated with the EFEO, Pondicherry, for a number of years, and was Preceptor in Sanskrit at Harvard University before taking up his present position as Professor of Indian Philosophy at Ashoka University. He is author of *The Self's Awareness of Itself* (2006) and, with Dominic Goodall and Anjaneya Sarma, *An Enquiry Into the Nature of Liberation* (2013), as well as several articles in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* and *Philosophy East and West*.

A Note on Alexis Sanderson and Indology

Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson

On the occasion of the Symposium organised by Srilata Raman and Shaman Hatley in Toronto in March 2015, Harunaga Isaacson was given the gratifying but also daunting task of delivering a eulogy of Alexis Sanderson. This note is only very slightly based on what we, Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, remember of the speech given on the occasion, since it was in large part extemporised from skeletal notes, and since it contained jokes and science-fictional scenarios that worked well in the telling, but that proved hard to commit to writing without losing their intended flavour.

Born in 1948, G.J.S. Sanderson later chose to be known as Alexis because he liked the name and was known by it by friends in Greece. His early education, at the Royal Masonic School for Boys in Bushey, a no-frills charitable boarding school where bromide was said to be administered in the boys' tea, was followed by undergraduate years at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took degrees in Classics (1969) and Sanskrit (1971). He then spent a large part of a six-year period in Kashmir, studying with the scholar and Śaiva guru Swami Lakshman Joo, during which time he was simultaneously Domus Senior Scholar at Merton College (1971 to 1974) and then Platnauer Junior Research Fellow at Brasenose College (1974 to 1977).

Despite not having taken a doctorate, he was appointed University Lecturer in Sanskrit and Fellow at Wolfson College in 1977, where he remained until he became Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at All Souls College in 1992. He never got around to taking a doctoral degree, or indeed to finishing any book-length publication in that period, partly because he was so busily occupied with teaching all manner of Sanskrit texts to students of every level. As a by-product of his projected thesis on the little-read and still unpublished *Yonigahvara*, he had in fact produced a grammar of aiśa language, in other words of the sorts of irregular Sanskrit encountered in the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts that transmit many tantras. But that grammar has not seen the light of day. Looked at in this light, his career is reminiscent of a 19th-century tradition of scholarship, where recognition depended less on publications, citations and the acquisition of degrees.

A few months after the Toronto Symposium in Alexis's honour, one of the two authors of this preface, Dominic Goodall, and perhaps several others of the contributors too, found himself in the strange position of being asked by an American administrative authority to supply a letter of reference for his own

tutor. The letter perhaps now gathers dust in some bureaucratic archive, but we can now aptly quote its first two paragraphs in this note:

> I had the great good fortune to begin my studies of Sanskrit at Oxford under Alexis Sanderson in 1988. At that time, he had the post of University Lecturer in Sanskrit, a rare achievement because he had not taken a doctorate, and had then published rather little: a couple of reviews (1985), one ground-breaking article on "Purity and Power among the Brahmins of Kashmir" (1985)—an article so compact that it seemed like a tightly compressed book—and one article for "general readers". This last had few references, since it was intended as an overview, in an encyclopedia of the world's religions, of "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions" (1988). Clear and very readable, this article remains, twenty-seven years later, the best overview there is of a huge subject, covering a broad range of largely still unpublished early medieval literature for the first time, and providing, again for the first time, a model of how the various parts of the vast and complex corpus were related and hierarchized by followers of a major current of Indian religion.
>
> His "lectures" at that time were really more like intensive reading classes, which sometimes seemed to take place round the clock, with students often filing in to his room for one class just as others filed out from another, and they were for me the most intellectually exciting events I attended at Oxford. I had come up to study Greek, Latin and German in the autumn of 1986, but decided to switch to Sanskrit after the first public exam, in 1988, so I had had 5 terms of lectures and weekly tutorials on Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Plato and the like behind me. From the settled certainties of centuries of classical scholarship on a relatively small corpus, I had moved to a literary universe with few well-founded editions, few published translations and annotations in European languages and seemingly endless questions. Classes were therefore essential, and although there were other learned teachers in Oxford at the time who were well-read in certain genres, it was "Mr. Sanderson" whom everybody acknowledged to have the broadest reach, and who therefore was called upon to teach whatever was required in the genres of philosophy, courtly poetry, exegesis of traditional Indian law or indeed any sort of technical commentary.[1] Because there was so often no time between classes, there was presumably never much time to prepare; but preparation never seemed

1 In the realm of classical Sanskrit literature, a notable exception here was the technical literature of traditional grammar, for which we were fortunate to have the guidance of Dr. James

> necessary. We, the students, would attempt to render a line of a given text, and Mr. Sanderson would interrupt, constantly, with explanations to set us right where we were going wrong. Nearly every word called for comment or explanation of knowledge that needed to be taken into consideration: details of manuscript-transmission, issues of text-criticism, semantic flavours not recorded in dictionaries, particle-usage not recorded in grammars, essential religious or historical context not described in published secondary literature, and so forth. This might all sound rather dry, but it was delivered with humour, verve, plenty of eye-contact, a rich and well-chosen vocabulary and an evident delight in teaching. And it always zipped by so fast, provoking further questions along the way, that it could never all be noted down. In short, it was thrilling. So much so, that after two years of post-graduate study in Hamburg, I decided in 1992 that there was no alternative as interesting to me as returning to Oxford with a doctoral theme consciously chosen to be of potential interest to the same teacher.

In the interim, Alexis had become Professor Sanderson, having acquired the Spalding chair for Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford's most prestigious college. There was, in consequence, a marked change in teaching style. The lectures were now magisterial, theme-oriented, weekly talks on aspects of his chosen field: early medieval religion, focusing on the history of Śaivism, its relations with the state, and its influence on Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. And they were well-attended events, taking place around a very long dining table in the Wharton Room of All Souls College. Each week, there would be a substantial and beautifully typeset hand-out giving passages of often unpublished materials,[2] and each week several of us gathered naturally together to discuss it afterwards over lunch at Wolfson College, for it was there that several of the throng of new doctoral students were enrolled, or over tea in the crypt of the University Church. It was in this period, because he was at last less rushed than he had been as a lecturer, that Alexis Sanderson entered his first phase of prolific writing, to begin publishing his many discoveries. To date, his work has appeared exclusively in articles, although several of them run into hundreds of pages and are actually book-length studies, accepted nonetheless in journals and volumes of essays because of their truly exceptional quality and importance.

Benson, who first introduced me to Sanskrit and painstakingly began to reveal the complexities of the thought of Pāṇini. Rereading this letter, I am prompted to add that I am of course grateful to him and to all of my other teachers too.

2 Some of these hand-outs are now available online for download from Alexis Sanderson's academia.edu page.

His most celebrated piece is perhaps "The Śaiva Age—The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period" (2009), an "article" of more than 300 pages that bears in fact upon all the classical religions of India, and not just upon Śaivism. Among his other outstanding articles we may mention just two that might be said to have revolutionised different fields of study that were not in fact at the centre of Alexis Sanderson's scholarly interests. The first is "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers. Part 1" of 2004, which covers fully 114 pages of the large-format *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*. This paper has much of importance to say about how Śaivism may be defined and how it has manifested itself in different regions, but it is also essential reading for historians of medieval Cambodia and other parts of South East Asia, by whom it is much quoted. The second, in length a more conventional article of just 18 pages, is entitled "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function" (1994); this proposes a new paradigm for the understanding of Tantric Buddhism and has therefore relaunched a vigorous debate among scholars of Buddhism about the relations between Śaivism and Buddhism.

As stated above, these articles are in fact peripheral to Alexis Sanderson's abiding central focus of interest, the work of India's most famous tantric thinker, the prolific polymath Abhinavagupta, who lived in Kashmir at the turn of the first millennium, where he produced a corpus of rich, difficult and influential Sanskrit works on poetry, theatre, aesthetics, theology, ritual and salvation. In 2015 Alexis Sanderson retired from the Spalding professorship and since then has been able at long last to concentrate exclusively on the most celebrated work of this seminal thinker, the vast and complex "Light on the Tantras" (*Tantrāloka*), working on a critical edition of the text, with an annotated English translation and a detailed commentary.[3]

In other words, the work that Alexis is currently engaged in is the culmination of a lifetime of research on Abhinavagupta's place in Indian thought and the diverse Śaiva and Śākta traditions that informed his Śaivism and are in varying degrees subsumed within it. His other contributions to our understanding of Indian intellectual history, dazzling though they may be, are mostly the offcuts and side-products of his preoccupation with this literary giant. Since "retiring" he has now been able to write up his prodigious knowledge about what has for him always been the "central story."

3 In spite of its fame and in spite of its being the focus of numerous scholars' work over the last century, only one translation of the *Tantrāloka* into a European language has ever been completed, that of Raniero Gnoli.

We do not always find excellence in research combined with excellence in teaching. But Alexis's career as a teacher has been extraordinary too. Testimony to the truly exceptional qualities of Alexis Sanderson as an inspiring teacher may be found by looking around the universities of India, Europe, North America and Japan where his students have been employed; they are not clustered together in one academic fiefdom, but have spread widely abroad and attained international recognition as scholars in a range of subjects from classical Indian theatre to the history of yoga. They include, for example, Jason Birch, Parul Dave, Csaba Dezső, Paul Gerstmayr, Dominic Goodall, Jürgen Hanneder, Gergely Hidas, Madhu Khanna, Csaba Kiss, Nina Mirnig, John Nemec, Srilata Raman, Isabelle Ratié, Péter-Dániel Szánto, Judit Törzsök, Somadeva Vasudeva, James Mallinson, Ryugen Tanemura, Joel Tatelman, Anthony Tribe, and Alex Watson.

We have mentioned Alexis's reading-classes and his impressively rich lectures, but what many of his direct students may remember best are interactions with him in tutorials. He tended to offer aspiring doctorands many hours of extremely helpful criticism and coaching for the first year or so, and then, when he judged them capable of working more independently, he would nudge the doors of opportunity half-closed and so encourage them to get on with their work by themselves. Once they were thus launched, they would be invited to deliver a lecture in his graduate research seminar, an experience which many will remember as both daunting and exhilarating, requiring the victims to give of their very best before an audience of fellow students along with Alexis and Harunaga Isaacson, typically seated to their right and left, at whom they would be casting furtive glances to search for their reactions!

Alexis is something of a raconteur when the mood takes him, imitating the accents and mannerisms of the cast that people his narrations, and so we tended to learn unwritten snippets of history about other indologists from him. One annual occasion was particularly propitious for this. Professor Gombrich used to mark the end of the summer term, and so of the academic year, with a lunch in his garden, after which several of us would walk to the churchyard of St. Mary's in Kidlington to visit the grave of another former Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Thomas Burrow. This never failed to call forth a string of reminiscences of Alexis, beginning with something about Professor Burrow himself, but leading often to Professor Brough and others.

The above paragraphs recall Alexis's interactions with students who spent years at Oxford. But there were also many others who came for only short periods or whose interactions were only or largely epistolary and upon whose work Alexis nevertheless had an important influence. Those who have received Alexis's immense letters, typically packed with quotations from unpublished

Sanskrit texts marshalled to demonstrate ideas, doubts and conclusions, will know just how extraordinarily rich and useful they are. In some well-known cases, they have provided invaluable evidence for the recipients' books. Parts of David Gordon White's *The Alchemical Body*, for instance, or Frederick Smith's *The Self Possessed*, or François Grimal's edition of Harihara's commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, are heavily indebted to lengthy letters from Alexis.

In a bygone age, it might have been appropriate to gather together in one publication all Alexis's *Kleine Schriften*, or all his published work, as was done just over a century ago for another illustrious thinker whose work helped shaped knowledge both of Indian and Cambodian history, namely Auguste Barth, the first volume of whose complete *Œuvres* was published in 1914. But unless and until the internet implodes, such an endeavour seems unnecessary: Indologists throughout the world have PDF copies of Alexis's published works, a list of which is appended to the end of this preface. A collection of his many fascinating letters would be a boon, but gathering and editing them seems impracticable, and we hope that Alexis will himself continue publishing such discoveries as they document, as well as others, in the publications that he continues to work on today.

What we hope and expect instead is that the papers gathered in this volume will reveal some of the many ways in which Alexis has been influential, their authors showing us in the mirrors of their own bright intellects some reflections of the radiance, the *prakāśa*, of Alexis Sanderson.

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Introduction

Dominic Goodall, Shaman Hatley, Harunaga Isaacson and Srilata Raman

Academic study of Asia's tantric traditions has blossomed in recent decades. Once dismissed as marginal, or unworthy of serious attention, we now understand the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, and Jaina tantric traditions as integral to the religious and cultural landscapes of medieval South, Southeast, Central, and East Asia. This shift, which is reshaping the historiography of medieval India, is in no small measure due to the magisterial contributions of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson, Fellow of All Souls College and Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford University, from 1992–2015, and now Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College. The present book is a collection of essays in his honour, written by specialists of the various fields he has influenced from around the world, most of whom were his students at Oxford.

The twenty-three chapters of this volume span multiple fields of Indology. Organized around the theme of "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," the essays are nonetheless diverse in method, historical context, and source material. Hinting at Alexis Sanderson's own scholarly breadth, the essays here assembled span the history, ritual, and philosophies of Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism, religious art and architecture, and Sanskrit belles-lettres. Together, they represent a significant contribution to our understanding of the cultural, religious, political, and intellectual histories of premodern South and Southeast Asia. Most of the contributions are original studies of primary sources of the tantric traditions, reflecting Sanderson's relentless commitment to philology and the discovery of new sources. The essays have been grouped into five parts, within which they appear more or less chronologically, according to subject matter. Part 1 concerns early Śaiva traditions: the pre-tantric Śaivism of the Atimārga, as well as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, perhaps the earliest surviving Śaiva *tantra*. The essays of part 2 concern Śaiva and Buddhist exegetical and philosophical traditions. Part 3 brings together studies on the topics of religion, polity, and social history, while part 4 ("Mantra, Ritual, and Yoga") concerns religious practices. Part 5's essays on art and architecture complete the volume. Naturally, the five parts of this book overlap somewhat, and several essays would be at home in more than one.

The volume's first chapter, by Peter Bisschop, bears the title "From Mantramārga back to Atimārga: Atimārga as a Self-referential Term." Following the publication of Alexis Sanderson's groundbreaking article "Śaivism and the Tan-

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tric Traditions" (1988), the division of Śaivism into Atimārga and Mantramārga has become commonplace among students of Śaivism. Atimārga in this classification refers to the ascetic path associated with the Pāśupatas and Lākulas, while Mantramārga refers to the 'higher' tantric path with its various subdivisions. Bisschop's paper first of all observes that this division represents a purely Mantramārga perspective on Śaivism, for so-called 'Atimārga sources' seemingly do not use the term Atimārga. The main part of the paper then draws attention to a passage from an unpublished ca. twelfth-century *Māhātmya* of Vārāṇasī that does uniquely use the term in what may be called an Atimārga context. The passage in question centers on Vārāṇasī's cremation ground and Bhairava's teachings and activities there. The passage on the one hand attests to the existence of a strong Atimārga community in Vārāṇasī around the time of the text's composition, but also to the transmission and knowledge of the *Svacchanda* there. It also testifies to the fact that the views on what constituted Śaivism in early-medieval India differed across different Śaiva traditions and that much of our modern understanding derives from specific textual traditions that only represent one layer within a much broader spectrum of religion oriented around the worship of Śiva.

Chapter 2, by Judit Törzsök, addresses the question, "Why are the Skull-Bearers (Kāpālikas) Called Soma?" One of the alternative names by which pre-tantric Kāpālikas or 'Skull-Bearers' were referred to in classical India was "Those Who Profess the Soma Doctrine" or simply "Soma People" (*somasiddhāntavādin, somajana*). The word Soma also appears regularly as the last part of their initiation name. Törzsök's chapter explores what this appellation could have meant for the Kāpālikas according to period sources, including inscriptions, purāṇic and dramatic literature, without arriving at a definitive answer. First, it is argued that the later derivation *sa-Umā* ('accompanied by Umā') is probably to be rejected, for female initiates also bore the name -Somā. Second, the appellation is also unlikely to refer to the vedic Soma, for Kāpālikas were not commonly known to perform vedic sacrifices. It is possible that the name Soma may derive from the name of their legendary founder, Somaśarman, but it may have had additional connotations. It may also have referred to the moon and its whiteness (evoking the whiteness of the ashes of the cremation ground or of human bones), the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*) the moon is supposed to contain (immortality being a main goal of all power-seekers), or any nectar, such as alcohol, regularly used in Kāpālika worship. Finally, given the polysemy of the word, it could also be understood to mean "the best," implying that the Kāpālikas, just as other Śaivas, considered themselves to follow the best way that leads to power and final release.

Chapter 3, by Dominic Goodall, is entitled "Dressing for Power: on *vrata*, *caryā*, and *vidyāvrata* in the Early Mantramārga, and on the Structure of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*." One of several meanings proposed by Monier-Williams for the term *vrata* is "a religious vow or practice," which has led to the widespread tendency to translate *vrata* with "vow," thus calling to mind a web of partly alien ideas about promised religious undertakings that culminate in offerings made *ex voto suscepto*, upon attainment of one's desired end. A better approximation is perhaps "timed religious observance." This paper attempts to address the question "What is a *vrata*?" by attempting to uncover how the notion is used and understood in early works of the Mantramārga, in particular the *sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. In doing so, it touches upon the layered composition of the *Guhyasūtra*. The early history of the term *caryā* (in the tetrad *jñānā*, *kriyā*, *caryā* and *yoga*) is also illuminated, as well as the use of the expressions *vidyāvrata*, *puraścaryā* and *pūrvasevā*.

Part 2 contains five chapters concerned with Śaiva and Buddhist philosophical and exegetical traditions. Chapter 4, by Alex Watson, discusses where precisely the self-theory (*ātmavāda*) of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha II—the most prolific and influential of the early Śaiva Siddhānta exegetes (c. 950–1000)—should be placed in the nexus of other rival positions. Its relation to the self-theory of Rāmakaṇṭha's Buddhist and Naiyāyika interlocutors is considered, and so too in passing to that of the Sāṅkhyas and the non-dualistic Śaivas. A previous article (Watson 2014) places Rāmakaṇṭha's Saiddhāntika view in the middle ground between Nyāya and the momentariness theory (*kṣaṇikavāda*) of the Buddhists. The present chapter adds a number of considerations that, while not invalidating the 'middle ground thesis,' show it to be one-sided and incomplete. Some of these considerations weigh in favour of seeing it as just as 'extreme' as Nyāya; others in favour of seeing it as more extreme than Nyāya. The conclusion considers whether and how these varying perspectives can be integrated.

Chapter 5, by Isabelle Ratié, is entitled "Some Hitherto Unknown Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* (II): Against the Existence of External Objects." As Ratié highlights, Utpaladeva's detailed commentary (the *Vivṛti* or *Ṭīkā*) on his own *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* treatise was certainly the most innovative text of the Pratyabhijñā corpus; unfortunately, however, to date we only have access to fragments of this work, as first discovered by Raffaele Torella. This chapter is part of a series of papers by Ratié devoted to the edition, translation and explanation of shorter fragments of the *Vivṛti* found in the margins of manuscripts containing Abhinavagupta's commentaries on Utpaladeva's treatise. The paper deals with fragments of the *Vivṛti* on verses 1.5.6–9, which argue against the Sautrāntikas' thesis that we must infer the existence of a reality external to consciousness in

order to account for phenomenal variety. In these fragments Utpaladeva shows not only that, as already emphasized by the Vijñānavādins, postulating the existence of an external world is of no use in the realm of everyday practice, and that an external object must have contradictory properties whether it is understood as having parts or not, but also that the very act of mentally producing the concept (and therefore the inference) of an external object is in fact impossible to perform, because an object by nature alien to consciousness is simply unthinkable.

Chapter 6, by Christopher D. Wallis, is entitled "Alchemical Metaphors for Spiritual Transformation in Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*." In this essay, Wallis examines an alchemical metaphor for spiritual transformation found in Abhinavagupta's two commentaries on the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpaladeva. Analyzing this trope provides insight into Abhinavagupta's innovative usages of the key terms *samāveśa*, *turya*, and *turyātīta*. Additionally, the essay considers his homology of the fivefold self—Void, *prāṇa*, the subtle body consisting of the mind and its faculties (*puryaṣṭaka*), and physical body, plus the transindividual Power of Awareness (*citi-śakti*)—with the five phases of lucidity: the states of waking, dreaming, deep sleep, the transcendental 'fourth' state, and the state 'beyond the fourth' (*turyātīta*). As Wallis shows, these passages in the two different commentaries do not entirely agree, and both present textual problems. His provisional conclusion is that Abhinavagupta seems to change and develop his view in the time between the two commentaries: the *Vimarśinī* features a simpler model of a gnostic transcendentalist *turya* succeeded by an 'immanentist' yogic *turyātīta* (the latter being marked by the transcendent element's pervasion of all that was previously transcended), while the *Vivṛtivimarśinī* proposes two distinct versions of both *turya* and *turyātīta*, gnostic and yogic, respectively (yielding four categories in total), where the yogic is to be preferred despite being more gradual because in it the *saṃskāra*s of dualistic experience are finally dissolved. Wallis' analysis of these problems gives us a deeper understanding of Abhinavagupta's thought, and points us in some intriguing directions.

Chapter 7, by Péter-Dániel Szántó, is entitled "On Vāgīśvarakīrti's Influence in Kashmir and Among the Khmer." In this essay, Szántó seeks to elucidate the role and importance of an early eleventh-century Buddhist scholar, Vāgīśvarakīrti, far from his homeland in Eastern India. The first part examines a passage showing that, probably still during his lifetime, he was considered an important opponent by a Kashmirian scholar, Ratnavajra. The debate in question comcerns the validity of the so-called Fourth Initiation. The second part of Szántó's essay advances the hypothesis that, although not mentioned by name, Vāgīśvarakīrti is referred to in a Khmer inscription from the same century.

Chapter 8, by Srilata Raman, is entitled "Reflections on the King of Ascetics (Yatirāja): Rāmānuja in the Devotional Poetry of Vedānta Deśika." This paper is concerned with examining one specific hagiographical genre within the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition—the praise-poem addressed to the *ācārya*, in this case Rāmānuja. It looks in detail at two of these poems, one in Tamil and the other in Sanskrit. These are "The 100 Antāti Verses on Rāmānuja" (*Irāmāṉuja Nūṟṟantāti*) of Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār, one of the earliest hagiographical/*stotra* works we have at hand on Rāmānuja, and Vedānta Deśika's "The Seventy Verses on the King of Ascetics" (*Yatirāja Saptatiḥ*). Analysing the main motifs of these poems as traceable to the Tamil devotional poetry of the Āḻvārs, the paper also demonstrates that a central motif within the poems contributes to a reconsideration of *prapatti* doctrine in the post-Rāmānuja period, leading to the idea that "love for the *ācārya*" (*ācāryābhimāna*), and, in the most extreme case, belief in Rāmānuja's *prapatti*, is itself sufficient for salvation. The analysis of the *stotra* literature on Rāmānuja here, by no means exhaustive but rather illustrative of the formative phase of doctrine, also reinforces a central contention of this paper: that devotional poetry composed not just by the *āḻvār*s but also by later the *ācārya*s is central—as central as commentaries and independent works—to the evolution of Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine.

The essays of part 3 concern various aspects of religion, the state, and the social history of premodern India. Chapter 9, by Csaba Dezső, is entitled "Not to Worry, Vasiṣṭha Will Sort it Out: The Role of the *Purohita* in the *Raghuvaṃśa*." This essay examines the various tasks Vasiṣṭha fulfils in the *Raghuvaṃśa* as the royal chaplain of the kings of the Sūryavaṃśa. As Dezső shows, these are in harmony with the standards laid down in the *Arthaśāstra*, from officiating at life-cycle ceremonies to empowering and defending the king and his army with the help of Atharvavedic mantras. Vasiṣṭha also acts as the king's mentor and chief advisor who tries to reason against Aja's overwhelming grief, placing the interests of the dynasty before the king's private emotions. These verses of the *Raghuvaṃśa* invite comparison with a passage in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* in which the chaplain and the minister try to persuade the *bodhisattva* to return to the palace and to carry out his role as the heir to the throne.

Chapter 10, by Gergely Hidas, is entitled "Buddhism, Kingship and the Protection of the State: The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* and *Dhāraṇī* Literature." Hidas's essay focuses first on the ritual core of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, which represents the ritual establishment of the state's protection as an act of mutual benefit to the Buddhist Sangha and the monarch. The essay then explores how this theme appears in some examples of *dhāraṇī* literature from the first half of the first millennium. It is shown that offering safeguard for

rulers and their realms is a long-established practice in South Asian Buddhism, one that perdures up to modern times, while there have been a variety of incantation scriptures available for such purposes.

Chapter 11, by Nina Mirnig, is entitled "Adapting Śaiva Tantric Initiation for Exoteric Circles: *Lokadharmiṇī Dīkṣā* and Its History in Early Medieval Sources." The article investigates the history and scope of usage of the term *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, one of the most accessible and mainstream-conforming classes of Śaiva tantric initiation. In essence, this category denotes a form of initiation that allows the practitioner to maintain his exoteric register of religious practice (the *lokadharma*), in this context the brahmanical mainstream. As such, it is contrasted with the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, which operates on purely Śaiva ritual and soteriological premises. The terminology of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* was used in different initiation-classification schemes, reflecting differing and evolving ways of negotiating the interface between initiatory and exoteric practices among different Śaiva tantric groups throughout the early medieval period. By tracing the shifting history of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* terminology in pre-twelfth century Śaiva tantric sources, the article points to the complexities of interpretation of terminology relating to initiatory categories.

In chapter 12, John Nemec investigates "Innovation and Social Change in the Vale of Kashmir, circa 900–1250 C.E." This essay addresses the nature of social and religious change by examining the ways in which they are negotiated in the writings of selected post-scriptural Śaiva authors of the Kashmir Valley. Nemec argues that the writings of Somānanda (ca. 900–950), Utpaladeva (ca. 925–975), Abhinavagupta (ca. 975–1025), and Jayaratha (early 13th C.E.) evince a self-consciously constructed, emic theory of scriptural authority and social conduct that exemplifies what the author contends should be taken as a maxim in the study of South Asian religions and religion more generally—namely, that *change is not inimical to religion*, even if particular religious agents are not infrequently inimical to change. Envisioning a layered hierarchy of authoritative scriptural sources, both Vedic and Tantric, these authors deemed otherwise proscribed religious and social practices permissible in their particular contexts; yet, because they promoted novel practices only as modifications to otherwise universally applicable social strictures, the changes they authorized were necessary *incremental* in nature, which Nemec suggests is in fact the normative pattern for social change in premodern South Asia. In doing so, he argues that the complex model of scriptural authority exemplified in this emic theory challenges Sheldon Pollock's characterization of the relationship of theory (*śāstra*) to practice (*prayoga*) as monolithic and simple in premodern South Asia. The essay concludes by sketching the implications of this study for our understanding of Indian religions, and for religion *tout court*.

Chapter 13, by Bihani Sarkar, is entitled "Toward a history of the Navarātra, the autumnal festival of the Goddess." This essay provides a chronological chart of the development of the Navarātra, the Nine Nights festival of the Goddess. Drawing on Sanderson's work on the Orissan Mahānavamī traditions of Bhadrakālī and ritual descriptions outlined in Sanskrit sources, Sarkar identifies four phases in the trajectory of the Navarātra, as it grew into the preeminent political rite for authorizing and creating royal power. These were: an early Vaiṣṇava rite in the monsoon, its incorporation of a pre-established Brahmanical military tradition in Āśvina, its expansion into a ten day affair and inclusion of tantric rituals for powers (*siddhi*s) in East India, and the growth later of the distinctive Southern and Western Navarātras. Tamil sources of uncertain date, however, add complexity to this picture.

Part 4 of this book contains six essays on various aspects of religious praxis, including yoga. In chapter 14, "Śārikā's Mantra," Jürgen Hanneder studies the tantric deity Śārikā, who is worshipped in the form of a large stone on the "Śārikā Peak" or Pradyumna Peak in Śrīnagar. Hanneder examines several ritual texts that describe the iconography and worship of this goddess, including her mantra. In the seventeenth century the Kashmirian author Sāhib Kaul wrote a Stotra devoted to Śārikā, in which her mantra is given in the style of a *mantroddhāra*, that is with code words, so that the "sounds" of the mantra need not be explicitly uttered. This chapter contains an edition and translation of this text and an analysis, which shows that Sāhib Kaul's version of the mantra of Śārikā strangely fails to accord with most other sources of this mantra.

Chapter 15, by Diwakar Acharya, is entitled "The *Kāmasiddhistuti* of King Vatsarāja." In this chapter, Acharya presents an edition and translation of the previously unpublished Śaiva *Kāmasiddhistuti* attributed to Mahārājādhirāja Vidyādharacakravartin Vatsarāja, who can perhaps be identified with King Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (c. 775–805 A.D.), the father of Mahārājādhirāja Nāgabhaṭa II (805–833 A.D.). As a *pūjāstuti*, this text guides its reciter through the mental or actual worship of Goddess Nityā Sundarī, of whom the poet is a devotee. He invokes the goddess as Maheśvarī and Gaurī, but concedes that some call her Lakṣmī and Parā Prakṛti. As Acharya shows, the poet appears unaware of the systems of nine, eleven, or sixteen Nityās, which are worshipped in the traditions of the *Nityākaula*, *Manthānabhairava*, and *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*s, respectively. Rather, the author is aware of only one Nityā, who is simply called Sundarī and is installed as Nityā Sundarī at the altar of worship in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, without a consort, independent and supreme.

Chapter 16, by Shaman Hatley, is entitled "The Lotus Garland (*padmamālā*) and Cord of Power (*śaktitantu*): The *Brahmayāmala*'s Integration of Inner and Outer Ritual." This essay examines the relationship between "ritual" and "yoga" in the *Brahmayāmala*, a voluminous early tantra whose place in the history of Śaivism was first identified by Professor Sanderson (1988). The early history of Śaiva yoga remains inadequately studied, and foundational early sources such as the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and *Brahmayāmala* diverge widely in their technical vocabulary and conceptions of the body. The focus of this essay is the explication of the *Brahmayāmala*'s manner of integrating inner and outer ritual processes, both of which have their basis in a system of Nine Lotuses and Nine Knots (*granthi*) strung together by the "cord of power" (*śaktitantu*, *śaktisūtra*). In analysing this unique system, the essay examines a number of key issues, including the role of visualization in ritual, mantra-installation (*nyāsa*), the body's subtle channels (*nāḍī*) and knots (*granthi*), and shifting conceptions of the relationship between knowledge (*jñāna*) and ritual action (*kriyā*).

Chapter 17, by James Mallinson, is entitled "The *Amṛtasiddhi*: *Haṭhayoga*'s Tantric Buddhist Source Text." The unpublished *circa* eleventh-century *Amṛtasiddhi* is the oldest text to teach any of the principles and practices that came to distinguish the *haṭha* method of yoga practice taught in later Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva manuals, such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* and *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Many of its central teachings have no precedents in earlier texts: the yogic body with the moon situated at the top of the central channel dripping *amṛta* and the sun at its bottom consuming it; the three physical techniques that make up the text's central practice (*mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha* and *mahāvedha*); the four stages of the practice (*ārambha, ghaṭa, paricaya* and *niṣpatti*); the principle that *bindu* or semen is the most important vital constituent and hence that its preservation is paramount; and the principle that the mind, breath and *bindu* are connected, so that controlling one controls the others. These are then repeated, often verbatim, in almost all subsequent *haṭha* texts. The *Amṛtasiddhi* has been the subject of only one previous study, an article by Kurtis Schaeffer (2004), which analyses the text as found in a bilingual (Sanskrit and Tibetan) manuscript that probably dates to the twelfth century CE. Schaeffer, because of some seemingly non-Buddhist teachings in the text, in particular those on *jīvanmukti*, understands it to be a Śaiva work. This paper, however, shows that some of its teachings are specifically Buddhist, and concludes that the text was composed in a Buddhist milieu and that later Indian and Nepalese manuscripts of the text either misunderstood its Buddhist features or deliberately removed or changed them.

Chapter 18, by Csaba Kiss, is entitled "A Sexual Ritual with Māyā in *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 40." The *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, a 13th-century South Indian Kubji-

kā-Tripurā-oriented tantric yoga text of the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava tradition, describes a unique sexual ritual in its 40th chapter. Kiss analyses sigificant ambiguities therein, in addition to providing an edition and annotated translation of the relevant passages. The chapter recommends that the yogin have sexual encounters with (human) *yoginī*s, while avoiding *pāśavī* (uninitiated?) women, but devotes most of its attention to a ritual with Māyā, a rather ambiguous female. Is she an imagined goddess (*kuṇḍalinī*?) or an uninitiated woman of low birth? Is the sexual act visualized or 'real'? Kiss argues that these ambiguities may be deliberate. The ambiguity between actual sex and visualization reflects the tension between sexuality and asceticism manifest in the frame story of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, a unique version of the legend of Matsyendra and Gorakṣa. While possibly echoing or quoting older tantric texts containing descriptions of sexual rituals, the redactors of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* were perhaps transitioning towards ascetic or *brahmacarya*-oriented teachings. As a result, Kiss argues, they came up with an obscure variant on the figure of the tantric *yoginī*: Māyā, first described as a phantom, resembling a goddess visualized in worship, then also takes part in an actual sexual ritual.

Chapter 19, by Jason Birch, is entitled "Haṭhayoga's Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism." The aim of this article is to provide a framework for examining the textual sources on Haṭhayoga that were composed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. After a brief introduction to the early history of Haṭha- and Rājayoga, the main section of the article focuses on the salient features of the late literature on Haṭhayoga by dividing the texts into two categories; 'extended works' and 'compendiums.' The extended works expatiate on Haṭhayoga as it was formulated in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, whereas the compendiums integrate teachings of Haṭhayoga within a discourse on yoga more generally conceived. Both etic categories include scholarly and practical works which, when read together in this way, reveal significant changes to the praxis and theory of Haṭhayoga on the eve of colonialism. The article concludes with a brief discussion on the regional distribution of the literature of Haṭhayoga during this period and how the codification of its praxis and theory appears to have diverged in different regions.

The papers of part 5 concern religious art and architecture. Chapter 20, by Libbie Mills, is entitled "The Early Śaiva Maṭha: Form and Function." We are not told a great deal in the early Śaiva textual record about the practicalities of life inside the *maṭha*. In this chapter, Mills seeks to find a way into the topic by looking at the physical structure of the buildings. Drawing on materials that include instructions for building, the essay considers the designs given

for the construction of the *maṭha*, and what those designs might tell us of what took place inside. The paper aims to add to the exploration of the *maṭha* treated to great effect by Tamara Sears.[1]

Chapter 21, by Ryugen Tanemura, concerns "The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta and its Parallels in the Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras." As Sanderson demonstrates in "The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period" (2009), tantric Buddhism devised a number of ceremonies in the domain of public religion following the Śaiva models, such as consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) and funeral rites (*antyeṣṭi*). Tantric Buddhist manuals called *maṇḍalavidhi*s teach the details of these public social rituals. These manuals closely resemble the Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras and Paddhatis. Among these, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta, most probably written in the Kathmandu valley in the eleventh century C.E., is particularly rich in information, as are also the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta and the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa or Darpaṇācārya. The purpose of this paper is to present various Śaiva parallels in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, especially textual parallels between the *nimittokti* section of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and the *Śalyoddhārapaṭala* of the *Devyāmata*, a Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantra. The relevant sections and chapters of these two texts concern the topic of how to find and remove extraneous substances (*śalya*) underground during the rituals in order to avoid the calamities which they may cause. Tanemura also presents as an appendix a preliminary edition and translation of a section of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* called *Bhūśalyasūtrapātananimittavidhi*; this also contains some parallels with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and the *Devyāmata*.

Chapter 22, by Anthony Tribe, concerns "Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three *Nāmasaṃgīti*-related Texts." This chapter examines the identity of an eight-armed form of Mañjuśrī found in early western Himalayan Buddhist art (11th–13th centuries). This figure is found most prominently in the Sumtsek (Gsum-brtsegs, "Three-Storeyed") temple at Achi, Ladakh where, as a mural, it is the central deity of a *maṇḍala*. Its position on the top storey, suggesting that it is the figure of highest status in the temple's iconographic programme, has long puzzled scholars. Less well-known are two other examples of this figure: a mural in the chapel of the two-armed Maitreya at Mangyu, Ladakh, and a clay figure in the Golden Temple or Serkhang (Gser-khang) at Lalung, Spiti. Based on descriptions of the fig-

1 Tamara I. Sears, *Worldly Gurus and Spiritual Kings, Architecture and Asceticism in Medieval India* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

ure in three *Nāmasaṃgīti*-related texts—the *Ākāśavimala* of Mañjuśrīmitra, the **Sādhanaupayika* (*Sgrub pa'i thabs*) of Agrabodhi, and the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* of Vilāsavajra—Tribe argues that the figure should be identified as (Mañjuśrī in the form of) the Ādibuddha and not Mañjuśrī as a *bodhisattva*. The authors of these three texts comprise some of the earliest commentators on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (also known as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*), and share a concern to promote Mañjuśrī by placing him, as the Ādibuddha, at the heart (both literally and metaphorically) of Mahāvairocana in an adaptation of the *yogatantra* Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala.

Chapter 23, by Parul Dave-Mukherji, is entitled "Life and Afterlife of *Sādṛśya*: Revisiting the *Citrasūtra* through the Nationalism-Naturalism Debate in Indian Art History." This essay revisits the *Citrasūtra*, a seminal section on painting from the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, in the light of key concerns around the cultural politics of art historiography, the *śāstra-prayoga* debate, and the related question of interpretative frames to study traditional Indian art. The last concern has lately come to the forefront in the context of postcolonial studies and global art history. If the former is critical of intellectual parasitism, the latter pushes postcolonial thought to explore 'native' interpretative frames to study pre-modern Indian art. This paper attempts to complicate the search for alternative frameworks by underlining gaps and slippages that surround the meaning of terms in the given text and their modern appropriation. To this end, it traces a genealogy of a term, *sādṛśya*, from the śilpaśāstric lexicon through its twentieth-century reception in art-historical discourse. How does a term acquire an afterlife when it enters into the force field of reinterpretation steeped in cultural nationalism? How would a newly 'discovered' Sanskrit text function in such a space? Dave-Mukherji also addresses a larger question: what is the genealogy of India's cultural past, and specifically its "art," as transcendental/idealistic/spiritual, which has translated itself into a belief? And why does this belief persist, although in different configurations? The essay then turns to alternative interpretative frames for the study of Indian art, first by critically examining ethnographic approaches to the study of texts, and then by relating Coomaraswamy's transcendentalism with David Shulman's recent discourse around the 'more than real.'

PART 1

Early Śaivism

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CHAPTER 1

From Mantramārga Back to Atimārga: Atimārga as a Self-referential Term

Peter C. Bisschop

1 Introduction

The impact of Alexis Sanderson's scholarship can be easily measured by the subject of the present paper. Before 1988, when Sanderson published his groundbreaking article "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," the term Atimārga was hardly used by anyone with the exception of a few specialists of Tantric Śaivism, and it certainly was never addressed systematically.[1] Thus, for example, Minoru Hara, who completed his dissertation on the Pāśupatas at Harvard in 1966 and published extensively on the Pāśupata tradition in the subsequent decades, never once used the term.[2] In the years to come, however, various scholars started to use it with great confidence in increasing numbers and currently the Atimārga is widely regarded as one of the two major divisions of Śaivism, alongside that of the Mantramārga. Quite influential in the dissemination of the term has been Gavin Flood, who adopted it in his *An Introduction to Hinduism* (1996). The chapters on the Śaiva and Śākta traditions in this book are deeply dependent on Sanderson's scholarship. As an illustration of how commonplace and accepted its use has become, reference may also be made to the entry on Atimārga in the popular *A Dictionary of Hinduism* by W.J. Johnson (2009). The description clearly reflects Sanderson's scholarship:

> One of the two main branches of Śaivism described in the Śaiva Āgamas or Tantras (the other being the mantramārga, or "path of mantras"). The atimārga, which is entered on solely in order to attain liberation, is open only to ascetics. It has two divisions, the Pāśupata, and the Lākula, itself

1 An early reference may be found in Goudriaan and Gupta 1981, 35, 45 (referring to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*).

2 Although there are many entries starting with *ati-*, the index of Hara's collected *Pāśupata Studies* (2002) has no entry on Atimārga.

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> a development from within the Pāśupata tradition; both are concerned with Śiva in his wild and terrible form of Rudra.[3]

In the present paper I would like to reconsider the meaning and use of the term Atimārga, in the light of an intriguing passage from an unpublished Māhātmya on the holy city of Vārāṇasī (sometimes referred to hereafter as "VM"). In particular, I want to take up the question whether the term Atimārga was ever used by Pāśupatas or other groups that one would associate with the Atimārga themselves. Was it, in other words, ever used self-referentially or does it only represent a higher, tantric ("Mantramārgic") perspective on the ascetic path of Śaivism?

2 Atimārga and Mantramārga

For a start, here is the introduction to the Atimārga from "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," without a doubt the single most influential article on Śaivism of the twentieth century:

> The Teaching of Śiva (*śivaśāsana*) which defines the Śaivas is divided between two great branches or "streams" (*srotas*). These are termed the Outer Path (Atimārga) and the Path of Mantras (Mantramārga). The first is accessible only to ascetics, while the second is open both to ascetics and to married home-dwellers (*gṛhastha*). There is also a difference of goals. The Atimārga is entered for salvation alone, while the Mantramārga promises both this, and for those that so wish, the attainment of supernatural powers (*siddhis*) and the experience of supernatural pleasures in the worlds of their choice (*bhoga*). The Atimārga's Śaivism is sometimes called Raudra rather than Śaiva. This is because it is attributed to and concerned with Śiva in his archaic, Vedic form as Rudra (the "Terrible"), the god of wild and protean powers outside the *śrauta* sacrifice. It has two principal divisions, the Pāśupata and the Lākula. (Sanderson 1998, 664.)

An important aspect of the above definition is that it is written from the viewpoint of the Mantramārga. Although it follows an emic division of Śaivism,[4] it is one which appears to have been coined by the Mantramārga and not by

3 Quoted from the electronic version: http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198610250.001.0001/acref-9780198610250

4 Cf. Sanderson 2006, 163: "The term Atimārga, which I suggest we use for the non-Āgamic

the Atimārga itself. In other words, it reflects the higher Mantramārgic systematization of doctrines and practices. The Atimārga, in contrast, represents a more archaic ascetic strand of Śaivism, predating the development of tantric Śaivism. Initially it was not known as Atimārga, nor do we have evidence of ascetics who refer to themselves as Atimārgins, "Followers of the Outer Path." The name Atimārga was well chosen, however, for the Pāśupata ascetics adhered to what they called the Atyāśrama "Outer Discipline," by which they indicated that they were beyond the four disciplines (*āśrama*) that define orthodox Brahmanism. *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.15–17 plays on the theme of being "beyond" (*ati-*) customary practise:

> *atidattam atīṣṭam atitaptaṃ tapas tathā atyāgatiṃ gamayate*
>
> The extraordinary gift, the extraordinary offer, and the extraordinary practise of asceticism leads to the extraordinary goal.

Whoever coined the term was therefore closely familiar with the tradition.

The division of Śaivism into Atimārga and Mantramārga appears for the first time in the *Niśvāsamukha*, the introduction to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. The Mantramārga is presented here as the fifth and highest stream (*srotas*) of religion, which has been revealed by Śiva's fifth, upper face.[5] The Atimārga, by contrast, is said to have been revealed by Śiva's fourth, eastern face. In terms of hierarchy this indicates a lower position, on a par with that of the revelations by Śiva's three other faces: the Laukika or mundane religion taught by his western face, the Vaidika or brahmanical religion taught by his northern face, and the Ādhyātmika or system of knowledge of the self taught by his southern face. On the other hand, its connection with Śiva's eastern face sets it apart from the three other religious traditions and it is clear from the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* itself that some of the text's teachings are in fact deeply influenced by those of the Atimārga.[6] The *Niśvāsamukha*'s fivefold scheme itself appears to be an expansion based on a passage from the *Manusmṛti* (2.117), where three forms of knowledge are distinguished: Laukika, Vaidika, Ādhyātmika.[7]

Śaivism of the Pāśupatas and related systems, is extracted, then, from a stage of the tradition which predates our famous commentators and perhaps even some of the Āgamas themselves."

5 For a critical edition, with annotated translation and accompanying study, of the *Niśvāsamukha*, see Kafle 2015.

6 See Sanderson 2006.

7 *Manusmṛti* 2.117 (Olivelle 2015):

Following the *Niśvāsamukha*, we find the division in a range of Mantramārga scriptures and in texts of authors with a Mantramārga affiliation, although it is certainly not ubiquitous across tantric literature. As will be seen below, most important for the present paper is the following passage from the *Svacchandatantra*:

> It is called Atimārga because it is beyond the mental dispositions. It is taught as "Atimārga" because the doctrine is beyond the worlds. And the *loka*s are designated "bound souls," in the cycle of birth and death. They who are established in the Atimārga, [that is to say] the followers of the observance of the skull and the Pāśupatas, they are to be known as beyond them. There is no rebirth for them and they abide in [the reality of] Īśvara, in [the world of] Dhruva.[8]

The division into Atimārga and Mantramārga appears to be found only in texts belonging to the Mantramārga.[9] No Pāśupata or for that matter "Atimārga" text refers to the concept of Atimārga, let alone to Mantramārga. The only exception that I am aware of is a medieval Māhātmya about Vārāṇasī, the subject of this paper.

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laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ vāpi tathādhyātmikam eva ca |
ādadīta yato jñānaṃ taṃ pūrvam abhivādayet ||

The first half of this verse is identical to two pādas in *Niśvāsamukha* 1.26–1.27ab, where the fivefold division is introduced for the first time:

śṛṇvantu ṛṣayas sarve pañcadhā yat prakīrtitam |
laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ vāpi tathādhyātmikam eva ca ||
a[[*timārgaṃ ca mantrākhyam*]]—|

For a discussion of this incomplete passage, see Kafle 2015, 21; and pp. 49–53, for further evidence of the influence of the *Manusmṛti* on the composition of the *Niśvāsamukha*.

8 *Svacchanda* 11.182–184:

atītaṃ buddhibhāvānām atimārgaṃ prakīrtitam |
lokātītaṃ tu taj jñānam atimārgam iti smṛtam ||182||
lokāś ca paśavaḥ proktāḥ sṛṣṭisaṃhāravartmani |
teṣām atītās te jñeyā ye 'timārge vyavasthitāḥ ||183||
kapālavratino ye ca tathā pāśupatāś ca ye |
sṛṣṭir na vidyate teṣām īśvare ca dhruve sthitāḥ ||184||

9 See Sanderson 2006 for references.

3 The Atimārga in the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* of the *Bhairavaprādurbhāva*

For some years now I have been working on a manuscript containing a unique collection of *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*s.[10] It concerns an old palm-leaf manuscript, currently in the Kaiser library in Kathmandu (Acc. No. 66).[11] The manuscript may be dated on palaeographical grounds to the end of the twelfth century CE. It was most probably penned down in Vārāṇasī itself, as suggested by comparison of the old Nāgarī script with that of other manuscripts written in twelfth-century Vārāṇasī, but now likewise surviving in the collections of Nepal.[12] It is an extensive but incomplete manuscript: 145 folios survive but the text breaks off in the middle of a long quotation of the *Skandapurāṇa*. The manuscript consists of Māhātmyas taken from and attributed to a range of Purāṇas, including the *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Nandipurāṇa*, *Brahmapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Śivapurāṇa* and *Skandapurāṇa*. Several Māhātmyas can be identified in the present editions of works bearing the same name (most importantly the Māhātmyas of the published *Matsyapurāṇa* and the early *Skandapurāṇa*), but quite a few of them are unknown from any other source. The manuscript provides a unique glimpse into the production of Māhātmya literature in early-medieval Vārāṇasī.

The first 13 chapters, covering the first 59 folios, about one third of the surviving text, contain the complete text of a Māhātmya not known otherwise. It is attributed in the colophons to the *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, but there are strong grounds to think that this attribution is incorrect and that it was originally intended to belong to the *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* of the *Vāmanapurāṇa* instead. My reasons for this assumption are the following:

– The attributions of Māhātmyas to other Purāṇas are incorrect in several other cases of the manuscript as well.
– There is no section called *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* in the surviving text of the *Matsyapurāṇa*.

10 See Bisschop 2007 and 2013.

11 The manuscript has been microfilmed by the NGMPP on reel C 6/3. I also have access to excellent colour photographs kindly provided to me by Harunaga Isaacson. There is also a paper apograph in a private collection, microfilmed as NGMPP E 766/7.

12 Some comparable manuscripts produced in Vārāṇasī and dated to the twelfth century are: *Jayadrathayāmala* (NGMPP A 996/3, A 997/1), *Bṛhatkālottara* (A 43/1), *Harivaṃśa* (A 27/5), *Manusmṛti* (C 44/4). The scribe of our manuscript is, however, less neat. The text also abounds in scribal errors.

– Colophons in several manuscripts of the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, critically edited by the Kashiraj Trust, reveal that various chapters from chapter 9 onwards are attributed to the *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* of the *Vāmanapurāṇa*.[13]
– The narrators of the present Māhātmya and the *Vāmanapurāṇa* are the same: Nārada and Pulastya.
– The "Origin of Bhairava(s)" (*bhairavaprādurbhāva*) is narrated in relation to the destruction of Andhaka by Bhairava in *Vāmanapurāṇa* 44.30 ff.
– The eight Bhairavas (*aṣṭabhairava*) originating from the blood of Andhaka when Śiva strikes him correspond with a set of eight Bhairavas mentioned in our Māhātmya.[14]

I therefore conclude that the Māhātmya was originally meant to be included in the *Bhairavaprādurbhāva* section of the *Vāmanapurāṇa*. In all likelihood the text was composed by a local pandit in twelfth-century Vārāṇasī, for the description of the town evinces clear connections to the layout of the town around the time when the Gāhaḍavālas were ruling north India and had made Vārāṇasī into their religious capital. It appears to be the work of a Śaiva author who engages with the increasing presence of Vaiṣṇava worship in Vārāṇasī supported by the Gāhaḍavāla kings.[15]

The Atimārga is referred to towards the end of the first chapter of this Māhātmya. After Pulastya has told Nārada about the abodes of the eight Bhairavas,

13 See also Bonazolli 1982.

14 *Vāmanapurāṇa* 44.23–38: Vidyārāja (east), Kālarāja (south), Kāmarāja (west), Somarāja (north), Svacchandarāja, Lalitarāja and Vighnarāja. Bhairava himself should be added as the eighth. In VM 1.53–54 seven similar Bhairavas are mentioned: Kālarāja (in Avimukta), Kāmarāja, Saumya, Svacchanda (in Jayantika), Lalita, Vighnarāja (in Kālañjara), and Bhairava (in Bhṛgutuṅga). The passage is corrupt and requires heavy emendation. I have tentatively reconstructed the text as follows, but many readings remain doubtful:

viśiṣṭaṃ sarvasattvānāṃ tāraṇaṃ jagataḥ param |
kālarājasya ca kṣetraṃ dattaṃ caiva svayaṃbhuvā ||53||
kāmarājā tu saumyaś ca svacchandaś ca jayantike |
lalitaś ca kalau devi vighnarājā kaliñjare |
svayaṃ tu bhairavo devo bhṛgutuṅge vyavasthitaḥ ||54||

53a °sattvānāṃ] *conj.*; °sattānāṃ $V_1^{pc}V_2$, °sattanāṃ V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) **53b** jagataḥ] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; jagata V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) **54a** kāmarājā tu] *conj.*; kālālayaṃ tu V_1, kālālāyaṃ ca V_2 **54b** svacchandaś ca jayantike] *conj.*; svacchande ca jayantikā V_1V_2 **54c** lalitaś ca] *conj.*; lalitasya V_1V_2 **54d** °rājā] *conj.*; °rājaṃ V_1V_2 • kaliñjare] V_1, kaliṃjale V_2

15 Particularly relevant in this connection is chapter 7 of the Māhātmya. It deals with the north end of the town, which was the centre of Gāhaḍavāla religious activity. This area, referred to in the text as "Brahmapura," is presented as an area of brahmanical authority where gifts of gold, land, etc., are practised, as is indeed attested by the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, and where Vedic recitation constantly takes place. See Bisschop 2011.

the most important of which is Kālarāja, who resides in Vārāṇasī and is also known as Kālabhairava or Āmardaka,[16] he introduces a number of important *tīrtha*s in the town. From VM 1.99 onwards Pulastya zooms in on the cremation ground, the *śmaśāna*, also called *ūṣara* (saline ground), where, at the time of destruction, all beings and worlds enter into Bhairava's mouth. He tells Nārada that it is because of this that the cremation ground grants release.[17] He also reports that there is a pond there called Kālodaka, which arose when Kālarudra was playing on the cremation ground. At that time the Lord taught the observance of the skull (*kapālavrata*). He chopped off the fifth head of Brahmā, as a consequence of which there arose the holy Pāśupata pond.[18] Mahādeva subsequently carries Brahmā's skull around the world and unites with the cre-

16 VM 1.37–38:
kālarājasya devena purī vārāṇasī śubhā |
nirdiṣṭā mokṣaṇārthāya pāpānāṃ caiva sarvadā ||37||
tasyāṃ caiva sthitaḥ sākṣād bhairavaḥ kālabhairavaḥ |
mardayan sarvapāpāni tena cāmardakaḥ smṛtaḥ ||38||

37c mokṣaṇārthāya] *conj.*; rakṣaṇārthāya V_1V_2

17 VM 1.99cd–101:
śmaśānasya śṛṇuṣvemāṃ kathāṃ pāpapraṇāśanīm ||99||
śmaśānaṃ ūṣaraṃ proktaṃ yatra khādyanti jantavaḥ |
lokāś caiva tu saṃhāre praviśya bhairavaṃ mukham ||100||
kālānalamahādīptaṃ kālarājasya bhairavam |
tena caiva śmaśānaṃ tu vārāṇasyāṃ tu mokṣadam ||101||

99c śmaśānasya] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; śmaśāna V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) **100b** khādyanti] *conj.*; kṣidyanti V_1V_2 **100c** lokāś caiva tu] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; lokāś caiva tu lokāś caiva tu V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) **101b** bhairavaṃ] V_2; bhaivaṃ V_1 (*unmetr.*)

18 VM 1.102–105:
kālodakaṃ ca nirdiṣṭaṃ kālarājasya cāgrataḥ |
kālānalasamaprakhyaṃ tasminn eva mahat saraḥ |
saṃbhūtaṃ kālarudrasya śmaśāne krīḍataḥ purā ||102||
tataḥ krīḍānusaktena devadevena śambhunā |
kāpālavratam uddiṣṭaṃ tasmin kāle mahāmune ||103||
kāpālavratam āsthāya brahmaṇaś ca śiro mahat |
cakartta bhagavān kruddhaḥ pañcamaṃ ghoradarśanam ||104||
tasminn eva samutpannaṃ divyaṃ pāśupataṃ saraḥ |
tena tṛpyanti sakalāḥ kṣaṇamātraniyojitāḥ ||105||

103a krīḍānusaktena] *em.*; krīḍānuśaktena V_1V_2 **103b** devadevena] V_1; devadena V_2 (*unmetr.*) **104a** kāpālavratam] V_2; kāpālaṃ vratam V_1 **105b** divyaṃ] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; divyaṃ divyaṃ V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) • saraḥ] *em.*; śaraḥ V_1V_2 **105d** °niyojitāḥ] *conj.*; °nijojite V_1^{pc}, °niyojitaṃ V_1^{ac}, °niyojite V_2

mation grounds.[19] There he teaches that transmigration results from attachment (*sneha*), that attachment comes from desire (*rāga*), and that attachment is destroyed by indifference (*vairāgya*). When people attain indifference, their karma is destroyed and they attain unequalled happiness (*saukhya*).[20] He then teaches the following:

> The great tree of transmigration has arisen from the seed of desire. After cutting the tree with the axe of indifference, whose sharp blade is disattachment, they proceed on the Atimārga.[21]

Here the text introduces a term that we do not expect to come across in a Māhātmya. The text continues in the same vein, however, attesting to the appropriation of this significant terminology. The passage is worth quoting in full:

> Engaged in the path of the observance of the skull (Kāpālavratamārga), the Lord wanders, free from attachment, displaying the Lokamārga and the supreme Lokātīta. And the *loka*s are designated "bound souls," includ-

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19 VM 1.106:
sakapālaṃ mahādevo babhrāma sakalaṃ jagat |
krīḍamāṇas tadā kṣetrair uṣarair samapadyata ||106||

106a sakapālaṃ] *conj.*; taṃ kapālaṃ V_1V_2 **106c** tadā] V_1; tada V_2 **106c** kṣetrair] *em.*; kṣetrer V_1V_2 **106d** samapadyata] V_1^{ac}; sampadyate V_1^{pc} (*unmetr.*), samupadyate V_2

20 VM 1.112–113:
aho mūrkhā na jānanti saṃsāraṃ snehasaṃbhavam |
rāgāc ca jāyate sneho vairāgyāt snehasaṃkṣayaḥ ||112||
tad vairāgyaṃ yadā puṃsāṃ jāyate karmasaṃkṣayaḥ |
tadā saṃprāpyate saukhyam asādṛśyaṃ tu kasyacit ||113||

112b saṃsāraṃ snehasaṃbhavam] V_1; saṃsārasnehasaṃbhavā V_2 **112d** vairāgyāt] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; vairāgyā V_1^{ac} **113a** vairāgyaṃ] V_1; vairāgya V_2 **113b** °saṃkṣayaḥ] *conj.*; °saṃkṣaye V_1V_2 **113c** saukhyam] *conj.*; mokhyaṃ V_1, mokṣam V_2

21 VM 1.114:
rāgabījasamutpannaḥ saṃsāraviṭapo mahān |
vairāgyasya kuṭhāreṇa niḥsaṅgatīkṣṇa-m-aśmanā |
chittvā caiva tu taṃ vṛkṣam atimārgaṃ vrajanti te ||114||

114d °tīkṣṇa°] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; °tikṣṇa° V_1^{ac}
The reading of pāda d is highly uncertain: it shows syncopation throughout and a meaningless compound-breaking *-m-* is inserted. As Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out to me, the image calls to mind *Bhagavadgītā* 15.3d (= *Mahābhārata* 6.37.3d): *asaṃgaśastreṇa dṛḍhena chittvā*.

ing gods, demons and men. No one realizes the supreme certainty with respect to knowledge of the self. And except for Śarva, the supreme god, there is no such behaviour of another [god]. No other god has certainty of knowledge. There is no such behaviour anywhere in the world with all its gods. The gods, beginning with Brahmā, also proceed along the Laukikamārga. The God of gods, Virūpākṣa, who is established in the Lokottaramārga, proceeds beyond [the institutes of] sacrifice (*yajña*), giving (*dāna*) and asceticism (*tapas*). But those sages who are on that path, delighting in the knowledge of the self, also proceed along the Lokottaramārga, abandoning their bodies. And there is no rebirth in this world (*iha*) for those Pāśupata sages who follow the observance of the skull, they who abide by the Atimārga. For the practitioners of the Atimārga there is only (*kevalam*) indifference. Those who have set out on the Atimārga only (*kevalā*) delight in indifference. Those who die on the saline ground (*uṣara*) go along that path, but of all saline grounds Vārāṇasī is the best, O sage. And there is no sprouting for those who die there. The body abandoned on the cremation ground merges in the Lord of Time.[22]

22 VM 1.116–125:
kāpālavratamārgastho niḥsaṅgo bhramate prabhuḥ |
darśayan lokamārgaṃ tu lokātītaṃ paraṃ ca yat ||116||
lokāś ca paśavaḥ proktāḥ sadevāsuramānuṣāḥ |
na kaścit paramaṃ vetti ātmajñāne tu niścayam ||117||
ṛte śarvān mahādevān nānyaceṣṭāsti cedṛśī |
jñānasya niścayo nāsti anyadevasya kasyacit ||118||
na ceṣṭā īdṛśī loke vidyate sāmare kvacit |
laukikenāpi mārgeṇa yānti brahmādayaḥ surāḥ ||119||
devadevo virūpākṣo mārge lokottare sthitaḥ |
atītya vartate devo yajñadānatapāṃsi ca ||120||
tasmin mārge tu ye viprā ātmajñānānurañjitāḥ |
te 'pi yānti tanuṃ tyaktvā mārge lokottareṇa tu ||121||
ye ca pāśupatā viprāḥ kāpālavratadhāriṇaḥ |
na teṣām udbhavo 'stīha atimārgeṇa ye sthitāḥ ||122||
vairāgyaṃ kevalaṃ tatra atimārganiṣeviṇām |
atimārgaprayātānāṃ vairāgye kevalā ratiḥ ||123||
tena te yānti mārgeṇa uṣare tu mṛtā hi ye |
sarveṣāṃ uṣarāṇāṃ tu śreṣṭhā vārāṇasī mune ||124||
tasyāṃ caiva mṛtānāṃ ca praroho naiva vidyate |
kālarājalayaṃ yāti śmaśāne tūjjhitā tanuḥ ||125||

116d ca] V_1^{pc}; *om.* $V_1^{ac}V_2$ (*unmetr.*) **117d** ātmajñāne] V_1; ājanmajñāne V_2 (*unmetr.*) **118b** nānya°] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; nānyā V_1^{ac} • cedṛśī] V_1; cedṛśaṃ V_2 **119b** sāmare] V_1; sāmaraḥ V_2 **120b** lokottare] V_1; lokottaraḥ V_2 **120d** °dānatapāṃsi] V_1; °dānaṃ tapāṃsi V_2 **121b**

This passage is revealing in several respects. First of all, it is the only known non-Mantramārga source that uses the term Atimārga. Moreover, it does so in a proper Atimārga context: its message is strict asceticism and there is no mention of the Mantramārga at all, neither here nor in the following chapters of the Māhātmya. As for the identity of the Atimārga in question, the text brings together a number of key terms under one umbrella: Kāpālavratamārga, Lokātīta, Pāśupata, and Atimārga. In appearance it is a form of Kāpālika asceticism, involving cultivation of indifference (*vairāgya*) and aiming for death at the cremation ground. This is an old theme in the Pāśupata tradition, harking back to the *Pāśupatasūtra* itself.[23]

There are several hints in the above passage that indicate a relation with the *Svacchanda*. The *Svacchanda*, as we have seen earlier, also refers to the division of the Atimārga and, like our passage, stresses that it is Lokātīta ("Beyond the Worlds"). The *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* elaborates further on this theme, drawing a clear distinction between the way of the Lord and that of the other gods. The latter are merely followers of the Laukika path, or Lokamārga.

Moreover, we can identify two textual parallels:

1. *lokāś ca paśavaḥ proktāḥ* (*Svacchanda* 11.183a = VM 1.117a)
2. *kapālavratino ye ca tathā pāśupatāś ca ye* |
   sṛṣṭir na vidyate teṣām (*Svacchanda* 11.184ac)
   ≈
   ye ca pāśupatā viprāḥ kāpālavratadhāriṇaḥ |
   na teṣām udbhavo 'stīha (VM 1.122ac)

Aside from these textual parallels it is noteworthy that some of the themes that precede the verses on the Atimārga in the *Svacchanda* are taken up in the passage of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*. Thus, in *Svacchanda* 11.176 it is stated that those who follow the *hetuśāstra* "science of reasoning" find no certainty or conviction (*niścaya*) in matters of Dharma, Artha, Kāma or Mokṣa: *dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu niścayo naiva jāyate* (*Svacchanda* 11.176cd). The theme of *niścaya* is taken up in the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* with respect to the "knowledge of the self" (*ātmajñāna*), which is restricted to Śiva alone. No other god has it.

°rañjitāḥ] V_1; °rakṣitāḥ V_2 **121c** yānti] V_2; jānti V_1 **122a** ca] V_1; tu V_2 **123a** vairāgyaṃ] V_1; vairāgya° V_2 **124c** uṣarāṇāṃ] V_1; uśvarāṇāṃ V_2 **124d** śreṣṭhā vārāṇasī mune] V_1; siddhā vārāṇasī ne V_2 (*unmetr.*) **125d** tūjjhitā] V_1^{ac}?; tyajatāṃ V_1^{pc}, tūktitā V_2

The last sentence may be translated alternatively as: "he merges in the Lord of Time, but his body is abandoned on the cremation ground."

23 The Pāśupata ascetic was supposed to die on the cremation ground. See *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.30–40.

Moreover, the *Svacchanda* also introduces the concept of *vairāgya*, a key term in the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*, just before its discussion of the Atimārga. The *Svacchanda* distinguishes several religious traditions on the basis of their characteristic mental dispositions (*buddhibhāva*):[24]

– Laukika is connected to *dharma*
– Pāñcarātra and Vaidika are connected to *dharma* and *jñāna*
– Bauddha and Ārhata are connected to *vairāgya*
– Sāṃkhya is connected to *jñāna* and *vairāgya*
– Yoga is connected to *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aiśvarya*

The Atimārga is said to be beyond these mental dispositions.[25] Instead of this, the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* passsage rather stresses the importance of *vairāgya*, along with knowledge of the self (*ātmajñāna*), as the key to liberation. Although we can thus trace some influence of the *Svacchanda* the teaching is put in a new, proper Atimārga perspective.

The passage also involves some genuine Pāśupata ideals and concepts. The statement that Śiva "proceeds beyond (*atītya*) [the institutes of] sacrifice (*yajña*), giving (*dāna*) and asceticism (*tapas*)," instantly calls to mind *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.15–17, quoted above: *atidattam atīṣṭam atitaptaṃ tapas tathā atyāgatiṃ gamayate*. Finally, the prominent presence of the word *kevala* in this passage, which is employed to stress that for the follower of the Atimārga only *vairāgya* (indifference) remains, can be connected to the technical use of Kevala in the Pāśupata tradition. For the terms Kevalijñāna and Kevalārtha are used as synonyms for the Pāśupata teaching in several sources.[26]

The Māhātmya continues to use the terminology of Atimārga and Lokamārga in the subsequent two chapters. In chapter 2 Śiva returns to Vārāṇasī after he has wandered around with the skull for twelve years. He enters the

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24 *Svacchanda* 11.179–181:
mohakāḥ sarvajantūnāṃ yatas te tāmasāḥ smṛtāḥ |
dharmeṇaikena deveśi baddhaṃ jñānaṃ hi laukikam ||179||
dharmajñānanibaddhaṃ tu pāñcarātraṃ ca vaidikam |
bauddhaṃ ārahataṃ caiva vairāgyeṇaiva suvrate ||180||
jñānavairāgyasambaddhaṃ sāṃkhyajñānaṃ hi pārvati |
jñānaṃ vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ yogajñānapratiṣṭhitam ||181||
The list of mental dispositions calls to mind *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 23:
adhyavasāyo buddhir dharmo jñānaṃ virāga aiśvaryam |
sāttvikam etadrūpaṃ tāmasam asmād viparyastam ||

25 *Svacchanda* 11.182:
atītaṃ buddhibhāvānāṃ atimārgaṃ prakīrtitam |
lokātītaṃ tu taj jñānaṃ atimārgam iti smṛtam ||

26 See Sanderson * 2012, 9, n. 3.

cremation ground and installs the skull to the north of Kālarāja. When he has completed his observance, he bathes and satiates the sages, gods and ancestors. In this way, it is said, he displays the Lokamārga and sets an example for the people to follow.[27]

The logic is illustrated by drawing on a phrase from the *Bhagavadgītā*:

> Otherwise, if Deva would not display it, the path would be destroyed. The people follow what he sets up as the standard.[28]

A *tīrtha* called Ṛṇamocana appears, provided with three *liṅga*s. The three *liṅga*s release from the threefold debt to the gods, the sages and the ancestors.[29] In this way the narrative integrates the teachings of the Lokātīta, or Atimārga, and the Lokamārga. Śiva next continues to display more observances. He even gives the Kāpālavrata to Kubera.[30]

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27 VM 2.5–6:
evaṃ vratasamāptiṃ tu kṛtvā devo maheśvaraḥ |
snānaṃ kṛtvā tataḥ paścāt pareṇa vidhinā haraḥ ||5||
tarpayitvā ṛṣīn devān pitaraś ca yathāvidhi |
evaṃ ca lokamārgaṃ tu darśayāno jagatprabhuḥ ||6||

5d vidhinā] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; vidhi V_1^{ac} (*unmetr.*) **6a** ṛṣīn] V_1; ṛṣin V_2 **6b** pitaraś ca yathāvidhi] V_1; piraś ca yathāvidhiḥ V_2 (*unmetr.*) **6d** darśayāno] V_1; darśayāmo V_2

28 VM 2.7:
anyathā naśyate mārgo yadi devo na darśayet |
sa yat pramāṇaṃ kurute lokas tad anuvartate ||7||

7a naśyate] *em.*; tasya te V_1V_2 **7c** kurute] V_1; kute V_2 (*unmetr.*)
Cf. *Bhagavadgītā* 3.21 (= *Mahābhārata* 6.25.21):
yad yad ācarati śreṣṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ |
sa yat pramāṇaṃ kurute lokas tad anuvartate ||
Also *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.16.45:
evaṃ hi laukikaṃ mārgaṃ pradarśayati sa prabhuḥ |
sa yat pramāṇaṃ kurute lokas tad anuvartate ||

29 VM 2.8–9:
evaṃ jñātvā gato devas tarpayann ṛṇamocane |
tasmāt tatra mahātīrthaṃ saṃbhūtam ṛṇamocanam ||8||
trīṇi liṅgāni jātāni devadevasya tarpaṇe |
ekaṃ devamanuṣyāṇāṃ tṛtīyaṃ pitṛsaṃbhavam ||9||

8c tatra] $V_1^{pc}V_2$; atra V_1^{ac} • °tīrthaṃ] V_1; °tīrtha V_2 **9a** trīṇi] V_2; triṇi V_1 **9c** ekaṃ] *conj.*; evaṃ V_1V_2 • devamanuṣyāṇāṃ] V_1; demanuṣyāṇāṃ V_2 (*unmetr.*) **9d** pitṛsaṃbhavam] V_1; tu trisaṃbhavaṃ V_2

30 VM 2.20:

In chapter 3, the apparent contradiction in Śiva's behaviour is articulated by Brahmā, who says that those who have no faith see the path of the world, viz. the Laukika and Apavargika, on the one hand, and the great path, the Lokottara, on the other, as a contradiction:

> *ekataś ca jaganmārgaṃ laukikaṃ cāpavargikam* |
> *lokottaraṃ mahāmārgaṃ viparītam aho tvayi* |
> *dṛśyate bhuvanādhāra yatra śraddhā na vidyate* ||6||

6a °mārgaṃ] V_1^{ac}; °mārge V_1^{pc} V_2 **6b** cāpavargikam] V_1; cāpavarggakaṃ V_2 **6c** mahāmārgaṃ] V_1; mahāmārgga V_2 **6f.** vidyate] V_1^{pc} V_2; khadyate V_1^{ac}

But in God the two paths are united. In him there is no contradiction. His ways are inscrutable; only he can unite these contradictions and he does so because he delights in play (*krīḍā*).[31]

4 Concluding Observations

I started this paper with the observation that the term Atimārga, although certainly useful for referring to the ascetic strand of early Śaivism, appears not to have been used by "Atimārgins" themselves. The term represents, by all accounts, a Mantramārgic perspective on the formation of the Śaiva religion.[32]

The *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* discussed in this paper is the only exception that I know of in which we do find the term Atimārga—as well as the related term Lokātīta—used outside of a Mantramārgic context. Several observations can be made with reference to the passages of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* discussed here:

> *dhanadasya vrataṃ dattvā kāpālaṃ parameśvaraḥ* |
> *so 'pi tatra vratī bhūtvā devam ārādhayan sthitaḥ* ||20||

20a dhanadasya] V_1; vanadasya V_2

31 VM 3.7:
> *krīḍayā yāni deveśa karmāṇi kuruṣe prabho* |
> *tāni lokeṣu dṛśyante paramārthapradāni tu* ||

32 The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to terms such as Lokamārga or Laukika. Although Mantramārga sources take the Laukika religion to refer to the merit-making rituals and practices of the Śaiva laity taught in the *Śivadharma*, the term is not used by the *Śivadharma* itself to refer to its own religious practice, which is rather referred to as "Śivadharma."

– The VM provides important evidence on traditions relating to Bhairava, in particular attesting to knowledge of the *Svacchanda* in Vārāṇasī around the twelfth century.
– The VM integrates the divide between Lokamārga and Atimārga or Lokottaramārga in a narrative of the origin of several sacred spots in Vārāṇasī and the rituals to be performed there.
– The VM adopts the term Atimārga within a proper Atimārga context. The ideology is clearly Atimārgic, representing a mixture of Pāśupata and Kāpālika Śaivism.
– Finally, and most importantly, in appropriating the term, the Atimārga is presented here as the ultimate path of liberation.

It is striking that the author of the text does not seem to have felt the need to contextualize the Mantramārga from which he has adopted the term in the first place. Although it seems certain that the author had knowledge of the Mantramārga—the influence of the *Svacchandabhairava* is quite clear—he chose to neglect the Mantramārga entirely. Is this because he considered it irrelevant to the content of the text, which is after all a Māhātmya of Vārāṇasī, or because the Māhātmya represents a different perspective on what it means to be a Śaiva? It certainly testifies to the fact that views on what constituted Śaivism in early-medieval India differed across distinct Śaiva traditions. Much of our understanding today derives from specific textual traditions that only represent one layer of a much broader spectrum of religions oriented around the worship of Śiva that sought to define themselves and claim their place.

5 Postscript

After the presentation of my paper at the symposium in Toronto, Professor Sanderson kindly drew my attention to a veiled reference to the Atimārga in the *Halāyudhastotra*. The text of this *stotra* is recorded, together with the *Mahimnastava* and a *Narmadāstotra*, on an inscription of 1063 AD (*saṃvat* 1120) in the Amareśvara temple at Oṃkāreśvar/Māndhātā.[33] The inscription

33 For an overview of the inscriptions of the Amareśvara temple and the publication of several more hitherto unpublished inscriptions from the temple, including the *Narmadāstotra*, see Neuss 2013 and 2015. The *Halāyudhastotra* was first published by P.P. Subrahmanya Sastri, with an additional note containing the prose part of the inscription by N.P. Chakravarti, in *Epigraphia Indica* 25 in 1939–1940 (appeared in 1948: Sastri 1948 and Chakravarti 1948). The text of the *Halāyudhastotra* was constituted on the basis of the inscription and two manuscripts of the *stotra* from the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. The inscription was subsequently republished by Mittal 1979, 322–339, and Trivedi 1989, 604–611.

was written by a Pāśupata, *paṃḍita* Gāndhadhvaja, while the text itself is said to have been composed by a brahmin named Halāyudha.[34] The spiritual lineage of the engraver of the inscription is recorded in a prose passage at the end of the inscription and mentions the names of several Pāśupata teachers: Bhāvavālmīka → Bhāvasamudra → Bhāvaviriṃci → Supūjitarāśi → Vivekarāśi → Gāndhadhvaja.[35]

The *Halāyudhastotra* is an ornate poem in praise of Śiva. Phyllis Granoff (1993) has introduced and translated several parts of the inscription in an article on the experience of religion in medieval hymns and stories, but the verses that concern us here have not been translated or discussed before. Verses 34–35 contain what appears to be an allusion to the Atimārga:

> The visitation of the wives of the distinguished sages in the Pine Park, the oblation with seed in Fire, the twilight dance: Your behaviour is not reprehensible.[36] O Three-eyed one! The doctrines of the world do not touch those who have left worldly life, *having passed far beyond the path* of those whose minds are afflicted by false knowledge.
>
> The gods all wear gold and jewels as an ornament on their body. You do not even wear gold the size of a berry on your ear or on your hand. The one whose natural beauty, *surpassing the path* [of the world], flashes on his own body, has no regard for the extraneous ornaments of ordinary men.[37]

These verses poetically allude to the distinction between the Lokamārga and Atimārga, although the terms themselves are not used. Significantly, the *Halāyudhastotra* also makes reference to the term Kevalajñāna, in the first pāda

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34 Sastri (1948, 74) argues that he is identical with Halāyudha the tenth-century author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the *Kavirahasya*.

35 Chakravarti 1948, 185, lines 51–55.

36 The verse refers to three key mythological events: Śiva's visit as a naked ascetic to the Devadāruvana, the emission of his seed into the mouth of Agni leading to the birth of Skanda, and his performance of the twilight dance.

37 *Halāyudhastotra* 34–35:

dārūdyāne dvijavaravadhūpaplavo retasāgnau
homaḥ sandhyānaṭanam iti te ceṣṭitaṃ naiva duṣṭam |
[*mithyājñānopa*]*hatamanasāṃ mārgam ullaṅghya dūraṃ*
ye niṣkrāntās trinayana na tān lokavādāḥ spṛśanti ||34||
devāḥ sarve dadhati vapuṣā bhūṣaṇaṃ hemaratnaṃ
guñjāmātraṃ kanakam api te nāsti karṇe kare vā |
mārgātītaṃ sphurati sahajaṃ yasya saundaryam aṅge
tasyāhārye[*ṣv itarajanavan nā*]*daraḥ syād guṇeṣu* ||35||

of verse 3: "Victorious is the One God, Śiva, the embodiment of the Kevalajñāna."[38] As mentioned above, Kevalajñāna may be used as a synonym for the Pāśupata teaching. A Pāśupata background of the *Halāyudhastotra* is furthermore indicated by the prose part of the inscription, which records the names of several Pāśupata teachers connected to the Amareśvara temple. The inscription also makes reference to the *liṅga*s at five famous Pāśupata centres: Avimukta, Kedāra, Oṃkāra, Amara (Amareśvara) and Mahākāla (Ujjain).[39] All in all the Amareśvara inscription merits further study as a testimony of the survival of Pāśupata Śaivism in north India in the medieval period.

Abbreviations

conj.	conjecture
em.	emendation
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project
unmetr.	unmetrical
VM	*Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*

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38 *Halāyudhastotra* 3a: *eko devaḥ sa jayati śivaḥ kevalajñānamūrtir*.

39 Line 50:
avimuktaś ca kedāra oṃkāraś cāmaras tathā |
pañcamaṃ tu mahākālaḥ paṃcaliṅgāḥ prakīrttaye ||

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CHAPTER 2

Why Are the Skull-Bearers (Kāpālikas) Called Soma?

Judit Törzsök

1 The Question

The Kāpālikas or Skull-Bearers, who formed the third group of the Atimārga, alongside the Pāśupatas and the Lākulas,[1] were perhaps the most notorious Śaiva ascetics of classical India. They were known for their cremation ground rituals and for wandering around with a skull for an alms bowl. The skull (*kapāla*), their most conspicuous attribute, also provided their name. But the Kāpālikas are also designated as Somasiddhāntins, "Those of the Soma Doctrine,"[2] or the "Soma People with the Skull."[3] These appellations seem to have been of some importance because their initiation names also included or ended in *-soma* in most cases (e.g. Satyasoma, Devasomā,[4] Somibhaṭṭāraka[5]). What was this Somasiddhānta, doctrine of Soma or teaching about (the) Soma?

1 Concerning these distinctions within the Atimārga, the term Atimārga itself and the Kāpālikas as an Atimārgic group, see Sanderson 1988 and 2006. Professor Sanderson has published several ground-breaking papers focussing on the Kāpālikas. This paper, inspired by his discoveries, is dedicated to him.

2 This term figures in the *Pauṣkaravṛtti* of Jñānaprakāśācārya, IFP transcript no. 110, p. 591. They are also called "Knowers of the Doctrine of Soma" (*somasiddhāntavedinaḥ* in *Sarvajñānottara* 14.4, edited by Goodall), which could be corrupt for *somasiddhāntavādinaḥ*, "Those who Profess the Doctrine of Soma."

3 Or "Skull-Bearers Who are the Soma People," *somajanakāpālī* in *Jayadrathayāmala* 3.35.33c. There may be an attempt here to distinguish the skull-bearing Soma ascetics from other skull-bearers, such as those who follow a Bhairava *tantra* or a Kaula *tantra*.

4 The names of the two Kāpālikas in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*.

5 The name or title of a Kāpālika in the Kannada inscription of ancient Koḷḷipāke, Andhra, in 1050 CE, cited by Lorenzen 1989, 233–234. This Kāpālika is said to be *mukha-kamala-vinirggata-Sōmasiddhāntābhiprāya-* "devoted to the meaning of Somasiddhānta issued from the lotus mouth [?of Śiva]" (Lorenzen's translation). While this implies that the Somasiddhānta or Soma teaching was ultimately considered Śaiva revelation (if we accept Lorenzen's suggestion of supplying Śiva), it does not tell us anything about its nature and content, nor about the meaning of the word *soma* itself. The wording suggests, nevertheless, that it is not Śiva who is called Soma.

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In what way was it typical of Kāpālikas? Why did *-soma* figure in their initiation names?

I am afraid I will not be able to offer conclusive answers to most of these puzzling questions. However, I propose to look at a few passages about the Kāpālikas which may shed more light on what the word or name Soma possibly meant for them.

Now I am not the first to ask this question. An ingenious answer can already be found in commentaries on the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra (itself dating from 1041–1073): commentators understand *soma* to mean *sa-umā*, i.e. "with/accompanied by Umā," with reference to the fact that a male Kāpālika normally had a consort, just as Śiva is accompanied by Umā.[6]

This understanding seems rather forced. Female Kāpālikas or tantric consorts are not normally called Umā and this interpretation does not seem to figure at all in earlier sources. It also fails to explain how we are to understand the element *-soma* in female initiation names (such as Devasomā), in which it cannot mean "with Umā/with a female consort." Nevertheless, the *sa-umā* explanation of *soma* higlights an important trait of the Kāpālikas, namely that they were exceptional in the Atimārga in that male and female initiates performed rituals together[7] and were obviously not required to maintain celibacy, unlike (most probably) the ascetics of the Pāśupata and Lākula groups.

David Lorenzen has proposed a different hypothesis.[8] He identified a Kāpālika called Kāpāli-śarman in a (probably) sixth century inscription from Karnataka. This Kāpāliśarman is said to have performed vedic Soma sacrifices. Lorenzen therefore suggests that Kāpālikas were perhaps dedicated vedic Soma sacrificers.

This is also rather unlikely, for at least two reasons. First, Kāpāliśarman may not have been a Kāpālika in the strict sense, for his name does not include Soma and does not appear to conform to other kinds of Kāpālika names either.[9] Second, nowhere else is it said that Kāpālikas performed vedic Soma sacrifices. However, as we shall see they took interest in particular 'essences' other than the vedic Soma, and in a metaphorical sense, perhaps did perform their own kind of Soma ritual.

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6 For this and some other references to Kāpālikas associated with some Soma doctrine, see Lorenzen 1991, 83.

7 Two well-known literary examples are the Kāpālika man with his partner in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* and the Kāpālika couple in the fifth act of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*.

8 Lorenzen 1989, 235 citing K.V. Ramesh *Inscriptions of the Western Gangas* 70–74, no. 19, inscription from Bangalore district, 6th cent.? (*sic!*).

9 Since Kapālin/Kāpālika can denote Śiva/Bhairava himself, the name could simply mean "Protected by Śiva/Bhairava" without being markedly Kāpālika.

2 Somaśarman and the Moon Image

We reach firmer ground when we turn to the often-cited Malhar or Junwani copper plate inscription (647 CE, see Bakker 2000 and 2015; Sanderson 2012), which lists a lineage of Kāpālikas as identified by Sanderson. This mentions Somaśarman and the "line of tradition starting with Soma" (continuing later with Rudrasoma, Tejasoma, Bhīmasoma). It is in Somaśarman's house that Lakulīśa, founder of the Pāśupata order, is said to have been born as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Śiva. Lakulīśa was then initiated into or through the *mahāvrata*, perhaps by Somaśarman himself:

> [...] *adhunā kali-kālam āsādya śrīmal-Lakulīśa-nātho 'vatīrya Somaśarmākhya-brāhmaṇa-kule jātaḥ mahāvrate*[*te?*]*na dīkṣito jagad-indus tenāpi Musalīśas tataḥ Somādi-pāramparya-krameṇa sthānaguru-śrī-Rudrasoma-praśiṣya-śrī-Tejasoma-śiṣyebhyaḥ śrīmad-Bhīmasoma-pādebhyaḥ* [...]
>
> ---
>
> mahāvrate[te]na] *conj.* Isaacson; mahāvratena
> Musalīśas] *conj.* Sanderson; mugalīśas
> sthānaguru] *conj.* Majumdar; sthāne guru
>
> [...] reaching the present Kali age, the venerable Lord Lakulīśa took up an incarnation and was born in the family of a brahmin called Somaśarman. He was initiated into the Great Observance by him (?) [and became] the Moon of the World. Then by him, Musalīśa [was initiated], then, by the unbroken tradition starting with Soma, the local Master Rudrasoma, his disciple Tejasoma, whose pupil is the venerable Bhīmasoma [...]

Before examining the question of Soma and related issues, I would like to point out some details concerning the word *mahāvrata* or Great Observance. Lakulīśa and others were most probably initiated **into** the *mahāvrata* (*mahāvrate*) and not **with**/**by** the *mahāvrata* (*mahāvratena*), for this observance is not known to be used as a rite of initiation in any Śaiva system.[10]

By the beginning of the seventh century, the *mahāvrata* certainly referred to the ritualized mimesis of Śiva's expiation for cutting off Brahmā's fifth head.

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10 This follows the conjecture proposed by Isaacson, although the reading of *mahāvratena* is of course grammatically acceptable. However, it is also possible that the instrumental *mahāvratena* was understood to stand for the locative, and that no additional instrumental *tena* was intended. In this case, it is not expressed that Somaśarman initiates Lakuliśa, although it may again be implied. Bakker (2015, 143) opts for the instrumental, but assumes that this only implies a Pāśupata affiliation of Lakulīśa.

According to this well-known story, Śiva must wander with a skull he uses as an alms bowl, for he has committed the sin of killing a brahmin, i.e. Brahmā. Wandering with a skull for twelve years is in fact the expiatory observance for killing a brahmin as prescribed in the Dharmasūtras,[11] but there it is not yet called *mahāvrata*. Although most attestations of the mythological story come from late puranic sources, the myth already figures in the (original) *Skandapurāṇa* (chapters 5–7),[12] dated around the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century.

Moreover, the Kāpālika Satyasoma in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* (600–625 CE) mentions that it was thanks to the practice of the *mahāvrata* that his Lord bearing the crescent moon on his head was purified of his sin, which he had committed by cutting Brahmā's head.[13] The verse clearly identifies Śiva's *mahāvrata* as the expiation rite for a brahmin slayer, and also shows that Kāpālikas were practising the *mahāvrata* in imitation of Śiva. In fact, the *Skandapurāṇa* (6.5–6) also seems to associate this observance with sanguinary practices, such as those of the Kāpālikas. For when Śiva-Nīlalohita starts looking for suitable alms, Viṣṇu tries to fill his *kapāla*-bowl with his own blood—a very odd, distinctively Kāpālika notion of what alms should consist of.

Now returning to the question of the Soma lineage: Lakulīśa, whether he was indeed initiated by Somaśarman or not, is said to have been born in Somaśar-

11 See e.g. *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 2.1.2–3: *bhrūṇahā dvādaśa samāḥ kapālī khaṭvāṅgī gardabhacarmavāsā araṇyaniketanaḥ śmaśāne dhvajaṃ śavaśiraḥ kṛtvā kuṭīṃ kārayet | tām āvaset | saptāgārāṇi bhaikṣaṃ caran svakarmācakṣāṇas tena prāṇān dhārayet |*. "A man who has killed a learned Brahmin should do the following for twelve years. He should carry a skull and a post from a bed-frame; wear the skin of an ass; reside in the wilderness; and, using the head of a corpse as his flag, get a hut built in a cemetery and live in it. He should maintain himself by begging almsfood from seven houses while proclaiming his crime." Translation by Olivelle (2000, 241). See *Gautamadharmasūtra* 22.4: *khaṭvāṅgakapālapāṇir vā dvādaśa saṃvatsarān brahmacārī bhaikṣāya grāmaṃ praviśet | karmācakṣāṇaḥ*. "Or else, for twelve years he should live a chaste life and, carrying the post from a bed-frame and a skull, enter a village only to beg for food while proclaiming his crime." Translation by Olivelle (2000, 175), who remarks in the notes to this passage that *khaṭvāṅga* must mean skull-staff (a staff topped with a skull) rather than the post of a bed-frame. Brick 2012, however, shows convincingly that the post of a bed-frame was probably intended at the time of the Dharmasūtras. See also *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.243: *śiraḥkapālī dhvajavān bhikṣāśī karma vedayan | brahmahā dvādaśābdāni mitabhuk śuddhim āpnuyāt* ||.

12 The version related here replaces the figure of Śiva with one of his ectypes, Nīlalohita. On this narrative device, which is used here to distance the supreme deity from sanguinary practices, see Granoff 2006.

13 17ab: *āsthāya prayato mahāvratam idaṃ bālenducūḍāmaṇiḥ, svāmī no mumuce pitāmahaśiraśchedodbhavād enasaḥ |*.

man's house. According to the inscription, the Kāpālikas belong to the spiritual lineage starting with Soma, and their initiation names therefore seem to be derived from the founder's name. The name Soma can naturally be understood as a short form of Somaśarman. Thus, Kāpālikas are the Soma people because they follow the tradition started by Somaśarman.

Our investigation could stop here. For the name Soma seems to be sufficiently explained in this way. However, several issues remain unexplained. It is not clear whether Somaśarman was a historical person. If he did exist, it still remains uncertain whether he was indeed the founder of the Kāpālika movement or whether Kāpālikas claimed retrospectively that he was their founder. Thus, we cannot take it for granted that the Soma name indeed derives from him.

For this reason, I suggest we look at some other details more closely. Lakulīśa, after his initiation in Somaśarman's house, is called the Moon of the Word (*jagadindu*) in the inscription. There are at least three interpretations of *jagadindu*:

1. A natural understanding of the moon as having cool rays. Thus, "Moon [whose cooling rays have calmed the fever] of the world" (translation by Sanderson 2012).
2. Moon on the earth, i.e. having a lunar-white body (*sitāṅga*) on account of the bathing with ashes (Bakker 2000; 2015, 153). This understanding is backed up by the description of Lakulīśa in the *Skandapurāṇa* as being white-bodied when covered with ashes.[14]
3. Without going against either of these interpretations, both of which are plausible, I propose as a tentative hypothesis that, in addition, the expression *jagadindu* may indirectly allude to a Kāpālika affiliation if we understand this in the sense of *Jagatsoma, a compound suggestive of a Kāpālika initiation name.[15] This may imply two things. First, it is possible that

14 It must also be noted that the *Skandapurāṇa* (180.10) calls the mere ash-bath a/the great observance (*mahāvrata*). It also says that Somaśarman with his family received Lakulīśa's grace when he visited them in their house, and that they were given *yogasiddhi* (167.125 ff.). The *Skandapurāṇa* appears to represent an earlier(?)/*pāśupata* version of the story. (Cf. also Bakker 2015, 143 ff.) Bakker 2015, 143–144 (note 442) also proposes that the Soma name suggests a parallel with the Soma-vaṃśa dynastic affiliation of Mahāśivagupta. However, the Soma name figures elsewhere, in seventh-century South India in the names of Kāpālikas of the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, where no such parallel can be assumed; such implications therefore seem unlikely.

15 I cannot cite any initiate with this name, and I do not intend to suggest that Jagatsoma (or Jagadindu) was necessarily an actual initiation name. The word may, nevertheless, be construed in the same manner as Kāpālika initiation names such as Satyasoma, Devasoma,

the Kāpālikas derive their name Soma/Moon from Lakulīśa, too, who is considered the Moon of the World. Second, the sequence of events as presented in the inscription may also suggest that Lakulīśa himself came to be called the "Moon of the World" (suggestive of a Kāpālika initiation name) because of Somaśarman. Whatever is the case, the lunar image is emphatically present in the names or epithets of both alleged founders as well as in the initiation names of Kāpālikas.

Now the naming of Lakulīśa as the "Moon," in the manner of a Kāpālika, may be more than a coincidence. It may well be understood as an attempt to present Lakulīśa as a true Kāpālika, perhaps via his association with another "Moon person," Somaśarman. Or, from another point of view, by presenting Lakulīśa as a Kāpālika initiate, the text may suggest the preeminence of the Kāpālikas over the other two Atimārga groups, the Pāśupatas and the Lākulas.

But no matter how we understand the hidden agenda of the above inscription (if there is one), it is undeniable that the Kāpālikas' initiation name ending in *-soma* is understood to recall both their founder(s)' name and the image of the moon.

3 The Moon and the Nectar of Immortality (*amṛta*) in the Skull(s)

The moon also forms an important element of Pāśupata yogic practices. As we learn from the *Skandapurāṇa* (179.28 ff.), as pointed out by Bakker (2015, 141), their "accomplishment in yoga" (*yogasiddhi*) comes about through a process of withdrawing the senses until the practitioner can see a lunar disc (*somamaṇḍala*) in his heart. From the moonlight within his body, yogic powers, omniscience and the like arise. These powers include being immune to disease (*vyādhayo nāviśanty enam*) and possessing a divine body (*divyaṃ vapuḥ*).

Speaking of the moon and practices related to its visualization, the Kāpālikas appear to share the pan-Indian idea that it also contains the nectar of immortality.[16] In one passage of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (5.23) an invocation is addressed to the fierce goddess, Cāmuṇḍā, which describes her violent *tāṇḍava* dance. The verse is uttered by the two Kāpālikas in the cremation ground. During this dance, the goddess inadvertently slashes the moon, from which the

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etc., which can be interpreted as "Moon of Truth," "Moon of the Gods," etc. What I propose is that this parallelism of names ending with "-moon" seems too remarkable to be accidental.

16 This idea perhaps also contributed to the spread of various visualization practices centered around the image of the moon.

amṛta flows downward and fills her garland of skulls. The skulls, thus resurrected, start emitting a loud and harsh laughter.[17]

This image is not particularly significant in itself. However, it seems that Kāpālikas were particularily interested in a special sort of ambrosia. In their quest for the *amṛta*, they probably joined a large range of ascetics or yogins of the period who, in various ways and through different practices, all sought the same magical essence.[18] So what exactly was the *amṛta* of the Kāpālikas and how did they expect to find or produce it?

4 What is the Kāpālikas' Nectar (*amṛta/soma*)?

We now turn again to the Kāpālikas of the *Mālatīmādhava*.[19] At one point in the story (5.2), the female practitioner mentions that she can extract the so-called "five nectars" (*pañcāmṛta*), which are five vital essences of the human body. They have a powerful, invigorating effect (as one would expect from such a nectar), so much so that the female Kāpālika can fly a great distance in a few seconds.

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17 ***pracalita-kari-kṛtti-paryanta-cañcan-nakha-āghāta-bhinnendu-niḥsyandamānāmṛta-ścyota-jīvat-kapālāvalī****-mukta-caṇḍāṭṭahāsa-trasad-bhūri-bhūta-pravṛtta-stuti śvasad-asita-bhujaṃga-bhogāṅgada-granthi-niṣpīḍana-sphāra-phullat-phaṇā-pīṭha-niryad-viṣa-jyotir-ujjṛmbhaṇoḍḍāmara-vyasta-vistāri-doḥ-khaṇḍa-paryāsita-kṣmādharam | jvalad-anala-piśaṅga-netra-cchaṭācchanna-bhīmottamāṅga-bhrami-prastutālāta-cakra-kriyā-syūta-dig-bhāgam uttuṅga-khaṭvāṅga-koṭi-dhvajoddhūti-vikṣipta-tārā-gaṇaṃ pramudita-kaṭapūtanottāla-vetāla-tāla-sphuṭat-karṇa-saṃbhrānta-Gaurī-ghanāśleṣa-hṛṣyan-manas-Tryambakānandi vaḥ tāṇḍavam devi bhūyād abhīṣṭyai ca hṛṣṭyai ca naḥ |.*

18 Obtaining the nectar of immortality and, thanks to it, an immortal physical body is the main goal of the haṭhayogic and Nath yogic traditions; see Mallinson 2007 and Ondračka 2007. Mallinson (2015, 120 ff.) proposes that there may have been an early, nonsectarian tradition of ascetics, the precursor of what is later known as *haṭhayoga*, for which he finds traces already in the Pali Canon.

19 I understand, in the context of this paper, the Kāpālikas of this play to represent the Kāpālikas of the Atimārga here under discussion. They could alternatively be considered skull-bearing tantric practitioners, as Hatley (2007, 143 ff.) argues on the basis of numerous parallels with prescriptions found in the *Brahmayāmala* and elsewhere. In fact, one could interpret the evidence in two ways: either take the Kāpālikas of the play to belong to the Atimārga, which has strong influence on later Śaiva tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha, or one can take them to be tantric skull-bearers of the Vidyāpīṭha, who certainly inherit much from the Kāpālikas of the Atimārga. In either case, the practices described in the play may well reflect what is a ritual core common to both the Kāpālikas of the Atimārga and those of the Vidyāpīṭha. For this reason, in the context of the present argument, I understand the *Mālatīmādhava*'s Kāpālikas to be representative of Atimārga Kāpālikas or their practices, even if this identity remains uncertain.

The extraction of the five nectars (*pañcāmṛtākarṣaṇa*), as well as other, Kāpālika-type cremation ground practices, also figure in the *Brahmayāmala*, as Hatley (2007, 143ff.) points out. The five substances are not listed in a systematic way, but they usually seem to include these four: semen (*śukra*), blood (*rakta*), fat/marrow (*medas*) and *sneha* (see also the entry *pañcāmṛta* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III). Other sources also describe Kāpālikas as making use of various parts of the human body. Kāpālikas use human flesh (*mahāmāṃsa*), brain (*mastiṣka*), intestines (*antra*), fat (*vasā*) and blood (*kīlāla*) in ritual, and drink alcohol (*surā*), according to *Prabodhacandrodaya* 3.13.

In addition to the extraction of the five nectars, the *Brahmayāmala* also includes rituals which make particular use of human body parts and are to be performed in the cremation ground. A notable series of chapters prescribing such rites forms a small cluster around chapter 46. Since the practices prescribed have close affinity to the kinds of ritual attributed to Kāpālikas, these chapters could well be adaptations or assimilations of originally Kāpālika rituals,[20] although this remains a hypothesis in the absence of any surviving Kāpālika scriptures. It is also notable that the *Brahmayāmala* describes possession (*āveśa*) by Bhairava, stating that through possession one obtains Bhairavahood; and possession was, according to numerous Śaiva sources about the subject, the way in which Kāpālikas claimed to attain final liberation.[21]

Now in chapter 46 of the *Brahmayāmala*, much like the Kāpālikas, the practitioner makes ritual use of human flesh, hair (*keśa*), bones (*asthi*), body fluids (*picu*), particularly blood (*rakta*), and intestines (*antra*); moreover, he offers and drinks alcohol (*madirā*).

It is in this chapter that the *amṛta* comes to fore again in ritual. For the main subject here is *amṛtamanthāna*, the churning and drinking of the *amṛta*. The Sādhaka is to make pots from clay obtained from the cremation ground, contruct a sacrificial pavilion from bones, and place the ritual cauldron upon a corpse. He is required to churn a mixture including *mahāpicu* (sexual fluids or various other human fluids?) using a piece of bone as the churning stick, with a rope made of human hair, intestines and skin (?). The cauldron is identified with Aghorī and the churning stick with Bhairava. In this rite, the Sādhaka re-enacts the cosmic churning of the ocean, and the same miraculous objects emerge (the Kaustubha gem, etc.) as the gods brought forth during the primordial churning. Then the terrifying goddess, Caṇḍikā, receives

20 For more arguments, see Törzsök 2011 and 2015.

21 On this, see e.g. Sanderson 2009, 133 note 311.

homage. She appears in the form of Aghorī, offering the Sādhaka a boon. The practitioner chooses to drink the milk of Aghorī's breasts. The chapter ends by saying that having produced the *amṛta* and having drunk left and right (probably meaning having drunk Aghorī's milk from both breasts), one becomes omniscient, Bhairava himself. Although Aghorī's milk and the *amṛta* that the Sādhaka prepares are not identified, they could well be the same thing.[22]

22 The following working edition is based on Shaman Hatley's transcription of the old palm-leaf manuscript. Only the relevant verses are given here:

mahāpicususaṃpūrṇaṃ kuryāt sthāliṃ śavopari ||44||
āyatasya tu nalakaṃ mahā-m-asthi śavopari |
eṣa manthānako devi asmin tantre praśasyate ||45||
keśeṣu netrakaṃ kuryād antraiḥ karttṛvimiśritaiḥ | (*karttṛ* in the sense of *kṛtti*?)
navahastaṃ susaṃpūrṇaṃ vidyāmālāniyojitam ||46||
suviśuddhamahībhāgaṃ rajasaṃpātaśobhitam |
mahāsthālī tu pārśve tu evaṃ kṛtvā mahātape ||47||
Aghoryā sthālirūpāṃ tu dhyāyen mantrī suśobhanām |
śaktisthāṃ śaktirūpāṃ ca dhyāye somātmake sthitām ||48||
Manthānabhairavaṃ devaṃ śuddhasphaṭikanirmalam |
sahasrabhujaparyantaṃ cinten manthānarūpiṇam ||49||
...
mahāmanthāna kurvīta yaṃ sthitvā tu Śivo bhavet ||61||
...
namaskṛtvāsurīṃ divyāṃ tataḥ sādhanam ārabhet ||62||
...
evaṃ mālais tu tāṃ dīptāṃ dhyātvā manthānamandiram |
netrakaṃ ca tathaiveha cintayed Vāsukirūpiṇam ||66||
kṣīrodaṃ sthāpayet sthāli ātmā bhairavarūpiṇam |
pūjayitvā tu manthānaṃ prakṣipet sthālimadhyataḥ ||67||
...
kṣaṇamātraṃ mathed yāvac chaśāṅkottiṣṭhate priye ||92||
Kaustubhaṃ ca tato tiṣṭhe vimānaṃ Puṣpakaṃ tathā |
evam ādyāni siddhīni pūrvaśāstreṇa bhāṣitāṃ ||93||
uttiṣṭhati mahābhāge śataśo ['']tha sahaśraśaḥ | (*mahābhāgo* Ms.)
...
kṣaṇamātraṃ mathed yāva namaskṛtvā tu Caṇḍikāṃ |
tatrottiṣṭhati vai devi Aghorī siddhidāyikā ||107||
...
sādhakovāca ||
yadi tuṣṭāsi māṃ devi stanaṃ me dada Ambike ||114||
śrutvā vākyaṃ tato devyāṃ sādhakasya suśobhanaṃ |
ehi ehi mahāsattva stana me piba putraka{ḥ} ||115||
tvaṃ muktvā tu mahāsattva{ḥ} ko ['']nyo putratvam arhati |
pariṣvajya tato vīraṃ stanaṃ dadāmi sādhaka{ḥ} ||116||
...

What emerges from this chapter is that the preparation of the nectar of immortality was also an important way in which one could obtain Bhairavahood. Moreover, it involved worship of a fearsome goddess, Caṇḍikā or Aghorī, which again recalls the Kāpālikas in the *Mālatīmādhava*, who worship Cāmuṇḍā.

But was the bodily *amṛta* the only nectar the Kāpālikas collected and consumed?

5 Alcohol, Immortality and Soma

The Kāpālikas were also known for their use of alcohol in ritual. The *Prabodhacandrodaya* (3.20 and prose) presents a Kāpālika rite of initiation, in the course of which the Kāpālika offers alcohol to the initiands and calls it *amṛta*, for, once again, this releases someone from the bondages of this world and of the state of being a bound soul. In this sense, *amṛta* is not just a simple metaphor denoting a precious or delicious liquid. It is a genuine nectar of immortality, for it actually makes one immortal by bestowing final release, *mokṣa*.[23]

In a more satirical way, the Kāpālikas' alcohol is also treated as their equivalent to the vedic Soma. The Kāpālika in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* cries out as follows when he sees a pub:

> My darling, look. This pub resembles the vedic sacrificial ground. For its signpost resembles the sacrificial pillar; in this case alcohol is the Soma, drunkards are the sacrificial priests, the wine glasses are the special cups for drinking Soma, the roasted meat and other appetizers are the fire oblations, the drunken babblings are the sacrificial formulae, the songs are the Sāman-hymns, the pitchers are the sacrificial ladles, thirst is the fire and the owner of the pub is the patron of the sacrifice.[24]

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evaṃ kṛtvāpi vai devi -m- amṛtaṃ sādhakottamaḥ |
savyāsavyaṃ tato pītvā sarvajño bhavate kṣaṇāt ||120|| (*kṣaṇāṃ* MS)
bhairavo ['}tha svayaṃ sākṣā guhyakānāṃ prabhu[r] bhavet | (*prabhu* MS unmetr.)
(Superfluous visargas are placed between curly braces. Square brackets indicate editorial additions. Comments and variants are in parentheses. A hiatus-filling *m* is printed as *-m-*.)

23 *Śraddhā: bhaavaṃ, sulāe pūlitaṃ bhāanaṃ* [= *bhagavan, surayā pūritaṃ bhājanaṃ*].
Kāpālikaḥ (*pītvā, śeṣaṃ bhikṣukṣapaṇakayor arpayati*):
idaṃ pavitram ***amṛtaṃ*** *pīyatāṃ bhavabheṣajam* |
paśupāśasamucchedakāraṇaṃ *Bhairavoditam* ||20||.

24 *Kapālī: priye! paśya paśya | eṣa surāpaṇo yajñavāṭavibhūtim anukaroti | atra hi dhvajastambho yūpaḥ, surā somaḥ, śauṇḍā ṛtvijaḥ, caṣakāś camasāḥ, śūlyamāṃsaprabhṛtaya*

Nobody would assume from this passage that the Kāpālikas were Soma sacrificers—the comic effect intended is readily evident. It is nevertheless interesting that, once again, the Kāpālikas are presented as having a special nectar of their own, whether it is called *amṛta* or Soma, and that the ritual significance of this nectar may be, it seems, comparable to the Soma of vedic ritual.

6 Inventors of a New Nectar (*soma/amṛta*)? Or Simply 'the Best?'

From the passages looked at here, no firm conclusion can be drawn as to why the Kāpālikas included the word Soma in their initiation names and what exactly they meant by "the teaching of or about Soma" (Somasiddhānta). The most readily explicable case is found in the Junwani copper plate inscription, which associates the Soma name with the name of their alleged founder, Somaśarman. It is, nevertheless, possible that Kāpālikas identified Somaśarman as their founder only retrospectively and that this derivation of Soma from Somaśarman is secondary.

Conveniently, Soma as a proper name is also one of Śiva's names,[25] although it does not necessary imply that he is accompanied by Umā (*sa-umā*). Soma is probably used metaphorically for Śiva, just as it is used for other gods such as Viṣṇu or Kubera. In any case, *somasiddhānta* can accordingly simply mean "Śiva's doctrine." However, as a rather generic appellation of the god's teaching, it seems unlikely to designate the Kāpālika doctrine in particular.

Soma, meaning "moon," and more particularly the nectar of immortality the moon is supposed to contain, is another possible explanation. Various kinds of nectar (*amṛta*/Soma), whether alcohol or essences of the human body, appear to be in the focus of attention in Kāpālika rituals. The vital essences in particular were considered to have an invigorating effect that provided Kāpālikas with the magical power they were apparently famous for. Concoctions of the vital essences were probably thought to bestow omniscience and Bhairavahood. Whether it was really this nectar or these nectars that were at the origin of the name Soma is impossible to tell; but whatever the case may be, the bodily nectar of the vital essences was most probably a crucial element of Kāpālika doctrine and practice.[26]

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upadaṃśā havirviśeṣāḥ, mattavacanāni yajūṃṣi, gītāni sāmāni, udaṅkāḥ sruvāḥ, tarṣo 'gniḥ, surāpaṇādhipatir yajamānaḥ |.

25 See e.g. *Skandapurāṇa* 2.3, 29.103, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 7.1.101.

26 This may not be sufficient to explain what was meant by their "doctrine of/about Soma,"

Given this rather wide range of possibilities, it is possible that the Kāpālikas themselves intended to make full use the natural polysemy of the word Soma, although it is less likely that such polysemy was intended from the very beginning.

Finally, to add one more possible interpretation: Soma at the end of a compound can also mean "chief, principal, the best."[27] In this sense, one could understand the Kāpālika names to imply that they considered themselves simply the best Śaivas around.

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but such "doctrine" was not necessarily an abstract theory. The word *siddhānta* may be used in the sense of "teaching" rather than "philosophy" or "philosophical conclusion."

27 For this meaning, see Apte 1957, entries on *soma* and *nṛsoma*.

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CHAPTER 3

Dressing for Power: On *vrata*, *caryā*, and *vidyāvrata* in the Early Mantramārga, and on the Structure of the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*

Dominic Goodall

If, twenty years ago, you had read most of the literature published before the 1990s about the Śaivasiddhānta, you would probably have received the impression that this was primarily a South Indian movement, whose scriptures, called *āgama*s, were divided into four sections, or *pāda*s, devoted to ritual (*kṛiyā*), doctrine (*jñāna*), *yoga* and pious conduct (*caryā*). The first two of these four sections, the *kṛiyā-pāda* and the *jñāna-pāda*, you would have learnt, were the most important, the *kṛiyāpāda* being devoted to describing the rituals practised in the Śaiva temples of the Tamil-speaking area, and the *jñānapāda* (or *vidyā-pāda*) being devoted to teaching and defending a strictly dualist system that presents an ontological ladder of thirty-six *tattva*s, but that recognises three irreducible ontological categories: *pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa*. That is to say: the Lord (*pati*), bound souls (*paśu*), and the bonds that bind them (*pāśa*), namely Matter, *karman* and an innate impurity called *mala* or *āṇava-mala*.

Each one of these pieces of received wisdom has been challenged by the discoveries of the last two decades, so that we now know that none of the above propositions actually holds true for the earliest strata of the religion to which surviving primary literature can give us access. A great many of those discoveries are those of Alexis Sanderson and the students to whom for decades he devoted much of his time and energy.

Of course it is wide reading of a very broad corpus of published and unpublished sources that has gradually revealed to us quite a different picture of the early phases of the religion. But if one were to single out any one text for its importance in expanding our knowledge of the early history of the Mantramārga, it would probably be the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.

Ten years ago, hardly any aspect of the text had been explored in print, but, thanks in part to the spotlight of the Franco-German 'Early Tantra' project, which between 2008 and 2011 focussed the minds of many people present at the Toronto symposium on the *Niśvāsa* and on its relation to other early tantric literature, parts of the work have been commented upon in an array of publications. The first major arcticle actually predates the 'Early Tantra' project, and is,

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of course, by Professor Sanderson himself: it is his study of the Lākulas (2006). Apart from the first volume of the collaborative edition and translation, covering the earliest three books of the *Niśvāsa*—the *Mūlasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra* and *Nayasūtra*—there are now substantial articles on, for instance, the evolution of the system of *tattva*s that can be traced as it gradually takes shape within the *Niśvāsa*-corpus (Goodall 2016), and on the lengthy grimoires of magical rites contained in the *Guhyasūtra* that are similar in style and content to those found in Buddhist *kṛiyātantra* works, and most strikingly similar to the those in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* (Goodall and Isaacson 2016).

Now that the earliest three books of the *Niśvāsa* are published at last, and now that the introductory book, the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā*, has been thoroughly examined in a doctoral thesis defended this year at the University of Leiden by Nirajan Kafle (2015*), what remains is the largest book of them all: the *Guhyasūtra*. The ninth-century manuscript of the corpus (NGMPP Reel No. A 41/14) comprises 114 folios, and all of the hitherto edited works together cover only the first 40 of those. The remaining 74 folios give us the text of the *Guhyasūtra*. Here is a very brief outline of the structure of its eighteen chapters:

A. Sādhana
Ch. 1 personality-types of *sādhaka*s and types of *liṅga*s that may be used for *siddhi*.
Ch. 2 *liṅgapratiṣṭhā*.
Ch. 3 preparations for *sādhana*, prognosticatory rites, *vrata*s, procedures for attaining certain *siddhi*s.

B. Cosmography
Chs. 4–7 a lengthy cosmography (*prakriyājñāna*).
Ch. 8 a variant form of *dīkṣā* in the form of worship of a series of *maṇḍala*s peopled by deities of the different levels of the cosmos (*prakriyāyāga*).

C. Other Mantra-systems
Finally, the use, primarily for magical powers, of mantra-systems other than those given in the earlier three *sūtra*s, namely
a) Chs. 9–11 The *vyomavyāpin*.
b) Chs. 12–14 The five *brahmamantra*s.
Ch. 15 Long forms of their *aṅgamantra*s.
c) Chs. 16–18 A ten-syllable mantra called *vidyā*.

The *Guhyasūtra* is somewhat like a series of appendices to the earlier *sūtra*s, containing more detailed accounts of some topics that have already been cov-

ered (cosmography), but also entirely new subjects (new mantras) or treatments of subjects that have hitherto only been alluded to, notably the acquisition of *siddhi*s. As I have tried to indicate with the overarching titles (A, B, C) in the brief summary above, I think that it can be said that chapters 1 to 3 have a certain sort of unity because they cover the acquisition of magical powers in much greater detail than we see in earlier layers of the text: the first chapter gives information about *sādhaka*s, then stresses the importance of the *liṅga* for attaining *siddhi*s, after which, in chapter 2, the installation of *liṅga*s is covered, and then in the third chapter we return to the preparations for *sādhana* and finally the procedures to be followed. Chapters 4–7 then give us a very detailed account of the Śaiva cosmos, the higher reaches of which have been further expanded and embroidered upon since the composition of the earlier *sūtra*s of the text.[1] This is undertaken because *dīkṣā* involves purging the soul of the fruits of *karman* that would need to be experienced—and thus expended—through every layer of the Śaiva universe. Using the same cosmography, chapter 8 describes an alternative *dīkṣā* involving the worship of *maṇḍala*s representing successive layers of the universe, and it then contains a number of add-on discussions that suggest, it seems to me, that the text once drew to a close at that point, as we shall see below. What follow, taking us up to the end of the *Guhyasūtra*, are three distinct textual layers each devoted to introducing an extra mantra-system, namely 1) that of the 81-word VYOMAVYĀPIN, 2) that of the *brahmamantra*s, and 3) that of the ten-syllable VIDYĀ. To each of these is attached a grimoire of magical recipes (*kalpa*).

Turning to the conclusion of chapter 8, I think that we can see from the summary given below that it reads like a series of codas. Verse 105 gives a clear statement of what we are supposed to have learnt from the preceding chapters, and it is followed immediately by remarks about the persons to whom these teachings may and may not be submitted, a typical closing device. Tagged on to this, from verse 116 onwards, is a treatment of religious suicide, again a theme suitable to the conclusion of a work of scripture. The final section, from verse 125, is introduced by Devī's question about the status of rival religious traditions. In answer, Śiva explains that He and Devī, as consonants and vowels, are the source of all language, and that they are the source of all the universe in that they are to be identified with the various *tattva*s from which all else evolves.

1 A full examination of this embroidery will have to await the publication of the relevant parts of the *Guhyasūtra*, but some idea of its extent and nature may be gained from the table on pp. 290–293 of Goodall, Sanderson and Isaacson 2015 and from the surrounding annotation, as well as from Goodall 2016.

Summary of the conclusion of *Guhyasūtra* 8:[2]

8.88–89 Devī asks how an initiate may foretell his own death.
8.90–98 Śiva recounts signs of death.
8.99–104 Activities that can be done under particular asterisms that grant release [from death?].
8.105 Summary of teachings from chapter 4 up to this point in chapter 8.

8.106–110 Those to whom one should and should not transmit this knowledge.
8.111–114b The 4 means of liberation: *dīkṣā*, *jñāna*, *yoga*, *caryā*.
8.114c–115 One should transmit this only to someone worthy.

8.116–117 Devī asks about religious suicide.
8.118–122 Śiva deprecates death in *tīrtha*s for initiates; he teaches instead 5 varieties of a 'razor'-mantra for suicide by *japa*.
8.123 Increasing length of life by yogic *dhāraṇā*s.
8.124 The supreme Śaiva knowledge, without which one cannot be liberated, has been taught!

8.125–127 Devī asks about the fate of those who follow rival religions.
8.128–133 Śiva explains that He and Devī, as the consonants and vowels of the alphabet, are the source of all linguistic expression (*vāṅmayam*) and of all that has evolved (*vikārāḥ*).
8.134–136 The MŪLA-mantra is a panacea (*mṛtasañjīvanī*).
8.137–138 Śiva and Pārvatī are parents of everything in that they are respectively these *tattva*s: *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*; *kāla* and *niyati*; *īśvara* and *māyā*+*vidyā*; *sadāśiva* and *kalā*.
8.139–140 They are also respectively [supreme] Śiva and His Will (*icchā*).
8.141 Those who do not know the NAVĀTMAN, who are devoid of *dīkṣā* and *jñāna*, who do not know the MŪLA, do not attain the highest state.

2 Much of this conclusion has, by the way, been borrowed and adapted into the *Niśvāsakārikā*, which seems itself like another series of addenda that further modify and extend the teachings of the *sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*. Thus *Guhyasūtra* 8.88–89 and 8.92–104 have been reworked to produce chapter 21 of the *jñānakāṇḍa* of the *Niśvāsakārikā* (T. 17, pp. 131–133; T. 127, pp. 36–38); and *Guhyasūtra* 8.125–136 have been reworked to form the beginning of chapter 20 (23 in T. 127) of the *jñānakāṇḍa* of the *Niśvāsakārikā* (T. 17, pp. 122–124; T. 127, pp. 231–233). The chapter continues, at least in T. 17, for a further 32 verses on rival notions of liberation and methods for attaining it.

We may remark in passing that a noteworthy feature of this final passage is that the text takes no clearly defined position on the debate between dualism, which was to become a defining characteristic of classical mainstream Saiddhāntika doctrine, and non-dualism: it seems as though this debate had not yet caught the interest and attention of Śaiva thinkers. Here is the passage in question:

> ahaṃ pumāṃs tvaṃ prakṛti niyati puna[[r eva ca]]
> niya---[2] kālarūpī maheśvaraḥ 8.137
> tvam māyā ca tathā vidyā aham punas tatheśvaraḥ
> sadāśiva ahan devi tvañ caturdhā kaleśvarī 8.138
> īśitvāc ca vaśitvāc ca sarvajñatvāc ca nityaśaḥ
> śāntatvān niṣkalatvāc ca samatvāc ca ahaṃ śivaḥ 8.139
> mama icchā na hanyā tvaṃ tvaṃ hi śaktibalodayā
> tvatsūtañ ca jagat sarvaṃ śivadā sadanugrahe 8.140
>
> I am *puruṣatattva* and you are *prakṛti* and also *niyati*; … Maheśvara is Time; you are Māyā and Vidyā, while I am Īśvara-tattva. I, O goddess, am Sadāśiva [and] you are mistress of the 4 *kalā*s. (137–138)
> Because I rule, I control, I am omniscient, because I am permanently at rest, without division and in equilibrium, I am Śiva. (139)
> You are my Will, not to be crossed, for you are the one from whom the power of the śaktis arises!
> The whole universe has sprung from you; You bestow Śiva-nature, O you of true compassion! (140)

Having proposed an identification of the principal layers of redaction that are detectable in the *Guhyasūtra*, I should like now to skip back to the verses in the conclusion of chapter 8 that speak about those to whom the teachings may and may not be transmitted, since these verses bear both upon the themes that structure the work and upon the subject of *caryā*. For, slipped into the middle of that section, beginning in verse 8.111, is a short sequence of verses that make the claim that the teachings of the text comprise four independently salvific parts: *dīkṣā*, *jñāna*, *yoga* and *caryā*.

> etad buddhvā na dātavyaṃ śivadevāmṛtam param 8.110
> dīkṣājñānena yogena caryayā ca yathākramam
> pratyekaśaḥ śivāvāptis tantre 'smin pārameśvare 8.111
> dīkṣayā sukaraṃ mokṣaṃ yad gurus sādhayet sadā
> jñānañ ca gurum āsādya labhyate tat[[prasādataḥ]] 8.112

---[f. 72r] te mx yo xx(?) ca gurupādataḥ[3]
ātmaśaktyā carec caryāṃ sarvasiddhipradāyikām 8.113
etac catuṣṭayam proktaṃ saṃsārabhayanāśanam
parasyaiva na deyan tu yadi 'cchet siddhim ātmanaḥ 8.114

Knowing this, one should not give [lightly] the supreme nectar of Lord Śiva. (110)

According to this scripture of the Lord, one may attain Śiva by each of the following [practised individually] (*pratyekaśaḥ*): initiation, knowledge, yoga and *caryā* in due order. (111)

By initiation one attains liberation easily, since it is the guru who invariably accomplishes it.[4] And knowledge is obtained, once one finds a guru, through his grace. (112)

... yo[ga] ... from the feet of the guru; One must practise *caryā*, which bestows all supernatural powers, using one's own strength (*ātmaśaktyā*). (113)

This tetrad has been taught to destroy the dangers of *saṃsāra*. It should not [lightly] be given to others if one desires supernatural power for oneself. (114)

An innocent might here at first suppose that we find here what may be the earliest allusion to the notion that each Śaiva scripture should be arranged in four text-units called *pāda*s, for it is not difficult to see that the *kṛiyāpāda* might easily be referred to by the most significant ritual of all, namely *dīkṣā*. Now Brunner (1992) and others[5] have shown that most early scriptures are not in fact divided into four such text-units, and the *Niśvāsa* certainly is not. Nonetheless, one might reasonably suppose that the four topics to which some later scriptures devote four text-sections called *pāda*s are referred to here. But are they? Plainly the first three, *dīkṣā*, *jñāna* and *yoga*, may be found treated at length in the *Niśvāsa*; but is there anything that we might recognise as *caryā*? This is a word we are rather used to seeing translated as "conduct" or "comportment," as for instance in the title of Brunner's 1985 translation of the *kṛiyāpāda* and *caryāpāda* of the *Mṛgendratantra*: *Mṛgendrāgama*[.] *Section des rites et section du comportement*. When she characterises the content of the *caryāpāda* there, she observes (p. xxxvii):

3 Perhaps N once read: *yogañ ca gurupādataḥ*?

4 At the beginning of the *kṛiyāpāda* of the *Mataṅga* (1.2), initiation is similarly presented as an alternative route to salvation that is easier than taking the more difficult path of *jñāna*.

5 See Goodall 1998, lviii–lxv.

> La presque totalité de l'exposé (śl 1–105) est consacrée à un sujet unique: le comportement normal des différents groupes d'initiés.[6]

This is a topic that we really do not find addressed in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, and it is therefore clear that *caryā* probably does not mean "comportement normal" in this text. When speaking in Toronto, I was unaware that Christian Wedemeyer, faced with similar difficulties of interpretation resulting from assuming such a meaning, had already devoted a chapter of his work on *Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism* (2013, 133–169) to discussing how *caryā* and related terms should be understood in early Buddhist and Śaiva tantric works.[7] An exploration of this theme therefore now seems in some respects less pressing to me than it once did. But there are still some issues that can usefully be commented upon, and there are several early Śaiva attestations of the nexus of *caryā*-related terms of which Wedemeyer was not aware and which serve to adjust, I think, some of what he has said about this semantic field, and that go some way to explaining a significant juncture in the semantic voyage of the term *caryā* that led to its being commonly assumed in modern scholarship to mean something like "comportement normal," even in passages in which such a meaning does not fit. Wedemeyer's account does clarify a number of confusions, and he is to be commended for taking into account several Śaiva passages, but a combination of a desire to show that it is the Śaivas who have borrowed from the Buddhists rather more than the Buddhists have from the Śaivas here (2013, 136–137, 154) and of not having had access to the earliest known Śaiva material (which I should like to have made widely available long ago, but editing concurrently the *Niśvāsa*, the *Kiraṇa* and the *Sarvajñānottara* is proving a very time-consuming project) have led him to some problematic assertions and assumptions, some of which I hope to correct below.[8] In what follows, I will

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6 "Almost the entire exposition (verses 1–105) is devoted to a single subject: the regular comportment of different groups of initiates."

7 I am grateful to Tim Cahill for bringing Wedemeyer 2013 to my attention by kindly giving me a copy when he was visiting Pondicherry in 2015.

8 John Nemec too expresses some reserves in his generally positive review (2014, 272–273) and encourages further investigation of the Śaiva understanding of *vrata*s:

> Even if we grant that Wedemeyer limits his argument to instances of the antinomian practices that were understood to lead to liberation through a nondualistic, epistemological, or gnostic insight, as I think he wishes to do, there is nevertheless some work left to be done, in my view, to prove that even this particular understanding of the rites in question originated with tantric Buddhism (and the *Guhyasamājatantra* in particular [160–162, 166]). What is needed is a more thorough effort to establish the relative chronology of the relevant texts and, more importantly, a more detailed account of the Śaiva self-understandings of the religious observances in question.

be expanding upon and shoring up what was advanced rather too tentatively in a lengthy note on *Mūlasūtra* 4.17c–18 (Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015, 284–287).

In fact, the basic difficulty with the central term *caryā* had arguably already been resolved, *in nuce*, by Alexis Sanderson in his 2006 article on the Lākulas, but in a somewhat laconic fashion. What he writes, just before presenting the *vrata*s in the ninth chapter of the *caryāpāda* of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, is the following:

> The Śaivas have conventionally divided the means of liberation taught in the Āgamas, that is to say their subject matter, into the four categories, ritual (*kṛiyā*), doctrine or gnosis (*jñānam*, *vidyā*), meditation (*yogaḥ*), and ascetic observance and other rules governing the conduct of the various classes and kinds of initiate (*caryā*). Continuities between the Lākulas and the Śaivas have now been shown in the areas of the ritual of initiation and in the doctrine of the path to liberation, […] Insufficient evidence exists to permit much of a comparison in the domain of meditation. […] This leaves only the domain of ascetic observance (*vratacaryā*).

It is clear, in other words, that *caryā*, in early Śaiva works, may refer specifically to ascetic observance, presumably indeed because it is a contraction of the collocation *vratacaryā*/*vratacaraṇa*, "the performance (*caryā*/*caraṇa*) of timed religious observances (*vrata*)." The verb *car*, "to move," but also "to be engaged in," has indeed long been the natural idiomatic verb of choice for use with *vrata*, and this accounts for the frequency of such *bahuvrīhi* expressions as *cīrṇavrata* ("who has observed his observances"), both in non-Mantramārga works (e.g. *Bodhāyanagṛhyasūtra* 4.12.2 on p. 118, *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.298c, *Mahābhārata* 3.81.135c) and in works of the Mantramārga (e.g. *Mālinīvijayottara* 10.17c and 10.34c, *Mohacūḍottara* 1.14a, etc), as well as for the distinctively tantric *bahuvrīhi* expression *cīrṇavidyāvrata* (e.g. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 13.1a),[9] to which we shall return below.

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9 One non-tantric instance has been pointed out to me by Harunaga Isaacson (email of 26.xii .2015).

> … I find one occurrence of *cīrṇavidyāvrata* in a non-tantric text and a non-tantric context. It is in Vyomaśiva's *Vyomavatī*, the oldest of the commentaries on the *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* (perhaps early 10th century; might be even slightly earlier). Of course, even though the context is here of orthodox Vedic/brahmanical practice, we can be pretty certain that Vyomaśiva, as his name already suggests, was familiar with the Siddhānta and

If we were concerned only with the meanings of the word *caryā*, then it might seem that we could almost end our essay here: Wedemeyer has pointed out that *caryā* conventionally refers to virtuous behaviour and conduct in accordance with religious precepts in a number of early non-tantric Buddhist texts (2013, 135), where he characterises it as "by far the most common generic term for the spiritual undertakings of buddhas and bodhisattvas," just as it does in much later Śaiva works of the Mantramārga, such as the *Mṛgendra*; Sanderson has alluded (in the passage just quoted) to the observed fact that it may refer in Śaiva sources both to the prescribed "conduct of the various classes and kinds of initiate" as well as to "ascetic observance," and he has pregnantly suggested that this second meaning is connected with the notion of *vratacaryā*; finally, Wedemeyer has observed that *caryā* in Buddhist tantric sources, and in some Śaiva ones, refers not to life-long virtuous conduct, but rather to timed antinomian practices, in troubling places such as cremation grounds and involving transgressive sexual and mortuary elements.

But, as my title indicates, there is in fact a nexus of terms to be examined here. Wedemeyer indeed points out that there are several other related terms that seem to be used in places where *caryā* might have served instead, *caryāvrata* and *vratacaryā* being apparently "used with identical meaning" (2013, 136), to which he adds instances of these words "in compound with qualifiers related to ideas of secrecy or madness," such as *guhyavrata*, *guhyacaryā*, *prachannavrata*, *unmattavrata*, and "a cluster of interrelated terms that appear in the same contexts, and which seem to be largely synonymous," which he tabulates on p. 137. Among these, he singles out *vidyāvrata*, for which he suggests the translations "knowledge observance, spell observance, and/or consort observance" (2013, 136) as being "treated as essentially equivalent to *caryāvrata*/*vratacaryā* in Buddhist and Śaiva sources."

Now it may indeed be the case that several of these terms appear to be used interchangeably, but a slightly broader and chronologically deeper slice of Śaiva samples reveals, it seems to me, both how the terms in fact differ from each other and also why it is that they may in some contexts appear to be interchangeable, while at other times they are not. This may seem hair-splittingly tedious, but, as Wedemeyer points out, if we do not understand the words, then we cannot understand what it is that they serve to express.[10] The Viennese

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quite likely other forms of Śaivism, so there is a chance that his terminology has been unconsciously influenced by tantric usage.

In the passage in question, on p. 233 of the edition, Vyomaśiva is glossing Praśastapāda's use of the term *vidyāvratasnātaka*.

10 Wedemeyer does not put this truism into such simple words, for he is particularly con-

endeavour that has so far produced three out of five volumes of the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* is a step towards a better understanding of technical terms and of common terms used with technical senses in the literature of the Mantramārga, even if it does not, alas, cover Tantric Buddhist literature.[11]

Turning to the Viennese dictionary for an understanding of *caryā* is, however, not yet particularly useful, for the entry under this word consists only of a cross-reference to the term *caryāpāda*. But the account of that term does contain what will one day be a useful cross-reference to a future article on the term *vrata*, and it includes one useful pointer to a moment in the history of the term *caryā*:

> Note that *vrata* is substituted as a synonym for *caryā* in Kir[aṇa] 6.6c; indeed it is conceivable that the term is an abbreviation of *vratacaryā* (Kir[aṇa] 49.4).

The volume of the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* in question appeared back in 2004; by the time the fifth volume appears, including the terms *vrata* and *vidyāvrata*, this dictionary will be a still more useful resource for tracing out the shifting semantics of this and many another nexus of tantric terms.

Let us follow up this reference to the *Kiraṇatantra*. Since its chapter, 49, on *vratacaryā* is short, we may quote much of it below, omitting from the middle a detailed treatment of the ideal *kamaṇḍalu*, and giving just the readings of the Devakottai edition (E_D) and the Nepalese manuscript of 924 AD (N, f. 70r):

> garuḍa uvāca—
> samayī putrakaś cāpi deśikaś ca maheśvara
> eṣāṃ vṛttiḥ samākhyātā sādhakasya bravīhi me 49.1
> bhagavān uvāca—
> sādhakaḥ sātviko dhīraḥ sahiṣṇur mantradhīr varaḥ
> apradhṛṣyo mahāprājñaḥ samaloṣṭāśmakāñcanaḥ 49.2
> udyukto homaniṣṭhaś ca japadhyānarataḥ sadā

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cerned with understanding the meanings of common words that are used with technical senses (2013, 134): "Recognition of these terms as terms of art is, however, essential, insofar as failure in this regard creates and sustains broad and systemic misinterpretation of Tantric literature and of the traditions that produced (and were, in turn, produced by) these works."

11 The desirability of covering Buddhist Tantric literature is alluded to in the preface to the third volume (p. 11), but it is obvious that the project cannot be simply "tweaked" at this late stage to incorporate a huge extra corpus only in volumes 4 and 5.

vighnaprotsāraṇe kalyo vrataniṣṭhaḥ samaḥ śuciḥ 49.3
sasakhāyo vanaṃ gatvā vratacaryāṃ samārabhet
asahāyo tadā tasmiṃ svasakhāyaḥ kamaṇḍaluḥ 49.4

1ab samayī putrakaś cāpi deśikaś ca] N; samayīsūtayoś cāpi deśikasya E_D • 1b maheśvara] E_D; maheśvaraḥ N • 1c eṣāṃ vṛttiḥ] E_D; eṣā vṛtti N • 2a sādhakaḥ sātviko dhīraḥ] E_D; sādhaka sātviko dhīra N • 2b varaḥ] E_D; vara N • 2c apradhṛṣyo] E_D; apradṛṣyo N • 3c °protsāraṇe] E_D; °procchāraṇe N • 3d śuciḥ] E_D; śucit N • 4a sasakhāyo] N; sasahāyo E_D • 4b vratacaryāṃ samārabhet] E_D; vratācaraṇam ārabhet N • 4cd tadā tasmiṃ svasakhāyaḥ] *em.*; tadā tasmiṃ svasakhāya° N; yadā tasmin susahāyaḥ E_D

Garuḍa spoke:
You have taught me, O great Lord, the activities of the neophyte, the *putraka* and the *ācārya*. Tell me those of the *sādhaka*. (1)
The Lord spoke:
The excellent (*varaḥ*) *sādhaka* [should be] full of *sattva*, firm, capable of endurance, his mind fixed on [his] mantra, unassailable, of great wisdom, looking impartially on mud, stones and gold, (2)
engaged, regular in [the performance of] oblations, always devoted to recitation and meditation, dexterous in the dispelling of obstacles, firm in [the practice of his] religious observance, calm, pure. (3)
Accompanied by his ritual assistant, he should go to the forest and begin the practice of his religious observance (*vratacaryāṃ*). [If he is] without a ritual assistant, then his spouted water-pot is his ritual assistant in that [practice].[12] (4)

[*Description of spouted water-pot omitted.*]

saśalyas tumbako vā syād evaṃ kṛtvā vrataṅ caret 49.13
jaṭāmakuṭasāṭopaṃ śūlakhaṭvāṅgalāñchitam
śuddhamuṇḍārdhasaṃyuktaṃ tṛlocanakṛtādaram 49.14

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12 This idea that the *sādhaka*, when embarking on the pursuit of supernatural powers, must be accompanied either by a ritual assistant or by his water-pot is expressed elsewhere too, for instance in *Sarvajñānottara* 25.19:
susakhāyo yadā mantrī mantrasādhanam ārabhet
asakhāyo yogī siddhiṃ kamaṇḍalukaraḥ sadā 19

19a susakhāyo yadā] N; ⊔ sāyo yadā L • 19c asakhāyo yogī siddhiṃ] *conj.*; asākhayogasiddhiṃ N; ⊔ hāyo yogī siddhiṃ L • 19d kamaṇḍalukaraḥ] N; kamaṇḍaludharas L

vyāghracarmāmbaraṃ śāntaṃ raudraṃ vratam idaṃ śubham
suniṣṭhasya bhavet ṣaḍbhir mmāsaiḥ siddhir ihottamā 49.15
madhyā māsaiś caturbhiś ca kṣudrā māsais tribhir bhavet
vratānām pravaraṃ raudram tatsiddhau sakalo bhavet 49.16
kāryaṃ mantravrataṃ siddhyai sādhakenānurūpakam

13c saśalyas tumbako] *em.*; saśalyatumbako N; saśalāstambhako E_D • 14c śuddha°] N; śuddhaṃ E_D • 14d tṛlocanakṛtādaram] N; trilocanakṛtodaram E_D • 15b raudraṃ] N; raudra° E_D • 15cd suniṣṭhasya bhavet ṣaḍbhir mmāsaiḥ siddhir ihottamā] N; kaniṣṭhasya bhavec chuddhir māsaiḥ ṣaḍbhir ihottamā E_D • 16ab caturbhiś ca kṣudrā māsais] E_D; caturbhi syāt kṣudra māsai N • 16c vratānām pravaraṃ] N; vratamapravaraṃ E_D • 16d sakalo bhavet] N; sakaḷaṃ punaḥ E_D • 17a kāryaṃ mantravrataṃ] E_D; kāryamantravrata N • 17b sādhakenānurūpakam] N; sādhakair nānurūpataḥ E_D

Alternatively, [instead of a *kamaṇḍalu*,] it may be a gourd with a shaft. Having made this [ready], he should practise his observance. (13cd)

This is the auspicious Raudra-vrata: imposing with a chignon of matted locks, marked by a trident and *khaṭvāṅga*, equipped with a clean half skull, awe-inspiring with a third eye, clothed in the skin of a tiger, peaceful. (14–15b)

For one firm [in this observance], the highest *siddhi* will arise in six months; middling [powers] in four months; the lowest [powers] will arise in three months. (15c–16b)

The highest of the observances is the Raudra[-vrata]. On accomplishing that, one becomes [equal to] the Sakala [form of Śiva]. (16cd)

For attaining *siddhi*, the *sādhaka* should perform a mantra-observance that is appropriate [to the mantra in question].[13] (17ab)

What we see here, it seems to me, is a reflection of the old notion that *caryā* refers to *vratacaryā*, "the performance of a *vrata*," where *vrata* is a timed religious observance that typically involves adopting an unusual diet (not mentioned here), an unusual style of dress (often with accoutrements of the cremation ground, in this case the *khaṭvāṅga*), and unusual behaviour (sexual transgressions, mortuary obsessions, or, as here, ascetic detachment). This observance is furthermore a preparation for the attainment of magical powers through the use of a mantra.

This is, I think, in essence, the same as what is meant by the term *vrata* in all early tantric literature. It explains therefore how *vratacaryā*, "the performance

13 Or perhaps "appropriate [to the desired *siddhi*]."

of such a *vrata*," and therefore sometimes also *caryā* have come to be used interchangeably with *vrata*.[14] But the term *caryā* evidently began to expand and then slip in meaning as the Mantramārga expanded to include not just *sādhaka*s (who seem to be the only audience of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*[15]), but also other categories of initiates. We can see that this slippage has in fact already taken place by the time of the *Kiraṇa*, for that work begins its thirty-first chapter with an announcement that the next topic to be taught will be *caryā*, and yet, as we have just seen above, does not deal with the *vratacaryā* of the Sādhaka until chapter 49, which follows eighteen chapters later.

Here is the beginning of chapter 31, in which the topic called *caryā* is first introduced in such a way as to suggest that the primary meaning has now become something like regular enjoined "comportment."

> garuḍa uvāca—
> samayisutayor deva kā vṛttis tu dine dine
> evaṃ mayi samācakṣva caryā me noditā purā 31.1

1a samayisutayor] N (unmetrical); samayīputrayor E_D • 1b vṛttis tu] E_D; vṛtyatra N • 1c mayi] *conj.*; mayā N; sarvaṃ E_D

> Garuḍa spoke:
> What are the day-to-day activities of the neophyte and the *putraka*?
> Tell me this. You have not taught me the [regular rules of] behaviour (*caryā*) before. (1)

No such clear evidence can be found of this broadening of the meaning of the word *caryā* in another post-*Niśvāsa* but pre-tenth-century Saiddhāntika scripture for which we have an early Nepalese palm-leaf witness, this time apparently of the ninth-century, namely the *Sarvajñānottaratantra*.[16] That work gives

14 As for *caryāvrata*, which, as we have seen above, Wedemeyer considers to be synonymous with *vratacaryā*, I suspect that it rather means "one of the timed religious observances belonging to [the body of activities that can collectively be called] [*vrata*-]*caryā*." No doubt there is, in certain contexts, little difference between saying this and saying "the performance of timed religious observances" (*vratacaryā*).

15 For the absence of initiates who are not *sādhaka*s from the religious teachings of the *Niśvāsa*, see Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015, 47 ff.

16 In case it should be supposed that the work's structure is itself evidence of a shift in meaning of the term *caryā*, I should mention that, although Aghoraśiva's commentary divides it

us an account of another sort of *vrata* that will be useful to us in the discussion below, in this case somewhat more detailed, but involving no transgression of brahmanical rules about purity and sexual behaviour.

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi vratānāṃ vratam uttamam[17]
śivavrateti vikhyātaṃ sadevāsurapūjitam[18] 18.1
viśuddhaṃ pāṇḍaraṃ bhasma[19] śuklavāsonulepanam
śuklayajñopavītī[20] ca jaṭāmakuṭamaṇḍitaḥ[21] 18.2
sarvābharaṇasampannaḥ[22] śuklamālyavibhūṣitaḥ[23]
carubhug brahmacaryasthaḥ[24] śivāgnigurupūjakaḥ[25] 18.3
mantramūrtiḥ[26] śivasyaiva yathā rūpaṃ[27] prakīrtitam
tathā vai sādhakendrāṇāṃ[28] vrataṃ jñeyaṃ tadātmakam[29] 18.4
śuklakaupīnavāso vā uṣṇīṣākṣakamaṇḍaluḥ[30]
śivālaye vasen nityaṃ[31] bhikṣābhakṣo[32] jitendriyaḥ 18.5
japadhyānarato[33] maunī śivāgnigurupūjakaḥ
saṃvatsare vyatikrānte śivatulyo bhaved asau[34] 18.6[35]

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into four *pāda*s, including a *caryāpāda*, it was clearly not originally so divided: see Goodall 1998, lix–lxi.

17 vratam uttamam] NL; uttamaṃ vratam M
18 śivavrateti vikhyātaṃ sadevāsura°] N; śivavratam iti khyātaṃ sarvodāsura° M; śivavratam iti khyātaṃ sarvadā sura° L
19 pāṇḍaraṃ bhasma] N; pāṇḍuraṃ bhasma M; pāṇḍaraṃ janma L
20 śukla°] NL; ␣ M
21 °maṇḍitaḥ] ML; °maṇḍitam N
22 °sampannaḥ] M; °saṃpanna° NL
23 °mālyavibhūṣitaḥ] N; °mālāvibhūṣitaḥ M; °mālāvibhūṣitaiḥ L
24 carubhug brahmacaryasthaḥ] M; carabhug brahmacaryastho N; carubhūt brahmacaryasya L
25 °pūjakaḥ] NM; °pūjitaḥ L
26 °mūrtiḥ] M; °mūrti° NL
27 rūpaṃ] NM; pūrvaṃ L
28 sādhakendrāṇāṃ] NM; sādhakaindrāṇā L
29 vrataṃ jñeyaṃ tadātmakam] NM; vrata jñeyaṃ tathātmakam L
30 śuklakaupīnavāso vā uṣṇīṣākṣakamaṇḍaluḥ] NM; śuklakaubī(pī)navāsaṃ va uṣṇīṣākṣata-(ka)maṇḍalum L
31 vasennityaṃ] N; vasannityaṃ ML
32 bhikṣā°] ML; bhikṣa° N
33 japa°] NM; śiva° L
34 bhaved asau] *conj.*; bhavedasauditi N; bhaved iti ML
35 Here there is a flourish marking a chapter-break in N, and in the Southern sources there is a chapter-colophon: iti śrīmatsarvajñānottare śivavratapaṭalo 'ṣṭādaśaḥ M; iti sarvajñānottare kriyāpāde śivavrataprakaraṇam L

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇaṃ[36] tu śivālaye
sthāpanaṃ caiva liṅgasya yasmin sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam[37] 19.1
brahmādyā devatāḥ sarvā liṅgam āśritya saṃsthitāḥ[38]
tasmād vai sthāpayel liṅgaṃ[39] śāstradṛṣṭena karmaṇā 19.2
cīrṇavidyāvrato[40] yogī gurudevāgnipūjakaḥ[41]

Next, I shall teach the best observance among observances, which is known as the Śiva-vrata and which is revered by *asura*s and gods alike. (18.1)

Pure pale ash [should be used, and] white dress and unguents; he should wear a white sacred thread and be adorned by a chignon of matted locks. (18.2)

He should be equipped with all [suitable] ornaments, [and] adorned with white garlands; he should consume [only the pure ritual gruel-offering known as] *caru*; he should observe the chaste conduct of a student; he should venerate Śiva, the fire and his guru. (18.3)

He should be mantra-bodied;[42] the appearance (*rūpam*) of excellent *sādhaka*s [who follow this observance] is to be the same as that of Śiva: the observance must be understood as consisting in this. (18.4)

Alternatively, he may wear [just] a white loin-cloth, [and bear] a turban, rosary and spouted water-pot. (18.5ab)

He should dwell constantly in a temple of Śiva, eating alms, controlling his senses, devoted to recitation and meditation, maintaining silence, venerating Śiva, the fire and his guru. When a year has passed, he will become equal to Śiva. (18.5c–6)

Next, I shall teach the characteristics of a temple of Śiva, as well as [how to perform] the installation of the *liṅga*, in which the universe is [itself] 'installed.' (19.1)

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36 lakṣaṇaṃ] NMT; lakṣmaṇaṃ L

37 sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam] M; sarvvapratiṣṭhitam N; sarvapratiṣṭhitaḥ TL

38 devatāḥ sarvā liṅgam āśritya saṃsthitāḥ] *em.*; devatā sarvā liṅgam āśṛtya saṃsthitā N; devatāḥ sarve liṅgam āśritya saṃshitaḥ M; devatā sarve liṅgam aśritya saṃsthitāḥ T; devatās sarve liṅgam āśritya saṃsthitāḥ L

39 sthāpayel liṅgaṃ śāstra°] MTL; sthāpaye liṅgaṃ śastra° N

40 cīrṇavidyāvrato yogī] N; cīrṇo vidyāvrato yena M; ciṇyāṃ vidyāvratā yoga T; ciṇyāṃ vidyāvrato yogī L. Cf., e.g., *Mohacūḍottara* (NGMPP A 182/2, f. 2r): *cīrṇavidyāvrato mantrī jñānavān susamāhitaḥ*.

41 °pūjakaḥ] NML; °pūrvakaḥ T

42 I assume that this means that the mantras of Śiva should be installed upon his body.

> All the gods, beginning with Brahmā, reside in the *liṅga*; therefore a yogin who venerates his guru, God and the fire and who has performed his *vidyāvrata* should install the *liṅga*, following the procedure taught in scripture. (19.2–3b)

We shall return below to the use of the term *vidyāvrata*, which I have not translated here. First we may observe that these passages of the *Kiraṇa* and *Sarvajñānottara* might appear to confirm Wedemeyer's observation that the *vrata*s in early Śaiva works were observances in which the *sādhaka* imitated God (2013, 165).

> The early Śaiva Tantric paradigm for the transgressive *vrata*, then, was one of *imitatio dei*—mimicking the activity of the god in the interest of eliding the (presumably mistaken) sense of a gulf between him and the devotee. In none of these rites is there mention of transcendence of conceptuality or attainment of any epistemic nonduality—the concern seems entirely to be one of nonduality in the sense of union with the god Śiva.

Imitation of forms of god, whether pure or transgressive, seems indeed to be typical of *vrata*s in early Śaiva sources, but it is not the invariable rule, as the *Niśvāsa* demonstrates.[43] Several *vrata*s are described in the course of the work, but there is one passage in which a set of nine is concisely described together, namely in chapter 3 of the *Guhyasūtra*. A brief summary of the contents of that chapter will help to contextualise that description, showing that it is part of a chapter devoted to 1) preparations for magical pursuits, and 2) magical procedures:

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43 Nemec also (2014, 273) expresses doubt about this point of Wedemeyer's:

> I am, in a word, not convinced that the many transgressive practices in the "early period" of Śaiva tantra, defined as "pre-tenth century" (165), involve a practice of *imitatio dei*, "of union with the god Śiva," to the exclusion of "transcendence of conceptuality or attainment of any epistemic nonduality" (ibid.).

As to what states of consciousness such non-imitative observances might or might not be intended to achieve, the text gives us no direct information; we can only say that it does elsewhere describe practices whose purpose is said to be transcending duality, for example in yogic meditations described in *Uttarasūtra* 5.42–43 and *Nayasūtra* 4.55 ff., and that a non-dualist cosmogony is sketched out in *Uttarasūtra* 1.13.

Summary of *Guhyasūtra* 3

Preparations for magical pursuits

3.1–2 Having set up the God of gods in a suitable place, one may employ a ritual assistant (*uttarasādhaka*) for attaining the highest *siddhi*.
3.3–6 Qualifications of the *uttarasādhaka*.
3.7–11 Construction of a special dwelling for the pursuit of *siddhi*.
3.12c–16 Alternative: a suitable cave or empty temple. One should live from vegetables or begging or from roots, and perform fasts (*cāndrāyaṇa*, etc.)
3.17–22 Prognostication of success in *siddhi* by consulting Svapnamāṇavaka by calling him to appear in one's sleep.
3.22–23 Prognostication by consulting Amoghamantrarāja.
3.24–27 Catoptromantic prognostication (*prasīnā*) using virginal children and the mantra of Caṇḍī.
3.28–29 *japa* using the *akṣamālā* [in order to prepare it].
3.31–43b *vrata*s.

Magical procedures

3.43c–112 *sādhana*s for attaining various *siddhi*s.

Having underlined the context, we may now turn to the *vrata*s given in this chapter, followed, by way of example, by one magical procedure. We may note that all of these observances transgress social norms to some degree, but that none unambiguously involves *imitatio dei*:

siddhi-m-aiśvaryayogyas[44] tu na ca hiṃsanti hinsakāḥ 3.29
siddhavidyāvratastho hi jape[45] ca vratam ārabhet
go mātā ca pitā bhrātā atithir mitra brāhmaṇaḥ 3.30
hato me pāpa[[(cāre)]]ṇa[46] caren **(1) Mithyāvratam** vratī
<<karasthena kapā>>lena[47] khaṭvāṅgī bhasmaguṇṭhitaḥ 3.31
śmaśāne carate rātrau **(2) Śmaśānavrata** ucyate

44 °yogyas tu] NW; °yogye tu K
45 jape] NW; japaṃ K
46 pāpa[[(cāre)]]ṇa] K; yāpa XXṇa N; yāpa Xreṇa W; pāpakāreṇa *conj*. Sanderson (2006, 209)
47 karasthena kapālena] *conj*. Sanderson; ---lena NW; ⊔na K

nṛtyate gāyate caiva unmatto hasate bruvan[48] 3.32
bhasmāṅgī cīravāsaś ca **(3) Gaṇavratam** idaṃ smṛtam
japayukto bhaikṣabhujo loṣṭuśāyī jitendriyaḥ 3.33
dhyānasaṃyamayuktaś ca **(4) Loṣṭukavratam** ācaret
rikṣavyāghrasamā[[kīrṇe]][49] <<vane siṃ>>hasamākule 3.34
jitanidrāśano[50] jāpī **(5) Kāṣṭhavratam** idañ caret
gāyate nṛtyate jāpī strīrūpī valayabhūṣitaḥ[51] 3.35
śūrppakandukaveṇībhiś **(6) Citravratam** idañ caret
śastrapāṇir dayāyukta-m-aṭe trāteva[52] †jatavān† 3.36
japadhyānārccanirato **(7) Vīravratam** idañ caret
varṣaśītātapair ddehan tāpayed dhi su--- 3.37[53]
japadhyānarataś caiva **(8) Mahāvratas** sa ucyate
ratisaṃbhogakuśalāṃ rūpayauvanaśālinīm 3.38
īdṛśīṃ striyam āsādya niruddhendriyagocaraḥ
cumbanāliṅganaṅ kuryāl liṅgaṃ sthāpya bhagopari 3.39
japadhyānaparo bhūtvā **(9) Asidhāravratañ** caret
yadi kāmavaśaṃ gacchet patate[54] narake dhruvam 3.40
navātmakañ japel lakṣaṃ ((tasya)) ---ddhaye[55]
abdaṃ ṣaṇmāsamātraṃ vā yaś cared vratam uttamam 3.41
tasya siddhiḥ prajāyeta adhamā madhyamottamā[56]
vratasthaḥ[57] pañcalakṣāṇi punar japtvā tu siddhyate 3.42
sarve mantrāś ca siddhyante īpsitañ ca phalaṃ bhavet

[*A spell for travelling great distances:*]

oṃ namo vāyupathacāriṇe amitagatiparākramāya vimale kulu 2[58]
ṭhaṭha 3.43

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48 bruvan] NW; dhruvam K
49 °kīrṇe] *conj.*; °kīrṇa° K; °kā--- N; °kā ⊔ W
50 °drāśano] N; drāmano K; °drāsano W
51 valayabhūṣitaḥ] *conj.* (unmetrical); valabhūṣitaḥ NKW
52 m-aṭe trāteva] *conj.*; maṭhe trā--- N; maṭhatrā ⊔ ca K; maṭhe trā ⊔ W
53 °tāpayeddhi su] N; °tāpaye ⊔ K; °tāpayedvi ⊔ W
54 °vaśaṃ gacchet patate] *conj.*; °vaśaṃ cche patate N; °vrataṃ gacchet patate K; °vaśaṃ chai Xpatate W
55 lakṣaṃ tasya ---ddhaye] *em.*; lakṣa---ddhaye N; lakṣa ⊔ dvaye K; lakṣaṃ tasya ⊔ dvaye W; lakṣaṃ tasya mantrasya siddhaye *conj.* Diwakar Acharya; lakṣaṃ saṃvatsaradvaye *conj.* Diwakar Acharya
56 °mottamā] K; °mottamāḥ NW
57 vratasthaḥ] K; vratastha NW
58 kulu 2] *conj.* Sanderson; kula---2 N; kulaṃ 2 K; kula 2 W

śilā suvarṇadhātuñ ca ((ka)) --- tam
varāhavaśasaṃpiṣṭaṃ[59] sahasraparimantritam 3.44
navātmakam punar japtvā pādau caiva pralepaye[[t]]
gacchate so 'pariśrānto yojanānāṃ śatadvayam 3.45

[Once the rosary has been thus prepared, he becomes] ready for *siddhi*s and power. (29cd)

Dangerous creatures do not harm one who has [first] accomplished an observance [that qualifies one] for [using] Spells: he should begin an observance by means of recitation (*jape*[= *japena*]).[60] (30ab)

The one engaged in observance should practise the False Observance (*mithyāvrata*) [by wandering about proclaiming]: "I have committed bad deeds: I have killed a cow, mother, father, brother, a guest, friend, brahmin!" (30c–31b)

[If] one wanders in the cremation-ground at night, with a skull in one's hand and a *khaṭvāṅga*, covered in ashes, that is called the cremation-ground observance (*śmaśānavrata*). (31c–32b)

If one dances, sings, laughs and talks madly, with the body smeared in ashes and wearing rags, this is called the Gaṇavrata. (32c–33b)

One performs the Clod-of-Earth Observance (*loṣṭukavratam*) by being engaged in recitation, feeding on alms, sleeping on the earth, with senses controlled, engaged in meditation and restraint. (33c–34b)

One may perform the Block-of-Wood Observance (*kāṣṭhavratam*) in a forest full of bears, tigers and lions, conquering the urges to sleep and eat, [constantly] reciting. (34c–35b)

If one takes on the appearance of a woman and sings and dances, adorned with bracelets, with a winnowing fan, ball and plait, one observes the Colourful Observance (*citravratam*). (35c–36b)

With a weapon in hand, full of compassion, if one wanders like a saviour of creatures (?)[61] focussed upon recitation, meditation and worship, one performs the Warrior Observance (*vīravratam*). (36c–37b)

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59 varāhavaśasaṃpiṣṭaṃ] *conj.*; varāhava+sa+saṃpiṣṭa° N; varāhavamasaṃpiṣṭaṃ K; varāhavaśasaṃpiṣṭa W

60 This replaces the translation, in which I no longer believe, of 30ab that we offered on p. 285 of Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015.

61 This tentative translation assumes that *jatavān* is an error for *jantavām*, intended as a genitive plural with the sense of *jantūnām*!

> If one torments the body with rain, cold and heat, …, devoted to recitation and meditation, this is called the Great Observance (*mahāvrataḥ*). (37c–38b)
>
> A woman skilled in the pleasures of love-making, endowed with beauty and youth; such a woman one should procure, holding one's senses back from the objects of the senses, and one should kiss and embrace [her], placing the penis upon her sex while remaining focussed upon recitation and meditation—one performs [thus] the Sword-Blade Observance (*asidhārāvratam*). If one should succumb to the control of desire, then one certainly falls into hell. (38c–40)
>
> One should recite the NAVĀTMAN one lakh times … for [*si*]*ddhi*: one who [thus] observes such an excellent observance for a year or just six months attains lowest, middling or best *siddhi*. But if, while observing such a *vrata*, someone recites five lakh times, then [that mantra] succeeds [for him] (*siddhyate*), and all mantras succeed for him and he attains the fruits he desires. (41–43b)
>
> [Using the mantra] OṂ NAMO VĀYUPATHACĀRIṆE AMITAGATI-PARĀKRAMĀYA VIMALE KULU KULU SVĀHĀ, [and taking] arsenic, gold [and?] a mineral, …, ground up with pig fat/marrow, over which one has recited [the NAVĀTMAN] 1000 times, he should smear [the mixture] on his feet/legs, while once again reciting the NAVĀTMAN: he will travel 200 *yojanā*s unwearied! (43c–45)

Right at the beginning of the above-quoted passage, we find a further attestation of the term *vidyāvrata*, and this time, rather than prevaricating further, I have proposed translating it as "an observance [that qualifies one] for [using] Spells." There are other passages that can and will be adduced in support of this, but I think that it should already be becoming clear from this passage of the *Guhyasūtra* and from the passage quoted just before from the *Sarvajñānottara* that the different particular *vrata*s that are performed serve to prepare the performer for some subsequent religious activity that involves the use of the mantra or *vidyā*. In the case of the *Guhyasūtra*, it is the pursuit of *siddhi* for which the *sādhaka* is prepared; in the case of the *Sarvajñānottara*, the individual is prepared for the performance of the installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) of a *liṅga*. From the beginning of chapter 10 of the *kriyāpāda*, we learn that it is also an essential to the consecration of an *ācārya* in the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*:

> catuṣpādārthakuśalaṃ mahotsāhaṃ hy aninditam 10.2
> ṣaṭpadārthapraṇītārthaṃ sarvabhūtahite ratam
> gurus tam abhiṣiñcet tu **cīrṇavidyāvrataṃ** naram 10.3

Rāmakaṇṭha: *atha kiṃ tad vidyāvrataṃ yat tena cīrṇam ity ucyate:*

vidyāśaktir ihopāttā japtavyā prāk chivālaye
saṃniyamyendriyagrāmam abdam ekaṃ śuciṣmatā 10.4
nityaṃ carubhujā bhūmyāṃ kuśaprastaraśāyinā
pūjāgnibhavane yuktacetasā bhāvitātmanā 10.5

Rāmakaṇṭha: [*vidyāśaktiḥ*] *vyomavyāpilakṣaṇā*.[62]

The guru should consecrate [as an *ācārya*] a man who is skilled in what is taught in all four *pāda*s, who has great energy, who is beyond reproach, who expounds the meaning of the teachings [encapsulated] in the six topics [of this scripture], who is devoted to the welfare of all beings, who has performed the observance for [the propitiation of his] mantra.

Rāmakaṇṭha: Now if you ask what this *vidyāvrata* is which he must have observed, this is what the text teaches:

The power of the *vidyā* that is mentioned here [in this compound *vidyāvrata*] is first to be recited for a year in a temple to Śiva, while exercising control of the senses, maintaining purity, eating daily [only the sacrificial gruel known as] *caru*, sleeping on the ground in the room reserved for *pūjā* and fire[-sacrifice] on a spread of *kuśa*-grass, with his mind engaged [in meditation], focussed.

Rāmakaṇṭha: It [viz. the power of the *vidyā*] is the VYOMAVYĀPIN.

Once this preparation, taking the form of the observance of one among a variety of possible *vrata*s (but ideally one suitable to the mantra to be put to use, as seems already to be implied in *Kiraṇa* 49.17ab above, and as we shall see confirmed below), is complete, the observer can be called *cīrṇavidyāvrataḥ* (as here and in *Sarvajñānottara* 19.3a) or *siddhavidyāvratasthaḥ* (as in *Guhyasūtra* 3.30a).

If we make such an assumption, then we can see how the expressions *vratacaryā* and *vidyāvrata* might be regarded as interchangeable in some con-

62 From Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary, only the *avataraṇikā* and the commentary to 10.4–6 are quoted here (not the remarks on 10.2c–3). The *pratīka* in square brackets is supplied by the editor.

texts,[63] even though they are not actually synonymous. It also becomes clear how it is that *vidyāvrata* can be characterised as preparatory mantra-propitiation and therefore equivalent to what may also be called *puraścaraṇa*. Sanderson characterises it in such a way when referring to the account of the Bhairavācārya in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*:

> With this account of a *pūrvasevā*, also called *puraścaryā* or *vidyāvratam*, i.e. the initial period of ascetic *japaḥ* etc. to be undertaken after one has received a Mantra, whereby one becomes able to accomplish feats (*karmāṇi*) with that Mantra …[64]

So if *vrata* and *vratacaryā* and some other terms may seem to be used interchangeably in some works with *vidyāvrata*, it is because the principal purpose of the *vrata*s taught in the early Mantramārga seems to be to propitiate mantras prior to further religious activities involving those mantras, rendering those who complete such observances describable by such terms as *cīrṇavidyāvrata*, *siddhavidyāvratastha*, *vidyāvratasnāta* and so forth.[65] Various observances can, in other words, be observed in order to become one "who has completed the observance [required for the propitiation] of a *vidyā*."

This discussion might seem to suggest that in finding the *original* meaning of the expression *vidyāvrata* we believe that we have found its immutable semantic core, but that is not really what I intend to say. Of course the term *vidyāvrata* may have gone on to evolve and be used in contexts that suggest that one might elsewhere also or instead render it as "knowledge observance" or "consort observance" (Wedemeyer 2013, 136) or, as we shall see below, "observance relating to a *vidyāṅgamantra*."[66] Furthermore, one might argue that we have in

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63 Cf. Wedemeyer 2013, 159: "It is worth noting that the *Tantrasadbhāva*/*Kubjikāmata* and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* clearly take the terms *vidyāvrata* and *vratacaryā* to be synonymous."

64 Sanderson 2001, 13, note 11. Wedemeyer quotes from this definition (2013, 255, note 96), but in a manner that suggests that he was oddly not convinced by it, or not convinced that the same kind of *vidyāvrata* was being alluded to by Sanderson:

> Sanderson ("History", 13n11) also describes a very different rite [*scil.* from that referred to in *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 180?] when he speaks of *vidyāvrata* as an "initial period of ascetic *japaḥ* etc. to be undertaken after one has received a Mantra," i.e., he takes it to be a kind of *pūrvasevā* or *puraścaryā*.

65 Another purpose of performing *vrata*s in the early Mantramārga is of course expiation: see, for example, *Guhyasūtra* 9.10a, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 10.3c, both quoted below, and Hṛdayaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya passim* (appendix to Sathyanarayanan 2015).

66 We do not aim, however, to examine here all later passages in which the meaning of *vidyāvrata* is arguably stretched. One such passage is a sequence of verses discussing the term that has been borrowed from the *Tantrasadbhāva* into the *Kubjikāmata*: that dis-

any case not started from its point of *origin*, for the term has presumably been drawn from or at least coloured by the brahmanical expression *vidyāvratasnāta* that is common from the *Gṛhyasūtra*s onwards and that we find, for instance, in *Manusmṛti* 4.31:

> ***vedavidyāvratasnātān*** *śrotriyān gṛhamedhinaḥ*
> *pūjayed dhavyakavyena viparītāṃś ca varjayet*

Olivelle (2005, 125–126) translates:

> At rites for gods and ancestors, he should honor individuals who have bathed after completing the Vedas, vedic learning, or vedic vows, who are vedic scholars, or who are householders, but avoid individuals different from these.[67]

It seems to me very likely that the use of *vidyāvrata* in the Mantramārga—and *a fortiori* of *vidyāvratasnāta* (*Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 10.20 and *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 21.35)—should have been influenced by earlier brahmanical usage such as we see in the *Gṛhyasūtra*s and in the *Manusmṛti*. Nonetheless, in the

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cussion begins with Bhairava saying (*Tantrasadbhāva* 4.2ab = *Kubjikāmata* 25.30ab): *śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi vidyāyā vratam uttamam*, "Listen, O goddess: I shall teach the excellent observance of/for *vidyā*."

67 Olivelle also adds a note that explains that there is doubt about the term (2005, 270):

> [M]ost commentators take *vedavidyāvrata* as three separate categories. The first refer to those who have only learned the Veda by heart; the second to those who have mastered its meaning; and the third to those who have completed the vows associated with vedic study, such as living with the teacher for a certain number of years, even if they have not mastered the Veda.

This interpretation is not wholly consistent with what we find earlier in *Gṛhyasūtra* literature. In *Jaiminigṛhyasūtra* 1.19 (p. 18), for instance, we read:

> *trayaḥ snātakā bhavantīti ha smāhāruṇir gautamo vidyāsnātako vratasnātako vidyāvratasnātaka iti teṣām uttamaḥ śreṣṭhas tulyau pūrvau*.

Caland (1922, 32) translates:

> According to Âruṇi Gautama there are three kinds of Snātakas: the Snātaka by knowledge, the Snātaka by the completion of his observances, and the Snātaka by knowledge **and** by the completion of his observances. Of these the last ranks foremost, the first two are equal (to each-other).

Cf. *Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra* (*kāṇḍa* 2, *kaṇḍikā* 5, sentences 32–35, p. 220):

> *trayaḥ snātakā bhavanti: vidyāsnātako vratasnātako vidyāvratasnātaka iti* 32 *samāpya vedam asamāpya vrataṃ yaḥ samāvartate, sa vidyāsnātakaḥ* 33 *samāpya vratam asamāpya vedaṃ yaḥ samāvartate, sa vratasnātakaḥ* 34 *ubhayaṃ samāpya yaḥ samāvartate, sa vidyāvratasnātaka iti* 35

Niśvāsa certainly, and probably throughout the early Mantramārga, the use of *vidyāvrata* to mean "observance for [the propitiation of] a mantra" seems to be the norm. As Sanderson has observed in the note of his that we have just quoted, *vidyāvrata* seems indeed to be used in the same way as *pūrvasevā* in the *Niśvāsa*. Many short paragraphs of prose in the grimoires (*kalpa*) that we find in the *Guhyasūtra* sketch out the essential features of particular observances, and these paragraphs are very often concluded with a succinct statement of the magical powers that can be won by following them (the power to fly, for example, or to disappear); but sometimes we find instead the assertion that the observance fulfils the requirements of *pūrvasevā* (10.27, 10.99, 14.26) or *puraścaraṇa* (14.24) or, as here in *Guhyasūtra* 10.91, the requirements of the *vidyāvrata*:

> *devaṃ pūjyāgnau juhuyād audumbarasamidhānāṃ tryaktānāṃ sahasraṃ tṛsandhyaṃ. kṣīrāśī saptā dināni juhuyāt.* ***cīrṇṇavidyāvrato*** *bhavati.*
>
> Having worshipped the Lord, he should oblate into the fire at the three junctures of the day a thousand pieces of Udumbara-wood smeared with the three [sweet substances]. Consuming [only] milk, he should make oblations [in this manner] for seven days. He will become one who has accomplished the *vidyāvrata*.

Before I wrap up the discussion, it should be mentioned that a different hypothesis as to the meaning of *vidyāvrata* was advanced some years ago, when many of the above-cited passages had not yet come to light, by Judit Törzsök when translating chapter 10 of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. We quote here the beginning of the chapter (without the apparatus) from Törzsök's 1999 edition:

> devy uvāca
> mayā deva purā pṛṣṭaṃ vratayāgavivarjitam
> siddhayogeśvarīṇāṃ tu mataṃ mantraprasādhakam 1
> kiṃ tu deva pratijñātaṃ siddhir vidyāṅgasaṃsthitā
> tasmāt teṣu samāsena vratacaryāṃ bravīhi me 2
> bhairava uvāca
> ādau tu sarvasiddhyarthaṃ sarvavighnavināśanam
> sarvapāpāpanodārthaṃ **vidyāvrataṃ** samārabhet 3
> sādhakaḥ sādhakī vātha mantratadgatacetasaḥ
> yāgaṃ kṛtvā vidhānena vratacaryāṃ samācaret 4
> bhasmalepitasarvāṅgo maunī śuklāmbaraḥ sudhīḥ
> sitayajñopavītaś ca akāmo niyame sthitaḥ 5

Here is Törzsök's translation (1999*, 143):

> The Goddess spoke
> I have previously asked you about the Doctrine of the Yoginīs (*Siddha-yogeśvarīmata*), O God, which helps to make mantras effective (*mantraprasādhakam*) without any observances or worship. (1)
> However, you have asserted, O God, that success depends on the ancillary mantras; therefore, tell me briefly about how to practise the observance[s] associated with them (*teṣu*). (2)
> Bhairava spoke
> First [before any other practice to attain a specific supernatural power], for all kinds of supernatural powers, [and] for expiatory purposes, one has to start the observance of the [ancillary] mantras, which destroys all obstacles. (3)
> The male or female practitioner, with his/her mind focused on the mantra, should perform worship according to prescriptions and then undertake the vow (*vratacaryāṃ*). (4)
> [In the first of these] all his limbs covered with ashes, the practitioner is to observe silence and should wear a white garment; he should be of good understanding. He must have a white sacred thread, he should be free from desire and established in self-restraint. (5)

Now the reason that Törzsök translates *vidyāvrata* with "the observance of the [ancillary] mantras" is that each of the *vrata*s in the chapter is specific to the cultivation of a particular auxiliary mantra—the first one, given above in verse 5, must, by elimination, be an observance for the HṚDAYA-mantra—and those auxiliary mantras belong to a set known in this work and in others as the *vidyāṅgamantra*s.[68] It was therefore reasonable for her to assume that *vidyāvrata* was short for *vidyāṅgavrata*, for she had no evidence to suggest otherwise, and she had parallel evidence that seemed to reinforce this hypothesis, namely the testimony of *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 21 (from which Törzsök quotes, citing Alexis Sanderson's collation, in her notes on p. 78).

That passage again gives a series of *vrata*s, which are, by the way, again not instances of *imitatio dei*, and which are again specific to the *vidyāṅgamantra*s; so it is wholly understandable that this seemed to Törzsök in 1999 to confirm

68 For these mantras and their individual names, see Brunner 1986 and, more recently, Goodall 2004, 222–223.

the notion that the element *vidyā* in the collocation *vidyāvrata* must refer to the *vidyāṅgamantra*s. I think, however, that it will now be clear that chapter 21 of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* might in fact be interpreted equally well internally if we assume that *vidyāvrata* is used instead to mean "observance for [propitiation of] a mantra" and that, given the other attestations of the term that we now know about in, for instance, the *Guhyasūtra*, the *Mataṅga*, and the *Sarvajñānottara*, it actually makes better sense to assume this broader interpretation in this passage too.

There is somewhat better evidence for pinpointing the place of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* in a relative chronology of Saiddhāntika writings than there is for most other pre-tenth-century Siddhāntatantras, for in terms of both doctrinal and social developments, it seems later than the *sūtra*s of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (see Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015, 41–44, 47–50, 58), and yet it cannot be later than Sadyojyotiḥ, who has written a commentary upon it and who, Sanderson argues (2006b, in particular p. 76), lived between c. 675 and 725AD. The edition is not widely accessible, which may be why Wedemeyer did not refer to this passage, and its text almost invariably needs to be corrected against manuscripts, but this particular chapter has just been published anew, in the form in which it appears when quoted by Hṛdayaśiva in his *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* (see Sathyanarayanan 2015, Appendix chapter 10).[69]

> japtvā vrataiś ca vidhivat snātaḥ siddhyai japet manum 10.27
> na vilambitam aspaṣṭan na cāsvīkṛtam adrutam
> nāsaṃkhyaṃ na manobhrāntaṃ japaṃ kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ 10.28
> sitavāsāḥ sitoṣṇīṣī sitayajñopavīty api
> sitānulepanasragvī cared VIDYĀDHIPAvratam 10.29
> raktāmbaradharo mantrī raktamālyānulepanaḥ
> māsam ekam puroktañ ca cared BRAHMAŚIROvratam 10.30
> pītavāsāś caren māsaṃ pītamālyānulepanaḥ
> pītayajñopavītī ca RUDRĀṆYĀ vratam uttamam 10.31
> vrataṃ PURUṢṬUTAsyāpi māsam ekaṃ cared budhaḥ
> sarvakṛṣṇopacāreṇa śivārcanarataḥ sadā 10.32

69 In the collation below, H is the reading of Sathyanarayanan's transcription of the twelfth-century manuscript transmitting Hṛdayaśiva's work (where this chapter is the tenth); Ed. is of course the Mysore edition of 1937 (where the chapter is the twenty-first), and N marks the readings of the old Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript filmed by the NGMPP on Reel A 30/6.

citrāmbaradharo dhīraś citramālyānulepanaḥ
sarvasiddhiparo mantrī caret PĀŚUPATAṂ vratam 10.33
vratavratasamāptau ca kalaśena śivāmbhasā
svamantraparijaptena svātmānam abhiṣecayet 10.34
evaṃ **vidyāvratasnātaḥ** sarvatrādhikṛto 'naghaḥ
japen mantram anudvignaḥ svakalpavidhinā tataḥ 10.35

27c vrataiś] H, Ed.; vrajaiś N • 27d manum] H, Ed.; matam N • 28a na vilambitam] H, Ed.; avilambitam N • 28c manobhrāntaṃ] H; mobhrāntaṃ N (unmetrical); manobhrānta° Ed. • 29ab sitavāsāḥ sitoṣṇīṣī sita°] *em.*; sitavāsā śitośnīṣī sita° N; śitavāsā śitoṣṇīṣī śita° H; sitavāsāḥ sitoṣṇīṣaḥ sita° Ed. • 29c sitānulepanasragvī] *conj.*; sitānulepanaḥ sragvī N, Ed.; śitānulepanaḥ sragmī H • 29d vidyādhipa°] Ed.; vidyādhipaṃ N, H • 30a raktā°] H, Ed.; rattā° N • 31a pītavāsāś] N, Ed.; pītavāsā H • 31c rudrāṇyā] N, Hac, Ed.; rudrāṇī° Hpc • 32a puruṣṭutasyāpi] N, H; puruhūtasyāpi Ed.pc; purutasyāpi Ed.ac • 33c sarvasiddhi°] N, H; sarvasiddha° Ed. • 33d pāśupataṃ] N, H; pāśupata° Ed. • 34a vratavratasamāptau ca] Ed.; vrataṃ vratasamāptau ca N; vratavrataṃ samāptau tu H • 35a vidyāvrata°] N, H; vidyāvrataḥ Ed. • 35b sarvatrādhikṛto] N; sarvatrāvikṛto H; sarvato dhikṛto Ed.

Having recited [a particular mantra] along with [the practice of one of the] observances in accordance with the rules, and having bathed [at the end of the observance], one may recite that mantra for attaining supernatural powers. (27cd)

The skilled practitioner should do his recitation not too slowly, not indistinctly, not without taking [the meaning of what he recites] in, not too fast, not without counting, and not with his thoughts in confusion. (28)

Dressed in white, with a white turban and a white sacred thread and white unguents and garland, he should perform the observance for the VIDYĀDHIPA-mantra. (29)

Dressed in red garments and red garlands and unguents the Mantrin should first perform for one month the stated observance for the BRAHMAŚIRAḤ. (30)

Wearing yellow garments and yellow garlands and unguents and a yellow sacred thread he should perform the excellent observance of RUDRĀṆĪ for a month. (31)

The competent ritualist (*budhaḥ*), constantly devoted to the worship of Śiva, should perform the observance for PURUṢṬUTA for one month with all accoutrements being black. (32)

The mantrin, intent on attaining all manner of special powers, should perform the observance for the PĀŚUPATĀSTRA resolutely (*dhīraḥ*) dressed in multi-coloured garments and with multicoloured garlands and unguents. (33)

> And upon the completion of one or another of these observances (*vratavratasamāptau*),[70] he should pour upon himself Śiva-water that has been consecrated by recitation of his mantra over it from a pot. (34)
>
> Being thus bathed after the observance [in propitiation] of [his] mantra, invested in the right to [pursue] all [manner of special powers], faultless, he should then recite [his chosen] mantra according to the rules of his hand-book,[71] without being afraid. (35)

In the above lines, 27d and 35 seem to make particularly plain that these *vrata*s are performed by way of *pūrvasevā*, also known as *vidyāvrata*, as a preliminary to the pursuit of *siddhi*.

Csaba Kiss, following Judit Törzsök's lead, has also alluded to the link between *vidyāṅgamantra*s and the name *vidyāvrata*, but I think it will be clear from what he says below that the evidence that his new edition of parts of the *Brahmayāmala* has recently brought to the discussion again supports rather the broader interpretation, in which the element *vidyā* alludes to any mantra, not just a *vidyāṅgamantra*. Below are his remarks (2015, 211) on *Brahmayāmala* 21.4–5b, which he constitutes and translates as follows:

> *ete nava vratā proktā vidyābhede vyavasthitā*
> *eteṣāṃ tu yathānyāyaṃ yathā caryā bhave tv iha*
> *kathayāmi mahādevi tan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu*
>
> These are the nine ascetic observances (*vrata*), corresponding to [the syllables of] the Vidyā[, Caṇḍā Kāpālinī's nine-syllable mantra]. I shall now teach you how to perform them correctly, O Mahādevī. Listen to me [while I] teach you.
>
> … these observances are in fact called the *vidyāvrata*s in 21.10c, 42d, 47a, 51b, 53b, 75d and 102d; the nine types of observances obviously correspond to the nine syllables of the Navākṣaravidyā (OṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ), taught in BraYā 2; *vidyāvrata*s may also serve, as seen in many tantric texts, as preliminary propitiation, by the use of *vidyāṅgamantra*s, of a mantra to be applied later, or simply for the purpose of gaining

70 The text and interpretation are not certain here. A possible conjectural emendations that suggests itself is *vratī vratasamāptau*.

71 For this sense, see *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. 2, s.v. *kalpa*.

> mastery over the Vidyā, similarly to the way it is taught in the Yoginīsaṃcāra; as Sanderson (2009:134 n. 311) remarks: …

More closely parallel to these nine observances, as we can now see, are the nine taught in chapter 3 of the *Guhyasūtra*, which are probably each for one of the nine elements of the NAVĀTMAN. So perhaps the association with *vidyāṅga*-mantras is simply a red herring.

Kiss's reference there to Sanderson 2009, 134, note 311 proves to be another passage in which Sanderson reveals that, although he did not spell out every detail of his assumptions and the evidence upon which he based them, he had in fact already assumed the interpretation for which we have been somewhat long-windedly arguing here, both of *vidyāvrata* and of its relation to individual named *vrata*s:

> The *Yoginīsaṃcāra* requires anyone who has gone through its initiation ceremony and then received consecration (*abhiṣekaḥ*) to adopt one of three forms of ascetic observance in order to gain mastery over the Vidyā (*vidyāvratam*): the Bhairavavrata, the Cāmuṇḍāvrata, or the Triṣaṣṭikulavrata, the observance of the sixty-three families [of the Mothers], which it also calls the Kāpālavrata, i.e. the Kāpālika.

So let me reiterate my conclusion: we should probably assume that, even if the expression *vidyāvrata* was originally drawn from the common brahmanical expression *vidyāvratasnāta* that we saw in *Manusmṛti* 4.31, and even if it may have been subsequently coloured in some contexts by other associations of the word *vidyā* (*vidyāṅgamantra*, "knowledge," "consort"), the expression *vidyāvrata* appears throughout the early Mantramārga to be used with the understanding that it refers primarily to an "observance for [the preliminary propitiation of a] mantra." While some works (such as the Saiddhāntika *Kiraṇatantra*, and the *Sarvajñānottaratantra*) appear to mention only one way of fulfilling the requirements of the *vidyāvrata*, many others (*Niśvāsa*, *Yoginīsaṃcāra*, *Brahmayāmala*, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, *Kubjikāmata*) teach several *vrata*s, not all of which are equally transgressive and not all of which involve *imitatio dei*, as alternative ways of realising the *vidyāvrata*.

Finally, let me show how this assumption seems to me to throw light even on passages where none of the terms that we have been discussing actually occur. The first few times I read the beginning of chapter 9 of the *Guhyasūtra*, it seemed to begin with a curious *non sequitur*: the goddess asks a question about how the alphabet, treated as mantra, can be used to bring about supernatural

power and liberation; Śiva's reply, however, first explains at some length how someone should dress half his body as the goddess and the other half as Śiva. How could this, I asked myself, be an answer to the goddess' question? Was the apparent incoherence of the text here an indication that it had become corrupt?

devy uvāca—
mātṛkāyā bhavet siddhir mmokṣañ caiva maheśvara
mātṛkāsiddhim ākhyāhi mokṣañ caiva yathā bhavet 9.1
tatsamutthāś ca ye mantrāḥ kimarthaṅ kathitās tvayā
etat praśnavaraṃ brūhi ((bha))---phalaṃ hi me 9.2
īśvara u—
arddhastrīveśadhārī tu arddhena puruṣas tathā
arddhena alakaṃ kuryād arddhenaiva jaṭādharaḥ 9.3
tilakārddhena netrārddhe vālikā hy ekakarṇṇake
kuṇḍalaṃ hy ekakarṇṇe tu śūlan dakṣiṇahastataḥ 9.4
vāmapārśve[72] stanaṅ kuryād vāmārdhe caiva mekhalām
valayaṃ vāmahaste tu vāmapāde tu nūpuraṃ 9.5
rucakaṃ dakṣiṇe pāde muñjamālāṃ tathā kaṭau[73]
kaupīnan dakṣiṇe kuryād vāme strīvastradhāritā 9.6
śūrppaṃ vāmakare gṛhṇed ardhanārīśvaravrate[74]
etad vrataṅ gṛhītvā tu bhikṣāśī tu jitendriyaḥ 9.7
japahomarato nityam pratigrahavivarjjitaḥ
triṣkālam[75] arccayed devaṃ triṣkālaṃ snānam ācaret 9.8
śākayāvakabhikṣāśī skandamūlaphalāśinaḥ[76]
māsam e[[ka]]---samanvitaḥ 9.9
mucyate 'sau[77] mahāpāpāt kṣudrasiddhiñ ca vindate
dvimāsān madhyamā siddhir abdārddhād uttamā bhavet 9.10
saṃvatsareṇa siddhis tu vidyāsiddhim avāpnuyāt
aṇimādyās tu jāyante siddhaiś ca saha modate 9.11
īpsitāṃ labhate kāmān akāmo mokṣam āpnuyāt

72 vāmapārśve] KW; vāmapārśe N
73 dakṣiṇe pāde muñjamālāṃ tathā kaṭau] *conj.*; dakṣiṇe pa—ñjamālāṃstathā kaṭe N; dakṣiṇe ⊔ muñjamālāṃ tathā kaṭau K; dakṣiṇe ⊔ṇṭhamālāṃstathā kaṭe W
74 °nārīśvara°] *conj.*; °nārīśvaraṃ NW; °nārīśvare K
75 triṣkālaṃ] KW; triṣkāla° N
76 skanda°] NW; kanda° K
77 mucyate 'sau] *em.*; mucyate so NW; mucyate sa K

The Goddess spoke:
From the MĀTṚKĀ supernatural power and liberation can come about, O Lord. Tell me [how to attain] supernatural power and liberation through the MĀTṚKĀ. (1)
Why did you teach the mantras that arise from it? Tell me [the answer to] this excellent question. … fruit to me. (2)
The Lord spoke:
Wearing half the dress of a woman and half [that of] a man, on one half, he should place [feminine] tresses, on one half, he should wear matted locks. (3)
On one half, there should be a forehead mark; on one half a [forehead] eye. A ring (*vālikā*) [should be] in one ear; a [pendant] ear-ornament (*kuṇḍalam*) in one ear. He should put a trident (*śūlam*) in his right hand and a breast on his left side, a girdle (*mekhalām*) on the left half, a bangle on the left arm, a woman's anklet on the left leg, a man's anklet on the right leg and a *muñja*-grass belt. At the hips, he should put a loin-cloth on the right and wear a woman's garment on the left. (4–6)
In the left hand, he should hold a winnowing fan in the observance of Ardhanārīśvara. Adopting this observance he should eat alms, keep his senses under control, be devoted to regular obligatory recitation and oblation, rejecting the receipt of gifts. (7–8b)
He should venerate God three times [a day] and perform ablutions three times [a day]. Eating vegetables and barley-gruel, eating bulbs (*skanda*° [= *kanda*°]), roots and fruits, for one month … (9)
He will be released from [the retributive force of] major transgressions; and he will attain low *siddhi*s after two months, middling *siddhi*s after half a year and high *siddhi*s after a year; he will attain power over the spell (*vidyāsiddhim*). (10–11b)
The ability to make himself atomic, along with the others [of the yogic powers], will arise. He will take pleasure in the company of *siddha*s. He will attain the wishes he desires; if he is without desires, he will attain liberation. (11c–12b)

Although the words *vrata*, *caryā* and *vidyāvrata* are none of them to be found, it is now clear to me that this passage makes implicit allusion to the structure now familiar to us from numerous other passages: the *sādhaka* propitiates a given mantra, here the MĀTṚKĀ, by performing a timed religious observance involving unusual dress and diet, the rules of which are ideally held to be in some way appropriate to the mantra in question, and then becomes eligible for the pur-

suit of particular *siddhi*s. In the case of the MĀTṚKĀ, adopting the appearance of Ardhanārīśvara is particularly appropriate because the MĀTṚKĀ is made up of feminine vowels and masculine consonants, which, as is explained elsewhere in the *Niśvāsa*-corpus, are to be applied respectively to the left and right halves of the *sādhaka*'s body before worship in a preliminary rite that prefigures what came to be called *sakalīkaraṇa*.[78] The *imitatio dei* that is such a prominent feature of some observances, such as this one, now seems as if it should be more precisely characterised as identification with the mantra-deity being propitiated.

Conclusion

So what can be learned from the foregoing pages? In the beginning of this paper, I tried to emphasise the layered structure not only of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, but also of the *Guhyasūtra* itself. This incidentally means that we should not only be, as always, cautious in proposals for dating both this and related literature, but that we should perhaps also allow for a broad *fourchette* for the composition of this work, broad enough to cover the periods of composition of other related works.[79] We should also bear in mind, while attempting to model the relative chronology of early Tantric literature, that it is the very latest layers of the *Guhyasūtra* that provide the closest parallels with the grimoires of the Buddhist *kriyātantra*s, in particular with the final chapter, 55, of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* (see Goodall and Isaacson 2016, *passim*).

We have also learned, I believe, about a further early stage in the history that precedes the familiar idea that Śaiva scriptures were divided into four sections treating knowledge, ritual, yoga and day-to-day behaviour (*jñāna*, *kriyā*, *yoga*, *caryā*). In the period of the redaction of the *Niśvāsa*, initiates were, *de facto*, all *sādhaka*s seeking to harness the power of mantras and their *caryā* was not a matter of approved day-to-day behaviour, or "comportment," but rather of *vrata-caryā*, the performance of timed religious observances. Such timed religious observances could be used, as in many other religious traditions, for expiation, but their primary use in the early Mantramārga was for

78 See *Uttarasūtra* 2.8 and annotation on pp. 351–352 of Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015.

79 For the possibility that, for instance, the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* might have influenced the cosmographical chapters of the *Guhyasūtra*, see Goodall 2016, 89ff. For the most recent discussion of the dating of the layered corpus that is the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, see Goodall, Sanderson, Isaacson et al. 2015, 30–73.

mantra-propitiation prior to other activities involving the mantras. Such preliminary mantra-propitiation could also be referred to by such expressions as *vidyāvrata*, *puraścaryā* and *pūrvasevā*. These notions about mantra-use and mantra-propitiation may be found reflected in a wide range of post-*Niśvāsa* pre-tenth-century writings. But once the intake of the religion had broadened to include many who were not occupied with spell-mastery at all, the term *caryā* in the tetrad of tantric topics also regained its (usually non-technical) sense of day-to-day "comportment." This shift in usage had taken place by the time of the composition of the *Kiraṇa*, in other words by the beginning of the ninth century at the latest.[80] Finally, the early Śaiva evidence furnished here suggests that this nexus of notions and labels is not such a fertile field as might have been supposed for those searching for evidence of instances of Buddhist influence upon the early Śaiva Mantramārga.

Acknowledgements

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80 For the observation that the *Kiraṇa* belongs to a group of scriptures whose teachings can be found paraphrased in the *Haravijaya*, which was composed in Kashmir around 830 AD, see Sanderson 2001, 5–6.

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PART 2

Exegetical and Philosophical Traditions

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CHAPTER 4

Further Thoughts on Rāmakaṇṭha's Relationship to Earlier Positions in the Buddhist-Brāhmaṇical Ātman Debate

Alex Watson

The present article is a continuation of my previous work on where precisely to place Rāmakaṇṭha's self-theory (*ātmavāda*) in the nexus of other rival positions. I am delighted to have been included in this volume and in the conference which led to it, in honour of my former DPhil supervisor, Professor Alexis Sanderson, with whom I spent many hours reading Rāmakaṇṭha's *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa* (as well as Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika, ātmavāda*, and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, pudgalaviniścaya*)—and indeed at whose suggestion I began working on Rāmakaṇṭha's philosophical texts.

A previous article of mine (Watson 2014) places Rāmakaṇṭha in the middle ground between Nyāya and Buddhism. What I would like to do here is present some considerations that run counter to that. I do not think they invalidate my earlier contentions, but they do reveal them to be one-sided and incomplete.

In section 1 I introduce key issues in the self debate between Nyāya and Buddhism, in order to then be able to locate Rāmakaṇṭha in relation to these two. In section 2 I briefly explain my "middle ground" idea that was put forward in the 2014 article.[1] In section 3 I present evidence for seeing Rāmakaṇṭha as just as extreme as Nyāya. In section 4 I present evidence for seeing him as being even more extreme than Nyāya, with Nyāya being the moderate position. In section 5 I present evidence for Nyāya not being so moderate after all. In the concluding section I ask where all of this leaves us.

1 The Naiyāyika-Buddhist Debate about the Existence of the Self

As a means of identifying what precisely separated Nyāya and Buddhism[2] on the question of the self (*ātman*), I like to use a triple distinction, one that I had

1 In sections 1 and 2 some material is reused from the 2014 article.

2 I use "Buddhist" and "Buddhism" in this article to refer specifically to the Buddhism that was engaged with in debate by Naiyāyikas and Śaivas, that is to say the Abhidharma of

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FIGURE 4.1 Self as essence

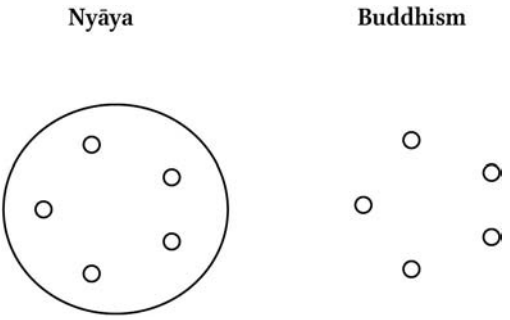

FIGURE 4.2 Self as substance

not seen in secondary literature prior to my 2014 article, but which I think arises naturally from the primary sources. This is a distinction between three ways in which the self was envisaged by the Naiyāyikas, and three corresponding ways in which the self was argued against by the Buddhists. To elaborate the idea, I will use the same set of diagrams that I used in my 2014 article.

Figure 4.1 is intended to illustrate the difference between the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness, according to which we are something different in every single moment, and the Brāhmaṇical idea of the self as the unchanging essence of a sentient being. The self is something that remains the same—both numerically and qualitatively—over time; a Buddhist individual is both numerically and qualitatively different in each moment.

Whereas in figure 4.1 we were focusing on the conception of the self as unchanging essence, in figure 4.2 we are dealing with the self as substance, represented by the large circle on the left—a substance that is the owner of certain qualities (*guṇa*), represented by the small circles. For Naiyāyikas qualities cannot exist without some substance in which they inhere; hence we can infer the existence of the self from the existence of qualities such as cognition, plea-

Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, and the Yogācāra and Sautrāntika of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and their followers. What is said of Buddhism in this article does not, therefore, hold true of Madhyamaka, for example.

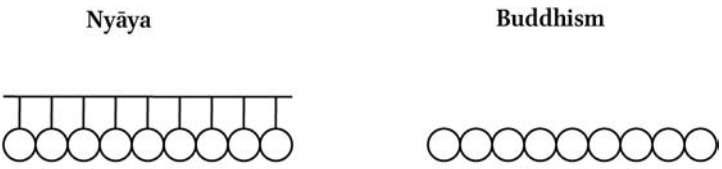

FIGURE 4.3 Self as agent

sure and pain.[3] For Buddhists cognitions, feelings and the other constituents (*skandha*) of an individual exist bundled together, without belonging to some greater whole.

In figure 4.3 we are dealing with the conception of the self as agent; and we have to distinguish two senses of "agent"—the doer (*kartṛ*) of actions, and the subject of cognitions (*jñātṛ*). Actions and cognitions (the circles can represent either) all share a common agent for Nyāya, namely the self (represented by the line). For Buddhism they do not: the agent of one particular action or cognition will have ceased to exist by the time another action or cognition comes into being.

The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika concept of the agent of physical actions was sometimes elaborated by comparison to a puppeteer: as a puppeteer brings into being movements of the body of the puppet, so the self brings bodily movements into being.[4] And the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas both borrowed the Grammarians' (Vaiyākaraṇas) definition of the agent as that which is autonomous, i.e. that cause of action which does not depend on anything else.[5] Buddhism opposes this concept of an autonomous agent standing over the psycho-physical stream of events, manipulating it from above. Any physical action will depend on the previous moment of consciousness, this will depend on what causes it, and the latter will depend on what causes *it*, etc. There is nothing

3 The argument involves three contentions, each of which had their own supporting arguments: (1) Qualities cannot exist without substances to which they belong; (2) Cognition, desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, and volition are qualities; (3) The self is the only possible substance to which these qualities could belong. See *Nyāyavārttika ad* 1.1.10, p. 62,12–18 (that is to say, p. 62, lines 12–18—a convention used throughout this essay), and *Praśastapādabhāṣya* p. 16,3–7. For the second stage of the argument in particular, see *Nyāyavārttika ad* 3.2.18, *Nyāyamañjarī* Vol. 2, p. 278,14–15 and Candrānanda *ad Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 2.2.28. For the third stage of the argument, see e.g. *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. 2, pp. 284,6–293,2 and *Nyāyasūtra* 3.2.47 with the commentaries ad loc. See also Chakrabarti 1982; Oetke 1988, 255–256, 258–260, 280, 286–300, 359–360, 464; Matilal 1989, 74, 77; Matilal 1994, 286; Preisendanz 1994, 187, 209, 278–281; Kano 2001; and Watson 2006, 174–184.

4 See for example *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, p. 15,12 and Candrānanda *ad Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 3.2.4, p. 28,18–19.

5 *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.54.

here that is autonomous; and if there were it would not be able to be a cause as it would stand outside the causal chain. So for Buddhism the agent of an action is simply its principal cause, and this will be an event *within* the psychophysical stream.[6] Buddhism thus replaces a two-tier model with a one-tier one.

If we are talking not of a physical action but specifically of a cognition, its agent will not be a previous moment of consciousness but rather the cognition itself. The agent of a perception, i.e. the thing doing the perceiving, is the perception itself. The subject of any act of awareness, i.e. that which is aware, is the stream of consciousness at that particular moment. So here too we have a contrast between a Naiyāyika two-tier model, in which the cognizer (*jñātṛ*), i.e. the self, is ontologically quite distinct from the cognition (*jñāna*), versus a Buddhist one-tier model in which the cognizer is pluralized and dispersed into the stream of cognitions.

2 Rāmakaṇṭha in the Middle Ground

Where does Rāmakaṇṭha fit in all of this? On two counts he falls with Nyāya and on two counts he falls with Buddhism. He falls with Nyāya (1) in opposing the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness and in upholding the existence of a self that is the unchanging essence of the individual; and (2) in maintaining that there is an autonomous, unconditioned agent of our physical actions. But he agrees with Buddhism (1) that cognition does not inhere in something other than itself: there is no self-substance over and above cognition; and (2) that there is no cognizer over and above cognition, no agent of awareness over and above awareness. For him, as for Buddhism, that which does the cognizing or perceiving is just cognition/awareness/consciousness (*jñātṛ/grāhaka* = *jñāna*).

How does he manage to reconcile all of these positions? I.e., how does he manage to preserve the existence of an unchanging, autonomous self when he denies that there is anything—any substance or agent—over and above cognition/consciousness? The answer is that he equates the self and cognition/consciousness (*jñāna/saṃvit/cit/caitanya*). This means that he has to maintain that cognition/consciousness is permanent and unchanging, not plural and momentary as it is for both Buddhism and Nyāya. Thus the three views can be laid out on a continuum.

6 *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, p. 1228,1–1229,1.

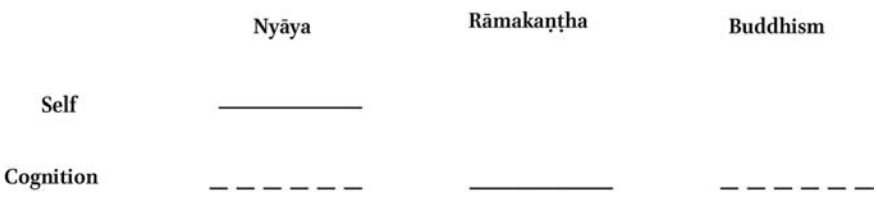

FIGURE 4.4 Rāmakaṇṭha's view in the middle ground

For Nyāya there is both cognition, and a self over and above that. For Buddhism there is no self, there is just cognition. For Rāmakaṇṭha there is a self, but it is just cognition. Rāmakaṇṭha falls in the middle in the sense that, like Buddhism, he as it were crosses out the line under Nyāya—he reduces the self to cognition; but he does not go all the way down the path of Buddhist argumentation, as he joins up the dotted line into one unbroken one: he argues that cognition is permanent.

I will not here dwell on how Rāmakaṇṭha further elaborates and defends his idea of unchanging cognition, as I have done so elsewhere.[7]

3 Rāmakaṇṭha as Extreme as Nyāya

It is at this point that I would like to question and supplement my earlier line of thinking. What precisely is this continuum intended to capture? What determines the particular location on it that a position will occupy?

One thing it might be intended to capture is the amount of change that a position posits in the subject of experience. On the left we have the Naiyāyika position according to which the self is eternally unchanging. On the right we have the Buddhist position according to which the subject is changing, both qualitatively and numerically, in every moment. But for Rāmakaṇṭha the self is completely unmodifiable (*avikārya*), so on this measure his position should fall with Nyāya at the left hand extreme.

One thing it was certainly intended to capture is heaviness or lightness of postulation. On the right we have the Buddhist position that postulates no more than all the disputants agree exists: a sequence of cognitions. On the left we have the Naiyāyika position that postulates an extra entity over and above that: an eternal self that is the owner and knower of those cognitions. On this

7 Watson 2006, 333–382; 2010; and 2014, 186.

measure it looks as though the Naiyāyika position should indeed fall to the left of Rāmakaṇṭha's: the former seems to postulate two things where Rāmakaṇṭha postulates only one.

But even here there is a consideration that seems to negate this difference. Rāmakaṇṭha actually accepts two very different kinds of "cognition" (*jñāna*). In Rāmakaṇṭha's discussions with Buddhism, a common objection put by the Buddhist *pūrvapakṣin* is: if cognition (*jñāna*) is unchanging and single,[8] as you Saiddhāntikas claim, how can we account for the difference between a cognition of blue, a cognition of yellow, an awareness of pain, an awareness of pleasure, etc.? Rāmakaṇṭha's usual answer is to maintain that throughout such a sequence cognition itself is indeed single and unchanging.[9] All change happens on the object side of the subject-object (*grāhaka-grāhya*) divide. The subject/perceiver, i.e. cognition or awareness, is like a light shining out always in the same form; the red, blue, pleasure and pain are different objects that are illuminated in turn by the light, but they do not affect the nature of the light (= cognition) at all.

But sometimes he gives a different answer, namely that there are two different kinds of cognition, i.e. that the word *jñāna* can be used in two different senses. There is cognition proper, i.e. the self (*ātman*), the perceiver (*grāhaka/jñātṛ*), and there is the cognition that is located not in the self but in the intellect (*buddhi*). The first is termed *pauruṣaṃ jñānam*,[10] the cognition of the self, or *grāhakātmasaṃvit*,[11] cognition whose nature is the perceiver; the second is termed *adhyavasāyātmakaṃ jñānam*[12] / *adhyavasāyātmikā saṃvit*,[13] cognition that is of the nature of determination, or *parāmarśātma jñānam*,[14]

8 "Single" here means single in each individual; the Saiddhāntikas, unlike the non-dualistic Śaivas, maintained that each being's self/consciousness was eternally separate from every other's.

9 See for example *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.6ab, pp. 26,19 ff., passage beginning *kas tarhi nīlaprakāśāt pītaprakāśasya bhedaḥ? na kaś cit* … (translated and discussed in Watson 2006, 335–348); *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* introducing 6:34c–35a, p. 172,7 ff. (translated and discussed in Watson 2006, 349–382); *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.5, p. 14,2–18 (translated and discussed in Watson 2006, 220 ff.), which has parallel passages at *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* pp. 158,5–10, 172,16–21, 173,1–7 and *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti ad* 43, p. 168,50–169,62 (following the line numbers as printed on those pages); *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.6ab, p. 26,4–13 (translated and discussed at Watson 2010, 111–112 and 2014, 186, note 26).

10 *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 2.25ab, p. 54,3.

11 *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* p. 174,1–2 and 174,8.

12 *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 2.25ab, p. 54,2.

13 *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* p. 174,4.

14 *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* p. 175,4.

cognition that is of the nature of verbal determination.[15] The second kind is not unitary and unchanging, but divided into discrete instances, verbalizable as, for example, "this is blue," "this is yellow," "this is a pain." If these are discrete instances of cognition (*jñāna*), how is this answer compatible with the first answer that all change occurs on the side of objects, not on the side of the subject? The answer is that these discrete instances of determination are actually *objects* of cognition in relation to the perceiver.[16] If we are using "cognition" to refer to the perceiver, they are objects of cognition; but they themselves can be referred to as "cognitions" if we understand "cognitions" to mean determinations (*adhyavasāya, parāmarśa*). These products of the intellect (*buddhi*) are transient, i.e. plural over time; the nature of the self is unchanging and single over time.

This is no innovation of Rāmakaṇṭha's: both the earlier exegetes in his Saiddhāntika tradition, and the Saiddhāntika scriptures themselves, locate *jñāna* at two different places on the scale of *tattva*s that is partially inherited from Sāṅkhya: within the material world (i.e. that which evolves out of *māyā*) at the level of *buddhi-tattva*, where *jñana* features as one of the eight properties (referred to in Śaiva literature with such terms as *bhāva, dharma, guṇa, aṅga*) of the *buddhi*,[17] and as the immaterial nature of selves (which are qualitatively, but not numerically, identical to Śiva).

Bearing in mind this distinction between two different kinds of cognition, let us revisit the situation that is illustrated in figure 4.4. That diagram, since it prints the line under Rāmakaṇṭha on the same level as the dotted line under Nyāya and the dotted line under Buddhism, makes the following assumptions: (1) Cognition for Rāmakaṇṭha refers to (more or less) the same thing as cognition for Nyāya. (2) Cognition for Rāmakaṇṭha refers to (more or less) the same thing as cognition for Buddhism. These were not unreasonable assumptions. They reflect the way that Rāmakaṇṭha himself presents the situation. When arguing against Nyāya, he effectively says: unlike you Naiyāyikas, we accept only cognition, not some extra self over and above that in which it inheres.[18]

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15 For an elaboration of Rāmakaṇṭha's distinction between these two kinds of cognition, see Watson 2006, 360–382.

16 See *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 1:15, p. 18,33–35, *Parākhyatantra* 4:93ab, *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Sadyojyotis 13ab, *Mṛgendratantra, vidyāpāda* 10:23, Boccio 2002, and Watson 2006, 376 ff.

17 See for example *Parākhyatantra* 4:74 ff., *Mataṅgapārameśvara* 17.2, *Mṛgendratantra, vidyāpāda* 10:24 (cited at Goodall 2004, 254, note 383), *Bhogakārikā* 55, and Sadyojyotis' commentary on *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 2:12. This feature of Śaivism is inherited from Sāṅkhya; see *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23.

18 In the *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.4cd, pp. 8,17–12,19 (on which see chapter 1 of Watson 2006, and Watson 2010, 86–89), Rāmakaṇṭha aligns himself with Buddhism against not

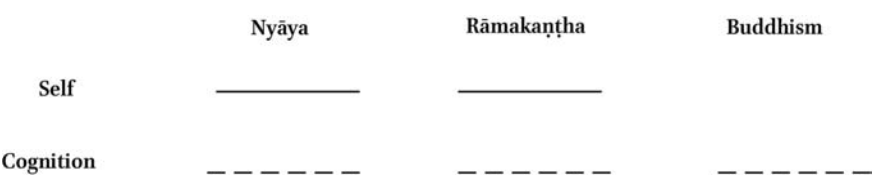

FIGURE 4.5 Rāmakaṇṭha's view as equivalent to Nyāya

And when arguing against Buddhism he assures us that his self/cognition is just the *jñāna* that Buddhists talk about, not some container of it, some self-substance to which it belongs.[19]

But now that we have seen that Rāmakaṇṭha actually recognizes two kinds of cognition, different possible assumptions, and hence different possibilities for the drawing of the diagram, emerge. We could take Buddhist *jñāna* as corresponding more to Rāmakaṇṭha's plural cognitions. And if we do, then the fact that Rāmakaṇṭha adds an extra layer above that makes him very much akin to Nyāya—at least on this point of how many things they are postulating.

Similarly, we could take Rāmakaṇṭha's first kind of cognition as comparable to Nyāya's self, and the second kind as comparable to Nyāya's cognitions (*jñāna*). When we adopt this perspective, the difference between Nyāya and Rāmakaṇṭha regarding the extent of their postulation disappears. We arrive at the situation depicted in figure 4.5.

To what extent is it reasonable to take the first kind of cognition as equivalent to Nyāya's self? It is reasonable to the extent that we are aligning Nyāya's self and Rāmakaṇṭha's self, though the former is not of the nature of *jñāna* whereas the latter is. To what extent is it reasonable to take the second kind of cognition as equivalent to Nyāya's cognitions and Buddhism's cognitions? The fact that the second kind is plural makes it a more natural equivalent than the unitary first kind; but the fact that the second kind of cognition is unconscious (a product of primal matter) makes it less equivalent to Buddhist and Naiyāyika cognitions, which are sparks of awareness, than the first kind, which is equivalent to awareness.

As well as the amount of change in the subject, and the amount of postulation, there is a third possibility for what the continuum could capture: the amount of dynamism in the subject. On this measure does Rāmakaṇṭha's self

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only the Naiyāyikas, but also the Vaiśeṣikas and Sāṅkhyas, on the grounds that they all accept a self over and above cognition, whereas he accepts only cognition.

19 See *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.5, pp. 13,5–14,2 (discussed and translated in Watson 2006, 213–220); and *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 2:25ab, p. 53,4–8 (discussed and translated in Watson 2010, 87–89).

fall closer to a Buddhist stream of consciousness than a Naiyāyika self does? Yes. Nyāya's rock-like[20] self is in its own nature devoid of consciousness and agency; Rāmakaṇṭha's is of the nature of an outpouring—the outpouring of the light of consciousness—and during liberation it remains not just conscious, but also an agent. But Rāmakaṇṭha's self is not as dynamic as that of the non-dualistic Śaivas. For them *vimarśa*, representative cognition, is a power (*śakti*) of the self.[21] Rāmakaṇṭha resists this move, since for him (as for them) there is no difference between a power and the thing that has the power (*śakti* and *śaktimat*), so to accept that *vimarśa*, which is changing, is a power of the self would have been to accept some change in the self. *Vimarśa* for him belongs in the *buddhi*, not the self;[22] so it does not affect the unchanging nature of the self. Rāmakaṇṭha was more concerned than the non-dualist Śaivas to protect the self from any change, though his self does have more dynamism than a Naiyāyika one. There is a tension in Rāmakaṇṭha's self between its lack of change and its dynamism, one to which we will return in the final paragraphs of the article.

4 Rāmakaṇṭha More Extreme Than Nyāya

We have seen that by two out of these three measures, Rāmakaṇṭha's self looks to be just as "extreme" as Nyāya's. In fact there is one consideration that arguably makes it more extreme. Rāmakaṇṭha's self is perhaps even further removed from change than Nyāya's, given that for Nyāya changing cognitions

20 See *Nyāyamañjarī* vol. 2 p. 432,4: *jaḍaḥ pāṣāṇanirviśeṣa eva tasyām avasthāyām ātmā bhavet*; "The self in that state [of liberation] would be unconscious, just like a rock." These words are put by Jayanta into the mouth of an opponent; but the Naiyāyika *siddhāntin* does not deny the similarity of the liberated soul to a rock. I thank Harunaga Isaacson for this reference.

21 See Sanderson 1992, 288–289.

22 See (1) *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda ad* 6:35b–d, p. 175,4–5 (and Watson 2006, 366), where Rāmakaṇṭha asserts that *parāmarśa*, despite rising and passing away, does not indicate the non-eternality of the self, as it occurs not in the self but in the *buddhi* (and the *ahaṅkāra*): that *vimarśa* is synonymous with *parāmarśa* for Rāmakaṇṭha is suggested by *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1:17, pp. 41,5–44,3 (translated and discussed in Watson 2006, 313–332), where they are used interchangeably; (2) *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 2:25ab, pp. 53,10–54,17, where Rāmakaṇṭha distinguishes *adhyavasāya*, which is transient and a property (*dharma*) of the *buddhi*, from *saṃvedanātmakaṃ jñānam*, which belongs to the soul and is always occurrent; that Rāmakaṇṭha uses *adhyavasāya* and *parāmarśa* (and *niścaya*) as synonyms is suggested by *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda ad* 6:35b–d, p. 174,4–175,9; (3) *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda ad* 17:2, p. 382,12–21, which distinguishes *adhyavasāya* from *saṃvedana* and identifies the former as the *svabhāva* of the *buddhi*; (4) *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1:6ab, p. 28,12–19, where *adhyavasāya* is said to be a *guṇa* of the *buddhi*.

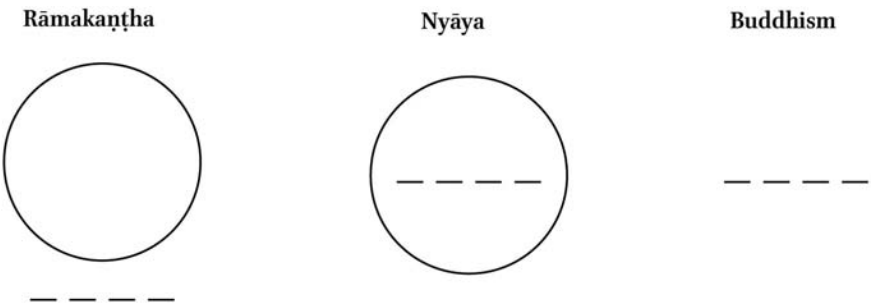

FIGURE 4.6 Rāmakaṇṭha's view as more extreme than Nyāya

inhere in the self. For Rāmakaṇṭha, by contrast, changing cognitions, as we saw above, are objects of awareness (*grāhya*) for the self; they occur outside of it, in the intellect (*buddhi*). So we arrive at a different continuum, illustrated in figure 4.6, where the large circle is the self and the dotted lines are cognitions. The position that postulates the most amount of change in the subject is the Buddhist position on the right; the position that postulates the least amount of change in the subject is Rāmakaṇṭha's position on the left; Nyāya falls in the middle.

And what is asserted here of cognitions is also true of latent impressions (*saṃskāra*s), pleasures and pains. Whereas for Nyāya these all reside in the self, Rāmakaṇṭha and his fellow Saiddhāntikas, arguing that this would entail the unwanted consequence that the self is subject to change, locate latent impressions, pleasures and pains outside of the self in the *buddhi*.[23]

The fact that we are dealing here with two different conceptions of the relationship between self and cognitions—for Nyāya inherence (*samavāya*), and for Rāmakaṇṭha a subject-object relation (*grāhyagrāhakabhāva*)—means that certain objections that are put to Rāmakaṇṭha are not so applicable to Nyāya.

First, a common objection that is articulated in Buddhist texts against a Sāṅkhya self,[24] and in Rāmakaṇṭha's texts as a Buddhist objection to his own view,[25] is as follows. If the self were completely unmodifiable, it would not be able to perceive objects, for to perceive a pot, say, followed by a cloth requires being able to register the change in the object-sphere from the pot to the cloth. And there is no way to register a change without being affected by the change. The way in which a perceiver perceives an object is by being modified by that

23 See *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda ad* 17:2, p. 383,1–8 and *ad* 6:34c–35a, pp. 173,11–174,1.

24 E.g. *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita 287 and 288.

25 See *Mataṅgavṛtti, vidyāpāda* introducing 6:34c–35a, p. 172,7–10; *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa* introducing 1:6ab, p. 17,3–4; and *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa ad* 1.6ab, p. 26,19–20.

object in some way. If the perceiver is permanently unaffected and unmodified, it is mysterious how it can be a perceiver.

Here the Naiyāyika will respond that the self *is* modified to the extent that separate cognitions inhere in it, the first caused by the pot and the second caused by the cloth.

Second, Rāmakaṇṭha combines the claim that the self is unmodifiable with the claim that it is an agent. This lays him open to an objection that, unlike the last one, is not applicable to Sāṅkhya: how can something that is beyond all change be an agent? There are two aspects to this objection. (1) How can something that does not itself "move" cause movement? Here Rāmakaṇṭha's response is to adduce the example of a magnet. A magnet causes movement in iron filings without itself moving; so similarly, the self causes bodily movement without itself moving.[26] But even if it were conceded that the magnet example renders plausible a self as "unmoving mover," there is a related but different problem. (2) If the self is beyond all change, how can we explain that at one moment it brings about one action and at another moment it brings about a completely different action? Surely an agent that is always in the same state would have to either always be doing nothing or always be doing exactly the same thing?

Here again, the objection is not so applicable to Naiyāyikas, for they accept the existence of different impulses (*prayatna*s) that inhere in the self. A prior bodily movement will be brought about by a particular impulse, and a subsequent, different kind of bodily movement will be brought about by a different impulse.

5 Nyāya Not so Moderate after All

Section 3 gave reasons for judging Rāmakaṇṭha's position not to fall in the middle ground between Nyāya and Buddhism, but to be just as extreme as Nyāya.

Section 4 gave reasons for judging Rāmakaṇṭha's position to be more extreme than Nyāya's, with the latter as the moderate one, closer to Buddhism. But this section introduces a consideration that reveals Nyāya to be not so moderate after all.

It is true that Nyāya holds cognitions, impulses (*prayatna*), latent impressions (*saṃskāra*), pleasures, pains, etc., to inhere in the self, whereas Rāmakaṇ-

26 *Kiraṇavṛtti ad* 3:1; *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti ad* 3c, pp. 115,99–116,106; and Watson, Goodall and Sarma 2013, 258–259, especially note 196.

ṭha (in accord with his Sāṅkhya inheritance)[27] locates all of these outside of the self, indeed outside of the realm of the immaterial altogether, within the world derived from *māyā* and *prakṛti*. We thus seem to be left with the picture given in figure 4.6, where the small lines can represent any of the things just listed: they fall within the self for Nyāya, but outside of it for Rāmakaṇṭha. But the statement that they fall within the self for Nyāya has to be qualified. For Nyāya actually regards them as part of the "not-self." How can that be, given that they are qualities of the self? Because of Nyāya's view of the firm difference between a thing and its qualities (*guṇaguṇibheda*). Any substance for Nyāya is a completely different thing from its qualities. Change in the qualities of a substance will not necessarily result in any change or modification of the substance. And there is even more distance between the self and its qualities than there is between a physical substance and its qualities. For the self is eternal, its qualities temporary; it is omnipresent, while they are restricted to a particular location.[28] This Naiyāyika idea that the self in particular, and substances in general, are unaffected by changes in their qualities was one of the things that separated their view from that of Kumārila and the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas. For the latter held the relation between a thing and its qualities to be difference-cum-nondifference (*bhedābheda*); they maintained that changes in the qualities of a thing *do* affect the thing itself. The self, for them, although never ceasing to exist, *is* subject to modification when its qualities change.[29] The fact that the Naiyāyikas rejected this, protecting the self from any effect of change in its qualities, means that their view cannot be so starkly differentiated from Rāmakaṇṭha's view as figure 4.6 suggests.

This impression is strengthened by Naiyāyika passages dealing with liberation (*apavarga, mokṣa*). Here Naiyāyika authors assert that the self's nature is, and always has been, free of all its particular qualities (*sakalaguṇāpoḍha*).[30] These qualities are thus irrelevant to *its* nature. They are described as extrinsic to it, not innate (*na naisargikaḥ*).[31] They are part of the "not-self" with which it confuses itself while in *saṃsāra*, and which is to be abandoned (*heya*).[32]

This thoroughgoing difference and separateness of the self's qualities from the self—indicated by all of the considerations above—means that the Nyāya

27 For the Sāṅkhya stance on these matters and its difference from Nyāya, see Dasti 2013, 121–135.

28 For an account of the evolution of the increasing distance that developed between the self and its qualities in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, see Frauwallner 1956, 91–104; 1984, 61–71.

29 *Ślokavārttika, ātmavāda* 21–23.

30 *Nyāyamañjarī* Vol. 2, p. 359,6: *sakalaguṇāpoḍham evāsya rūpam*.

31 *Nyāyamañjarī* Vol. 2, p. 359,5.

32 *Nyāyamañjarī* Vol. 2, p. 265,10–12 and p. 430,3–4. *Nyāyabhāṣya* p. 6,9–11.

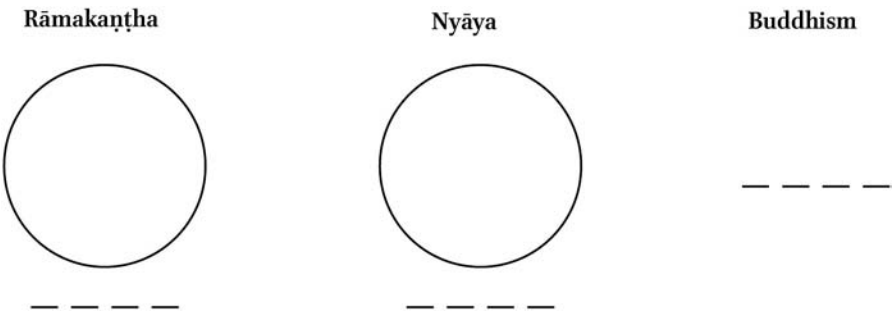

FIGURE 4.7 Nyāya as equivalent to Rāmakaṇṭha's view

position can arguably be represented as it is in figure 4.7, and hence regarded as just as extreme as Rāmakaṇṭha's position.

6 Concluding Remarks

Where do all of these divergent analyses leave us? What is cancelled out by what? It may be better to see each perspective as having its own validity. We have four perspectives:

1. Rāmakaṇṭha in the middle ground (section 2 and Watson 2014).
2. Rāmakaṇṭha as just as extreme as Nyāya (section 3).
3. Rāmakaṇṭha as more extreme than Nyāya (section 4).
4. Rāmakaṇṭha as just as extreme as Nyāya (section 5).

Or rather, three perspectives, since 2 and 4 are the same. In what sense is 1 valid? The Śaiva equating of self and consciousness/cognition and its view of the self as the shining forth of *prakāśa*, the light of consciousness, is indeed something that differentiates Rāmakaṇṭha's view from Nyāya in substantial and significant ways. Related to this is the Śaiva rejection of the existence of substances (*dravya*) over and above qualities (*guṇa*), or property-possessors (*dharmin*) over and above properties (*dharma*). And just as, for Rāmakaṇṭha, there is no self-substance over and above consciousness/cognition, so too there is no self as agent (*kartṛ*) or knower (*jñātṛ/grāhaka*) over and above consciousness/cognition. From the point of view of this equating of self and consciousness, perspective 1 is valid, and figure 4.4 captures a certain relationship that Rāmakaṇṭha's position bears to Nyāya and Buddhism. This perspective and this figure also accord with the way that Rāmakaṇṭha's self is more dynamic than Nyāya's.

But it is not valid to see things only in this way, because when we add the consideration that Rāmakaṇṭha accepts two kinds of cognition, this allows for

the possibility of aligning not his first kind, but his second kind (that which is plural and is located in the *buddhi*) with Nyāya's and Buddhism's cognition. When we do that, and we add Rāmakaṇṭha's self (i.e. his first kind of cognition) above that, his position becomes equivalent to Nyāya's (both in terms of the number of things postulated and the amount of change in the self)—and figure 4.5 becomes appropriate.

But this does not exhaust the number of ways of seeing the relationship between Rāmakaṇṭha and Nyāya, because there is a further significant consideration. While it is true that the selves of both Nyāya and Śaivasiddhānta are eternally unchanging (which supports the idea that they are both as extreme as each other: perspective 2), it is also the case that cognitions, impulses (*prayatna*), latent impressions (*saṃskāra*), pleasures, pains, etc., inhere in the self for Nyāya, but fall completely outside it for Rāmakaṇṭha. Emphasizing this makes it appear that Rāmakaṇṭha's self, like a Sāṅkhya self, is even more removed from change than Nyāya's. This perspective 3 (illustrated in figure 4.6) carries some weight, but is no final resting place, for if we concentrate on those places where Nyāya emphasizes that qualities are extrinsic to substances, and that consciousness/cognitions, etc., are part of the not-self, not affecting its nature in any way, then it appears that there is in fact no more change in a Naiyāyika self than a Saiddhāntika one. So to adopt perspective 4 is to revert to perspective 2, which this time can be illustrated with a slightly different diagram: figure 4.7.

The explanation for the difference between perspectives 3 and 4 is a certain tension within Nyāya, one that was already noted by Frauwallner in 1956.[33] Frauwallner argues that the Naiyāyika self is the product of two separate influences. On the one hand, it derives from the self as characterized in the old philosophy of nature; on the other hand it was subject to continual attraction to the self of the Sāṅkhyas. According to the former, selves were of limited size, and hence capable of movement; they were that which transmigrates from body to body; and they were all qualitatively distinct from each other, as a result of being characterized by their own qualities (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭa*). There was thus a huge difference between these selves and those of Sāṅkhya: the latter were all-pervading and hence incapable of movement; it was not they that transmigrate (but rather a subtle body); and they were devoid of all qualities. But over time the difference of the selves of the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas from those of the Sāṅkhyas decreased. The former became all-pervading and hence incapable of movement; they ceased to be that which transmigrates from body to body

33 Frauwallner (1956, 91–104), (1984, 61–71).

(the *manas* took on this role); and their relationship to their qualities became reassessed. They were no longer characterized by their own qualities (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭa*); rather those qualities came to be regarded as extrinsic to them, as part of the not-self, and as needing to be abandoned if the self is to rest in its own nature. Previously selves were affected by changes in their qualities; subsequently they were not. Previously selves were qualitatively different from each other; subsequently they were all qualitatively identical as a result of being, in their true nature, devoid of particular qualities.

The residues in a Naiyāyika self of earlier philosophy of nature weigh in favour of perspective 3; the influence of the Sāṅkhya model of a self pulls it towards perspective 4.

Just as the difference between perspectives 3 and 4 results from focusing on different aspects of Nyāya, so the difference between perspectives 1 and 2 results from focusing on different aspects of Śaivasiddhānta. Just as we have offered an explanation of the first difference in terms of a tension within Nyāya, is there also an explanation of the second difference in terms of a tension within Śaivasiddhānta? In fact there is. Rāmakaṇṭha's self is one whose nature derives to a large extent from Sāṅkhya: passing cognitions do not inhere in it, *saṃskāra*s do not reside in it, pleasures and pains fall outside of it. It is elevated above all change; it sits above and beyond the various *tattva*s that comprise the psycho-physical universe. This is the kind of self that Rāmakaṇṭha inherits from his scriptural tradition. But his concept of self is also the result of a second influence, one which goes back to some of the Śaiva scriptures[34] and which had been increasingly making itself felt among the Śaivas of Kashmir (both Saiddhāntikas such as Nārayaṇakaṇṭha and non-dualists such as Utpaladeva) during the previous century. This second influence sees the self not as a static Sāṅkhya-like entity, but as dynamic and as an outpouring of light (*prakāśa*)—the light of cognition/consciousness. The contrast between the two influences is strong. (1) According to the first influence it is a passive non-agent; according to the second it is a fully-fledged agent. I.e., not only is it an agent while unliberated, as in Nyāya, but it is also an agent in liberation; indeed at that time its agency expands into omnipotence. (2) According to the first, *jñāna* falls completely outside of the self; according to the second, the self is of the nature of *jñāna*.

Perspective 2 (which was presented in section 3) results from focusing on the first influence, the Sāṅkhya inheritance. Perspective 1 (presented in section 2) results from focusing on the new Śaiva insights.

34 See Watson (2010, 80).

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CHAPTER 5

Some Hitherto Unknown Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* (II): Against the Existence of External Objects

Isabelle Ratié

1 Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* in Marginal Annotations of Manuscripts Belonging to the Pratyabhijñā Corpus

Raffaele Torella's discovery and remarkable edition of the only (and very incomplete) manuscript of the *Vivṛti* thus far known[1] has enabled us to determine with certainty that some marginal annotations in manuscripts of Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (henceforth ĪPV) and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* (henceforth ĪPVV) regularly quote Utpaladeva's lost work. Nine of the ĪPV manuscripts that I have been able to consult contain such quotations;[2] two ĪPVV manuscripts[3] known to me bear several fragments, the most important of which is by far the lengthiest *Vivṛti* fragment known to date (including the one found in the codex unicus edited by Raffaele Torella), covering three *Vivṛti* chapters;[4] and two manuscripts of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvṛtti* (henceforth *Vṛtti*) have been shown to contain some much shorter *Vivṛti* quotations.[5] The following pages are an attempt to edit and translate

1 The manuscript as it stands now only covers verses 1.3.6 to 1.5.3. See Torella 1988 (this first part of the fragment was in fact edited from a transcript of the original manuscript D later found by R. Torella in the National Archives of India and used for the edition of the remaining parts of the fragment), and Torella 2007a, 2007b, 2007c and 2007d.

2 For a list of parallels between marginal annotations in D2, SOAS and S3 and the fragment edited by R. Torella, see Ratié 2016. Five other ĪPV manuscripts—namely J^R, S2, S5, S7, S9—have been shown to contain such fragments in Ratié 2016b, and one more (S15) in Ratié forthcoming (see also below).

3 S12 and J11.

4 On this discovery, see Ratié 2017 and Ratié forthcoming.

5 See Kawajiri 2016 and 2016b for a diplomatic edition of marginal annotations containing *Vivṛti* quotations in a *Vṛtti* manuscript from Lucknow in Devanāgarī script. Note, however, that S19 (a Śāradā manuscript used by Raffaele Torella for his edition of the *Vṛtti*) also contains many *Vivṛti* fragments. It is described in Torella 2002, l–li (under siglum N) as "profusely annotated by a different hand with single glosses or long passages (mostly drawn from the ĪPV) between the lines and often entirely covering the margins." Indeed, many of these quota-

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some brief marginal annotations borrowed from Utpaladeva's lost *Vivṛti* on *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* (henceforth ĪPK) 1.5.6 and 1.5.8–9.[6]

This is no easy task, because very little is known of the source(s), purpose(s) and history of these annotations,[7] and because most of the time their authors do not specify whether they are quoting[8]—and if so, which text[9]—or rather giving a comment of their own. We can quite safely assume that these annotations are indeed genuine quotations from the *Vivṛti* whenever we can find in them a sequence of words corresponding exactly to the *pratīka*s in Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV. However, Abhinavagupta's quotations of the *Vivṛti* are sometimes so brief that we cannot always reach such a high level of probability, as can be seen from one problematic instance below.[10] Besides, the marginal

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tions are from the ĪPV; but some are *Vivṛti* fragments, as shown in Ratié forthcoming (see also Ratié 2018b, Appendix I). S19 was not taken into account here, not because it would be irrelevant (its margins bear several fragments on ĪPK 1.5.6–9, and interestingly, most of them are not found in the ĪPV and ĪPVV manuscripts used below), but because unfortunately, I made this discovery too late to incorporate the new findings in this article.

6 So far I have not found any *Vivṛti* quotation on ĪPK 1.5.7 in ĪPV or ĪPVV manuscripts. It should also be noted that S12, to which I only recently had access, bears the fragment edited in Ratié 2016, 239–240 from marginal annotations in S3. In S12 the fragment appears in the margins of folios 119A–120B. The missing words in S3 (Ratié 2016, 239, note 35) appear as *tathā carati* in S12; the compound *parajñānaviṣayabhāvagamanābhisandhir* (ibid., 239, § 1, last line) has the wrong reading *parajñānaparajñānaviṣayabhāvagamanābhisandhir*; S12 shares with S3 the wrong readings °*vyavahārādy*° instead of °*vyāhārādy*° (see ibid., 239, note 36 and 37), and occasionally reads °*vyavahārādy*° where S3 has the right reading °*vyāhārādy*° (in *tajjñānagatavyāhārādy*°, ibid., 239, § 2, line 5); it reads *yadi* where S3 has *yad iha* (ibid., 239, § 2, line 6—I had conjectured *yadi hi*); it also has *ābhāsabhedahetutva*° instead of *ābhāsabhede hetutva*° (ibid., 240, § 5, line 5); it shares with S3 the wrong readings *yathāvabhāsānāṃ* (see ibid., 240, note 41) and *pramātṛprābhāsaparyavasānaṃ* (see ibid., 240, note 42); finally, it reads *nāpi pratibodhitā ekaiva* instead of S3's *nādhipratitvocitaikaiva* (and my conjecture *nādhipatitvocitaikaiva*).

7 See Formigatti 2011 and Ratié 2018b. Formigatti 2011 (a very interesting study of marginal annotations in Sanskrit manuscripts from northern India and Nepal) bears in part on ĪPV manuscripts; unfortunately it makes no mention of *Vivṛti* fragments, although at least one of the manuscripts examined, Ś7 (= S9 in the present paper), contains quotations from Utpaladeva's detailed auto-commentary (see Ratié 2016b). The reason for this is that due to the length of the ĪPV, Formigatti chose to confine his research to the annotations on the first chapter, which are apparently devoid of such quotations.

8 This happens, however: see Ratié 2016, 228, note 10, and below, note 58.

9 The marginal annotations most often quote from Utpaladeva's *Vṛtti* and Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV, but other works are occasionally cited, including Śaiva texts (such as the *Śivadṛṣṭi*) as well as Buddhist works (e.g. Dharmakīrti's *Sambandhaparīkṣā*) or Brahmanical treatises (e.g. Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī*): see Ratié 2017, 165.

10 See fragment no. 6? on ĪPK 1.5.8–9.

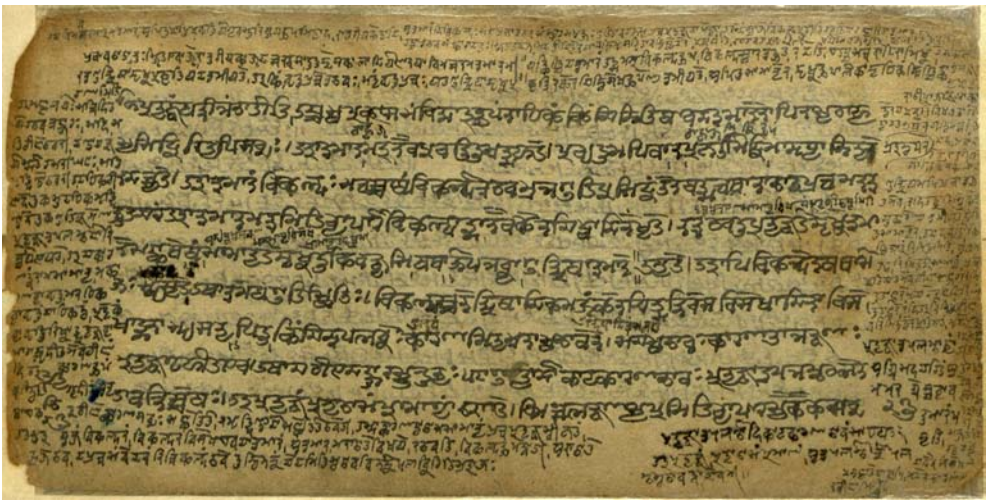

FIGURE 5.1 Manuscript S3 of Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (f. 43A), with fragments 4 and 5 of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* on vv. 1.5.8–9 in the top and right margins
PHOTOGRAPH: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

annotations are sometimes barely legible, and Utpaladeva's prose is difficult. For all these reasons, both the edition and translation given here are only tentative.

2 The Context and Gist of Fragments 1–3 on ĪPK 1.5.6

The overall context of the fragments presented here is a controversy over the existence of a reality external to consciousness, and Utpaladeva's main interlocutor at this point of the debate is a Buddhist Sautrāntika.[11] The latter admits that we can never have direct access to any reality existing beyond consciousness, since the objects of our perceptions are nothing but internal aspects (*ākāra*) of consciousness; yet he claims that an external reality must be inferred so as to account for phenomenal variety: according to him, consciousness is in itself an undifferentiated manifesting entity or light (*prakāśamātra*), so that the variety of objects of which we are aware must have a cause outside of consciousness, just as a variety of reflections in a mirror must have as its cause a

11 On the portrayal of this philosophical figure by the Śaiva nondualists and Utpaladeva's refutation of his thesis (both of which are only briefly outlined here), see Ratié 2011, 368–402 and 442–473, and Ratié 2011b.

variety of forms existing outside of the mirror. In ĪPK 1.5.6, Utpaladeva endeavours to criticize this thesis by showing that the sphere of ordinary human practice (*vyavahāra*) functions on the mere basis of phenomena (so that from this practical point of view, at least, all inquiries into the existence of an external reality are useless) and that further, an external object is not even rationally possible, so that there is no point in assuming the existence of such an absurd object.[12]

In fragment no. 1, Utpaladeva first points out that human activities pertain only to phenomena and that no inquiry over a potential external object is needed to ensure practical success in the everyday world: in the course of ordinary existence we are content to deal with mere manifestations, because these manifestations are endowed with an efficacy (*arthakriyā*) capable of fulfilling our needs (when we are hungry, we do not ask ourselves whether mangoes exist outside our consciousness: we look for the phenomenon of a mango and are content with experiencing its perceptible effects, since no entity by nature imperceptible can be consumed or utilized).[13]

To this the Sautrāntika could reply that assuming the existence of some imperceptible entities is nonetheless a necessary requirement if we are to make sense of our own perceptions; thus most Indian philosophical systems acknowledge that our eyes, which are perceptible elements of our body, are not enough to explain the phenomenon of vision (since blind people too may possess them), so that we must consider them (as well as our ears, etc.) as mere receptacles for the real sense organs (*indriya*), understood as instruments of perception that are too subtle to be perceptible, but that must nonetheless be inferred from the fact that we do perceive. Utpaladeva's opponent argues that just as we must assume the existence of the imperceptible *indriya*s so as to account for our faculty of perceiving, in the same way, we must infer the existence of an external reality so as to explain phenomenal variety. In response to this argument, Utpaladeva points out in the fragment that contrary to what the Sautrāntika claims, the assumption of the *indriya*s' existence is not universally shared among theoreticians, and in this connection he mentions two theses that claim to explain perception without assuming that such

12 See ĪPK 1.5.6: *syād etad avabhāseṣu teṣv evāvasite sati | vyavahāre kim anyena bāhyenānupapattinā ||* "Let [us admit] this: since ordinary human practice (*vyavahāra*) is determined on [the basis of] these manifestations alone, what is the point of some external [object] that would be distinct [from consciousness and] that is not [even] logically possible (*anupapatti*)?" On the two possible interpretations of *syād etat* according to Abhinavagupta, see Torella 2002, 114, note 12, and Ratié 2011, 386, note 48.

13 Cf. ĪPV, vol. I, 178, quoted and translated in Ratié 2011, 386.

imperceptible sense organs must exist. According to Abhinavagupta, one of these theses belongs to Bhartṛhari and was expounded in his now lost *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā*,[14] while the other is that of a "follower of Bṛhaspati" (*bārhaspatya*), i.e., a materialist (*cārvāka*).[15] In fact Utpaladeva disagrees with both theories since in ĪPK 1.5.8–9 he clearly admits that the inference of the *indriya*s is valid; but contrary to the Sautrāntika, he believes that inferring the existence of a purely imperceptible entity is illegitimate and even impossible (which is why he claims that the *indriya*s are perceived at least in some respect).[16] Most importantly, it seems that his goal here is merely to show that there is no *consensus* on the necessity of assuming the *indriya*s' existence: the fragment only points out that there are competing ways of explaining perception, some of which do not involve the assumption of imperceptible organs of perception, so that the Sautrāntika cannot invoke any universal agreement on the *indriya*s in order to substantiate the claim that external objects too must be inferred.

Utpaladeva then goes one step further in this first fragment and asserts that the investigation of the external object is not only useless but also doomed to failure, because the external object is not rationally possible.

It is worth noting in this respect that in his commentaries, Abhinavagupta points out that there are *two* different kinds of argument showing that the external object is impossible from a rational point of view.[17] The first one simply consists in stating that the external object cannot exist because it cannot be manifest in any way, even as an object of inference.[18] The second set of arguments (which obviously paraphrases Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā*[19] but may have been borrowed, at least in part, from Śaṅkaranandana's synthetic reformulation of Vasubandhu's arguments in his *Prajñālaṅkāra*[20]) consists in showing that the external object cannot exist because there is no way of satisfactorily

14 On this work see Ratié 2018.

15 See below, notes 88–90.

16 See below, note 115.

17 See Ratié 2014.

18 See ĪPV, vol. I, 178: … *yatra sādhakaṃ ca nāsti pramāṇaṃ bādhakaṃ ca prakāśād bhede 'numeyatayāpi prakāśanābhāva iti tāvan mukhyam*. "And there is no argument proving [the existence] of the [external object], and the main (*mukhya*) [argument] refuting [its existence] amounts to this much: the fact that there [can] be no manifestation (*prakāśana*) [of it] even as a [mere] object of inference if [this object] is distinct from the manifesting consciousness (*prakāśa*)."

19 On the title *Viṃśikā* (rather than *Viṃśatikā*), see Kano 2008, 345.

20 See ĪPV, vol. I, 181: *abhyuccayabādhakaṃ cedam iti nātrāsmābhir bharaḥ kṛtaḥ. vistareṇa ca prajñālaṅkāre darśitam ācāryaśaṅkaranandanena*. "And we have not taken the trouble of [detailing] here what these additional refuting arguments are; and the master Śaṅkaranandana has shown [this] at length in his *Prajñālaṅkāra*."

explaining it, whether or not we consider it to be made of parts.[21] Abhinavagupta calls the first argument "principal" (*mukhya*)[22] and specifies that while the other, additional arguments focus on the contradictions involved in this or that particular property of the external object, the main argument functions as a global refutation of the external object's existence.[23] This distinction is not found in Utpaladeva's *Vṛtti*, which merely mentions what Abhinavagupta calls the "additional" arguments;[24] nonetheless, the ĪPVV's phrasing shows that it was no innovation on Abhinavagupta's part and that it must have been stated

21 See ĪPV, vol. I, 178: *abhyuccayabādhakās tv avayavino vṛttyanupapattiḥ samavāyāsiddhiḥ kampākampāvaraṇānāvaraṇaraktāraktadigbhāgabhedādiviruddhadharmayogaḥ* … "As for the additional arguments refuting [the existence of the external object], they are: the impossibility of the existence of a whole (*avayavin*) [in its parts]; the fact that the inherence (*samavāya*) [of the whole in its parts] is not established; the fact that the [external object must] possess some contradictory properties, such as movement and the absence of movement, being covered and being uncovered, being colored and being colourless, being differentiated into parts according to [the six] directions (*digbhāgabheda*), etc." On Abhinavagupta's explanation of these additional arguments and its Buddhist sources see Ratié 2010, 446–452, and Ratié 2011, 390–403.

22 See above, note 18.

23 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 138: *na ca kevalam idam eva bādhakaṃ yat pramāṇamukhena pravṛttaṃ yāvat* ***svato 'pī****ti svamukhena prameyasvarūpanirūpaṇapravṛttapratītidvāreṇāpi pravṛttam, prameyasvarūpam evāsattvāviṣkaraṇenonmūlayaty* eva bāhyam iti yāvat. pūrvakaṃ hi bādhakaṃ prameyasvarūpam anapekṣayaiva sāṃśam anaṃśaṃ viruddham aviruddhaṃ yad bhavatu tad bhavatu, prakāśād bhinnaṃ na prakāśata iti tu sarvagrāsena pravṛttam.* [**evāsattvāviṣkaraṇenonmūlayaty* conj.; *evāsattvāviṣkaraṇaivonmūlayaty* T; *eva sattvāviṣkaraṇenonmūlayaty* J10, ĪPVV; *eva sattāviṣkaraṇenomūlyaty* J11.] "And [against the thesis of the existence of the external object,] there is not only this [aforementioned] refuting argument (*bādhaka*) which functions through the means of [valid] knowledge (*pramāṇa*) [lacking in the case of the external object]; [there is] also [a refuting argument] which functions 'by itself' [according to the *Vivṛti*], that is to say, through the [external object's] own [nature, or more precisely,] through the awareness arising from the examination of the [contradictory] nature of the object of knowledge (*prameya*). [The latter argument] completely eradicates the very nature of the object of knowledge—that is to say, the external [object]—by showing that [this contradictory nature can]not exist. For the first refuting argument functions while completely disregarding the nature of the object of knowledge—[i.e.] whether it has parts or is devoid of parts, whether it is contradicted or not [by this or that particular property]—rather, [it functions] through a global refutation (*sarvagrāsena* [lit. 'by devouring everything']), thus: '[What is] distinct from the manifesting consciousness (*prakāśa*) is not manifest (*na prakāśate*).'"

24 See *Vṛtti* on ĪPK 1.5.6, 20–21: … *bāhyaś cārthaḥ pramāṇabādhitaḥ sāvayavo viruddhadharmādhyāsāder niravayavaś ca dikṣaṭkayogāder bahuśaḥ*. "Moreover, [the existence of] the external object is refuted by a means of [valid] knowledge if it has parts, because of [the necessity then] of attributing to it contradictory properties, etc.; [and it is contradicted] in many ways if it has no parts, because [then] it must be in contact with the six directions, etc."

by Utpaladeva himself in his *Vivṛti*.[25] This is confirmed by the fragments presented below. While fragment no. 3—which mentions the famous criticism of atomism in Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā* 11–15—is obviously concerned with the second set of arguments,[26] in fragments no. 1 and 3 Utpaladeva clearly refers to the first, "principal" argument against the existence of the external object; thus the end of fragment no. 1 explains that the only possible objects for consciousness are phenomena and that objects are nothing but the manifesting consciousness (*prakāśa*), and fragment no. 2 further explains that even objects known through inference must be manifested (*avabhāta*) in some way so as to be objects for consciousness.

This latter point is crucial, because the idea that even conceptual objects must be directly manifested in some way is one of the main divergences between Buddhist and Śaiva nondualistic epistemologies, as Abhinavagupta himself makes clear in his commentary.[27] The Śaiva nondualists thus accuse the Vijñānavādins of unwittingly granting some legitimacy to the externalism of their Sautrāntika opponents by admitting that contrary to a perceived object, the object of a mere concept does not require any immediate manifestation at the time of its conceptualization. According to the Śaivas, such a concession entails that there is nothing inherently wrong in trying to infer, as the Sautrāntikas do, an external object by nature alien to manifestation, whereas Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta deny the mere possibility of even conceptualizing—and therefore inferring—an entity fundamentally distinct from consciousness.[28]

At the end of fragment no. 2, Utpaladeva states a new objection on the part of his externalist opponent. According to the Sautrāntika, if we do not assume the existence of an external reality, we cannot explain why we are aware of a phenomenal variety that occurs in a specific sequence: there must be a reason for the fact that some things are manifest to us and that these manifestations occur successively rather than simultaneously. As Abhinavagupta puts it, "a manifestation necessarily requires a cause as regards both [its] arising and [its] not arising,"[29] and if we do not attempt to determine that cause, the very notion of causality as well as that of the relationship between the apprehending subject and the apprehended object (which, according to the Buddhists, depends

25 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 138, quoted above, note 23.

26 For an explanation of Abhinavagupta's commentaries on this point see Ratié 2010, 451–452 and Ratié 2011, 395–399.

27 See below, note 94.

28 On this divergence see Ratié 2011b, 496–498.

29 See below, note 99.

on the causality relationship) is lost. The Sautrāntika's intention is obviously to have his opponent admit that the only possible cause for this phenomenal variety endowed with a specific order is a variety of external objects possessed of a corresponding specific order and projecting their forms onto consciousness.

Unfortunately, Utpaladeva's answer to this objection is not to be found in the margins of the manuscripts that I have consulted so far. It is possible, however, to retrieve the gist of Utpaladeva's reply from Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV: Utpaladeva seems to have argued in the missing passage of the *Vivṛti* that the Sautrāntika cannot rightfully look for an external cause explaining the arising of manifestations as well as their lack of arising, because reality (understood as a unique and all-encompassing consciousness) is always manifest and always evident for any conscious entity, in the form of the immediate self-awareness inherent in any subjectivity.[30] In fact temporal and spatial sequences (*kāladeśakrama*) are nothing but ways for consciousness to manifest its unitary nature as if it were differentiated, and this differentiated manifestation is the result of the fundamental dynamism of consciousness, conceived as a constantly exerted power of manifesting itself in all possible forms. Thus according to the Śaiva nondualists, consciousness is not a mirror passively reflecting a world of objects existing independently of it, and phenomenal variety, far from being the mere reflection of such an external world, is an expression of consciousness's freedom (*svātantrya*) to manifest itself in an infinite variety of forms while playfully hiding its fundamental unity. The Sautrāntika is therefore wrong to assume that phenomenal variety and its spatio-temporal sequence can only be explained by postulating an external cause, since they can be accounted for as the result of the freedom of consciousness[31]—a free-

30 See e.g. ĪPVV, vol. II, 133: *paramabhūmir āgameṣu paramarahasyāpi satī naivānābhāsamānā bhavaty api tv ābhāsamānaiveti tātparyam. etad ādisiddhasūtre ca vyākhyātam*. "The highest level [of reality], although it is concealed to the highest point within the [Śaiva nondualistic] scriptures, is absolutely never unmanifest; rather, it is always [in the process of] manifesting [itself]—this is the gist [of Utpaladeva's answer]. And [Utpaladeva] has explained this in the verse on [the Self being] always already established." The verse to which Abhinavagupta is alluding here is ĪPK 1.1.2: *kartari jñātari svātmany ādisiddhe maheśvare | ajaḍātmā niṣedhaṃ vā siddhiṃ vā vidadhīta kaḥ* || "What conscious Self could produce either a refutation or a demonstration [of the existence] of the agent, the knowing subject, the always already established (*ādisiddha*) Self, the Great Lord?"

31 On the attempt in the Pratyabhijñā treatise to eliminate all rival explanations for phenomenal variety (i.e. that of the Sautrāntikas, but also that of the Vijñānavādins, who account for phenomenal variety by invoking an internal mechanism of latent traces or imprints, *vāsanā*) in order to show that the freedom of consciousness is the only possible cause for it, see e.g. ĪPV, vol. I, 163–164 (quoted and translated in Ratié 2011, 367–368); see also ĪPV, vol. I, 184–185, and ĪPVV, vol. II, 80–81 (quoted and translated in Ratié 2010, 461–464).

dom which, contrary to an external object, is experienced by all conscious beings, for example when they imagine.[32]

3 The Context and Gist of Fragments 4–6[7] on ĪPK 1.5.8–9

In ĪPK 1.5.8–9,[33] Utpaladeva comes back to the Sautrāntika's contention that the external object can and must be inferred, and he endeavours to show that this inference is simply impossible. In fragment no. 4, he first argues that inferential knowledge is conceptual in nature and that the concept in which the inference results arises thanks to the residual trace (*saṃskāra*) left by a previous experience. When we draw from the fact that a distant hill is smoky the conclusion that there must be a fire there, our concept of fire arises thanks to our previous experiences of fire and smoke; fire can be a conceptual object for us only because we have already witnessed fires in the past, and these previous experiences of fire have left in the conscious stream a trace that is reactivated when we form the inferential concept of "fire." It is this residual trace that guarantees the possibility for the conceptual object to be an object manifest for consciousness, as well as the reliability of concepts as tools in the sphere of human practice, because it enables an object directly perceived in the past but no longer existing to be manifested again.

The consequence of this remark is that the external object cannot be inferred precisely because it is by nature imperceptible: it has never been manifest to any consciousness (if it had, it would not be external) so that we cannot form any concept of it.[34] Utpaladeva also points out that an inference is valid insofar as it manifests the conceptual object as particularized by a specific time and place rather than as a pure abstraction: our knowledge that a hill is on fire

32 See Ratié 2010b.

33 *anumānam anābhātapūrve naiveṣṭam indriyam | ābhātam eva bījāder ābhāsād dhetuvastunaḥ || ābhāsaḥ punar ābhāsād bāhyasyāsīt kathaṃcana | arthasya naiva tenāsya siddhir nāpy anumānataḥ ||* "No inference can be admitted as regards that which has never been manifested previously. [Before being inferred,] a sense organ has already been manifested [at least in the general form of a cause] through the manifestation of a real entity that [happens to be] a cause, such as a seed [which is the cause of a sprout]; but the manifestation of an object external to manifestation has never occurred in any way. Therefore there can be no establishment of this [external object]—not even through an inference."

34 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 161: *tad anupapannaṃ saṃvidbāhyasya svapne 'py anābhātasya vikalpyatvāyogād anumeyatānupapannā yataḥ*. "This [inference of an object particularized by its being external to consciousness] is impossible, since [an entity] external to consciousness—[and therefore] unmanifested, even in a dream—cannot be an object of inference, because [such an entity] cannot be the object of a concept."

because it is smoky would be useless if it were not the knowledge that the particular hill currently seen is on fire—an idea shared with the Dharmakīrtians, particularly Dharmottara[35] (who might be targeted, here as in Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV, as the Sautrāntikas' most prominent champion).[36] Here too, Utpaladeva does not explicitly draw the consequence of this affirmation, but his aim is probably to show that the external object cannot be inferred because, as he emphasizes later in the treatise, spatial and temporal relations, which are nothing but a partial incompatibility between some determined phenomena, can only belong to manifest entities,[37] whereas the external object must remain purely indeterminate as regards form, time and space.

To this argument the Sautrāntika could object—and obviously did in a now missing passage of the *Vivṛti*—that some inferences do not rest on a previous perception and actually regard an entity that is by nature imperceptible. According to Abhinavagupta's commentaries, here Utpaladeva's opponent relies on the traditional distinction between the *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭa* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* types of inference,[38] and he argues that in the case of the sense organs, the *indriya*s are not inferred as some particular entity directly witnessed in the past, but as a mere generality (*sāmānya*), i.e. as a "mere something" (*kiñcinmātra*) that must be assumed as a purely indeterminate cause of perception. This enables the Sautrāntika to claim that the external object can be inferred as the cause in general of phenomenal variety, although just as the sense organs, it has never been perceived.[39]

Fragment no. 5 is a response to the Sautrāntika's objection. Utpaladeva claims that the reason why we can infer the sense organs as a mere indeterminate cause of perception is that *in fact the sense organs have already been perceived*, at least in the general form of a cause. Utpaladeva can afford to defend this paradoxical thesis because he has already shown that the perception of any particular entity is in fact the synthetic apprehension of a number of elementary phenomena (*ābhāsa*) that, when put together, constitute the singularity of the perceived entity, but that, when taken separately, function as generalities (*sāmānya*).[40] This means that according to him, the generality "causality" is in fact directly perceived in all our experiences of entities endowed with a causal

35 See Torella 2002, 117, note 19.

36 On the probability that Abhinavagupta at least saw Dharmottara as defending the Sautrāntika position, see McCrea and Patil 2010, 141–142, note 71, and McCrea 2016.

37 See below, note 111.

38 See below, note 113.

39 On Abhinavagupta's explanation of this objection see Ratié 2011b, 486–488.

40 See below, note 115.

power (for instance, in our perception of a seed capable of producing a sprout, or in that of clay as the material cause of a pot).[41]

Of course, Utpaladeva's strategy here might seem very risky, since the Sautrāntika could argue that just as the sense organs are inferred as a mere general cause enabling us to account for the phenomenon of perception (a general cause already perceived in countless previous experiences of particular causes), in the same way, the external object can be inferred as a mere generality, given that the generality "externality" is constantly experienced in the course of everyday life: we can draw the concept of an object external to consciousness from our past experiences of objects external to houses, villages, mirrors, etc. If Utpaladeva concedes that the sense organs have already been perceived as a general cause and can legitimately be inferred as such, he should accept the same kind of reasoning regarding the external object inferred as a mere "external thing" in general. This objection is the content of fragment no. 6[?]. As explained below,[42] I am not sure whether this last passage really is a fragment of the *Vivṛti*; but if it is not, it must at least be a paraphrase of it, because Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV[43] shows that Utpaladeva had expressed this very objection in the *Vivṛti*.

Unfortunately, once more Utpaladeva's answer to this objection is missing from the margins of the manuscripts that I was able to consult; but here too, the gist of his answer is preserved in Abhinavagupta's commentaries on ĪPK 1.5.9.[44] Utpaladeva apparently argued first that in the case of the sense organs, what is inferred as a cause is a mere generality, whereas in the case of the external object, the Sautrāntika tries to infer a cause that is not a mere generality since it is particularized by the peculiar property of being external to consciousness. Now, contrary to the notion of causality, this property cannot have been included in any previous perception; indeed, we do perceive entities that are external to other entities, but the case of an entity external to consciousness is radically different from that of the pot being external to a house or a mirror, because in the latter examples externality only means a spatial relationship of *proximity* between two forms occupying a particular place, whereas when the Sautrāntika talks about an object external to conscious manifestations, he does not have in mind an object that would stand next to consciousness (since consciousness is not spatially determined): he rather means an object that *is not*

41 As noted by Torella (2002, 116, note 18), Utpaladeva thus "include[s] the concept of *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* within the *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭa*."

42 See note 79.

43 See below, note 119.

44 See Ratié 2011b, 491–498 and below, note 119.

consciousness. Such an object cannot be conceptualized on the basis of our former perceptions involving externality, since there is only a "verbal similarity" (*śabdasāmya*) between the externality (i.e. proximity) of a pot with respect to a house, and the externality (i.e. absolute otherness) of an object with respect to consciousness. And the latter type of externality constitutes the very limit of our power of conceptualization, since however wild our imagination may be, we are incapable of picturing anything that would be by nature alien to conscious manifestation. This experience of our limitation as conscious beings is paradoxically what reveals the infinite power of consciousness: the very notion of a reality existing beyond consciousness is unthinkable and therefore absurd, and according to the Śaiva nondualists, this means that whatever exists only exists as a manifestation of consciousness.

4 Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* on ĪPK 1.5.6

The words quoted in Abhinavagupta's ĪPVV are in bold type. I have taken the liberty of adding punctuation marks and standardizing *sandhi*. The margins of S3 are often damaged and difficult to read; illegible *akṣara*s are noted below with the sign "[?]." The ĪPVV quotations given in footnotes below only mention readings found in the three consulted ĪPVV manuscripts when the text of the KSTS edition seems likely to be corrupt.

[1][45] ***vyavahartrapekṣayā*** *tāvad bhāvavyavasthā kriyamāṇāvabhāseṣv eva* ***nirapāyā*** *paryavasyatīty* ***adhikatarādṛṣṭavastuparyālocanam idaṃ svacchandaceṣṭitam. yathaiva***[46] *hīndriyavicāraṃ vinā na na kiñcid upapadyate,*[47] *tathā*

45 This passage is found in S3 (where it begins on the top margin of folio 40B), S15 (top margin of folio 47A), J^R (folio 82B, top margin) and (up to the quotations mentioned below in note 51) ĪPV, vol. I, 176–177, note 170. It does not appear in D2, S2, S5, S7, S9 or SOAS, but it is found in ĪPVV manuscript S12 (folio 121B, right and bottom margins).

46 ***yathaiva***] conj.; *yathā* S3, S15, J^R, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176). Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: ***yathaivety*** *asya* ***tathaivety*** *anena sambandhaḥ*.

47 *na na kiñcid upapadyate*] conj.; *na kiñcid upapadyate* S3, S15, J^R, S12, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176). The conjecture is of course tentative but I cannot understand the text as it stands. Vincent Eltschinger and Eli Franco both suggested eliminating the negation as a corruption instead of doubling it, and they might be right. However, I personally find the double negation more in accordance with the writing habits of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta (I am assuming that the former shared with the latter a propensity for double negations). For his part Eli Franco considers that "nobody writes like this" and that "if a second negation should be added, one would expect it in the beginning (*yathā na hi* …)." (Personal written communication.) However, there is no doubt that at least Abhinavagupta writes

hi kecid indriyāpavarjanenaiva ṣaḍdhātuvādinaḥ, anye taddvayavādina iti ***tathaiva*** *pratibhāsātiriktātyantaparokṣārthānveṣaṇam antareṇaiva vyavahāraparisamāptir ity* ***anaṅgaṃ*** *tadvicāraḥ.*

nāpi *vicārasiddhatvam*[48] *asya*[49] *bāhyasyānupapatter ity āha syād etad ity evaṃ cābhāsānām evārthatve prakāśo 'rthaḥ, artho 'pi ca prakāśa iti* ***paras-parātmaka****tvam*[50] *anayor bhavati.*

[...][51]

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like this (i.e. by simply juxtaposing two negations, whether the sentence comprises subordinate clauses or not), and in fact such occurrences of *na na* are quite often found in his works, not only in those which are not directly related to the Pratyabhijñā (see e.g. *Tantrāloka* 9.251cd and 12.5a; *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*, 190, line 11; *Mālinīślokavārttika* 1.123ab, etc.) but also in the ĪPV (see e.g. vol. I, 216, line 5, or vol. II, 33, last line), and they are particularly numerous in the ĪPVV (see vol. I, 36, line 21; 38, line 16; 60, line 12; 109, line 17; 181, line 12; 287, line 17; 296, line 11; vol. II, 6, line 5; 57, line 22; 82, line 3; 325, line 6; 332, line 9; 334, line 5; 344, line 7; 347, line 11; 350, line 16; 357, line 12; 415, line 23; 436, line 21; vol. III, 34, line 19; 66, line 13; 107, line 12 and line 20; 218, line 6; 301, line 3; 344, line 9; 366, line 12; 369, line 7; 382, line 24). These double negations often occur with verbs the meaning of which is close to *upapad-* (such as *yujyate*/*yuktam*, *vaktuṃ śakyate*, etc.) and both the expressions *na nopapadyate* and *na nopapannā* are found in the ĪPVV (see vol. II, 334, line 5 and 357, line 12).

48 *vicārasiddhatvam*] S3, S15, J^{R}, S12; *vicārasiddham* note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176).

49 *asya*] conj.; *api* S3, S15, J^{R}, S12, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176).

50 *parasparātmakatvam*] S3, S12, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176); *parasparātmatvam* S15, J^{R}. There is a discrepancy here between the text of the *Vivṛti* as found in the marginal annotations (*parasparātmakatvam*) and Abhinavagupta's *pratīka* in the ĪPVV (*pratītiparamparātmaketi*). Abhinavagupta's explanation, however, seems to require rather *parasparātmaketi* since it makes no mention of a series or succession (*paramparā*) of cognitions (*pratīti*) and explains that ultimately the *vyavahāra* requires the identity of the object with the manifesting consciousness (see below, note 92), which fits with the text given in the marginal annotations. So I assume that *parasparātmaketi* first got corrupted into *paramparātmaketi* and that someone then added *pratīti*° to try and make sense of this "succession," but I might be entirely wrong (this *pratīka* might in fact belong to a passage of the *Vivṛti* that is missing in the marginal annotations; see the following note).

51 At this point the marginal annotations in S3, S15, J^{R} and S12, as well as note 170 in ĪPV, vol. I, 176–177, give a series of quotations that do not seem to belong to the *Vivṛti* itself (?). The ĪPVV, which makes no mention of these quotations, comments on a *hi* and a *tat* not found in the annotations: *ity abhipretyoktaṃ gītāsu*yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra sarvaṃ ca mayi* paśyatīti tathā sarvabhūtastham ātmānaṃ sarvabhūtāni cātmanīti tathā mahāgurubhir* ātmaiva sarvabhāveṣu sphuran nirvṛtacid vibhuḥ | aniruddhecchāprasaraḥ prasaraddṛkkriyaḥ* śivaḥ || iti śivadṛṣṭau**. [*gītāsu* S3, S15, J^{R}, S12; *śrīgītāsu* note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176). **mayi* S3, J^{R}, S12, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 176); *maya* S15. **mahāgurubhir* S3, S15, J^{R}, S12; *mahāgurubhiḥ śivadṛṣṭau* note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 177). *°*kriyaḥ* S3, J^{R}, S12, note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 177); °*kriyā* S15. **iti śivadṛṣṭau* S3, S15, J^{R}, S12; *iti* note 170 ĪPV (vol. I, 177).] "It is with this [very] intention that it has been said in [*Bhagavad-*]*gītā* [6.30]: 'He who sees me and sees everything in all circumstances in me ...'; and similarly, [in 6.29,] '[He sees] himself

[2][52] *yo 'py ānumāniko vyavahāraḥ so 'py avabhāsamānenaiva vahninā, vikalpapratyaye 'py avabhāto* ***bāhya eva*** *vahnir avasīyate. tata eva bāhya eva pravṛttir vahnāv eva ca pravṛttiḥ, atīndriyeṇāpi****ndriya****dinā* ***svargāpavargā****dinārthena*[53] ***vikalpapratibhāsinaiva***[54] *vyavahāraḥ. evaṃ cābhāsamānarūpataivārthatā tāvanmātra eva ca prayojanam.*

[as] residing in all entities and all entities [as residing] in himself'; [and] similarly, the great master [Somānanda has said] in *Śivadṛṣṭi* [1.2]: 'Śiva, who is [constantly] engaged in flashing forth, whose consciousness is blissful, who is all-pervading, whose flow of will is not obstructed [by anything], [and] whose perception and action are [constantly] flowing, is none other than the Self of all entities.'" S3 then gives the *Vṛtti* (bottom left margin) followed by what seems to be the *Vivṛti* again; in J^{R} this passage, in the right margin, is clearly separated from the *Vṛtti*, which is copied at the bottom of the page (and indicated as such at the end: *iti vṛttiḥ*), and immediately followed by the same passage apparently taken from the *Vivṛti*. The same happens in S15 (where the *Vṛtti* and the remainder of the annotation are found in the left margin). Note that note 6 of the *Śivadṛṣṭi* edition, 4, which is apparently borrowed from a marginal annotation in manuscript D3 (the latter being in all probability the manuscript "a" used by the KSTS editors), gives the same quotations from the *Bhagavadgītā* while commenting on this verse, and introduces them with a text almost identical to that found here: *evaṃ cārthasya prakāśatve prakāśo 'py arthaḥ, artho 'pi prakāśaḥ*. "And [since it is] so, since the object is the manifesting consciousness, the manifesting consciousness is the object, and conversely the object is the manifesting consciousness." My assumption that the *Śivadṛṣṭi* manuscript called "a" by the KSTS editors is none other than D3 is based on the fact that the description of "a" (*Śivadṛṣṭi*, I–II) closely corresponds to D3 (which unfortunately I was only able to examine very quickly at the National Archives of India) as regards the number of folios, the average number of lines per folio, and the average number of *akṣara*s per line, not to mention that both manuscripts bear many marginal annotations (at least some of which are identical). Both, moreover, are bound together with manuscripts of the ĪPV, *Parātrīśika* and *Paramādvayadvādaśikā*. It should also be noted that another *Śivadṛṣṭi* manuscript originally owned by the Śrinagar Research Library is now preserved in the National Archives of India (D4); I could not consult it as it had been sent for repair at the time of my visit to the Archives, but from the catalogue description I suspect that it might be the Devanāgarī transcript called "b" by the KSTS editors. A thorough analysis of D3 and D4 would therefore certainly be a welcome addition to the examination of some *Śivadṛṣṭi* manuscripts provided in Nemec 2011, 79–90.

52 This passage occurs in S3, folio 40B (third line from the bottom of the page), S15, folio 47A (left margin) and J^{R}, folio 82B (bottom margin, from line 2 onwards, then on the right margin). It is not found in D2, S2, S5, S9, S10, SOAS or in the footnotes of the KSTS edition of the ĪPV, but it also occurs in the ĪPVV manuscript S12 (folio 121A, bottom margin).

53 *svargāpavargādinārthena*] conj.; *svargāpavargādinā nārthena* S3, S15, J^{R}; *sargāpavargādinā nārthena* S12. Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 132, quoted below, note 95.

54 S3, S15, J^{R} and S12 all bear this reading, and although the *pratīka* in ĪPVV, vol. II, 132 is given as *vikalpapratibhāsiteti*, at least one ĪPVV manuscript has *vikalpapratibhāsineti* (see below, note 95).

sā tv ābhāsāt pṛthagbhūtānām eveti ko 'yaṃ graha ābhāsaikatvena kā vyavahārakhaṇḍanā, tad āha te cābhāsātmakāḥ santv iti.

kevalam ūrdhvam ābhāsamānatāyāḥ pūrvaṃ ca[55] *yadi te na syus tadābhāsamānataivākasmikī,*[56] *kāryakāraṇabhāvo jñāpyajñāpakabhāvaś ca nopapadyata*[57] *iti* ***paryanuyojyam.***

[...]

[3][58] ***atha*** *bāhyārthāḥ*[59] *paramāṇava eva* ***niravayavāḥ sañcitās*** *tathāpi ghaṭo vitatarūpatvena prathamānaḥ pūrvāparādibhāgavān eva prathate,* ***na caivaṃ paramāṇumayatve*** *ghaṭate.* ***tathā hi*** *yo 'sau pūrvābhimataḥ paramāṇus tena dvitīyaḥ paramāṇuḥ saṃśliṣṭamānas tadekatām āpadyeta*[60] *niravayavayor hi saṃlagnatve kiyad asaṃlagnam avaśiṣyate, saṃlagnau cānyonyasvarūpaparimagnāv ity ekaparamāṇvābhāsataiva,*[61] *punar apy aparaparamāṇusaṃsparśe*[62] *tathaivety* ***ananta****paramāṇuyojane 'py ekaparamāṇumātraprakāśaḥ*[63] *syāt, so 'pi vā na syād ekaikaparamāṇor*[64] *atīndriyatvāt.*[65]

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55 ca S3, J^{R}, S12; om. S15.

56 *tadābhāsamānataivākasmikī*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *tadā*[?]*samānataivākasmikī* S3.

57 *ca nopapadyata*] conj.; *copapadyata* S3, S15, J^{R}, S12.

58 This passage is again found in S3 (folio 41A, top margin, from line 3, continuing on the left margin), S15 (from folio 47B, bottom margin, to folio 48A, top margin), J^{R} (folio 83B, bottom margin, immediately after a quotation from the ĪPVV corresponding to vol. II, 141, and folio 84A, top margin) and S12 (folio 124B, top margin). In all of these manuscripts it is preceded by *etad evāha svavṛttivivṛtigranthakāra utpalācāryaḥ* (S12 has *tad āha* instead of *etad evāha*). It is also found in D2 (folio 108B, right margin), SOAS (folio 100B, top margin) and note 192 in ĪPV, vol. I, 180, in all three cases from *ghaṭo vitatarūpatvena prathamānaḥ* ... (with a *hi* inserted after *ghaṭo*) to *atīndriyatvāt*. I could not find it in S2, S5, S7 and S9.

59 *bāhyārthāḥ*] conj.; *bāhya* .. S3, S15, J^{R}, S12.

60 *āpadyeta*] S3, J^{R}, D2, S12; *āpadyete* SOAS; *āpadyate* note 192 ĪPV (vol. I, 180). It is impossible to decide whether S15 reads *āpadyeta* or *āpadyate*.

61 *ekaparamāṇvābhāsataiva*] S3, S15, J^{R}, D2, S12; *ekaparamāṇur bhāsetaiva* SOAS, note 192 ĪPV (vol. I, 180).

62 *aparaparamāṇusaṃsparśe*] S3, S15, J^{R}, D2, S12; *aparaparimāṇusaṃsparśe* SOAS; *aparaparamāṇusaṃsparśo* note 192 ĪPV (vol. I, 180).

63 *ekaparamāṇumātraprakāśaḥ*] S3, S15, J^{R}, D2, S12, note 192 ĪPV (vol. I, 180); *ekaparimāṇumātraprakāśaḥ* SOAS.

64 *ekaikaparamāṇor*] S3, S15, J^{R}, D2, S12, note 192 ĪPV (vol. I, 180); *ekaikaparimāṇor* SOAS.

65 From this point onwards, the marginal annotations in S3, S15, J^{R} and S12 quote ĪPVV, vol. II, 141 (*evaṃ kramasaṃśleṣe doṣaḥ*, etc.) without mentioning this change (but the sentence has been put in what looks like parentheses in S12). The annotation on the right margin in S3 is also taken from the ĪPVV (see vol. II, 142: *ṣaṭkoṇe devanākṣādau*, etc.).

5 Fragments of Utpaladeva's *Vivṛti* on ĪPK 1.5.8–9

[4][66] ***anumānaṃ hi*** *vikalpaḥ, sa ca pūrvānubhavasaṃskārasamuttha iti tāvad arthasya pūrvapratyakṣatāpekṣā,*[67] *tasmiṃś cārthe vikalpapratītir* ***avyabhicārajanitānumānam,***[68] ***tac cā****nubhavasaṃskārād antaḥsthitatadartham idantaucityena yāvad vimṛśati tāvad vicchedena* ***prathayati. na ca tāvatā*** *pravṛttiviṣayo 'sāv arthaḥ, tena prakāśito bhavati viśiṣṭadeśakālo viśiṣṭadeśakālasyaiva svalakṣaṇasya*[69] *prāpyatvenābhīṣṭārthakriyākāritvena*[70] *ca pravṛttiviṣayatāyogyatvād*[71] *atas tathaiva yad vimarśanam, tad āha pūrvāvabhāteti*[72] *nāntarīyakārtheti*[73] *tattaddeśakālādīti.*[74]

[...][75]

[5][76] *indriyam api* ***pūrvānubhūtam eva, na hi*** *tat prātisvikenākāreṇānumīyate, api tu sāmānyena, tad āha vṛttau kiñcinmātraṃ nimittam iti. ayam artho nimittatāsāmānyam, pūrvapratibhātam eva bījasyāṅkuranimittatājñāne*

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66 This fragment appears in marginal annotations in S3 (top of folio 43A, line 1, after a quotation from the ĪPVV, then on the right margin—see figure 5.1), S15 (folio 50A, top and left margins), JR (folio 87B, right margin) and S12 (folio 130A, left and bottom margins); I could not find it in D2, S2, S5, S7, S9 and SOAS.

67 *pūrvapratyakṣatāpekṣā*] S3, J^{R}, S12; *pūrvapratyatāpekṣā* S15.

68 I assume that the reading *avyabhicārīti* in ĪPVV, vol. II, 161 is a corruption for ***avyabhicāre****ti* (see below, note 108).

69 *viśiṣṭadeśakālo viśiṣṭadeśakālasyaiva svalakṣaṇasya*] conj.; *viśiṣṭakālasyaiva svalakṣaṇasya* S15, J^{R}; *viśiṣṭadeśakālasvalakṣaṇasya* S12; *vi*[??]*deśakāla*[?]*svalakṣa*[?]*sya* S3. This is merely tentative, but from the meaning of the passage as it is summed up by Abhinavagupta (see below, note 110), I assume that something is missing in the text of the manuscripts.

70 *prāpyatvenābhīṣṭārthakriyākāritvena*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *prāpya*[?]*nābhīṣṭārthakriyākā*[?]*tvena* S3.

71 *pravṛttiviṣayatāyogyatvād*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *pravṛttiviṣayatāyo*[?]*tvād* S3.

72 *pūrvāvabhāteti*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *pūrvāva*[?]*teti* S3.

73 *nāntarīyakārtheti*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *nāntarīya*[?]*rtheti* S3.

74 *tattaddeśakālādīti*] corr.; *taddeśakālād iti* S15, J^{R}, S12; *taddeśakālād*[?] S3. Cf. *Vṛtti*, 21–22, quoted below, note 111.

75 Here a part of the text is missing, as is obvious from Abhinavagupta's commentary (ĪPVV, vol. II, 162), which mentions the words *eṣa punar* and *vyāptivimarśāt*, and again (ĪPVV, vol. II, 163) *dharmapratyakṣa*. The next fragment is commented in ĪPVV, vol. II, 163.

76 The following fragment appears in marginal annotations in S3 (folio 43A, right margin—see figure 5.1), S15 (folio 50A, left margin), JR (folio 87B, right margin) and S12 (folio 130A, bottom margin), in all cases immediately after the preceding *Vivṛti* fragment. The first sentence up to *sāmānyena* is also found in note 236 in ĪPV, vol. I, 188, but I could not find it in D2, S2, S5, S7, S9 and SOAS.

mṛdāder ghaṭādinimittatājñāne.[77] ***na hi tatra*** *viśiṣṭaṃ bījam eva nimittatvena pratibhātam, mṛdo 'py ajñānaprasaṅgāt. nāpy* ***uttaratra*** *mṛd eva bījāder ajñānaprasaṅgāt.* ***prasaktata****ditaravyavacchedāyaiva viśeṣaṇaṃ prayujyate cātrāpi, mṛd eva kāraṇaṃ ghaṭasya*[78] *na bījam iti.*

[...]

[6][?][79]***nanu***[80]***cakṣurādi****viśeṣaparihāreṇa yathā bījādyanubhavāt*[81] *kāraṇatāsāmānyam*[82] *anubhūtam evoktam, tathā śarīrād gṛhād grāmāder vā bāhyasyānubhavād bāhyatvam api sāmānyenānubhūtam evājñānaviśeṣeṇa*[83] *bāhyatvānanubhavoktau vā cakṣurāder api kāraṇaviśeṣasyānanubhūtapūrvatvān na syād anumānaṃ tat kathaṃ nānumānasya vyāpāra*[84] *ity uktiḥ.*

6 Translation of the Fragments on ĪPK 1.5.6

[1] To begin with, as far as agents of ordinary human practice (*vyavahartṛ*) are concerned, it is on [the basis of] mere phenomena that [they] manage to

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77 *mṛdāder ghaṭādinimittatājñāne*] S3, J^{R}, S12; om. S15.

78 *kāraṇaṃ ghaṭasya*] S15, J^{R}, S12; *kāraṇaṃ gha*[??] S3.

79 This annotation is not found in S3, S15, J^{R} or S12, but it appears in both SOAS (folio 106B, upper right corner) and D2 (folio 115B, upper and right margins); it is also found in note 248 in ĪPV, vol. I, 190. In all three cases this passage is preceded by a quotation from ĪPVV, vol. II, 165 (from *bāhyatvaviśiṣṭo 'rthaḥ* up to *kramikābhāsavaicitryāt*). This ĪPVV quotation is also found in S9, S10 and followed in all cases by *ity āśaṅkyāha grāmagṛhāder iti.* But after that point, while S9 and S10 add *ayam āśayaḥ* and then quote again the ĪPVV from *nedaṃ bāhyatvaṃ ghaṭasya* onwards, SOAS, D2 and the ĪPV note give *tathā cātra pūrvavyavasthā sphuṭam eva dṛśyate yathā,* and then the text quoted above. There is very little direct evidence that this annotation is indeed a quotation from the *Vivṛti*: the only ĪPVV passage that could comment on it apparently explains a sentence beginning with *nanu cakṣurādi°* (see ĪPVV, vol. II, 165), whereas no *nanu* is to be found in the annotations and I had to conjecture it. Nonetheless, it seems to me quite probable that the words preceding *cakṣurādi°* are not part of the quoted text, as I cannot understand the sentence with the presence of the word *yathā* twice (the KSTS edition has *vā* after the second *yathā*, although this *vā* is found neither in D2 nor in SOAS; but even with this additional *vā* I fail to see the structure of the sentence). Besides, as shown in Ratié 2011b, 491–499, this passage expresses a crucial objection against Utpaladeva's reasoning, and it is at least certain from Abhinavagupta's explanations in the ĪPVV (see below, note 119) that the *Vivṛti* stated this very objection in a passage beginning with *nanu cakṣurādi°*. So it seems likely that this passage is a genuine fragment from the *Vivṛti,* although this is by no means certain.

80 *nanu*] conj.; om. D2, SOAS (see above, note 79).

81 *yathā bījādyanubhavāt*] D2, SOAS; *yathā vā bījādyanubhavāt* note 248 ĪPV (vol. I, 190).

82 *kāraṇatāsāmānyam*] conj.; *kāraṇasāmānyam* D2, SOAS, note 248 ĪPV (vol. I, 190).

83 *evājñānaviśeṣeṇa*] conj.; *eva jñānaviśeṣeṇa* D2, SOAS, note 248 ĪPV (vol. I, 190).

84 *vyāpāra*] D2, note 248 ĪPV (vol. I, 190); *vyāpārā* SOAS.

successful[ly] ascertain[85] the existence (*vyavasthā*) of [this or that] entity—an ascertainment in which [they necessarily] engage [in their ordinary activities]; so this pondering over an unperceived reality that is [supposedly] something more (*adhikatara*) [than phenomena and the consciousness manifesting them][86] is a [purely] arbitrary endeavour![87] For it is not [universally acknowledged that] no [perception] at all can be accounted for (*upapadyate*) without speculating about the [imperceptible] sense organs;[88] thus some[89] propound

85 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: ***nirapāy**ety apāyaḥ pramāṇābhāvo dūṣaṇasaṃbhavaś ca, tadrahitā.* "[This ascertainment] is successful[ly performed] (*nirapāya*), i.e.,] it is devoid of the failure (*apāya*) [consisting in] the lack of a means of [valid] knowledge, and [it is devoid of] the possibility [that the means of valid knowledge] may be refuted."

86 The word *adhikatara* is the comparative form of *adhika*, which by itself means "something more." According to Abhinavagupta, Utpaladeva uses it because if the manifestations of objects in consciousness are *something more* than the consciousness manifesting them, the so-called external object must be considered as *something more than these very manifestations*: the external object must be considered as existing over and above phenomena and the consciousness taking their form—which is absurd. See ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: ***adhikatara**ty ābhāsā eva darpaṇāt pratibimbānīva saṃvedanād adhikāni, yac ca tato 'py adhikataraṃ na kvacid bhāvi tat tata eva* dṛṣṭaṃ tac ca vastu katham.* [**tat tata eva* conj.; *tata eva* J10, J11, T, ĪPVV]. "'*adhikatara*' [means the following]: the [various] phenomena are [something more (*adhika*)] than consciousness, just as reflections are something more than a mirror [reflecting them]; and that which is something more than something more, [i.e., that which is something more] than these very [phenomena,] can never be perceived in any [circumstance] for the very [reason that it is distinct from phenomena]; and how could that be a [real] entity (*vastu*)?"

87 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: ***svacchandaceṣṭitam** iti na pramāṇabalopanatam ity arthaḥ.* "[It is] 'a [purely] arbitrary endeavour,' i.e. it is not brought about by the force of [necessity inherent in] a means of [valid] knowledge."

88 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: *dṛṣṭaṃ cedaṃ prāmāṇikānāṃ yat saty api vastuny anupayogināṃśena na prayasyanti vicāritena yathendriyādiṣu ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣākārādyā bārhaspatyā vā. ekair* hi bhūtapañcakaṃ cetanā cetīyati vyavahārasamāptir aṅgīkṛtā tatraivānyasyendriyāder anupraveśāt. anyair api bhūtacatuṣṭaye vicitramelanoditasaṃvedanākhyavikāraviśeṣe 'nuditatadvikāre ca grāhakagrāhyavyavahārasamāptir upagatā.* [**ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣākārādyā bārhaspatyā vā* T; *ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣākārādyo vārhatyo vā* J10, J11; *ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣākārādyo bā(vā)rhatyo vā* ĪPVV. **ekair* J10, J11, T, *Ka* (quoted in ĪPVV, vol. II, 131, note 1); *etair* ĪPVV.] "And [we] observe the [following] among philosophers (*prāmāṇika*): even if [something] exists [as] a real entity, they do not concern themselves with the aspect [of it] that is useless [and] speculative (*vicārita*)—for exemple, regarding such [imperceptible things] as the sense organs, [this is the case of philosophers] such as the author of the *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā*, or of followers of Bṛhaspati. For the former acknowledge that ordinary human practice is accounted for if this much [is admitted]: the five elements and consciousness, because such other [things as] the sense organs are included in these; whereas the latter admit that the ordinary human practice [consisting in the relationship between] an apprehending [subject] and an apprehended [object] is accounted for if a particular transformation called 'consciousness' arises in the four elements from [some of their] var-

the theory of the six elements (*ṣaḍdhātu*) while not taking the sense organs into account in any way, [and] others[90] defend the theory of the two [sorts

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ious combinations, and if this transformation does not arise [from other combinations of the four elements]." On the author of the *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā* and the followers of Bṛhaspati see below, notes 89 and 90, and Ratié 2018.

89 According to Abhinavagupta's commentary (see above, note 88), their "theory of the six elements" (*ṣaḍdhātuvāda*) includes a set of five elements (*bhūtapañcaka*)—i.e. most probably earth, water, fire, wind and *ākāśa*—to which consciousness (*cetanā*) is added. At first sight one might assume that Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta had a Buddhist author in mind (on the Buddhist theory of the *ṣaḍdhātu* see e.g. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 28 [on *Abhidharmakośa* 1.27]: *ya ime tatra ṣaḍ dhātava uktāḥ pṛthivīdhātur abdhātus tejodhātur vāyudhātur ākāśadhātur vijñānadhātuḥ* …; cf. La Vallée Poussin 1923, 49, note 2 for sources). But according to Abhinavagupta's commentary (ibid.), here Utpaladeva is rather hinting at the *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā*—a lost work ascribed to Bhartṛhari. This treatise, alluded to by Somānanda in *Śivadṛṣṭi* 2.73 as the *Samīkṣā* and mentioned by Utpaladeva himself in *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti*, 83–86, is also known as the *Śabdadhātusamīkṣā* (see e.g. Iyer 1969, 9–10), but as already pointed out in Torella 2002, xxvi–xxvii, note 39 (cf. Torella 2014, 573), the latter title, which appears in the KSTS edition of the *Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti*, is a corruption (note that as seen above, note 88, the ĪPVV gives the title as *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā*). On the few known fragments of it and what might have been the overall goal of the work, see Ratié 2018. As pointed out there, Abhinavagupta makes some interesting remarks regarding this *ṣaḍdhātuvāda* while commenting on another part of the Pratyabhijñā treatise (ĪPVV, vol. I, 93): *sāṅkhyasya yady api pañcaviṃśatis tattvāni sphuranti, tathāpi pañcaiva bhūtāni cetanā cety etāvanmātre tāvat sākṣātkārarūpo 'nubhavo nādhike. tata eva tatrabhavato dhātuṣaṭkanirūpaṇa eva viśvaṃ nirūpitaṃ bhavatītyāśayena tatsamīkṣodyamaḥ. saṃbhāvanānumānāgamajaniteṣv api jñāneṣu tad eva bhāsate, kevalaṃ yojanāmātram adhikam. yathā pṛthivy eva yā surabhyasurabhyādivicitragandhā tatraiva viśeṣatyāgena saukṣmyeṇa ca gandhatanmātrarūpateti*. "Even though for a [follower of] Sāṅkhya, the twenty-five principles (*tattva*) are manifest [as the universe], to begin with, experience (*anubhava*), that is, immediate perception, consists in nothing but this: the sole five elements (*bhūta*) and consciousness (*cetanā*)—and nothing more. This is why for the master [Bhartṛhari] (*tatrabhavant*), the universe is [entirely] explained as soon as the six elements are explained—it is with this intention that he has undertaken their *Examination* (*Samīkṣā*). It is also this [set of six elements] that is manifest in cognitions that arise from hypothetical inferences or scripture [and not only in perceptions; and] anything else is nothing but a mere combination [of these elements]. For example, [the property of] consisting in the subtle sensory object (*tanmātra*) of smell lies in the [element (*dhātu*) of earth]—that same earth that may possess various smells, some pleasant, others unpleasant, etc.—insofar as [earth] is devoid of particularities and subtle." So it seems that Utpaladeva alluded to this theory at this point of the *Vivṛti* because according to the author of the *Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā*, perception can be explained in its entirety as the result of a mere combination of the six elements, without inferring the existence of imperceptible *indriya*s that would be fundamentally distinct from these elements; or, as Abhinavagupta puts it (see above, note 88), according to this theory the *indriya*s are already included within the six elements.

90 If we follow Abhinavagupta's interpretation of this passage (see above, note 88), these

of combinations of four elements—namely, the sort that produces consciousness and the one that does not—without taking imperceptible sense organs into account either]. And exactly in the same way, ordinary human practice [can] be entirely accounted for (*parisamāpti*) without any investigation about an absolutely imperceptible object [considered as] something more than phenomena. Therefore speculating about this [absolutely imperceptible object] is [nothing but] air.

Nor [can] the [external object] be established by any [such] speculation, because of the impossibility of this external [object]—this is what [the verse]

"others" are "followers of Bṛhaspati" (*bārhaspatya*), i.e. some materialists (*cārvāka*) who embrace the ideas expressed in the *sūtra*s traditionally ascribed to Bṛhaspati (on the known fragments of this work and the probability that it was written around the sixth century, see Namai 1976, Bhattacharya 2002 and Franco 2011, 634–636). According to Abhinavagupta, they understand the relationship between the apprehending subject and the apprehended object as the mere result of various combinations between four material elements. Thus the fragments of the *Bṛhaspatisūtra*s do not deny the very existence of sense organs, but they refuse to see them as distinct entities: whereas the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika theories of vision for instance present the visual organ as an imperceptible ray of light fundamentally different from the perceiving body and perceived object (see e.g. Preisendanz 1989), the materialists see the *indriya*s as mere aggregates made of the same matter constituting the subject and object. See fragments A2 to A4 in Namai 1976, 39 (cf. Bhattacharya 2002, 603–604 and Franco 2011, 635): *pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur iti tattvāni* || *tatsamudāye śarīrendriyaviṣayasañjñāḥ* || *tebhyaś caitanyam* || "Earth, water, fire and wind are the principles. [It is merely] their aggregates that the terms 'body,' 'sense organ' (*indriya*) and 'object' designate. Consciousness [arises] from these." Besides, according to the "follower of Bṛhaspati" whose views are mocked by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (the term *bārhaspatya* appears e.g. in *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. I, 496 and *Āgamaḍambara*, 63), inferences are valid only if they regard entities that have already been perceived, but not if they are meant to establish the existence of entities that are by nature imperceptible, such as God and the Self. See *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. I, 326: *dvividham anumānam, kiñcid utpannapratīti kiñcid utpādyapratīti. īśvarādyanumānaṃ tūtpādyapratīti. tatra dhūmānumānādeḥ prāmāṇyaṃ kena neṣyate | ato hi sādhyaṃ budhyante tārkikair akṣatā api || yat tv ātmeśvarasarvajñāparalokādigocaram | anumānaṃ na tasyeṣṭaṃ prāmāṇyaṃ tattvadarśibhiḥ* || "Inference is of two sorts: one [concerns an object] the perception of which has [already] occurred [at some point]; the other [concerns an object] the perception of which has [yet] to occur. But the inference of [entities] such as God [concerns an object] the perception of which has [yet] to occur. Among these [two types of inference,] who would not admit the validity of an inference such as that [of fire] from smoke? So [people] apprehend what is to be established [by such an inference] even though they are not pestered by logicians. But the validity of an inference regarding such [entities] as the Self, God, an omniscient or an afterlife is not acknowledged by those who know reality."

Whether the materialists of Jayanta's time had also explicitly targeted the inference of the *indriya*s or not, Jayanta criticizes their thesis by emphasizing that it leaves them with no choice but to reject the inference of imperceptible *indriya*s as well. See *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. I, 501: *śrotrādyanumāne 'pi yathodāhṛte śakyam evam abhidhātum* … "And also with

says with "*syād etat*."[91] And [since it is] so, since only phenomena [can] be objects, the manifesting consciousness (*prakāśa*) is the object, and conversely the object is the manifesting consciousness; therefore they consist in each other.[92]

[…][93]

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respect to the inference of the hearing organ and so on, according to the way in which it is formulated, one can declare similarly, [as in the case of the inference of God or the Self, that it is invalid] …" Cf. *Āgamaḍambara*, 68, where the Saiddhāntika arguing with a Cārvāka who denies the validity of the inference of *īśvara* points out that then the Cārvāka should equally dismiss the inference of the *indriya*s. The Cārvāka replies: "Let [us admit that] the [sense organs] too are not inferred; why should it be a problem for us?" (*tad api mānumāyi*, *kiṃ naś chinnam*); the Saiddhāntika asks in turn: "But [then] how can you see a visual form without any visual organ?" (*nanu cakṣuṣā vinā kathaṃ rūpaṃ drakṣyasi*). See Dezső 2005, 168–169. On the possibility that the materialist portrayed by Jayanta might be a caricature of a ninth-century Kashmirian materialist, poetician and grammarian named Udbhaṭa, see Solomon 1977–1978, Bronkhorst 2008 and Bronner 2016. Cakradhara, while commenting on the *Nyāyamañjarī*, explicitly identifies Jayanta's materialist target as Udbhaṭa, to whom he ascribes a commentary on the *Bṛhaspatisūtra*s (see Solomon 1977–1978, 988–990), and it is not impossible that Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta also knew this work.

91 Utpaladeva has just argued that there is no universal acknowledgement of the necessity of positing the existence of imperceptible entities (such as the *indriya*s) so as to account for perception. He now adds that even granted that we admit this necessity (hence the "Let us admit this," *syād etat*, in the verse), such an argument is in fact invalid because, as he is about to show, the existence of the external object is contradictory to reason. Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: *anupayogino 'pi vastuvicāracakṣuranveṣyatvāt* tattvam, iha tu bāhye 'rtha idam api nāstīty āha* ***nāpīti***. [**vastuvicāracakṣuranveṣyatvāt* conj.; *vastuno vicāracañcuranviṣyatāt* ĪPVV, *vastuvicāracañcuranveṣyatāt* T; *vastuvicāracaṃcaranviṣyatāṃ* J10, J11.] "[With] 'Nor …', [Utpaladeva] says that [something may be considered as] having a reality (*tattva*), even though it is useless [in ordinary human practice], on the grounds that [the existence of] the visual organ [for instance] is required when speculating on the real entity [that contributes to the production of a visual perception]; but in the [case of the] external object, there is not even [room for] such an [assumption]."

92 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 131: ***parasparātmak****eti. krayavikrayāder api tathāprakāśanam eva prāṇāḥ. yad evedaṃ yasyetthaṃ* prakāśate tad etenaiva mama prakāśamānasya prakāśamānāyām evārthakriyāyām upayogaḥ*. [**parasparātmaketi* conj. (see above, note 50); *pratītiparamparātmaketi* ĪPVV, J10, T; *pratītiparasparātmaketi* J11. **yasyetthaṃ* conj.; *asyetthaṃ* ĪPVV, J10, J11, T.] "[They] 'consist in each other' [means the following]: even the essence of [ordinary human practice] such as buying and selling, etc., is nothing but such a manifesting consciousness. Only that which is manifest in such a way is for this very reason useful [in providing] to me, for whom [this thing is manifest and while I am] being manifest [myself], an efficacy which is [itself] necessarily manifest!" That is to say, as far as I understand the passage: objects can be desired and aimed at by a subject in the sphere of human practice only if they are forms taken on by the subject's consciousness, and are ultimately nothing but the manifesting consciousness itself.

93 See above, note 51.

[2] Even an ordinary human practice that is based on an inference[—such as trying to reach a fire the presence of which is merely inferred from the perception of smoke—can only occur] thanks to a fire that is necessarily being manifest [at the very time of this endeavour]; even in a conceptual cognition, fire is determined [as being] external [to consciousness only insofar as] it is manifested.[94] It is for this reason that an activity [can occur] with respect to

94 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 131–132: ***bāhya eveti*** *saugatais tāvad adhyavasāyabalāt prāmāṇyaṃ vadadbhir anumānam api bāhyaviṣayam evety uktaṃ prāmāṇyaṃ vastuviṣayaṃ dvayor apīti. asmanmate tu vikalpasyāvaśyaṃ vastuniṣṭhatvam evety uktaṃ bhrāntitve cāvasāyasyetyādyantare. tata eva yad āha bāhyavādī vikalpasyāsatyaprakāśanatvam iti, tad asmanmate niravatāraṇam eva. sākārajñānavādinā vikalpaḥ svātmani prakāśaḥ, arthe tv avasāya ity ukte katham asatprakāśanam. tad āstāṃ tāvat.* "[Here is what Utpaladeva means with the words] *bāhya eva*. To begin with, the Buddhists, when saying that the validity of a means of knowledge arises from the force of determination (*adhyavasāya*), admit that even inference must have an object that is external [insofar as it is based on the determination of a previously perceived object. This is what Dharmakīrti has said in *Pramāṇaviniścaya* 2.7b]: 'In both [inference and perception], the validity [of the means of knowledge] concerns a real thing …'. But in our doctrine, the concept necessarily rests on the real thing, [even at the time of conceptualization: Utpaladeva] has [already] stated this elsewhere, for instance in [verse 1.3.5 beginning with] *bhrāntitve cāvasāyasya*. For this very reason, in our system the [Buddhist] externalist's claim that a concept involves no real manifestation cannot be accepted at all: since the proponent of the theory that cognition has aspects says that a concept is [immediately] manifest in itself [insofar as every cognition is immediately aware of itself,] even though with respect to the object, [this concept] is a [mere] determination, how could it have a nonexistent manifestation? So enough with this."

Here is the gist of Abhinavagupta's reasoning as I understand it. The Buddhists see conceptualization as bearing on a mere generality or a pseudo-object resulting from a process of exclusion (*apoha*); yet they acknowledge (as Dharmakīrti in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*) that a valid inference has as its object a real entity inasmuch as its object is capable of efficacy (see *Pramāṇaviniścaya* 2, 48: … *arthakriyāyogyaviṣayatvād vicārasya*, "because a [valid inferential] speculation has an object that is capable of efficacy"). According to Dharmakīrti, this is the case because although the generalities aimed at in concepts are no real entity (since reality is purely singular), they result from the determination (*adhyavasāya*) as one single entity of many perceived singular entities that have a somewhat similar efficacy (thus the concept of "fire" results from our determining as one many perceived fires that are all in fact different from each other but share the capacity to burn, etc.). So even inferences are somehow based on at least one aspect of perceived entities (namely *arthakriyā*), and this is why valid inferences enable us to obtain desired entities and to shun undesirable objects. Nonetheless, the Buddhists consider that only perceptions involve an immediate manifestation of the object, and the Śaivas see this as a contradiction in the Dharmakīrtian system: according to Abhinavagupta, the Buddhist theory of determination entails that conceptual objects too are directly manifested at the very time of their conceptualization (and not only in some perception anterior to the conceptual elaboration), at least as regards their efficacy (see e.g. ĪPVV, vol. II, 132:

[something determined as being] external, and that an activity [can occur] with respect to [something determined as being] fire. Ordinary human practice [can even occur] with an object such as the sense organs, or heaven and liberation, although [these always remain] beyond the reach of the sense organs, [but] only inasmuch as they are [somehow] manifest in the concept [representing them].[95] And [since it is] so, being an object is nothing but having a

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arthakriyāpi cābhāsamānatayaivābhilaṣaṇīyeti sāpy ābhāsaviśrānteti. "And even efficacy can be desired only insofar as it is being manifest; therefore it too rests on manifestation."). Besides, the Buddhist epistemologists cannot deny that concepts involve a real, immediate manifestation since they consider that all cognitions have two aspects ("an aspect [consisting in] the object," *viṣayākāra*, and "an aspect [consisting in] themselves," *svākāra*), and that even concepts, insofar as they possess self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana*, *svasaṃvitti*), involve an immediate manifestation of themselves (on this idea and its appropriation by the Śaivas see Ratié 2011, 44–45, note 20).

Abhinavagupta thus emphasizes in this passage the major point of contention between the Śaiva nondualists and their Buddhist counterparts as regards concepts: according to Utpaladeva, all concepts involve the immediate manifestation of a real thing at the very moment when they arise, because there can be no conscious representation of something that consciousness cannot present to itself in an immediate way; without such a manifestation, concepts could not occur or would be similar to a state of unconsciousness. And this means that even objects conceptualized as being external are ultimately internal aspects of consciousness manifesting itself as if it were external to itself. See e.g. ĪPVV, vol. II, 129–130: *anumito 'pi bāhyo 'rthaḥ prakāśamāna eva vaktavyaḥ, prakāśād bhede hy aprakāśanaprasaṅgād anumitatvam api vastuno mūrchāprāyaṃ bhavet*. "Even [if] an external object [is] inferred[, it] can be talked about only insofar as it is being manifest, for if [it] were distinct from the manifesting consciousness (*prakāśa*), since as a result it would not be manifest, [the awareness of] the very fact that the entity is inferred would amount to a state of stupor!"

95 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 132: ***vikalpapratibhāsinety**** *upalabdhikriyākaraṇatayā sāmānye**ndriyaṃ**, niratiśayasukhatatsādhanaviṣayatayā **svargaḥ**, anāhṛtasahajānandaghanataikasāraparipūrṇatātmanā**pavargaś**** *cābhāsabhuvam abhyety* eva, anyathābhilaṣaṇīyatvatatsādhanānveṣaṇatadrūpadeśatadavadhāraṇatadanuṣṭhānādyayogāt*. [**vikalpapratibhāsinety* J11; *vikalpapratibhāsitety* ĪPVV; *vikalpapratibhāsanety* T, J10. **°paripūrṇatātmanāpavargaś* T; *°pūrṇatāpavargaś* ĪPVV, J10, J11. **cābhāsabhuvam abhyety* T; *cābhāvabhuvam abhyety* ĪPVV; *cābhāva .. satyety* J10; *cābhāvam abhyety eva* J11.] "[The passage] 'inasmuch as they are [somehow] manifest in the concept [representing them' means the following]. The 'sense organ,' [apprehended as] a generality (*sāmānya*) [by conceptual thought, i.e.,] as the instrument of the action of perceiving, [as well as] 'heaven,' [apprehended] as the object of unsurpassed pleasure and as [the means of] realizing it, and 'liberation,' [apprehended] as consisting of an absolute fullness the essence of which is nothing but the plenitude of a bliss that is not brought about [because in fact it is] innate—[all these] must belong to the realm of phenomena; otherwise such [things] as the fact that [they] can be desired, the search for the realization of this [desire], their determination [as having] this [particular] form and place, the practice in accordance with [this determination], etc., would [all] be impossible."

form that is [presently] being manifest, and the goal [of human practice] only concerns what is merely such [and nothing beyond manifestation].

[If you reply:] "But this [property of being an object] can only belong to [things] that are distinct from manifestation," what apprehension [of these objects] could there be [if they are distinct from manifestation]?[96] [And] what is this [so-called] annihilation of ordinary human practice [that must inexorably occur according to you] if [objects] are one with phenomena? This is what [the *Vṛtti*] says in "let [us admit that] they consist in phenomena."[97]

Only [the following] could [still] be objected:[98] if these [objects] did not exist after as well as before [their] being manifest, [then] the very fact that they

96 Here the opponent is arguing that by definition, an object is what we apprehend as being distinct from—i.e. external to—us considered as conscious subjects, so that the idealist's thesis is absurd because it contradicts our most ordinary experiences in the sphere of human practice. He is therefore implicitly invoking the evidence of common knowledge (*prasiddhi*) to show that there must be some external object. Utpaladeva answers that this evidence, far from being contradictory to his idealism, is in fact an argument in favour of it. Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 132: *tataś ca prasiddhyaiva bāhyaḥ sidhyatīti pratyuta viparītam etat* … "And therefore, [to the objection:] 'the external [object] is established through mere common knowledge,' [one should answer] that it is rather the contrary." According to this fragment, the reason why this is so is that apprehending an object means making the object manifest to consciousness, and such a manifestation can only occur if the object is nothing but consciousness taking the form of an object. This idea is justified at length at the beginning of chapter 1.5 (see Ratié 2011, 309–366).

97 Cf. the beginning of *Vṛtti* on ĪPK 1.5.6, 20: *ābhāsamānair evārthair vyavahāraḥ, te cābhāsātmakāḥ santu, kā kṣatiḥ*. "Ordinary human practice occurs thanks to objects precisely insofar as [they are] being manifested, and let [us admit that] they consist in phenomena [and nothing else]—what harm [might ensue for human practice if it is the case]?" See Torella 2002, 114.

98 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 132–133: *ābhāsānām eva vastutām abhidhāya prāmāṇikatvāt svayaṃ svapakṣe dūṣaṇam āśaṅkya darśayaty āśayaśuddhipradarśanena vītarāgatāṃ* vaktuṃ* ***kevalam*** *iti.* ***paryanuyojyam*** *idaṃ paryanuyogārham, kim, āha* ***ābhāsamānatāyā*** *iti.* ***pūrvam ūrdhvaṃ*** *ceti* … [**āśayaśuddhipradarśanena vītarāgatāṃ* conj.; *āśayaśuddhipradarśanenāvitārakatāṃ* ĪPVV, J10, J11, T.] "Having explained that only phenomena are real entities because [only they are] established by a means of [valid] knowledge, [and] anticipating by himself the refutation of his own thesis, [Utpaladeva now] expounds [this refutation with the passage beginning with] 'only …' by empasizing the purity of his intentions, in order to state that [he] is free of bias. [According to him] this 'could [still] be objected,' [i.e.] it deserves the [following] objection. Which one? This is what [Utpaladeva says] in '[if these objects did not exist] after as well as before [their] being manifest …'" My tentative emendation above (*vītarāgatām* instead of *avitārakatām*) is based on passages such as *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. I, 25: "and it [i.e. *tarka*] can be used in order to show [one's] purity of intentions in a debate" (*sa cāśayaśuddhim upadarśayituṃ vāde prayokṣyate*). Cakradhara (*Granthibhaṅga*, vol. I, 17) explains that it can be used "in order to make clear '[one's] purity of intentions,' [i.e.] the fact that one is free of bias" (*āśayaśuddhiṃ vītarāgatvaṃ prakaṭayitum*), and he adds: *tarkakrameṇa svārthānumānakāle yathā prati-*

are manifest would be causeless, and [under such conditions,] the relation of cause and effect and the relation between the knowing subject and the object of knowledge would not be possible.[99]

[…]

[3] If, on the other hand,[100] external objects are only atoms that are partless [and] aggregated, even so, a pot, which appears in a [spatially] extended

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pannaḥ svayam asāv arthas tathaiva parasya pratipādyate, vītarāgakathātvād vādasyeti. "Through the method of *tarka*, something is demonstrated for the opponent exactly as it was understood by oneself at the time of an inference for oneself, because a debate is a discourse of [people] who are free of bias." This is an allusion to the Naiyāyikas' distinction between three kinds of discourse, namely debate (*vāda*), disputation (*jalpa*) and sophistry (*vitaṇḍā*), and the Śaivas are well acquainted with it. See e.g. Kṣemarāja's *Svacchandatantroddyota*, vol. VI, 98 (alluding to *Nyāyasūtra* 1.2.1, according to which "debate comprehends both the thesis and the antithesis," … *pakṣapratipakṣaparigraho vādaḥ*): … *pakṣapratipakṣaparigraho vītarāgakathārūpo vādaḥ*. "Debate, which comprehends both the thesis and the antithesis, [and] which is a discourse of [people] who are free of bias …" On *vāda* as a *vītarāgakathā* see also e.g. *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. I, 18 or *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, 328; cf. *Tantrālokaviveka* on *Tantrāloka* 13.126, vol. VIII, 90. So as far as I understand the ĪPVV passage, Abhinavagupta simply means here that by raising himself (*svayam*) this objection to his own thesis, Utpaladeva is showing to his opponent that he is an unbiased interlocutor.

99 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 133, which explains the objection in the following way: … *ābhāsanam avaśyaṃ bhavane cābhavane ca nimittam apekṣate. tac cen nāsti, tan nirhetukatā. tataś ca kāryakāraṇābhāvād ghaṭārthī na mṛdam āharet, na kumbhakārakulam abhigacchet, na dhūmārthī hutabhujam ādadīta. kāryakāraṇatāmūlaś ca jñāpyajñāpakabhāvaḥ* … "A manifestation necessarily requires a cause as regards both [its] arising and [its] not arising. And if there is no such [cause], then [this manifestation] is causeless. And since as a consequence there is no relation of cause and effect, [someone] who wants a pot should not get clay [and] should not go see a family of potters; [and someone] who wants smoke should not get himself a fire. Moreover, the relation between the knowing subject and the object of knowledge has as its root the relation of cause and effect …" As for the gist of Utpaladeva's reply to this objection according to Abhinavagupta, see above, note 30.

100 This fragment, which targets the Buddhist Vaibhāṣika theory according to which external objects are nothing but aggregated atoms, must have followed a criticism of the Vaiśeṣika thesis that the external object is a whole (*avayavin*) distinct from its parts (*avayava*), hence the *atha* here. See ĪPVV, vol. II, 140: *evaṃ kāṇādasaṃmataṃ bāhyaṃ dūṣayitvā vaibhāṣikaparibhāṣitam api dūṣayaty* ***atheti***. "Having thus refuted the external [object as it is] understood by the followers of Kaṇāda, [Utpaladeva now] refutes as well [the external object as it is] explained by the Vaibhāṣikas [in the sentence beginning with] 'If, on the other hand.'" This line of argument is of course borrowed from the famous criticism in *Viṃśikā* 11–15 of the various theories claiming to account for the external object. Vasubandhu shows there that we cannot make sense of this external object whether we try to understand it as a whole distinct from its parts, as atoms taken individually, or as aggregated atoms. On the recent debate as to whether Vasubandhu's reasoning was meant to show that the external object cannot exist, or whether his goal was merely to point out that such an object cannot be known, and for convincing arguments in favour of the first hypothesis, see Kellner and

form, necessarily appears as having [different] parts [respectively located in the] east, west, etc.; and [this spatial extendedness][101] is not possible if [this pot] is thus made of atoms[, since by definition an atom cannot have different parts].[102] To explain:[103] a second atom that is connected with the atom considered as the first [one][104] must be one with this [first atom]; for if [these atoms] devoid of parts are in contact, how much [of them could] remain that

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Taber 2014; on the Śaiva nondualists' unambiguous interpretation of the *Viṃśikā* along the same lines, see Ratié 2014. On Vasubandhu's refutation—summed up in this fragment—of the Vaibhāṣikas' atomism, see e.g. Kapstein 2001, 181–204; for Abhinavagupta's explanation of it, see Ratié 2010, 450–452, and Ratié 2011, 395–399.

101 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 140: ***na caivaṃ paramāṇumayatva** iti vaitatyaṃ digbhāgabhedavattvam*. "And [spatial] extendedness, which [consists in] being differentiated into parts according to the directions, is '[not possible] if [this pot] is thus made of atoms.'"

102 The main idea is that if perceptible things, which are made of imperceptible atoms, are spatially extended, the atoms too must have such an extendedness, but spatially extended atoms must have parts, which is absurd since the atom is by definition partless. Cf. *Viṃśikā* 14ab: *digbhāgabhedo yasyāsti tasyaikatvaṃ na yujyate* | "That which is differentiated into parts according to the directions cannot be one." See also *Viṃśikāvṛtti*, 7: *anyo hi paramāṇoḥ pūrvadigbhāgo yāvad adhodigbhāga iti digbhāgabhede sati kathaṃ tadātmakasya paramāṇor ekatvaṃ yokṣyate*. "For if an atom has one part in the direction of the east, [and others in the directions of the south, west, north, above] and below, given that [the atom] is differentiated into [various] parts according to the directions (*digbhāgabheda*), how could the atom be one [whereas it] consists of these [different parts]?"

103 According to Abhinavagupta, here Utpaladeva has the externalist face a dilemma, the first part of which remains implicit in the *Vivṛti*. See ĪPVV, vol. II, 140: *tac ca bahūnāṃ paramāṇūnāṃ bhinnadeśatve mūrtatvenānyonyarūpadeśākramaṇayogyatvābhāvāt* pratilabdhe kimiti na ghaṭata ity āśaṅkyāha **tathā hīti**. ayaṃ bhāvaḥ—yadi sāntarāḥ paramāṇavo ghaṭaḥ, tad adṛśyatā* … [*mūrtatvena° corr.; 'mūrtatvena° ĪPVV.] "[The opponent:] 'And why is [this spatial extendedness of the pot] not possible if [we admit that] the numerous atoms get to have different places because, since they are of a material, [i.e. solid] nature (*mūrta*), [they] cannot extend to the place of the others' forms?' Anticipating this [objection, Utpaladeva] says 'To explain …' Here is the implicit meaning [of this passage]: if the pot is [nothing but] atoms with intervals [separating them from each other], then [the pot] must be imperceptible …" In other words, the opponent is tempted to respond to the objection just stated in the fragment by explaining that atoms can indeed occupy different locations because although partless, they cannot penetrate each other so as to coexist in the same spot. But this reply is unsound, first and foremost because then the macroscopic pot should remain imperceptible, as it would merely consist of imperceptible atoms and intervals between them. After enumerating a few more of the "countless defects" (*śataśo doṣāḥ*) inherent in the thesis that atoms are separated by intervals, Abhinavagupta adds (ibid.): *nairantarye tu parasparasaṃśleṣaḥ*. "But if [the atoms] are contiguous, they [must] be in contact with one another." It is the absurdity of the latter hypothesis that the fragment is now going to point out.

104 Alternatively, one could understand: "a second atom that is connected with the atom considered as [located] in the east."

might not be in contact? And [if they are thus entirely] in contact, their natures must be immersed in each other, therefore [they] can only be manifest as one [single] atom; and if [they are] in contact with yet another atom, the same [consequence follows]—therefore even if an infinite number of atoms were connected, they should be manifest as having the size of one [single] atom;[105] or [rather], even this [manifestation] would not exist, because atom[s], [taken] one by one, are beyond the realm of the sense organs.[106]

7 Translation of the Fragments on ĪPK 1.5.8–9

[4] For inference is a concept, and this [concept] arises thanks to the residual trace (*saṃskāra*) [left by] a previous experience; so to begin with, [it] depends on the fact that the object was directly perceived [at some point] in the past, and inference is a conceptual cognition that arises as an unfailing (*avyabhicāra*)[107] [means of knowledge] with respect to this [previously perceived] object.[108] And insofar as this [inference][109] produces the realization (*vimṛśati*)

105 If atoms are in contact, they must all share the same place since they are partless, and as a result their aggregate, however complex, cannot be larger than a single atom. See *Viṃśikā* 12cd: *ṣaṇṇāṃ samānadeśatvāt piṇḍaḥ syād aṇumātrakaḥ* | "If the six [atoms supposedly surrounding the first one] share the same location [as the first one], [they] must [constitute] a lump [of matter] that has the size of a [single] atom." Cf. *Viṃśikāvṛtti*, 7: *atha ya evaikasya paramāṇor deśaḥ sa eva ṣaṇṇām. tena sarveṣāṃ samānadeśatvāt sarvaḥ piṇḍaḥ paramāṇumātraḥ syāt parasparāvyatirekāt*. "If, on the other hand, the place of one atom is also that of the six [atoms supposedly surrounding it], then since they all have the same place, [they] must all [constitute] a lump [of matter] that has the size of a [single] atom, since they are not distinct from each other." See also ĪPVV, vol. II, 141: *iti dvāv api militau nādhikaṃ rūpaṃ samutthāpayeyātām. evam anyamelane 'pi vācyam. tad āha* ***ananteti***. "Therefore two connected [atoms] cannot bring about a form larger [than one single atom], and the same must be said if another, [third atom] gets in contact [with them]—this is what [Utpaladeva explains] with '[even if] an infinite [number] …'"

106 If aggregated atoms are not larger than one atom, no material object should be perceptible, since a single atom is imperceptible. Cf. *Viṃśikāvṛtti*, 7: *iti na kaścit piṇḍo dṛśyaḥ syāt. naiva hi paramāṇavaḥ saṃyujyante niravayavatvāt*. "So no lump [of matter] at all should be perceptible; for the atoms cannot be in contact [with each other] at all, since they have no parts."

107 Literally, "non-deviating."

108 According to Abhinavagupta, here Utpaladeva specifies that inference is a "non-deviating" means of knowledge (that is, according to the Buddhist epistemologists, a means of knowledge that is valid inasmuch as it unfailingly enables us to reach a given object) so as to point out that although conceptual, it is not a mere mental construct absolutely unrelated to perception, since it regards a previously perceived object. See ĪPVV, vol. I, 161: *pūrvābhāta evānumānam ity etat sādhayituṃ tāvad āha* ***anumānaṃ hīti***. *yata evaṃ tas-*

of this object—[which only] exists inside [consciousness at the time when we infer]—thanks to the residual trace of the [past] experience, [and insofar as it produces this realization] as is appropriate [for an object, i.e.] in the form "this" (*idantā*), it only manifests [this object] as being separated [from the subject, the latter being expressed as "I"]. And this mere [realization that the object is something separated from the subject] is not enough to transform this object into something on which [human] activity may be exerted; therefore [this object] is [also] made manifest (*prakāśita*) as having a specific place and time, because only a particular having a specific place and time can be something on which [human] activity may be exerted, since [only such a particular] can be obtained (*prāpya*) and since [only such a particular] may have the efficacy (*arthakriyā*) that [we] expect [from it]. So [a valid inference is] an act of realization (*vimarśana*) that is exactly so, [i.e. it is an unfailing means of knowledge with respect to a previously perceived object that it manifests as having a specific place and time].[110] This is what [the *Vṛtti*] says [with the words] "manifested in the past" (*pūrvāvabhāta*), "an object invariably concomitant [with this entity]" (*nāntarīyakārtha*) [and] "[due to the association of this entity with] this or that [specific] place and time, etc."[111]

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mād yuktaḥ sūtrārthaḥ. nanu vikalpamātram eva kim anumānam. netyāha ***avyabhicāreti****.* [**avyabhicāreti* conj.; *avyabhicārīti* J10, J11, T, ĪPVV.] "In order to demonstrate that inference only regards a previously manifested [object], first [Utpaladeva] states [the sentence beginning with] 'For inference …' [And] since [inference] is so, the meaning of verse [1.5.8] is justified. But is inference nothing but a mere concept? With [the word] *avyabhicāra*°, [Utpaladeva] answers 'no' [to this question]."

109 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 161: *anumānaṃ kartṛ* ***prathayatī****ti sambandhaḥ.*

110 See ĪPVV, vol. II, 162: ***na ca tāvate****ty antaḥsthitasaṃskāraśeṣasya bahīrūpatāvabhāsanalakṣaṇena vicchedamātreṇābhāsitenāpi viśiṣṭau deśakālau vinā kāyīyavyāpāraparyantapravṛttijananam anumānena na kṛtaṃ bhaved iti viśiṣṭadeśakālāliṅgite 'rthe pravṛttiyogye yad vikalpanaṃ tat pramāṇarūpam avisaṃvādakatayānumānam ucyate*. "'And this … is not enough' [means the following]. [Something] that [only] consists of the manifestation in an external form, [i.e. in the form 'this,'] of what remains [of the past experience in the shape of] an internal residual trace; [that is to say, something] that is merely separated [from the subject expressed as 'I,' but] that, although manifested, [appears] without any specific place and time—[this is] not [enough] for inference to trigger any activity ending in a bodily action. Therefore what [we] call an inference is [not just any] conceptualization (*vikalpana*), [but only one] that consists in a means of [valid] knowledge since it is reliable (*avisaṃvādaka*), [and one] that concerns an object possessed of a specific time and place, [therefore being] fit to be [something on which] an activity [is exerted]."

111 Cf. *Vṛtti* on ĪPK 1.5.8, 21–22: *pūrvāvabhātāntaḥsthita evārthe nāntarīyakārthadarśanavaśāt tattaddeśakālādiyojanayā vimarśanam anumānam*. "Inference is an act of realization (*vimarśana*) with respect to an object that exists internally [now in the form of a residual trace because] it has [already] been manifested in the past. [This act occurs] thanks to the perception of an object invariably concomitant [with this entity,] due to the association

[…].[112]

[5] Even a sense organ has already been experienced before [being inferred]; for this [sense organ] is not inferred in its own specific form, but rather, as a [mere] generality (*sāmānya*).[113] This is what [I] say in the *Vṛtti* [with the words] "a cause that is a mere indeterminate thing" (*kiñcinmātra*).[114] The object [inferred in this inference of the sense organs] is a generality (*sāmānya*) [that simply consists in] being a cause; [and this generality] was manifested before [the inference] in the cognition that the seed is a cause of the sprout, [or] in the cognition that clay for instance is a cause of the pot and [other such objects].[115] For in that [cognition that the seed is the cause of the sprout],[116] it is not [something] specific[, i.e.] only a seed [and nothing else], that is mani-

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[of this entity] with this or that [specific] time and place, etc." As noted in Torella 2002, 117, note 19, Utpaladeva's definition specifies that inference "aims at proving the existence of an object that is able to propose itself as the possible object of purposeful activity (i.e. specified by a definite time and space […])." And this amounts to saying that the external object cannot be an inferential object, not only because there can be no previous experience of such an object, but also because according to Utpaladeva's definitions of time and space (on which see e.g. Ratié 2011, 197–201), spatial and temporal relationships can only belong to manifested entities. See e.g. ĪPV, vol. II, 16: *nanv evam ābhāsaviṣayābhyām eva deśakālakramābhyāṃ bhavitavyam*. "But [if it is] so, the spatial and temporal sequences can only regard phenomena."

112 See above, note 75.

113 On the Śaivas' understanding of this type of inference called *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* (which infers the mere existence of some imperceptible and therefore indeterminate entity so as to account for a phenomenon that would remain inexplicable otherwise) see e.g. Torella 2002, 117, note 20, and Ratié 2011b, 486–488.

114 Cf. *Vṛtti*, 22: *indriyam apy anumīyate kiñcinmātraṃ nimittaṃ tac ca bījādyābhāsād ābhāsitam eva*. "Even a sense organ is inferred [as] a cause that is a mere indeterminate thing; and this [sense organ] has already been manifested due to the manifestation of a seed, etc." See Torella 2002, 117.

115 Utpaladeva considers every perceived object as a particular synthesis of general features (including that of causality); see Torella 1992, 332–333, and Torella 2002, 89–90, note 3. On Abhinavagupta's explanations of this point see Ratié 2011b, 488–491. It is this theory that enables Utpaladeva to claim here that although the sense organs are imperceptible in the sense that they can never be apprehended as singular entities existing in a determinate place and time, they can still be considered as having somehow been perceived before being inferred (so that their inference is valid); this is so because the inference of the sense organs does not concern a particular entity but a mere generality (that is, an indeterminate cause that must be postulated on top of other conditions such as light so as to account for the phenomenon of perception), and this general notion of causality is part of countless perceptions of particular fires seen as causing smoke, etc., since the perception of a particular is nothing but the apprehension of a synthetic unity of generalities, including causality.

116 Cf. ĪPVV, vol. II, 163: ***na hi tatr****eti bījasya nimittatājñāne*.

fested as a cause; [otherwise,] as a consequence [we] would not know that clay too [is a cause]. Nor is clay only [cognized as a cause] in a [cognition occurring] after [that of the seed being a cause], because [if it were so] there would follow that [we] would not know that the seed and so on [are also causes]. And [one should rather consider that] within this [notion of causality that is present in the perception of the clay] as well as [in that of the seed], a [process of] particularization leads to an exclusion [that takes the form]: "it is the clay that is the cause of the pot, not the seed"; [and this exclusion eliminates from the general notion of cause] that which [the particular cause] is not but which is intrinsically linked (*prasakta*) [with the notion of cause in general].[117]

[...]

[6]?[118] [—Objection from the Sautrāntika:] But just as [you] have said that [in the case of the inference of the sense organs,] the generality "causality" has already been experienced through the experience of [particular causes]

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117 Utpaladeva is arguing here that within any act of perception, the apprehension of universals or generalities (such as causality) comes first, and it is only once these general features are apprehended that we determine our perception as being that of a singular synthesis. This determination of the perceptual object as a singular entity takes the form of the mental process of exclusion (*vyavaccheda*, *apoha*) which, according to Dharmakīrti, produces generalities (Utpaladeva's system thus integrates the Dharmakīrtian notion of *apoha*, but not without turning it upside down). In other words, upon seeing a pot being made out of clay, we first apprehend a number of generalities inherent in the clay, and then we exclude from e.g. the generality "causality" whatever falls into the general category of cause (or, as Utpaladeva says, is intrinsically linked with it) but has a different efficacy—seeds for instance. According to Abhinavagupta, it is because we thus apprehend the generality "causality" before the particularities of the perceived cause that we are capable of using the word "cause" to describe various entities. See ĪPVV, vol. II, 156: *anyathaikatra bīje kāraṇaśabdaḥ saṅketito na mṛtpiṇḍādau saṅketito bhavet*. "Otherwise, the word 'cause' would be conventionally associated with one single [entity, such as] the seed, [but] it could not be conventionally associated with a lump of clay, etc." It is also this theory that enables Utpaladeva to claim here that in a sense, all causes (including imperceptible ones such as the sense organs) are perceived when we perceive clay, although contrary to the singular clay perceived at that particular time and place, all the other causes are only apprehended in the form of the general feature "causality." Cf. Abhinavagupta's explanation in ĪPVV, vol. II, 163: *nanu kumbhaṃ prati mṛdo nimittatājñāne bījam api nimittabhāvena svīkṛtam iti kutaḥ. atrocyate* ***prasakt****eti. prasaṅgaś ca kāraṇatāsāmānyapratibhāsasamutthāpita iti bhāvaḥ*. "To the [question:] 'But how is it that in the cognition that the clay is a cause with respect to the pot, [we] apprehend the seed too as a cause?,' [Utpaladeva] replies [with the expression] 'that which is intrinsically linked (*prasakta*) [with the notion of cause in general].' And this intrinsic link arises from the manifestation of the generality [consisting in] causality—this is what [Utpaladeva] means."

118 On my reasons for thinking that this passage might be a fragment from the *Vivṛti*, see above, note 79.

such as a seed, without considering the particulars that are the visual organ and so on, in the same way, [you must admit that] externality too has already been experienced as a generality from the experience of [various objects that are] external to the body, the house or the village, etc. Alternatively, if [you] claim that [the external object cannot be inferred because] there is no experience of externality through a particular [entity characterized as] not being consciousness, [then] since the visual organ and so on have not been previously experienced [as] a particular cause either, there can be no inference [of the sense organs either]; so why don't [you simply] admit that inference applies [in both cases]?[119]

119 I now think that my understanding of the last part of this sentence was mistaken in Ratié 2011, 466, note 221, and Ratié 2011b, 494, note 48. As for the general meaning of the passage, see ĪPVV, vol. II, 165: *grāmād darpaṇād gṛhād dehāt saṃvedanād bāhyam iti bāhyatāsāmānyam* ekam, tac ca gṛhād bāhyam iti pratītau siddham. tataś ca samarpakaṃ darpaṇād iva bāhyaṃ* saṃvedanād api setsyati kramikābhāsavaicitryād dhetor ity āśayena pūrvapakṣayati* ***nanu cakṣurādīti***. [**bāhyatāsāmānyam* conj. Ratié 2011b, found in J10, J11, T, marginal annotations in SOAS, D2, and note 248 in ĪPV, vol. I, 190; *bāhyataḥ sāmānyam* ĪPVV. **darpaṇād iva bāhyaṃ* conj. Ratié 2011b, found in T; *darpaṇādibāhyaṃ* J10, J11, ĪPVV, marginal annotation in SOAS, D2 and note 248 ĪPV (vol. I, 190).] "With [the sentence beginning with] *nanu cakṣurādi-*, [Utpaladeva] states the prima facie thesis [that he is about to refute] with the intention [of conveying the following objection]: It is one [and the same] generality of externality [that is present in these various cognitions: 'this is] external to the village, to the mirror, to the house, to the body, to consciousness.' And this [generality of externality] is established in the [mere] experience: '[this is] external to the house.' And as a consequence, [something] may be established to be external to consciousness as well and to project [its specific form onto consciousness], just as [something is external] to a mirror [and projects its specific form onto the mirror, and it may be established to be so] on the basis of the [logical] reason that is the variety of successive phenomena [experienced by any conscious being]." As to how, according to Abhinavagupta, Utpaladeva was answering this objection in the now missing *Vivṛti* passage following this fragment, see ĪPVV, vol. II, 165: *naivaṃ* bāhyatvaṃ ghaṭasya grāmāc ca saṃvedanāc caikam, saṃvedanād bāhyaṃ hy asaṃvedanarūpam, na tu gṛhād bāhyam agṛharūpam. evaṃ sati hi gṛhaikadeśaḥ kuḍyādir gṛhāntarvarty api ca ghaṭādir gṛhabāhyaḥ syāt. na caivam, gṛhasannikṛṣṭaṃ ca yadvad* bāhyaṃ gṛhān na tadvad eva saṃvedanāt tasyāmūrtasya sannikarṣādideśavyavahāryatvābhāvāt. tataḥ śabdasāmyamātreṇedaṃ* sādhyam ekaṃ pratibhātīty abhiprāyeṇottarayaty* ***atrocyata*** *iti*. [**naivaṃ* T; *nedaṃ* J10, J11, ĪPVV. **ca yadvad* T, ĪPVV; *yadvad* J10, J11, Kha (ĪPVV, note 1). **śabdasāmyamātreṇedaṃ* conj. Ratié 2011b, found in T; *śabdasāmānyamātreṇedam* J10, J11, ĪPVV.] "In 'To this [objection we] reply …,' [Utpaladeva] answers [the objection] with [the following] in mind. The externality of the pot is not thus one [and the same whether it is considered] with respect to the village or with respect to consciousness; for that which is external to consciousness consists in that which is not consciousness, whereas that which is external to the house does not consist in that which is not a house! For if that were the case, a particular element of the house—such as a wall—or a pot, for example,

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although it is located inside the house, should be external to the house [since they are not the house itself]; and it is not so. And whereas that which is external to the house is next to the house, it is absolutely not the case as regards that which is [external] to consciousness, because of the impossibility for [consciousness]—which is devoid of material form (*amūrta*)—of having any spatial relation whatsoever such as proximity. Therefore this [externality] that must be established appears to be one thanks to a mere similarity (*śabdasāmya*)."

D2. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Delhi: National Archives of India (Manuscripts belonging to the Archeology and Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar), no. 5, vol. II. Paper, Śāradā script.

D3. *Śivadṛṣṭi*. Delhi: National Archives of India (Manuscripts belonging to the Archeology and Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar), no. 7, vol. II. Paper, Śāradā script.

D4. *Śivadṛṣṭi*. Delhi: National Archives of India (Manuscripts belonging to the Archeology and Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar), no. 83, vol. LXVI. Paper, Devanāgarī script.

J10. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*. Jammu: Sri Ranbir Institute, Raghunath Mandir Library, no. 1475. Paper, Devanāgarī script.

J11. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*. Jammu: Sri Ranbir Institute, Raghunath Mandir Library, no. 5077. Paper, Devanāgarī script.

J^{R}. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Jammu: Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, no. 47 (formerly no. 52A) and no. 70 (formerly no. 52B). Paper, Śāradā script, incomplete.

S2. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Śrinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 1035. Paper, Śāradā script.

S3. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* [catalogued as *Īśvarapratyabhijñākaumudī*]. Śrinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 838. Paper, Śāradā script.

S5. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* [catalogued as *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* by Vācaspati Miśra; Abhinavagupta's ĪPV is copied after the latter]. Śrinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 1212. Paper, Śāradā script.

S9. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Śrinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 1161. Paper, Śāradā script.

S10. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Śrinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 1477. Paper, Śāradā script.

S12. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* [catalogued as *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*(*vimarśinī*)]. Srinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 2403. Paper, Śāradā script.

S15. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. Srinagar: Oriental Research Library, no. 787. Paper, Śāradā script.

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CHAPTER 6

Alchemical Metaphors for Spiritual Transformation in Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*

Christopher D. Wallis

1 Introduction

It is a great privilege to be able to present a paper in honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson. I was fortunate enough to be his pupil for two years at Oxford, and to study with him subsequently in Leipzig and Kyoto. In my view, if one were to accord Professor Sanderson the praise that he in fact merits, it would sound (to those who do not know him) like embarrassingly unrestrained hyperbole. Suffice it to say here that his example formed my ideal of intellectual integrity, an ideal which entails relentless pursuit of the truth as part of a community of scholars engaged in the kind of longitudinal study that prioritizes the field as a whole over personal glory. Professor Sanderson taught me the value of admitting when I don't know, of sacrificing my own agenda in deference to the truth, and of striving to be as transparent a mediator as possible in the act of transmitting the words and ideas of the ancient Sanskrit thinkers to students of the present day. It is with enormous gratitude to his unstinting scholarly labours (I estimate he has logged well over a hundred thousand hours of research so far) that I offer this paper in his honour.

The oeuvre of the Kashmirian Tantric master Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1015) is one of the many areas of research Professor Sanderson has mastered, and it is this author which the present paper treats. Specifically, we here focus on a trope found in Abhinavagupta's two commentaries on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā* (ĪPK) of Utpaladeva, viz., that of an alchemical metaphor for spiritual transformation. These passages provide no small number of difficulties, because the text as we have it is not secure, and because some knowledge of Indian alchemy (*rasāyana, dhātu-śāstra*) is needed in order to translate it correctly. While I do not claim to have solved these problems, this paper may certainly contribute to our understanding of how Abhinavagupta thought about the process of spiritual transformation conferred by the uniquely potent insight (*jñāna*) and yoga offered by initiatory Śaivism. Specifically, we learn much about his usage of the key terms *samāveśa*, *turya*, and *turyātīta*, and it is hoped that

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this paper advances our understanding of these topics, which are significant within Śaiva theology.*

2 The Pratyabhijñā Doctrine of the Fivefold Self

Some readers are no doubt aware that in Utpaladeva's ĪPK we find a teaching on the "layers" of the individuated self (see, e.g., III.1.8), parallel to the later Vedāntic teaching of five *kośa*s based on *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.3–5.[1] This teaching, formed as Sanderson says on "slight scriptural precedent," is adopted by subsequent gurus of Utpala's lineage; for example, it has a prominent place in Kṣemarāja's *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*.[2] In this model, the self is said to be fourfold: void (*śūnya*), life-force (*prāṇa*), the subtle body consisting of the mind and its faculties (*puryaṣṭaka*, i.e. the *antaḥkaraṇa* plus *tanmātra*s), and the physical body (*śarīra*). It is fivefold with the transindividual Power of Awareness (*cit, saṃvit*) that permeates the whole. In fact, it is not only *cit* that permeates the other levels: Kṣemarāja tells us that "it is clear that the very essence of *each* of these levels is the fact of its pervasion by all the loci of perception prior to it,"[3] where "loci of perception" (*pramātṛ*) refers to these levels of embodiment as those realities with which contracted souls identify, and "prior to" means "more fundamental than."

Abhinavagupta adds to this teaching a homology implied but not spelled out in the ĪPK itself, one that assimilates these five levels to the five "phases of lucidity," as Vasudeva (2004) calls them: the states of waking, dreaming, deep sleep, the transcendental "fourth" state, and the state "beyond the fourth" (*jāgrat*, *svapna*, *suṣupta*, *turya*, and *turyātīta*). We will come to understand the last two terms as we proceed.

Our texts in this study are Abhinavagupta's two commentaries on the ĪPK, his *-vimarśinī* (hereafter ĪPV) and his *-vivṛti-vimarśinī* (ĪPVV). The former is his commentary on the *kārikā*s themselves, the latter is his commentary on Utpaladeva's lost *Vivṛti* or longer auto-commentary. For both texts, we will

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* An earlier version of this work is found in my unpublished doctoral dissertation (Wallis 2014).

1 "The *kośa*s, mediated through the Pañcīkaraṇa system ascribed to Śaṅkara, had become part of the [Deccani] vernacular tradition by the end of the twelfth [century, and proceeded from there into the pan-Indian Sanskrit tradition]." Jason Schwartz, personal communication, April 2018.

2 See, e.g., *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, chapter 7: *śūnya-prāṇa-puryaṣṭaka-śarīra-svabhāvatvāt caturātmā*.

3 *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, chapter 8: … *dehādiṣu bhūmiṣu pūrva-pūrva-pramātṛ-vyāpti-sāratā-prathāyām*.

use the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (KSTS) edition. First, though, we will consider the two verses of the ĪPK that Abhinavagupta is commenting on, using Torella's critical edition (2002), and summarize Abhinava's initial remarks thereon. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

> *kalodbalitam etac ca cit-tattvaṃ kartṛtā-mayam* |
> *acid-rūpasya śūnyāder mitaṃ guṇatayā sthitam* ||
>
> ĪPK III.2.11

> And this Awareness-principle, consisting of [unlimited] Agency, [becomes] limited—[though] it is strengthened by partial agency (*kalā*)—abiding as a [mere] attribute in a person whose [habitual] nature is unconscious, [identifying as he does with] the void, [*prāṇa*, mind,] and [body].

> *mukhyatvaṃ kartṛtāyās tu bodhasya ca cid-ātmanaḥ* |
> *śūnyādau tad-guṇe jñānaṃ tat-samāveśa-lakṣaṇam* ||
>
> III.2.12

> By contrast, the characteristic of "immersion into That" is realization of the primacy of the Self-that-is-awareness as the [only] true Knower and Agent, and [a concomitant] insight regarding [the other layers of individuality,] the void, [*prāṇa*, mind] and [body], as mere attributes of it.[4]

Explaining the first of these verses in his ĪPV, Abhinava first describes how consciousness—which in its real nature is primordial, *a priori*, unlimited and free—comes to be in the degraded state we consider as normal. Through the power of his *māyā* expressed as the three *mala*s, Śiva contracts himself into a limited form (*aṇu*, the individual soul), then equips himself with the five *kañcuka*s beginning with *kalā* (cf. ĪPK III.1.9), resulting in a being that identifies itself with what is actually objective, that is, the body, mind, *prāṇa*, and void

4 While these verses have been translated a number of times (cf. Torella 2002, 202–203), they are not easy to translate in such a way that the reader clearly understands what is being said. Here I capitalize words that are equivalent, on this view, to the Deity. An unobtrusive but important word here is *tat-*, which I have translated as That but could also have been rendered Him. Assuming that it is to be taken as compounded with what follows, then it must denote what one is immersing *in*. The use of a gender-neutral pronoun that could just as well denote neuter *tattvam* as masculine Him (= Śiva) is exemplary of the decreased theism of the Pratyabhijñā phase of the tradition.

(cf. ĪPK III.1.8).[5] Identification with the void (*śūnya*) can be identification with the state of deep dreamless sleep (as Abhinava states it here) but also, and more importantly, the void is the considered the primary locus of the limited "I" (see ĪPK III.2.13), which, being in reality empty (*śūnya*), vainly seeks to reify itself through identification with the body, mind, and *prāṇa*. This identification persists in all three states of ordinary consciousness (waking, dreaming, and deep sleep).[6]

Note that the real "I" is not here the core of an individual being as in Sāṅkhya, but the one transindividual Self of all beings. The individual soul (*aṇu*) only exists as a particular phase of that transindividual Consciousness, specifically, an expression of the contracted state of bondage. Thus, one may argue, the non-dual Śaiva's "I" is closer to the view of the Vijñānavāda Buddhists than it is to the *ātman* of Vedānta. (Even the dualistic Śaivas, who did posit a separate and eternal soul, distanced their view of the *ātman* from those of the brāhmanical schools (Watson 2006).)

3 The Exegesis of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*

Now let us look more closely at our first text as Abhinavagupta charts the trajectory from bondage towards liberation, commenting on ĪPK III.2.12 (KSTS vol. 33, p. 230–231):

> *yadā tūkta-gurūpadeśādi-diśā tenaivāhaṃ-bhāvena svātantryātmanā vyāpakatva-nityatvādi-dharma-parāmarśam ātmani vidadhatā tataḥ śūnyādeḥ prameyād unmajjya iva āsyate tadā turyāvasthā*[7] |
>
> But when, through realizing [that the divine] qualities such as all-pervasiveness and eternality apply to oneself, by having the experience of the [real] "I" whose nature is [unqualified] freedom—[an experience]

5 For example, Abhinava writes *idantāpanna-dehādi-śūnyānta-prameya-bhāga-nimagnatvāt prameyam, yo gauro, yaḥ sukhī, yas tṛṣito, yaḥ sarva-rūpa-rahitaḥ so 'ham*: "The levels from body to the Void are objects of awareness, [but] because of the submerging of a portion of that objectivity, [there arise the erroneous cognitions] 'I am the one who is pale' (body), 'who is happy' (mind), 'who is thirsty' (*prāṇa*), 'who was devoid of all appearances' (void)" (KSTS vol. 33, p. 230).

6 *seyaṃ jāgrat-svapna-suṣupta-rūpā saṃsārāvasthā* (KSTS vol. 33, p. 230). The illusion of separate individuality persists even in the deep sleep state because of the presence of the *saṃskāra*s (cf. ĪPK III.2.13).

7 *turyāvasthā*] conj. em. Torella (email communication, July 2014); *turyātītāvasthā* Ed.

pointed out by the guru's instruction and other methods that I have explained—[and] having therefore emerged as it were from [identification with] the objective knowables of the Void etc., and [as a result] abiding [in one's real nature], then *that* is the [transcendent] state [called] the Fourth.

yadāpi parāmṛṣṭa-tathābhūta-vaibhava-nityatva-aiśvaryādi-dharma-saṃbhedena[8] *eva ahaṃ-bhāvena śūnyādi-deha-dhātv-antaṃ siddharasa-yogena vidhyate, tadāsyāṃ turyātīta*[9]*-daśāyāṃ tad api prameyatām ujjhatīva |*

When further [the layers of the objective "self"] from the Void to the [very] tissues of the body are transmuted[10] by means of the "alchemical elixir," i.e. by the [fundamental] "I"-sense which is certainly conjoined with the qualities of magnificent power (*vaibhava*), eternality, sovereignty, [and

8 *-vaibhava-nityatva-aiśvaryādi-dharma-saṃbhedena*] conj. em.; *vaibhava-nityaiśvaryādi-dharma-saṃbhedena* KSTS ed.; *vaibhavādi-nityaiśvarya-saṃbhedena* Iyer & Pandey ed.

9 *turyātīta-*] conj. em. Torella (email communication, July 2014); *turya-* Ed.

10 Āyurveda scholar Dominik Wujastyk (of the University of Alberta) recommended this translation of *vidhyate* as "transmuted" (over that of "penetrated") based on his reading of the *rasāyana* literature, especially the *Rasa-ratna-samuccaya* 8.94–95 and the *Bodhinī* thereon (email communications, 7 and 9 July 2014). Ashok Aklujkar also contributed a citation from the same text (5.11: *vedhajaṃ suvarṇam—pārada-vedhena saṃjātaṃ suvarṇam*), which I believe verifies that *vedha* must mean transmutation (or similar), not piercing or penetration, though he would wish to retain the latter translation (email, 7 July 2014). (See also n. 27 below.) The alchemical metaphor here (elaborated further in the ĪPVV, *infra*) is of course not original to Abhinavagupta; we find it earlier in the well-known eighth century Buddhist text, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 1.10cd: *rasajātam atīva vedhanīyaṃ sudṛḍhaṃ gṛhṇata bodhicitta-saṃjñaṃ*, which I translate as "Firmly take hold of the alchemical elixir called Intent to Awaken (*bodhicitta*), which must be thoroughly transmuted." Vesna Wallace (1997, 19) translates almost identically; in this verse, it appears, *rasajāta* is unmodified mercury that must be properly transmuted to be safe for consumption, implying that some refinement of the initial raw *bodhicitta* is necessary. (However, Matthew Kapstein [email communication, 9 July 2014] points out that both the Sanskrit commentator and the Tibetan translation do not take *vedhanīyaṃ* as translated above, but rather in the active sense, "*able to transform* [this *aśuci-pratimā* to a *jina-ratna-pratimā*, 1.10ab]"—e.g., Prajñākaramati glosses *atyuccavedhakāritvād—atīva vedhanīyam*.) Our passage does support this latter reading, for here we certainly have *siddha-rasa* denoting a mercury preparation that can transmute base metals into gold (or more accurately, extract gold from base metals). Thus, the pure dynamic power of awareness called *cit* is here compared to a chemical catalyst: it needs no refinement or alteration, but can alter that which it contacts.

> others] of such nature that are cognized [as aspects of that "I"], then in this state [called] Beyond the Fourth they abandon (as it were) their objectivity.

Having introduced the three states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep, Abhinavagupta now discusses *turya* and *turyātīta*, which complete the set of the "phases of lucidity." Now, in this passage, I take Abhinava to be reconciling two modes of realization: one gnostic, rapid, transcendent, and liberating, and the other yogic, gradual, immanent, and *siddhi*-conferring. Here, the Fourth state is the gnostic realization that one has wrongly taken objective realities to be the self; it is waking up out of the trance of believing "I am the body," etc. Such a realization can be sudden because it requires no transformation, only a recognition of what is already the case, including a reflective awareness (*parāmarśa*) of the qualities (*dharma*s) of one's real self. As Torella puts it, "the adept, after becoming aware of the supreme nature of the I, becomes as though withdrawn from the knowable which formed his fictitious identity" (2002, xxxiv). *Turya* is then an *exclusive* kind of realization. By contrast, the process of *turyātīta* ("Beyond the Fourth," but not actually a fifth state)—here described in terms of penetrating the layers of that constructed identity with this deeper awareness or transcendent I-sense—is *inclusive* and gradual, requiring yogic practice. In the *turyātīta* experience, the objective layers of the limited self are seen as expressions of the transindividual divine consciousness, and thus are recovered as part of a greater "I" than the one they were excluded from in the previous *turya* state. This process by which the *cidātman* penetrates the layers of body, etc., is likened to alchemical transformation, whereby the elixir called *siddha-rasa* transforms a base metal into gold (or extracts the gold from the base metal).[11] The use of the word *iva* (last word of the passage just cited) denotes that the body etc. do not actually cease to be knowables when they come to be seen as nothing but crystallizations of the dynamic "liquid" essence of consciousness in the *turyātīta* state,[12] just as the previous *iva* denoted that emerging from

11 Cf. *Kulārṇava-tantra* 14.89: *rasendreṇa yathā viddham ayaḥ suvarṇatāṃ vrajet | dīkṣā-viddhas tathā hy ātmā śivatvaṃ labhate priye* ||, "Just as iron penetrated by mercury becomes gold, even so a soul penetrated by initiation becomes divine." Torella writes, "[here] the various components of the levels of the limited subject are gradually penetrated by the elixir of the I, until they become, so to speak, transfigured, removed from their nature of [being merely] knowable realities" (2002, xxxiv).

12 Kṣemarāja's phrase, *cidrasāśyānatā-prathanātmā samāveśaḥ*, in the context of a parallel discussion, in *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, chapter 19.

identification with knowables does not mean completely leaving them behind (which would entail physical death).

Now, the coherence of this passage only emerges after the emendation to the edition suggested by Torella and adopted here, that of exchanging the words *turya* and *turyātīta*. This may seem a dramatic emendation, but it would make little sense for Abhinava to list the three states of ordinary consciousness, then proceed to *turyātīta* when what is obviously called for is *turya*, "the Fourth." Further, it would make no sense to argue that *turya* is an extension of the *turyātīta* state without completely ignoring the meaning of those two words; but the other way around exactly matches the meaning of the words.

But what would occasion such a confusion in the edition? It may well be that later scribes (for we do find the edition's reading in the manuscripts), influenced by the more transcendentalist mainstream Indian philosophies, simply could not imagine that *turya* could denote the transcendent state while *turyātīta*, which is obviously intended as the higher attainment, embraced immanence. But this is precisely in line with Abhinavagupta's Kaula view, for with the text emended as Torella suggests, we have here a model that is central to the Kaula Kālīkula, which Sanderson characterizes as "transcendence followed by an expansion that causes the state of enlightenment to pervade the transcended" (Sanderson 2007, 402–403). The *Śivasūtra* (well known to Abhinava) inherits this model, teaching the "establishing of this realization first through withdrawal into the heart of consciousness and then through its expansion into the states that constitute the mundane awareness of the bound" (ibid.), which precisely characterizes our ĪPV passage. For example, in the *Śivasūtra* (1.7) we find the teaching that the Fourth state can spread to the ordinary states of *jāgrat, svapna*, and *suṣupta*, imbuing them with awakened consciousness, which the *Śivasūtra* calls *turyābhoga* but which is simply *turyātīta* under another name.[13] Of course, an examination of all the extant ĪPV manuscripts, preferably after forming a critical stemma, would be necessary to make a final ruling on the reading of the passage.

To return to our text, Abhinava concludes his ĪPV discussion of ĪPK III.2.12 by informing us that *turya* and *turyātīta* are forms of *samāveśa*, which, when it becomes continuous and stable (*āsyate*), is itself liberation.

> *seyaṃ dvayy api jīvanmuktāvasthā samāveśa ity uktā śāstre, samyag-āveśanam eva hi tatra tatra pradhānam, tat-siddhaye tūpadeśāntarāṇi |*

13 *jāgrat-svapna-suṣupta-bhede turyābhoga-saṃbhavaḥ.*

> This twofold state of one who is liberated while living is called *samāveśa* in the scriptures. For complete entering[14] is itself primary in each of these; other teachings are [only] for its attainment.

This is a surprising statement, perhaps, for I know of no scriptural passage in which these two states are called *samāveśa*. What Abhinava wants us to understand, I think, is that when the scriptures use the term *samāveśa*, they are always referring to one of these two states. In *turya*, then, one fully and directly penetrates into one's true nature, while in *turyātīta*, one causes that nature to fully and gradually penetrate the objective levels of one's limited selfhood; for this reason they can both be appropriately referred to with the word *samāveśa* (from *ā√viś*, to penetrate). Abhinava continues:

> *dehapāte tu parameśvara evaikarasaḥ, iti kaḥ kutra kathaṃ samāviśet*
>
> But at the fall of the body, there is only one essence: the Supreme Lord. Thus, who could enter (/immerse), where and how?

In other words, it is only meaningful to speak of *samāveśa* in the context of embodiment, for only in that context are there apparently differentiated layers of selfhood such that there can be an "entry" of the locus of identity (*ahaṃbhāva*) from the body, etc., into *cit*, or an "entry" of *cit* into one of the layers of limited selfhood (*dehādi*)—the former entry being *turya* and the latter *turyātīta*.

4 The Parallel Passage in the ĪPVV

The corresponding ĪPVV passage (KSTS vol. 65, 327–331) is similar but sheds more light on some important points while simultaneously greatly complicating the issue. Abhinava elaborates further on the alchemical metaphor briefly introduced in the ĪPV; here, though, if we do not emend the published text, he appears to have changed his view from that seen in the ĪPV. There the alchemical metaphor was reserved for the *turyātīta* state, while here we see *two* stages of the alchemical metaphor, corresponding to both *turya* and *turyātīta*.[15] Furthermore, it seems that he now posits two different modalities for attaining both

14 Abhinava is telling us that the *sam-* in *samāveśa* is in the sense of *samyañc*.

15 Though Torella proposes an emendation which would bring the ĪPVV in line with the ĪPV (see below).

states, one gnostic and one yogic. (Here I differ from Torella's 1994 hypothesis that a single *turya* state bifurcates into two kinds of *turyātīta*.) Abhinava writes:

> *etad ajñāna-rūpa-mala-pratidvandvitayā* ***samāveśa-lakṣaṇaṃ*** *satya-sva-rūpe samyag āsamantāt praveśa-lakṣaṇaṃ* ***jñānaṃ,*** *yal-lābhena jñānī, yad-abhyāsena ca deha-prāṇādāv ananta-saṃvid-dharmātmaka-vibhava-samāsādanāt yogī bhavati* |
>
> [Utpala teaches that] the "distinguishing mark of *samāveśa*" is "insight," since it is opposed to the Impurity that is ignorance, being characterized by a perfect (*samyag*), that is to say complete (*ā samantāt*), entry into one's true nature,[16] obtaining which one becomes a gnostic (*jñānī*), and practicing which, on the levels of body, *prāṇa*, etc., one becomes a *yogī*, due to attaining the glory (*vibhava*) that is an intrinsic quality of infinite Consciousness.
>
> *etad uktaṃ bhavati—yadā ahaṃbhāvaḥ svātantrya-diśaiva vyāpitva-nityatvādi-parāmarśa-balāt śūnyādeḥ prameyīkṛtād unmajjya iva āste, tadā turyatā;*[17] *tadāpi ca śūnyādi-saṃskāro 'pi asti,—iti vyatireka*[18]*-turyātīta-samatā eva* |
>
> This is said [already in the ĪPV]: when the [true] I-sense, due to the power of the realization of its all-pervasiveness, eternality, etc., through the [scriptural] indication of its [innate] autonomy, emerges as it were from the objectified [levels of limited selfhood]—Void etc.—and abides [in its real nature], then that is the state [called] the Fourth. Nevertheless [in that state] the impressions of the Void, etc., still remain. Thus this has exactly the same [nature] as [that which is called] the "separated *turyātīta*."

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16 We have here an implicit analysis of the word *samāveśa*: *samyag* and/or *āsamantāt* + *praveśa* = *samāveśa*.

17 *turyatā*] conj. em. Torella (email communication, 16 July 2014); *turyātītatā* Ed. Without this emendation, the following comment *turyātīta-samatā eva* makes little sense.

18 *iti vyatireka*] conj. em. Torella; *iti avyatireka* Ed. Following this emendation (proposed in an email, 15 July 2014) we can take *vyatireka* in the sense of *kevala* or *kaivalya*, i.e., a spiritual state which is separated from the *saṃskāra*s but does not dissolve them. Even if we do not emend, we can still argue for the same meaning: *avyatireka-* could indicate that he is "unseparated" from his *saṃskāra*s in the sense of still having them, though they are now powerless to obscure his real nature. However, the emendation makes for a clearer meaning.

Though I am not aware of another usage of the technical term *vyatireka-turyātīta*, the meaning here is clear enough (after applying Torella's suggested emendation): the gnostic who does no yoga enters into a transcendental *turya* state in which he is authentically immersed in his essence, but the impressions of limited selfhood from which he has successfully separated (*vyatireka*) himself from remain undissolved (thus his social self might exhibit little to no change). Thus, Abhinava argues, the attainment of *turyātīta* of the *vyatireka* variety is in fact no different from the *turya* state itself. This obviously sets up the possibility of a higher attainment, an *avyatireka-turyātīta* in which one dissolves those impressions through practice, allowing the practitioner to be not-separated (*avyatireka*) from his body, mind, etc., yet still liberated; i.e. an immanentist state of liberation.

It is hard to see what Abhinavagupta has gained here, because in the simpler ĪPV model, *turya* was the transcendental state and *turyātīta* the immanent (and therefore higher) attainment. Perhaps he simply wants to indicate here that either state can be attained by either gnostic or yogic means. But there is more evidence to examine before drawing conclusions.

Now we see the yogic version of the *turya* → *turyātīta* progression. In the following paragraph (continuing directly from the previous ĪPVV citation), note that the first part closely parallels the ĪPV passage we have seen above (pp. 147–149), while the second part is new data.

> *yadā tu parāmṛṣṭa-nityatva-vyāpitvādi-dharmakaiśvarya-ghanātmanā ahambhāva-siddharasena śūnyādi-deha-dhātv-antaṃ*[19] *vidhyate yena prameyatvāt tat cyavata iva, tadā turya-daśā*;
>
> But when [all the layers of limited selfhood] from the Void to the tissues of the body are penetrated by the "alchemical elixir" that is the [true] I-sense—replete with the sovereignty in which the qualities of eternality, all-pervasiveness, etc., are cognized [as aspects of that "I"]—through which [penetration] they abandon (as it were) their objectivity, then that [too] is [called] the Fourth State.
>
> *yadāpi **viddho** 'sau prāṇadehādi-dhātuḥ saṃvid-rasena **abhiniviṣṭo** 'tyantaṃ kanaka-dhātur iva jīrṇaḥ kriyate yena sa druta-rasa iva ābhāti kevalaṃ tat-saṃskāraḥ, tadāpi turyātīta-daśā sā bhavati* |

19 Oriental Research Library manuscript no. 2403 has *śūnyādi-deha-dhāturtvaṃ* here.

> When, further, these elements of *prāṇa*, body, etc., [already] penetrated by the elixir of Awareness, are thoroughly permeated [by it], they are [then] "digested" like the element of gold [is by mercury], by which [process] their purifier, the "liquefied essence" [of Awareness] as it were, alone remains—then that too is the state Beyond the Fourth.

Here we have a clear progression of *turya* → *turyātīta* without the necessity of emendation. Or do we? According to the earlier ĪPV passage, in the Fourth state, one simply transcends the objective layers of the self, rather than those layers losing their objectivity. Thus, either Abhinavagupta has changed his view since writing the ĪPV, or an emendation is indeed necessary here. If the latter, we could either emend *tat* to *sa* ("one leaves behind their objectivity") or we could emend *turya-daśā* (in the first paragraph above) to *turyātīta-daśā*. The latter solution, tentatively proposed by Torella in an email communication (July 2014), seems to me to ignore the grammar that suggests two stages here (the first structured around the relative/correlative *yadā tu … tadā*, and the second around *yadāpi … tadāpi*); or rather, more correctly, he sees the grammar (after his emendation) as referring not to two successive stages but to two kinds of *turyātīta*, the *api* in *tadāpi* informing us that "thus, this too is *turyātīta*." However, then we have the problem that two apparently distinct stages of the same process are denoted by the very same word, *turyātīta*. That they *are* distinct stages is evidenced by the fact that in the first phase (the paragraph ending with the compound *turya-daśā*), we see the verb √*vidh* (penetrate[20]), and in the second (*turyātīta*) phase we have √*vidh* followed by *abhini*√*viś*, which here denotes a further development of the same process (as also indicated by the adverb *atyantam*, construing with *abhiniviṣṭa*). Furthermore, Abhinava's recapitulation of this discussion (KSTS vol. 65, 348) would seem to argue against Torella's conjecture here. On the other hand, if we did adopt the emendation, it would allow us to preserve the notion seen in the ĪPV that *turya* is the gnostic attainment and *turyātīta* the yogic one. It seems to me, however, that this creates more problems than it solves.

In summary, by not adopting the emendation, we see here a yogic[21] version of the Fourth state that can be developed into the state Beyond the Fourth, thus indicating a change in Abhinavagupta's thought since the ĪPV.

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20 Note that the verb is here being used in a more precise sense than in the ĪPV passage, in which (I argue) it means "transmute." See also the extended discussion on *vedha-dīkṣā* in TĀ 29, translated in an appendix to my doctoral dissertation (Wallis 2014).

21 Besides the alchemical metaphor, Abhinava signals to us that this is a yogic process with the word *aiśvarya*, which, like *v*(*a*)*ibhava*, often relates to yogic power (*siddhi*).

To explain in more detail my understanding of this rather difficult passage, the process goes like this: having inundated/penetrated (*viddha*) the objective layers of selfhood (body etc.) with the "elixir" of one's ultimate nature (i.e., *saṃvid-rasa*, autonomous dynamic consciousness), the "gold" hidden within them is extracted, i.e. their dependence on consciousness as their substrate is revealed.[22] When those layers have become completely permeated (*abhiniviṣṭo 'tyantaṃ*), through, one presumes, further spiritual practice,[23] all trace of their objectivity (and the *saṃskāra*s thereof) is "worn away" or "digested" (*jīrṇa*) by the elixir of consciousness—as mercury eats up gold flakes—which thus becomes a single unitary mass of awareness (*prakāśa-ghanam eva saṃvid-rūpam*, cited *infra*).

Our understanding of Abhinava's vision of this process depends in part on grasping his use of an alchemical metaphor rooted in the complex and often ambiguous *rasāyana* (alchemy, proto-chemistry) theories of medieval India. In this matter I was fortunate to receive the helpful comments of Professors Wujastyk and Houben (of the University of Alberta and the Sorbonne, respectively), who clarified that *jīrṇa* here stands in for *jāraṇa*, one of the sixteen *rasa-saṃskāra*s (alchemical processes). *Jāraṇa* can mean digestion, assimilation, or swallowing (in much the same sense that we speak of an acid "eating away" at a metal). Here the alchemical elixir of the metaphor is of course prepared mercury (*siddha-rasa*), which can indeed "digest" gold (the modern term is amalgamate).[24] That Abhinavagupta was aware of the basics of alchemy is confirmed by his use of the compound *druta-rasa*, for according to Houben, "initially the mercury remains as fluid as before it started to 'eat' the gold etc. but at a certain point its viscosity increases significantly … [it] remains fluid or *druta* [only] as long as it is not saturated."[25] Clearly, Abhinava wishes to emphasize that here this saturation does not occur, that Consciousness must be

22 Cf. *Sarvajñānottara* 1.5: *tāmrasyaiva tu hematvam antarlīnaṃ yathā sthitam | antarlīnaṃ tathā jñeyaṃ śivatvaṃ pudgalasya tu* ("Just as gold is hidden within copper, in the same way the Divinity which a man seeks to know is hidden within [him].").

23 In the present context, the nature of the yogic practice alluded to is very likely the proto-*kuṇḍalinīyoga* that Utpaladeva outlines at ĪPK III.2.19–20 and which was presumably elaborated in his *Vivṛti*. For Abhinava, such practice must be animated by *bhāvanā* (contemplative insight) to be truly effective.

24 This can be clearly seen in a video made by Dr. Andrea Sella (Department of Chemistry, University College London), which includes the following comment: "[In ancient times] mercury was absolutely essential … in extracting gold and purifying it … what gold can do is, it can actually dissolve in mercury" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gKxCw889qck&feature=youtu.be).

25 Email communication from Dr. Jan E.M. Houben, 7 July 2014.

understood purely as a catalyst (something that effects change but is not itself affected): it remains as it is, a dynamic "fluid" essence (*druta-rasa* = *cid-rasa*).

First, then, in this alchemical vision, the mercury transmutes the base metal into gold,[26] then "digests" or absorbs it without a (perceptible) trace (as can be seen in the chemistry video cited in note 24).[27] That is to say, if we follow the terms of the metaphor strictly, first the layers of body, etc., are experienced as expressions of the dynamic essence of awareness, then all the *saṃskāra*s implanted in those layers through one's earlier experience of them as other than awareness are dissolved or "digested."

To summarize, if we are constituting and interpreting the text correctly, Abhinava has changed his view as follows: in the ĪPV, *turya* is an exclusive, gnostic, transcendental state and *turyātīta* an inclusive, yogic, immanent one (the progression from one to the other exemplifying the typical Kaula model of transcendence followed by pervasion), with the alchemical metaphor denoting only the *turyātīta* stage; whereas in the ĪPVV, there is a rapid gnostic version of *turya* progressing to *turyātīta* (in which *saṃskāra*s are not dissolved) and a gradualist yogic version of the same (in which they are dissolved in the *turyātīta* phase), both stages (of the latter) being described in terms of the alchemical metaphor. In the second text, then, we have a fork in the road, giving us four stages, only two of which a given practitioner is likely to traverse.

Before we move on to examine the last version of the alchemical metaphor, we have one more problem with the present passage: how to interpret the final compound of the phrase *sa druta-rasa iva ābhāti kevalaṃ tat-saṃskāraḥ*. Here I differ from Torella (2002, 209 n. 35), who seems to interpret it to mean that only the *saṃskāra*s (impressions) of *śūnyādi-dehāntam* remain. However, that case was already specified for the first, gnostic *turyātīta* (*tadāpi ca śūnyādi-saṃskāro 'py asti*, above), and if that were intended here we would have nothing to differentiate the two *turyātīta*s described. Thus I take *tat-saṃskāraḥ* in apposition to *druta-rasaḥ*, in the meaning "the purification (or refinement) of that," or, as translated above on page 10, as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning "their purifier," the antecedent of the neuter pronoun *tat* being *śūnyādi-dehāntam* in either

26 Even though professional alchemists must have known that mercury actually extracts gold from a base metal, rather than magically transmutes that metal into gold, *vedha* is certainly used in the sense of transmute or transform—see the citations in note 10, in one of which √*vidh* is glossed with *pari*√*ṇam* (*Rasa-ratna-samuccaya-bodhinī* ad 8.95). See also the relevant statement in Roşu 1982, 366: "la transsubstantiation [alchimique] du corps (*deha-vedha*) étant calquée sur la transmutation des métaux vils (*loha-vedha*) …" He cites *Rasārṇava* 12.165–166 in support (ibid., note 21).

27 The reader who has German and wishes to know more about this arcane world of Indian alchemy is referred to Hellwig 2009.

case. Torella argues (email communication, 10 July 2014) that the *saṃskāra*s of *śūnyādi-dehāntam* cannot be entirely dissolved here because then there would be no possibility of *samāveśa*, since, consciousness having become a single unitary mass, there would be nothing that could enter or be entered (cf. p. 151 *supra*). However, while Abhinava unambiguously does say this with regard to the after-death state (*dehapāte tu eka-ghanā eva śivateti tadā samāveśādi-vyavahāro na kaścid*, KSTS vol. 65, 328), I am not at all sure that he thought it impossible to go beyond *samāveśa*, as generally understood, before death; after all, in a continuous nondual state of "complete immersion" (a new sense of *samāveśa* starting with Utpala's usage; see Wallis 2014) there will no longer be any kind of "entry" or "penetration" (*ā√viś*) per se.

We need not speculate overmuch on this question, however, for we can find evidence to suggest that Abhinava did regard such supervention of *samāveśa* as possible. That evidence is found almost twenty pages further on in the ĪPVV (KSTS vol. 65, 348, commentary on ĪPK III.2.19), where he recaps his earlier discussion (our most recent passage above) but also adds new information:

> *aham ity eka-rasena anuvedhe tu, yadā idantā ācchāditā bhavati, bhāvanā-sātmyād īśvara-sadāśiva-saṃvidi iva turya-daśāyāṃ rasa-viddha-tāmra-kanaka-nyāyena, yadā vā sarvathaiva pradhvaṃsitā vidrāvitā vā bhavati turyātīta-daśāyāṃ śākta-saṃvidi iva tan-nija-rūpa-samyag-viddha-kanaka-rūpatātyanta-jaraṇāpādita-tat-saṃskāra-vaśa-pītatā*[28]*-avaśeṣa-vidruta-rasa-nyāyena; tadā pūrṇa-svātantryollāsa eva deha eva sati api …*
>
> In the [process of] transmutation by the "one taste" that is [the fundamental] "I," when
>
> [a] objectivity is covered, i.e. in the Fourth state [that arises] due to becoming habituated to meditative contemplation [on reality], in which one possesses the consciousness of Īśvara or Sadāśiva as it were, according to the maxim of gold [being extracted] from copper due to being penetrated by mercury,

28 *pītatā*] conj. em. Isabelle Ratié (email, July 2014); *pītalatā* Ed., though *pītatā* as "gold" is problematic. Another possibility is to not emend the text, and take it instead to be speaking of the digestion/dissolution of the brass or copper (*pītala*) that remains after gold has been extracted from it. This has not been adopted on the assumption that the present passage recaps the one on p. 153 *supra*. Also, I presume that Abhinavagupta, not being himself an alchemist, viewed the process of *vedha* as one of transmutation more than extraction—and if so, there would be no brass (or copper) left to digest. Further, the metaphor of transmutation suits his purposes better.

or when

[b] [objectivity] is completely destroyed or "liquefied"—i.e. in the state Beyond the Fourth, the level of Goddess-consciousness, as it were [*śākta-saṃvit*, i.e. *śakti-tattva*]—according to the maxim of liquid mercury thoroughly digesting the remaining "gold," i.e. the power of the impression(s) of that [objectivity], which [now] have the appearance of gold [i.e., radiant and soft] due to having been thoroughly penetrated by the innate form of that ["I"/*rasa*],

then [in either case]

[c] there is simply the delightful blossoming of full autonomy, even while the body exists.[29]

This passage features a piling on of parenthetical phrases that is rather easier to understand in the Sanskrit than in literal English translation;[30] I have illustrated the basic structure here as "when a) or b), then c)." Several things become

29 Some parallel passages: cf. TĀ 14.12, TĀ 5.151 (*svayaṃbhāsātmanānena tādātmyaṃ yāty ananyadhīḥ | śivena hematāṃ yadvat tāmraṃ sūtena vedhitam* ||), and Yogarāja's commentary ad *Paramārthasāra* 96, a verse on *anupāya* and *atitīvra-śaktipāta*, the effect of which is compared by the commentator to alchemical transformation by means of *siddha-rasa* (*yathā tāmra-dravyaṃ siddharasa-pātāt suvarṇībhavati*). Note that later in the same passage the aspirant is referred to as *anugraha-śakti-viddha-hṛdayasya*, "one whose heart has been penetrated/transmuted by the power of divine grace (i.e., *śaktipāta*)." We find the same terminology used with reference to *dīkṣā*, e.g. in the *Kulārṇava-tantra* (14.89): *rasendreṇa yathā viddha-mayaḥ suvarṇatāṃ vrajet | dīkṣā-viddhas tathā hy ātmā śivatvaṃ labhate priye* ||, "Just as [a metal] penetrated by mercury becomes gold, even so a soul penetrated by initiation becomes divine." Cf. Goodall 2004, 402 note 904:

The conception that gold can be created out of copper with an alchemical preparation is, as Prof. Isaacson has pointed out to me, commonly used in tantras as an image for the irreversible transformation that takes place in *dīkṣā*. See, e.g., *Kiraṇa* 59.36c–38b … And cf. *Sarvajñānottara* 1.6 (Devakoṭṭai ed.): *rasa-viddhaṃ yathā tāmraṃ hematvaṃ pratipadyate | tathātmā jñāna-sambandhāt śivatvaṃ pratipadyate* ||. Cf. also *Haravijaya* 6.137 … In his commentary thereon Alaka cites the following verse: *rasa-ghṛṣṭaṃ yathā tāmraṃ na bhūyas tāmratāṃ vrajet | evaṃ yuktaḥ śivatvena na bhūyaḥ paśutām vrajet*.

I render the last verse cited as: "Just as copper rubbed with mercury [becomes gold and] does not again become copper, in the same way one united with Divinity does not again become a bound soul." Goodall informs me (email communication, 13 July 2014) that the *Sarvajñānottara* verse cited in his footnote (viz., 1.6) is the most typical form of the maxim; the verse immediately preceding it is cited above in note 22.

30 And I wonder if the largely redundant first part of the long compound (*tan-nija-rūpa-samyag-viddha-kanaka-rūpatā*), which fits awkwardly, might have been a marginal annotation in a manuscript that got incorporated into the main text. However, it may be more likely that Abhinava is here incorporating language that Utpala used in his lost *Vivṛti*, as he tends to repeat Utpala's compounds with added glosses.

clear from this paragraph, despite its density. First, if my translation is correct, it corroborates my reading of the previous alchemical passage. Second, it confirms that the *saṃskāra*s are indeed "thoroughly digested" in the state Beyond the Fourth (*atyanta-jaraṇāpādita-tat-saṃskāra-*), and that this can occur with the body still existing (*deha eva sati api*). However, having said this, we must note that "thoroughly digested" does not mean "entirely destroyed" *if* Abhinavagupta is holding strictly to the terms of his metaphor; for when mercury absorbs gold leaf such that the gold is entirely dissolved and thus completely invisible, it is in fact still present in the mercury and can be retrieved by evaporating the latter in a retort. We have no way of knowing if Abhinava knew this, but if so, Torella could well be correct in arguing that a subtle trace of the *saṃskāra*s (which are themselves subtle traces) can remain in the *turyātīta-daśā*. What certainly is entirely dispelled or dissolved (*sarvathaiva pradhvaṃsitā vidrāvitā vā*) in that state is *objectivity*, which was only "covered" (*ācchāditā*) by subjectivity in the *turya* state.

We find similar language in chapter three of the *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya*, authored by Abhinavagupta's disciple Kṣemarāja, where the Sadāśiva-tattva is described in these terms: "[a level of consciousness] in which an implicit and indistinct objectivity is covered by [the predominant] subjectivity [literally, 'I-ness']" (*sadāśiva-tattve ahantācchāditāsphuṭedantā-mayaṃ*).[31] Thus, according to the Pratyabhijñā schema, abiding in *turya* means achieving the *īśvara-* or *sadāśiva-tattva* and abiding in *turyātīta* means reaching the *śakti-tattva*. In either case the result is the "delightful blossoming of full autonomy" (*pūrṇa-svātantryollāsa*), i.e. liberation. But if the yogic/alchemical *turyātīta* is equivalent to reaching *śakti-tattva*, are we supposed to understand that the gnostic *turyātīta* reaches *śiva-tattva*, despite the fact that the latter *turyātīta* does not dissolve the *saṃskāra*s and the former does? If so, does Abhinava mean to imply subtly that Śakti is in reality higher than Śiva? This would contradict the mainstream doctrines of Śaivism, but not of the Krama, the sect of Abhinava's first initiation. We know from the *Mālinī-vijayottara-tantra*, Abhinava's root-text, that the tattvas of Sadāśiva and Īśvara are indeed associated with the Fourth state and that "Śiva and Śakti exist in the state Beyond the Fourth" (2.28c–29b[32]). So we would expect that the two *turyātīta*s are associated with *tattva*s 1 and 2. But which is which?

31 However, Kṣemarāja loc. cit. posits *īśvara-tattva* as a level in which subjectivity and objectivity are equal and opposite, whereas in our present passage Sadāśiva and Īśvara are not differentiated, both being described as a level at which objectivity is "covered."

32 See Vasudeva 2004, 209–210.

The reader will recall that we looked ahead eighteen pages in our primary source to see how Abhinavagupta recapitulated his alchemical metaphor. Now we return to our main passage (KSTS vol. 65, 330) to address the questions just raised. First we see that the distinction we have posited between the gnostic and yogic paths to liberation is not as clear-cut as it would seem:

> *yadā tu dehādeḥ kiṃ tattvam iti cintopakramaṃ prakāśa-ghanam eva saṃvid-rūpam iti, tadā bodha-svarūpīkṛtaṃ tad-rasānuviddham iva*[33] *śūnyādi-dehāntam avabhāti. iti abhyāsāt* ***tasya*** *saṃvid-dharmāḥ* ***śakti****-viśeṣāḥ* ***sam****yag* ***āviś****anto vibhūtīr utthāpayanti. anabhyāse 'pi tu tat-kṣaṇāveśa eva ānandodbhava-kampa-nidrā-vyāpti-rūpa-ghūrṇy-āvirbhāvana-krameṇa jīvanmuktatā-lābhaḥ* |
>
> When one begins to contemplate "What is the reality of the body, etc.?" [and subsequently realizes] "it is simply a form of awareness, replete with the Light of Consciousness," then those [levels] from the Void to the body manifest as [they really are,] of one essence with Awareness, as if transmuted by its elixir. Thus, due to practicing [this insight], the qualities of His consciousness, which are aspects of *śakti*, fully penetrate [those various levels], causing the [various] powers (*vibhūti*) to arise. But even without practice, in the [rare] case of an instantaneous immersion into That, one obtains the state of liberation-in-life through the process of the direct experience of [the Five Mystic States]: Bliss, Ascent, Trembling, Sleep, and "Whirling," which means Pervasion.

This passage serves as an explanation of *tat-śakti-samāveśa* in Utpala's *Vṛtti* on III.2.12. The passage confirms for us that Abhinava sees *samā√viś* (= *atyantam abhini√viś* in the previous iteration of the alchemical metaphor) as denoting the further development of the process first denoted by *√vidh*. More importantly, here we find crucial evidence that the distinction between the yogic and gnostic in Abhinavagupta's thought is not as clear-cut as we have been led to expect: in this passage, a contemplation (*cintā*) on the nature of reality leads to a realization that entails a spiritual transformation metaphorically described as alchemical transmutation (= *turya* stage), which then may be stabilized and enhanced with yogic practice such that the qualities of this deeper awareness (e.g., *svātantrya-śakti*) come to fully penetrate or infuse (*samā√viś*)

33 *iva*] conj. em.; *eva* Ed.

all the layers of limited selfhood (= *turyātīta* stage). Gnostic realization is here inseparably wedded to the *pañcāvasthāḥ* or Five Mystic States that we see repeatedly in the Kaula scriptures. This emphasis on direct experience (*āvirbhāvana*) demonstrates that Abhinava's understanding of the path of the *jñānī* is not one of intellectual or conceptual realization, but rather one of insights into the nature of reality so powerful that they spontaneously bring on psychophysical experiences.

Curiously, he uses the phrase "instantaneous immersion" or *kṣaṇāveśa* in describing gnostic realization but then immediately follows it with the term *krama*, denoting a sequential process of passing through the Five States. I would hypothesize that Abhinava is saying that each of the Five States is (or rather can be) an example of *kṣaṇāveśa*; even though there is a process, it may unfold spontaneously and in sudden leaps, in connection with the *jñānī*'s deep contemplation of the nature of reality.

At any rate, now our reading of two distinct tracks (or two distinct *turyātītas*), one gnostic and one yogic, is problematized. Yet we cannot abandon it, for on the very next page of our text (KSTS vol. 65, 331) we find the following:

> *turya iti etad-daśā-samāpatti-paryanta-rūpā api turyātītatā tatraiva uktā, vyatirekeṇa tu śūnyāder avasthāpane bodhasya turyātītatā tatraiva uktā—śuddhātmatā niṣkalatā śuddha-caitanyam iti sāmānya-darśaneṣu sarvottīrṇaika-tadrūpa-vedakeṣu darśiteti sūcayati |*
>
> The state of *turyātīta* taught [above] with reference to that [blossoming of insight[34]] is simply the [further] extension of the realization of the state called *turya*. But that state of *turyātīta* was taught there as a state of awareness in which Void etc. remain [as objective knowables], but is separated (*vyatireka*) [from them].[35] This is the state referred to as "the pure Self," "the Formless," and "pure Consciousness" in the Saiddhāntika scriptures. It is taught with reference to those who know the Deity[36] solely as [being] all-transcendent; so [Utpaladeva] indicates [in his *Vivṛti*].

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34 Inferring the antecedent of *tatra* from the previous line: *jñānollāsa iti ajñāna-vigamād advaya-bodha-prasaraṇād ullāsa*[*ḥ*], "'the blossoming of insight is a blossoming that results from the departure of ignorance and the [concomitant] spread of nondual awareness."

35 Exactly how to construe the grammar of this sentence is not clear to me, nor am I convinced that the text is secure.

36 For Abhinava's use of *tadrūpa* to mean the Deity, see, e.g., TĀ 1.173c–174b.

Again we are presented with the notion of a *vyatireka-turyātīta*, though here its transcendental as opposed to its gnostic character is stressed. Since this state is associated with the transcendent deity (*sarvottīrṇaika-tadrūpa*, a kenning for *Anāśrita-śiva*, usually considered *tattva* 1), we are inclined to conclude that, as suggested previously, Abhinava wishes us to understand that the *turyātīta* which accesses the *śakti-tattva* is in fact the superior one. Perhaps this is not stated explicitly because it is a subversive view relative to the mainstream of the tradition.

Here Abhinava criticizes the exclusively transcendentalist view of the Saiddhāntikas, since as a nondualist Śākta he wishes to privilege the Kaula "immanentist" view. Likewise, his disciple Kṣemarāja argues that the defining feature of their lineage (*trikādi-darśana*, meaning the view of the Trika-Krama synthesis uniquely expounded by Abhinavagupta) is the view that the Divine Self is simultaneously transcendent of all *and* immanent in all.[37] Now, since the transcendental *turyātīta* is identified with the teachings of the *sāmānya-śāstra* (i.e., right-current Śaiva Siddhānta), we would expect the yogic-cum-alchemical *turyātīta* to be identified with the *viśeṣa-śāstra* (i.e., left-current Śākta streams), and just such identification is found by Torella (2002, xxxiv note 52) on the same page of the ĪPVV as the passage just quoted, but to me the text is not so clear. Apparently glossing *viśeṣa-darśaneṣu* in Utpala's lost *Vivṛti*, Abhinava says (KSTS vol. 65, 331): "The specialized views are those which predominantly teach the nonduality of Power [and the Power-holder, i.e. Consciousness]; they are superior (*viśeṣa*) because they teach the Power-characteristics of the Self, [and thereby] lead one to the direct experience [of that]" (*viśeṣa-darśaneṣu iti śāktādvaita-pradhāneṣu, viśeṣaḥ śakti-lakṣaṇa ātmano darśyate sākṣātkāraṃ nīyate yeṣu*). There is no explicit correlation with the second, yogic *turyātīta*, but perhaps we can assume it because the power element of the self (*vaibhavādi*) is repeatedly mentioned in the passages we have examined in connection with that *turyātīta*.

37 From chapter 8 of his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*: "The Tāntrikas (= Saiddhāntikas and other ritualists) hold that the reality of the Self is all-transcending. Those attached to traditions such as the Kula say it is all-embodying. Those who hold [our] viewpoint of the Trika and [the Krama] hold that it is [simultaneously] all-transcending and all-embodying" (*viśvottīrṇam ātma-tattvam iti tāntrikāḥ, viśva-mayam iti kulādy-āmnāya-niviṣṭāḥ, viśvottīrṇaṃ viśvamayaṃ ca iti trikādi-darśana-vidaḥ*).

5 Summary of the Data

Now to summarize what we have learned about these two states of immersion.[38] The primary distinction Abhinava wishes to make is that the first *turya → turyātīta* constitutes an "active" entry/immersion into one's essence-nature (one's *satya-svarūpa* or *ahaṃbhāva*, which is *cidānanda* and *prakāśa-ghana*), and the second *turya → turyātīta* denotes a "passive" process by which one is entered; i.e., that in which the various layers of selfhood are permeated by that ultimate I-sense (note that it is passive only in the grammatical sense, for the yogic method involves considerably more work). This distinction is summed up as *āveśyāveśaka-bhāvaḥ* (p. 331). Since the yogic process is a gradual one, differences are noted between *turya* and *turyātīta*, whereas the gnostic *turyātīta* is said to be identical in nature (though presumably not in degree) to the *turya* that precedes it (*turyatā … turyātīta-samatā*).

Table 6.1 summarizes the data in tabular form (items in parentheses are only implicit in the primary source text).

6 Problems of Interpretation

To close, I will briefly discuss some interesting ambiguities and difficulties of these sections of the ĪPV and ĪPVV, apart from those already discussed above and in the notes. The first problem is the one raised (but not discussed) by Torella (2002, xxxv note 52), who tells us that Abhinavagupta's inclinations lie towards the second *turyātīta*, the yogic-alchemical one. This seems evident from the passages we have translated here, but on the other hand it is surprising, because in general Abhinava tends to privilege the gnostic over the yogic in his work. Perhaps the context of a clearly liberation-focused yoga outlined in ĪPK III.2.19–20 allowed him to endorse a term that otherwise so commonly denotes the pursuit of *siddhi* and *bhoga* in the Śaiva literature.

But we have another problem with Torella's hypothesis, one briefly discussed already above: the implication in these passages is that the gnostic *turyātīta*—(1) in Table 6.1—reaches the *śiva-tattva*, while (2) explicitly only reaches the *śakti-tattva*. My reasons for concluding that *turyātīta* (1) reaches the *śiva-tattva* are as follows: since the term *turyātīta* refers to the highest liberation where only the absolute "I" remains, and in the tattva-system that attainment is explicitly identified with the top two tattvas, *turyātīta* (1) must correspond to the *śiva-*

38 *sā iyaṃ dvayī api daśā samāveśo*, KSTS vol. 65, 328.

TABLE 6.1 Two types of Turyātīta in the ĪPVV

***Turyātīta* (*1*)**	***Turyātīta* (*2*)**
gnostic (*realization*)	*yogic* (*practice*)
sudden	*gradual*
āveśaka	*āveśya*
knowables transcended	*knowables transmuted*
(*objectivity transcended*)	*objectivity dissolved*
vyatireka	(*avyatireka*)
(*śiva-tattva*)	*śakti-tattva*
	(*īśvara- or sadāśiva-tattva in turya*[a])
qualities of the Self:	*qualities of the Self:*
vyāpaka, nitya	*vaibhava, aiśvarya*
(*emptiness*)	*fullness*
sāmānya-darśanas	(*viśeṣa-darśanas*)

a Note that the ĪPK itself (III.2.20) lists the levels of *turya*-attainment as those of the Vijñānākalas (= level of Mahāmāyā, just outside the *śuddhādhvan* and therefore not yet liberated), Mantras (= *śuddhavidyā-tattva*, lowest level of liberation), and Īśvara; but Abhinava takes *mantreśa* in that verse to refer to the Mantra-lords of *īśvara-tattva*, then reads *-īśa* a second time, taking it to refer Lord Sadāśiva (Torella 2002, 208 note 33). Here he is making the correlation correspond to what is found in Trika scripture, for the *Mālinī-vijayottara-tantra* teaches that "the Mantras, Mantreśas and Mantramaheśvaras occupy the Fourth state" and "Śakti and Śiva exist in the state Beyond the Fourth" (2.28c–29b, trans. Vasudeva 2004, 209–210).

tattva, which also matches its transcendent nature (the Śiva of *tattva* 1 is often called *Anāśrita-śiva*[39]). And we have seen that *turyātīta* (2) aligns with the *śakti-tattva*. Now, it doesn't seem altogether likely that Abhinavagupta would favor an attainment that reached only to *tattva* 2. However, he may well have held the view explicitly articulated by his successor Kṣemarāja, i.e. that there is no reality to hierarchy with regard to Śiva/Śakti, they being two aspects of one reality, one or the other of them being more prominent in the liberated experience at any given moment (see Vasudeva 2004). In other words, Abhinava may have held the view that since Śiva and Śakti are in fact inseparable except heuristically, to attain one is to attain the other. Or perhaps, as already posited above, we are to understand that Abhinava is allusively suggesting that in this system,

39 E.g., in *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* chapters 4 and 5.

Śakti is in fact *tattva* 1. Such a hidden doctrine would be in keeping with the rest of his esoteric theology, which constitutes a Trika doctrine with a Krama core.

The other problem of interpretation that arises in connection with these passages is a philosophical one, not yet to my knowledge addressed in the secondary literature. This issue centers on the question of who is the agent of the various verbs used here, most especially √*viś*. For example, when it is said that "there is an entry into one's true nature," who or what is the agent of that entry, since the *satya-svarūpa* that is entered is the only real source of both awareness and agency? This problem is not glaringly obvious because of the nature of the Sanskrit language, in which passive voice is so common, and nouns or pronouns denoting the agent can be omitted entirely, the verb conjugation itself communicating a generic unspecified third-person agent. When a first-person active verb is used, for example when Kṣemarāja glosses *namas* or *naumi* as *samāviśāmi* (in his commentaries on *stotras*[40]), the problem is made evident: what exactly is the "I" that enters? Obviously it cannot be mind, body, etc. (since they have no agency of their own), nor can it be *cit*, for it would make no sense to say that consciousness, which is undivided, enters into itself.

Two possible solutions occur. First, that what enters from the mind, etc., into the Self is a kind of "locus of subjective identity" or *ahaṃbhāva*. But Abhinava seems to use this term in the passages we have considered to mean the *true* I-sense, the Self-that-is-awareness. The second and more likely solution is that this language of entry is purely metaphorical, derived from the phenomenology of the experience it denotes (i.e., what it *feels like* to have that experience), and that in actuality there is no entry at any time: the true "I" simply realizes itself or wakes up to itself, clearly apprehending itself. It may be the case that Abhinava addresses this problem of agency in relation to √*viś* verbs somewhere in his vast body of work, and I simply have not yet come across it.

7 Postscript: *Samāveśa* and *Turya* in *Tantrāloka* 10

Abhinavagupta also discusses *turya* and *turyātīta* briefly in *Tantrāloka* 10.264–284. Though this passage is not directly a commentary on the ĪPK (being instead a commentary on the phenomenological categories of *Mālinī-vijayottara-tantra*, chapter 2 and *passim*), it clearly has in mind Utpaladeva's phrase *tat-śakti-*

40 See Stainton 2013 or Stainton 2019.

samāveśa in the *Vṛtti* on ĪPK III.2.12 and very likely also alludes to his lost *Vivṛti* on the same.[41] For *Tantrāloka* 10.265 informs us that *turya* is in fact *śakti-samāveśa*![42] This seems to imply that *turyātīta* is *śiva-samāveśa*, which could match the ĪPV account but *not* the ĪPVV; again, perhaps Abhinava changed his view between the two, the latter having been composed after the *Tantrāloka*. Abhinava goes on (in TĀ 10) to subdivide this *śakti-samāveśa* into four stages, corresponding to the four epistemological categories of knower, knowing, known and the autonomous pure awareness (*para-pramātṛ*) which is the source and ground of the previous three (Vasudeva 2004, 230).[43] The four stages are as follows. When immersion into this *parā saṃvit* is only proximate (*tat-samāveśa-naikaṭyāt*), object-consciousness is dominant (TĀ 10.270d–271a). When there is contact[44] with this immersion, the process or faculties of knowing are dominant (*tat-samāveśoparāgān mānatvam*, 270cd). In full identification with this immersion, the state of the knower becomes clear (*tat-samāveśa-tādātmye mātṛtvaṃ bhavati sphuṭam*, 270ab). Beyond this, in the state of the so-called pure awareness in which all three previous categories have perfectly fused, in which there is perception but no sense of a separate perceiver or perceived, the Light of Consciousness is self-manifest and we cannot speak of an immersion, except metaphorically (10.269). This helps us understand that the movement into the transcendent Fourth state can indeed happen in stages, the first three of which (*prameya, pramāṇa, pramātṛ*) are an expression of divine grace (*trayaṃ tat tad-anugrahāt*, 270b). We can infer that speaking of grace is meaningless in the fourth stage, where there is no duality (though the ĪPV and ĪPVV accounts tell us that there are still *saṃskāra*s of duality at this stage).

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41 This supposition receives support from the fact that Abhinava explicitly comments on ĪPK III.2.15–17 further on in the same chapter (viz., TĀ 10).

42 *pūrṇatāgamanaunmukhyam audāsīnyāt paricyutiḥ | tat turyam ucyate śakti-samāveśo hy asau mataḥ* ||, paraphrased by Vasudeva (2004, 229) as "In the fourth state … knowable entities appear as awareness on the verge of reaching plentitude because [the] indifference [that characterized the third state of deep sleep] is abating. Abhinavagupta further identifies this state as an immersion into Śakti."

43 For the fourth category of pure awareness, see TĀ 10.269: *pramātṛtā svatantratva-rūpā seyaṃ prakāśate | saṃvit turīya-rūpaivaṃ prakāśātmā svayaṃ ca sā* ||, and Jayaratha ad loc.: *parā saṃvid evam aṃśa-trayottīrṇā … svātantrya-mayī para-pramātṛtā … sā hi para-pramātṛ-rūpā śuddhā saṃvit svayam prakāśate na tu paśyāmītyādi-vikalpollekha-bhūmiḥ*. That there are four epistemological categories, not three, is due to the influence of the Krama, in which Kālī is identified with the fourth.

44 *Uparāga* seems a strange word to use here; its commonest use is "eclipse" or "affliction"—perhaps we should emend to *upayoga*.

Abhinava then defines *turyātīta* at 10.278: "that [state] whose beautiful nature is full and undivided, overflowing with joy, is called Beyond the Fourth; that alone is the supreme state" (*yat tu pūrṇānavacchinna-vapur ānanda-nirbharam turyātītaṃ tu tat prāhus tad eva paramaṃ padam*[45]). His discussion goes on, but it reaches beyond the purview of the present work.

8 Conclusion

The present paper does not, of course, entirely solve the complex textual and exegetical problems we discovered in the comparison of these passages of the ĪPV and the ĪPVV, but perhaps it contributes towards an understanding of their significance for the study of Tantric Śaiva theology. Provisionally, I propose that we see Abhinavagupta changing, developing, and nuancing his view in the time between the ĪPV and the ĪPVV (with *Tantrāloka* falling between the two). If I am reading the texts correctly, the ĪPV features a simpler model of a gnostic transcendentalist *turya* succeeded by a "immanentist" *turyātīta* (the latter being marked by the transcendent element's pervasion of all that was previously transcended), while the ĪPVV proposes two distinct versions of both *turya* and *turyātīta*, gnostic and yogic respectively (giving us four categories in total), where the yogic is to be preferred despite being more gradual because in it the *saṃskāra*s of dualistic experience are finally dissolved.

Abbreviations

conj. em.	conjectural emendation
em.	emendation
ĪPK	*Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpaladeva
ĪPV	*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta
ĪPVV	*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
TĀ	*Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta
TĀV	*Tantrālokaviveka* of Jayaratha

45 Or we could take *pūrṇānavacchinna-vapur* as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning "in which every beautiful embodiment is full and unlimited," the implication being that every part is now experienced as containing the whole (*akhaṇḍa-maṇḍalākāram*).

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CHAPTER 7

On Vāgīśvarakīrti's Influence in Kashmir and among the Khmer

Péter-Dániel Szántó

1 Introduction

The aim of this article is to point out the far-reaching influence of an East Indian tantric Buddhist scholar, Vāgīśvarakīrti (*floruit* early 11th c.). In the first part I will show that his views were considered important enough to be contested sometime before 1057 CE, probably still during his scholarly activity, in Kashmir. In the second part I wish to propose the hypothesis that although unnamed, he is a master alluded to with great reverence on the Sap Bāk inscription from the Khmer Empire, dated 1067 CE.*

"Our" Vāgīśvarakīrti should not be confused with his namesake, a Newar scholar from Pharping, whence his epithet Pham mthiṅ ba (for what we can gather about this person, see Lo Bue 1997, 643–652). Nor should we confuse him with a rather nebulous person, whose name is re-Sanskritised as *Suvāgīśvarakīrti, author of a number of small works extant in Tibetan translation. Lastly, there is no good reason to assume that he is the same as a commentator of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*; this person's name is often re-Sanskritised from the Tibetan as *Vāgīśvara, but it is more likely that his name was Vācaspati or Vāgīśa.

The writings of Vāgīśvarakīrti are fairly well known to scholars of esoteric Buddhism. A significant portion of his *oeuvre* survives in the original Sanskrit.

* I have already discussed these two subjects in two separate lectures. The first subject was tackled at the First Manuscripta Buddhica Workshop in Procida, Italy in May 2011, where I received some extremely valuable feedback, especially from Professor Harunaga Isaacson, with whom I also had the opportunity to briefly study the passage in question in Kathmandu some months earlier. The second problem I have merely alluded to in a lecture at Kyoto University in February 2015; Professor Arlo Griffiths commented on an early draft of my notes and kindly encouraged me to publish my findings (e-mail, December 4, 2014). A later draft was read by Dr. Johannes Schneider, whose suggestions greatly improved some of my statements and saved me from a couple of blunders. To all involved, I offer my sincerest thanks. All remaining errors are mine.

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While some of the attributions in the Tibetan Canon are disputed, the following major works may be assigned to him with confidence.

The *Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa* is a learned anthology of rites to cheat death once its signs have been perceived. This work, which survives in at least four manuscripts,[1] has been admirably dealt with recently by Johannes Schneider (2010). His German translation supersedes Michael Walter's earlier English translation (2000). As Schneider conjectures (2010, 23), the Tibetan translation must have been completed in 1042/3 CE, since this is the only time the two scholars mentioned in the translators' colophon, *Adhīśa (better known as *Atīśa or *Atiśa) Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzaṅ po, spent time together at Tho liṅ. This date is also Schneider's *terminus ante quem* for the text.

The *Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi* is a succinct initiation manual for the Guhyasamāja system, which also contains a fascinating polemic passage (Onians 2002, 279–289). At present we may access only one manuscript; this has been edited by Munenobu Sakurai, but is in dire need of being revisited. Another witness, now probably in Lhasa, is mentioned in the catalogue KCDS, p. 139.

The *Tattvaratnāvaloka* (henceforth TaRaA), a short treatise in twenty-one verses, and a largely prose auto-commentary thereof, the *Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa* (henceforth TaRaAVi), are usually mentioned in the same breath and are indeed transmitted together in the only known manuscript. These texts have been edited by (presumably) Banarsi Lal. The Tibetan translations were undertaken by 'Gos Lhas btsas (although only Tōh. 1890 / Ōta. 2754 is actually signed by him), whose activity falls in the middle of the 11th century (Davidson 2005, 139).

The **Saptāṅga* (henceforth SaA), another treatise, this time in mixed verse and prose, is the only major work of Vāgīśvarakīrti which appears to be lost in the original. One of its most important verses survives in quotation (Isaacson and Sferra 2014, 171, 271, *passim*). The Tibetan translation is the work of the same 'Gos Lhas btsas.

I shall not discuss here Vāgīśvarakīrti's other, minor works, or the fact that some of his major works are present more than once in various recensions of the Tibetan Canon, some of them even annotated.

We shall have the opportunity to study some of Vāgīśvarakīrti's ideas later on, although I cannot hope—nor do I propose—to be exhaustive here. The two most important features to keep in mind for the time being are these: that for the author, the most important cycle of tantric Buddhist teachings is the

1 A fragment missed by Schneider can be found in NAK 1–1697/*vi. bauddhatantra* 60 = NGMPP B 31/19. Nearly twenty-six verses survive on this single leaf (1.63c–1.89b), which may in fact be the earliest attestation of the original (Schneider's earliest manuscript is from 1290 CE).

Guhyasamāja, and that he was a proponent of the view that full initiation consists of four consecrations, culminating in the so-called *caturthābhiṣeka*.

There is very little hard evidence for a prosopography of Vāgīśvarakīrti. All modern authorities conjecture that he lived during the 10–11th centuries and all seem to accept the statements of Tibetan hagiographies, namely that he was active in Vikramaśīla in the rather nebulous capacity of "door-keeper." The primary source for this information is Tāranātha's famous historiography, the *Rgya gar chos 'byuṅ*, which dedicates a long passage to Vāgīśvarakīrti, presenting him as a scholar, an accomplished tantric practitioner, a miracle worker, and a pious founder (Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970 [2004], 296–299).

2 Vāgīśvarakīrti in Kashmir

The source I shall be using for starting the discussion here is found in an unpublished and little-studied commentary of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, the *Gūḍhapadā* of one Advayavajra (incorrectly spelt as Advayavakra or perhaps Advayacakra in the colophon), which survives in a single manuscript. This is a voluminous text, occupying 180 densely written palm-leaf folios; according to the colophon, it measures 4,000 *granthas*. It has not been translated into Tibetan. This Advayavajra is very likely not the same as the famous Advayavajra or Maitreyanātha (some good reasons against this identification are listed in Isaacson and Sferra 2014, 74–75).

Since it was not translated into Tibetan and it survives in a single manuscript, the *Gūḍhapadā* may nowadays be perceived as obscure. However, it was not an unknown work, at least not in the 12th century. Raviśrījñāna, one of the most famous exegetes of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, mentions it as one of the main sources he relied upon. Oddly, the particular verse where he does just this is not found in the published *Amṛtakaṇikā*, because the Sarnath editor did not have access to or ignored the tradition that transmits it. One such witness is Royal Asiatic Society London, Ms. Hodgson 35 (the so-called Vanaratna codex; see Isaacson 2008), folio 401r–2.[2] There can be little doubt that this closing verse is authorial: the Tibetan translation, although in a garbled way, mirrors

2 I give here a diplomatic transcript of the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanza in question: *śrīvajrāṅkita-pāṇigarbhabhagavallokeśaṭīkārthayā* (°*ānvayā?*) *ślāghyā gūḍhapadāśritādbhutabṛhatkāśmīrapañjīsakhā* (*?*) | *nānātantrarahasyavibhramavatī nānopadeśāśritā prītā ṭippaṇikā raviśriya iyaṃ prīṇātu cetaḥ satāṃ* || The first *pāda* alludes to three exegetes of the Kālacakra tradition, known as the *bodhisattva* commentators: Vajrapāṇi, Vajragarbha, and Puṇḍarīka (here Bhagavallokeśa for metrical reasons).

it (D 96a5–6, P 115a8–115b1), and Vibhūticandra's sub-commentary, the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota*, has some of its words in lemmata (Ed., p. 216, ll. 13–16).[3]

Vibhūticandra's sub-commentary gives us the upper limit for Raviśrījñāna. The former first came to Tibet in 1204 CE (Stearns 1996). We also know that the *Amṛtakaṇikā* is one of Raviśrījñāna's earlier works, because he refers to it in his *Guṇabharaṇī* (Sferra 2000, 100). He cannot be much earlier than the late 12th century, since one of his masters, Dharmākaraśānti, lived during the reign of Gopāla (*pace* Sferra 2000, 47–48), in whose court he was a royal preceptor. This Gopāla must be Gopāla IV (*r.* ca. 1128–1143 CE), because the other Gopālas are too early for Raviśrījñāna to mention all three *bodhisattva* commentators of the Kālacakra system (see here, note 2). Therefore the *Gūḍhapadā* must have been in existence around these dates. The debate we are about to examine seems to suggest a mid-11th-century environment, but we cannot be entirely certain.

The *Gūḍhapadā* has the following commentary to *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* 8.41ab on folio 128r4–128v4. The text is first given in diplomatic transcript. The line is here marked in bold; the manuscript highlights it in red. An *akṣara* added in the upper margin in the second hand is marked thus ⟨ ⟩. A deleted *anusvāra* is marked with ⟨| |⟩. I have added the line numbers in square brackets. I split the passage into seven units—marked (a) to (g)—for the sake of easier reference.

> (a) *tasyā* ***ekakṣaṇamahāprajñaḥ sarvadharmāvabodhadhṛg*** *iti* | *araṇaśrī nāmataḥ* | *tatra ekaś cāsau kṣaṇaś ca eka*[5]*kṣaṇaḥ* | *mahāś cāsau prājñaś ca mahāprājñaḥ sarvadharmavivekātmakas tataś cāyam arthaḥ* | (b) *ekakṣaṇaś caturānandaikamūrttitvāt* | *sahajasaṃbodhikṣaṇaḥ* | *sa ca* [6] *turyātītalakṣaṇaṃ* | (c) *tathā coktaṃ* | *śrīmaṅkāsmīrīyai sūkṣmāvarttabhaṭṭapādaiḥ* | *kasmīreṣu kathā nāsti caturthasyaiti niskṛpaḥ* | *asti deśāntare tāvac caturthaṃ samyaksevida* [7] *iti* | (d) *kutaḥ yad vāgīśvarakīrttinoccyate* | *dambhaulibījaśrutaddhautasuddhaḥ pāthojabhūtāṃkurabhūtaḥ puṣṭi* || *turīyam asya paripākam eti* | *sphuṭaṃ caturthaṃ binduso* [128v] *pi gūḍham iti* | (e) *ātmīyābodhāhaṃkāratvāt nāstipakṣyā bhilaṣatam icchanti* | *evamādikṛta*⟨|*ṃ*|⟩*sya śrīmaratnavajrāṃghrim āha* | *bhrāntyā yatra pravaramatayaḥ kīrttisāntyādayo* [2] *pi* | *idaṃ caturthālokakārakā pūrvadeśapaṇḍitaiḥ* | *vāṭyamātraṃ na vijñātā tadgranthatodgataṃ* | (f) *asmadīyagurupādamatam āha* | *turyātītam avācyaṃ tu kṣaṇam ekam arū* [3]*pa-*

3 The Sarnath edition lets us down once again here. For the *pratīka*s of *pāda* b we have this printed: … *dapadam āśritā* | *śrīnāropādapañjikāsandhī*(*m adhītya*) | The only manuscript of the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota* I can consult for the time being is Tokyo University Library no. 18 (old no. 348), last folio, l. 1 and this fairly clearly reads *ślāghyā gūḍhapadām āśritā* | *śrīnāropādapañjikāsaṅgī* (*?*) |

kaṃ | sahajasaṃbodhinā me jñātājñeyau tu nirvitār iti | (g) *evaṃ ekakṣaṇaiva kṣaṇena sampadyate mahāprajñatayā yathoktasarvadharmāvabodhanatayā ekakṣa*[4]*ṇamahāprājñaḥ sarvadharmāvabodhas tad dhārayatīti ekakṣaṇamahāprā⟨jña⟩ḥ sarvadharmāvabodhadhṛk* |

The beginning (*tasyā eka*° up to °*vivekātmakas*) and end (*evaṃ eka*° up to °*āvabodhadhṛk*) of the text—i.e. (a) and (g)—are of no concern to us here. These sentences should nevertheless act as cautionary devices that the passage is quite corrupt. Most of the content here is in any case an almost word-for-word copy of Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*.[4]

Unit (b) explains the compound *ekakṣaṇa* ("a singular moment") in terms of post-Hevajra *yoginītantra* doctrine. According to this teaching, during initiation one experiences in sexual union the four "blisses" (*ānanda*), which are linked to four "moments" (*kṣaṇa*). This experience is then cultivated in meditation leading to enlightenment, a state sometimes referred to as "the innate" (*sahaja*). The passage should therefore be interpreted something like this: "[It is a] singular moment, because it embodies in a unitary manner the four blisses. [And this is nothing else but] the moment of innate complete awakening, which, in turn, is beyond the fourth [state of consciousness—the four being wake, sleep, deep sleep, and the fourth]."

Unit (c) seems to take a turn. Apparently, we have a continuation of the previous topic, but in fact here we turn to the problem of initiation. The passage is doubtless a quotation, introduced by *tathā coktam*. The author of the quoted passage is referred to—once we emend the text slightly, *śrīmatkāśmīrīyaiḥ* for *śrīmaṅkāsmīrīyai*[5] and understand that the plural shows respect—as "the glorious Kashmirian, the venerable Sūkṣmāvartabhaṭṭa." The *anuṣṭubh* verse following may be restored thus:

kaśmīreṣu kathā nāsti caturthasyeti †niskṛpaḥ† |
asti deśāntare tāvac caturthaṃ samyak[ ]*sevitam* ||

4 For the sake of comparison, I give here Vilāsavajra's text from Ms. Cambridge University Library Add. 1708, folio 81v5–7: *ekakṣaṇamahāprājñaḥ sarvadharmāvabodhadhṛg iti | ekaś cāsau kṣaṇaś ca ekakṣaṇaḥ | mahāṃś cāsau prājñaś ca mahāprājñaḥ* (em., °*prājña* Ms. post corr., °*prājñaś ca* Ms. ante corr.) *sarvadharmavivekātmakaḥ* (Ms. post corr., °*ātmākaḥ* Ms. ante corr.) | *tataś cāyam arthaḥ sampadyate | ekenaiva kṣaṇena mahāprājñatayā yathoktasarvadharmāvabodhanatayā | ekakṣaṇamahāprājñasarvadharmāvabodhas* (em., °*āvabodha|s* Ms.) *tad dhārayatīti ekakṣaṇamahāprājñasarvadharmāvabodhadhṛk* ||

5 The first error *ṅ* for *t* in ligature with *k* is a simple orthographic error. The second is a banal feature of East Indian scribal habits: sibilants are freely interchangeable. The third is a customary loss of *visarga* before sibilants, which may reflect pronunciation.

The only real intervention here is *sevitam* for *sevida*[*ḥ*], which is nonsense, whereas *sevitam* is both grammatical and yields good meaning. The emendation *kaśmīreṣu* for *kasmīreṣu* is rather banal, but I remain undecided whether this should be emended further to *kāśmīreṣu* ("among Kashmiris" rather than "in Kashmir"); the plural is otherwise often used with both toponyms and inhabitants of a region. As we shall see, there must be an *iti* hiding in *caturthasyaiti*. Spelling *ai* for *e* is not uncommon in East Indian manuscripts, although of course it is incorrect. We can safely dismiss the idea that the reading is correct and what we have here is the present third person singular of the root *i*, "to go"; in that case we would expect an accusative, probably of an abstract noun, but nothing of the sort can be conjectured. The corrupt *niskṛpaḥ* (or perhaps *niṣkṛpaḥ*) unfortunately masks a crucial word. We shall return to it forthwith.

The name of the author and the first third of the verse can be traced in Tibetan. The work in question is the **Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*, attributed in the colophon (D 159b3–4) to "the great Kashmiri master … *Ratnavajra" (*kha che'i slob dpon chen po … dpal rin chen rdo rje*). We see the same name in unit (e). Sūkṣmāvarttabhaṭṭa and Ratnavajra are one and the same, as the last verse of the work reveals (D 159b3):

| *dpal kha che'i slob dpon rin chen rdo rje daṅ* |
| *mtshan gźan phra bar rtogs pa'i dpal źes bya'i* |

It is immediately apparent that there is something wrong with the Tibetan translation: the number of syllables per quarter is out of balance—the initial *dpal* could be superfluous—and the *daṅ* seems just a little bit off, unless we think it is justified inasmuch as it links a name and an alternative name. However, the underlying meaning is clear enough: the author identifies himself as a Kashmiri master called Ratnavajra, also known as *Sūkṣmāvartaśrī, as *āvartta*—with a slight stretch—can be reconstructed from *rtogs pa*, whereas *śrī* is perhaps a metrical equivalent of *bhaṭṭa* or an unusual rendering into Tibetan.

Whatever doubts we may have about having correctly traced the author, they are dispelled once we look at the first line of the treatise (D 156b2–3):

| *kha che ba la bźi pa'i gtam* | | *sṅar yaṅ yod par ma thos* (em., *thas*) *la* |
| *da ltar yod pa mthoṅ na yaṅ* | | *bźi pa rñed pa ma yin no* |

Translated somewhat loosely, this means:

> Previously, in Kashmir (or: among Kashmiris) not a [single] word was heard of [this] "Fourth" [Initiation]; although nowadays we see it prac-

> ticed, [I will show that in fact] the "Fourth" cannot be found [to have authoritative sanction].

It is now clear that this is what we have echoed in our Sanskrit verse: *kaśmīreṣu kathā nāsti caturthasyeti*. The Tibetan *ba* (or *pa*?) seems to suggest that we should understand "among Kashmiris."

But now we have a stylistic problem. Apparently, the introduction to the quotation applies only up to *iti*. The corrupt †*niskṛpaḥ*† must be some sort of dismissive statement, since the second line seems to contradict Ratnavajra: true, Kashmir has not heard of the Fourth Initiation (*caturtham*), but this does not mean anything, since it does exist (*asti*) and is correctly practiced (*samyak sevitam*) in another land or other lands (*deśāntare*). One tentative solution for *niskṛpaḥ* may thus be *niṣkṛtam* ("disregarded", "dismissed"), but I must confess that I still regard this as nothing more than a diagnostic conjecture.

It is conceivable that we are wrong to emend *śrīmaṅkāsmīrīyai* to *śrīmatkāśmīrīyaiḥ* and that we must boldly conjecture *bṛhatkāśmīrīye*. As we have seen in the verse given here in note 3, Raviśrījñāna knew of such a work, since he lists it as one of his sources of inspiration. Moreover, this is not the only time he refers to it: in the body of *Amṛtakaṇikā* we find at least one reference (Ed., p. 25, l. 18), which is mirrored in the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota* (Ed., p. 197, last line). If I interpret Vibhūticandra's commentary correctly, in the text given here in note 4, he attributes this work to the famous Nāropāda. If Vibhūticandra is correct, we cannot take Ratnavajra/Sūkṣmāvarttabhaṭṭa to be the author of the *Bṛhatkāśmīrapañjikā*, since there is nothing to suggest that he might be the same as Nāropāda. (Of course, Vibhūticandra could be wrong, but then the number of variables becomes too great to contemplate meaningfully.) If we follow this idea, the introduction would give the source for the entire verse—i.e. the Great Kashmiri Commentary—, in which Ratnavajra's idea is embedded as a *prima facie* view. However, the stylistic problem remains: it would be very unnatural to give a title and then a name, which is not that of the author but that of an interlocutor in it. Perhaps it is not impossible that Ratnavajra's other name was once a gloss meant to elucidate the ownership of the point to be refuted, and that this gloss made it into the main text at some point during transmission.

Unit (d) is somewhat easier to tackle. The quotation reinforces the existence of the Fourth Initiation by quoting Vāgīśvarakīrti. The verse is very corrupt in the form given here, but fortunately we have access to the source, which is the TaRaA, verse 17. The TaRaAVi does not offer any explanation for the verse; indeed, it shrouds it in secrecy, stating that the meaning should be obtained from the oral teachings of a qualified guru (Ed., p. 100, l. 20: ***dambholītyādi***|

etat sadgurūpadeśato jñeyam|). Vāgīśvarakīrti seems to have changed his mind about this when he wrote his other major work, the SaA. There, he offers a very long explanation (D 199b7–201a3, P 235b4–237a2), alluding to the fact that misunderstandings of his position prompted him to do so. This verse is also quoted by Raviśrījñāna in the *Amṛtakaṇikā* (Ed., p. 76, ll. 22–23).

Thus, with the help of the TaRaA manuscript (Ms.), the edition (Ed.), the Tibetan translation (D and P agree in all the readings), the lemmata in the SaA (SaA), and Raviśrījñāna's testimony as edited (AKa) with the readings of the unused Vanaratna codex (V, folio 29r10), we may restore unit (d) thus:

kutaḥ | yad Vāgīśvarakīrtinocyate–

dambholibījasrutidhautaśuddha-
pāthojabhūtāṅkurabhūtapuṣṭi |
turīyaśasyaṃ paripākam eti
sphuṭaṃ caturthaṃ viduṣo 'pi gūḍham || iti||[6]

The verse does not immediately lend itself to understanding, but in the present context, as a cited authority, it must have been understood along these lines:

> Cleansed by the oozing of the seed (i.e. semen) from the thunderbolt (i.e. the officiant's penis) growing as a sprout born from a purified lotus (i.e. the consecrated vulva of the consort), the crop that is the fourth [state of consciousness] comes to full bloom; [although] the Fourth [Initiation] is manifest, it is hidden even from the wise.

The coded language expresses what happens in the three higher initiations (*guhyābhiṣeka*, *prajñājñānābhiṣeka*, *caturthābhiṣeka*), the first two of which are of a sexual nature. The SaA makes it clear that the first stage, where the seed from the thunderbolt oozes and cleanses, alludes to the *guhyābhiṣeka*, where in practice the officiating master copulates with a consort and the ejaculates are placed in the mouth of the blindfolded initiand. Via this rite, the mind of the initiand, which is similar to a field, is purified. The second stage, where a

6 Variants are provided only for the verse, naturally: *dambholi°*] Ms. Ed. AKa V, *rdo rje'i* D, *rdo rje* SA · *°sruti°*] corr., *°śruti°* Ms. Ed. V, *°śruta°* AKa, *'bab pa* D SA · *°dhauta°*] Ms. Ed. AKa, °dhota° V, *dri med dga'* (!?) D, *dag pa* SA · *°śuddha°*] Ms. Ed. V, *°śuddhaṃ* AKa, *dag pa'i* D, *dag pa* SA · *°pāthoja°*] Ed. V, *°pāthauja°* Ms., *°pāthojña°* AKa, *chu skyes* D SA · *°bhūta°*] Ms. Ed. AKa V, *'byung* D, *'byung ba* SA · *turīyaśasyaṃ*] AKa V, *tutīyaśasyaṃ* Ms., *ṭṛtīyaśasyaṃ* Ed., *bźi pa'i 'bru* D, *bźi pa'i 'bras bu* SA · *paripākam eti*] Ed. AKa V, *paripākam eta* Ms., *yoṅs gsal smin 'gyur ba'i* D, *yoṅs gsal smin par 'gyur ba yi* SA · *viduṣo*] Ms. Ed. AKa V, *mkhas pa rnams la* D, no lemma in SA

sprout is said to be born and made to grow in a pure lotus, alludes to the *prajñā-jñānābhiṣeka*, where it is the initiand who copulates with the/another consort. The sprout represents his fledgling wisdom. The logic of the allegory demands that it is in the *caturthābhiṣeka* where this sprout comes to full bloom, that is to say, reaches the highest state, here called "the Fourth." This is somewhat confusing, since just above the author of the *Gūḍhapadā* seems to advocate a state "beyond the fourth" as the highest. Also note that *sphuṭam* could be construed in a different way, either as an adjective to *paripākam* or an adverb to *eti*.

Unit (e) is certainly the most challenging part of the passage. The first sentence seems to condemn those who do not recognise (*nāstipaḳsyā*[*ḥ*]) the existence of the Fourth Initiation on account of their stupidity and selfishness. What exactly the aim of their desire (doctrinal or otherwise) is, I cannot tell. We do not fare any better with the next statement. The compound *evamādikṛtasya* escapes me completely. The next statement again seems to introduce a quotation, but the accusative case is puzzling. It is perhaps better to emend to a nominative while also fixing the first honorific. Thus we get: *śrīmadratnavajrāṃghrir āha*. The other honorific, *aṃghri* (lit. foot), is somewhat unusual. It doubtless stands for the more common °*pāda* and it may do so for metrical reasons: if we observe the metrical pattern of *Ratnavajrāṃghrir āha*, the words would fit the last seven syllables of a Mandākrāntā line. However, in this case we must give up on *śrīmad*°, since here we would require *laghu-guru* (short-long) and not *guru-guru*. This idea must be considered, for what follows is indeed a perfect Mandākrāntā line (with some minor corrections applied): *bhrāntā yatra pravaramatayaḥ kīrtiśāntyādayo 'pi*, i.e. "in which respect even those of the choicest intellect, such as Kīrti and Śānti, are deluded." We may safely assume that *yatra* refers to the matter at hand, i.e. the veracity of the Fourth Initiation, and we can reasonably suppose that these are Ratnavajra's words, paying respect to his opponents, but claiming that they are wrong. Kīrti no doubt refers to Vāgīśvarakīrti, whereas Śānti is most likely shorthand for another great intellect of early 11th-century Eastern India, Ratnākaraśānti. While Vāgīśvarakīrti's position on the Fourth Initiation is known, we know very little as to what Ratnākaraśānti thought of the matter.[7]

Although we seem to understand this particular passage, there is a slight problem: it is not from the **Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa* and it is not from any other work attributed to Ratnavajra in the Tibetan Canon. The next sentence, a corrupt *anuṣṭubh*, on the other hand can be traced in the **Caturthasadbhā-*

7 The most likely place for addressing this would have been his Hevajra initiation manual (to which he refers as the *Hevajrābhyudayamaṇḍalopāyikā*; see *Muktāvalī*, Ed., p. 215, ll. 15–16), but this text is most unfortunately lost.

vopadeśa (D 157a7–157b1). I repeat the lines here along with the Tibetan translation, because they are quite crucial:

idaṃ caturthālokakārakā pūrvadeśapaṇḍitaiḥ |
vātyamātraṃ na vijñātā tadgranthatodgataṃ |

| *bźi pa sgron* (em., *sgrol*) *ma mdzad pa yi* |
| *śar phyogs kyi ni mkhas pa yis* |
| *gtam tsam yaṅ ni mi śes so* |
| *de yi chos la bdag gis rtogs* |

The pronoun *idaṃ* is puzzling and I am tempted to disregard it completely, all the more so since the Tibetan does not mirror it. Alternatively, one could emend it to *ittham* and consider it as an introductory statement. Emending the Tibetan *sgrol* to *sgron* is warranted by the Sanskrit °*āloka*°, and this makes good sense, because this is an attested title to which we will return shortly. If this is a title, it would make sense to emend °*kārakā* to °*kārakaiḥ* following the Tibetan *mdzad pa yi* understood in the sense of "author" to qualify the compound in the next *pāda*, or to °*kāraka*° joining the line into one compound. Unfortunately, this creates a serious metrical problem. I do not have a solution at present, except suggesting that we do indeed need a word meaning "author" for the broken part.

It is apparent that in the second verse quarter we are one syllable short. The most straightforward solution is probably to read °*deśīya*° for °*deśa*°. Assuming that the cruces hide a word meaning "author," as I suggest, we would thus get a line in harmony with the Tibetan expressing a logical subject: *caturthāloka-†kārakā†pūrvadeśīyapaṇḍitaiḥ*, i.e. "the learned one from the Eastern lands, the author of the *Caturthāloka*." The plural is, again, for showing—here, mock—respect. This pundit is none other than Vāgīśvarakīrti, since *Caturthāloka* is an alternative title for his TaRaA. In fact, this alternative title seems to be the one preferred by the author himself, because this is the way he refers to his previous work in the SaA. He does so thrice (D 190b3, 199a2, 199b7 & P 225a7, 234b4, 235b4–5), calling the treatise *Bźi pa snaṅ ba*, and citing lemmata from TaRaA, verses 8, 11, and 17 respectively.[8]

8 For the sake of clarity, here are the passages: 1) *de dag la yaṅ Bźi pa snaṅ ba ñid las* | ***ñid mtshuṅs lha mos 'khyud daṅ*** *źes bya ba la sogs* (D, *la sogs pa* P) *tshigs su bcad pa bdun* [...] citing ***svābhāṅgaśleṣi***; 2) *ji ltar Bźi pa snaṅ ba las* ***sku ni nam mkha' daṅ mtshuṅs*** *źes bya bas* [...] citing ***gaganasamaśarīraṃ***; 3) *da ni Bźi pa snaṅ ba las smos pa'i* ***rdo rje*** *źes bya ba'i tshigs su bcad pas* [...] citing the beginning of the verse discussed above, ***dambholi***°.

As for the next *pāda*, this is probably where we should find the logical predicate, but for this we must emend *vijñātā* to *vijñātam*. For the first word, the Tibetan seems to suggest *vākya*° (*gtam*). No doubt, *vāṭya*° ("fried barley," "fig" (?)) seems to be the more difficult reading, but I am not familiar with this idiomatic expression, if indeed it is one. Let us accept the emendations and read *vākyamātraṃ na vijñātaṃ* together with the first line, i.e. "not a single word was understood by the learned one from the Eastern lands, the author of the *Caturthāloka* [understand: Vāgīśvarakīrti]."

What exactly Vāgīśvarakīrti did not understand or how exactly it became clear to the Kashmirian author that the Easterner is a fool is a mystery, since the last *pāda* seems, at least to me, beyond redemption and the Tibetan is not very clear either. One may conjecture with great hesitation after having harmonised the two something like *tadgranthato mayodgatam*, in the sense "[this] I have understood from his work." But this would create a metrical issue, since a *ra-gaṇa* is not permitted for syllables 2–4. A more serious intervention would yield *tadgranthāt/tadgranthe tan mayodgatam*. Another problem is that *udgatam* is not entirely elegant and does not make very good sense. However, we are probably not too far from a genuine solution. What Ratnavajra seems to be saying then is that he had read Vāgīśvarakīrti's work, the *Caturthāloka*, and realised that the Eastern scholar is an ignoramus.

The meaning of unit (f) is somewhat clearer, but it is impossible to say who the speaker is. Somebody—deutero-Advayavajra? Ratnavajra?—states the viewpoint of his guru: the introductory clause *asmadīyagurupādamatam āha* does not need any correction. The first line of the verse seems to be fine as is, although the meaning is somewhat obscure: *turyātītam avācyaṃ tu kṣaṇam ekam arūpakam*, i.e. "as for that ineffable [state of consciousness called] 'beyond the fourth,' it is a singular, formless moment." The second line is problematic. *Pāda* c is unmetrical: both the second and the third syllables are short, while the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables form a *ra-gaṇa*, thus a *ra-vipulā*, but there is no caesura after the fourth. *Pāda* d with the closing particle should probably read *jñātājñeyau tu nirvṛtāv iti* or *jñātṛjñeyau*, etc., or *jñānajñeyau*, etc. The first of the possible solutions, that is to say, leaving the compound as transmitted, contains an irregular *dvandva*, perhaps inspired by the well-known *mātāpitṛ-*. In spite of these serious irregularities, I have no reason to think that the first half of the line is corrupt, especially since we already had the collocation *sahajasaṃbodhikṣaṇaḥ* in unit (b). The line therefore probably meant, "due to complete awakening of the innate, for me [the duality] of knower [or: knowledge] and objects of knowledge has been extinguished." Let us attribute the irregularities to the ecstatic power that must have overcome the nebulous guru at the moment of enlightenment.

We will now return to Ratnavajra and his scathing attack on Vāgīśvarakīrti. Much light would be thrown on this matter if the Sanskrit original of the **Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa* were to become available, or better said, accessible.

The work is reported to exist in the now famous—and notoriously inaccessible—Lhasa birch-bark manuscript. The existence of this unique codex, once penned in Kashmir and until very recently kept on display at the Tibet Museum, was first reported by Kazuhiro Kawasaki (2004). The Japanese scholar was allowed to consult the table of contents and the colophon on the last folio of this remarkable document. We know from his report that the manuscript is a composite codex containing twenty-seven works. The sixth item listed in the table of contents (Kawasaki 2004, 51/904) is none other than *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśaḥ Śrīratnavajrakṛtaḥ*.

A decade later, Kazuo Kanō (2014) provided a new reading of the colophon and converted the date precisely. According to his calculation, the [Kali] year 29 corresponds to 1057 CE, since the ruling king, Anantadeva, is also mentioned, and his reign falls between 1028 and 1063 CE (Kanō 2014, 62–63). This date is extremely important, because it gives us a rather early upper limit for the creation of the *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa* and thus Ratnavajra's mature activity, besides confirming his reading of Vāgīśvarakīrti's work.

Ratnavajra was an authority not to be taken lightly. His influence and fame can be gathered from other sources as well. For example, *Prajñāśrīgupta, in his commentary on the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, now extant only in Tibetan (Tōh. 1201), eulogises him thus (D 154b3–4): "the great scholar, who has obtained initiation and the oral teachings, the king over overlords of kings, the best of gurus, the teacher from Kashmir, the glorious Ratnavajra." *Prajñāśrīgupta also claims that Ratnavajra stood at the end of an uninterrupted lineage of masters stemming from the famous Indrabhūti. He also quotes from at least one of his lost works, probably simply called **Utpannakrama* (D 155b3–4). In another work, the **Ratnamañjarī* (Tōh. 1217), a commentary on the **Tattvapradīpa*, he again eulogises Ratnavajra as his master (D 325a2).

We find several more references to Ratnavajra in the work of *Sambhogavajra, probably *Prajñāśrīgupta's disciple or junior contemporary. In his **Rahasyanalinī* (Tōh. 1418), he claims the same spiritual descent, while adding the equally prestigious name of *Avadhūtīpāda along the way. He is only slightly less loquacious when it comes to praising the famous master (D 250b2–3): "he who has crossed to the other shore of all Vedas, who has obtained the accomplishment of the mantra, the Kashmiri master, the glorious Ratnavajra." *Sambhogavajra quotes the same passage (partially) from the lost **Utpannakrama* (D 240b1) and a verse from another work entitled **Adhyātmapadma* (D 244b6). He too emphasises that Ratnavajra was a Kashmiri (D 246b5).

Ratnavajra's name was probably exploited to make other works more prestigious. One such pseudepigraphical case in my view is an initiation manual of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* system, the **Sarvasattvasukhodayā* (Tōh. 1679). Contrary to the opinion voiced in the **Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*, this text does teach the Fourth Initiation (D 294a1–4). A less likely scenario is that Ratnavajra eventually changed his mind and accepted what was, to him, initially a controversial *abhiṣeka*.

Ratnavajra, too, seems to have been particularly proud of his Kashmiri heritage. In his **Akṣobhyavajrasādhana* (Tōh. 1884) he proudly claims to have sat at the feet of Northern gurus (D 162b5), perhaps in yet another attempt to dissociate himself from innovations in the East.[9] This work—which, in spite of the title, is a manual in the tradition of Jñānapāda—is most likely genuinely his, since the qualifications of the practitioner mention having received all initiations but the Fourth (D 144b1–2).

Returning to his *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*, here too Ratnavajra voices what is perhaps a challenge to all non-Kashmiris. The third verse of the text says (D 156b3–4):

> | *yul phyogs gźan na la la dag* | *gal te skal ldan gyur pa dṅos* |
> | *yod pas gter ni mi nub ces* | | *bdag blo ṅes par dbugs dbyuṅ ṅo* |

The verse is not entirely clear, but it probably means something along the following lines:

> Should there be any fortunate ones (i.e. worthy Buddhists) in other countries, let them [come forward and] put my mind at ease so that [this] treasure would not fall into oblivion.

The "treasure" (*gter*, which more correctly would be *rin chen*) he refers to is in my view the Fourth Initiation, cf. an oft-quoted and later scripturalised *pāda* from the *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* (3.38d): *vācaiva dadyād abhiṣekaratnam*. Perhaps less likely is the possibility that he uses **ratna* as a shorthand for TaRaA, in which case we have here yet another reference to Vāgīśvarakīrti's work. In my reading, Ratnavajra was being ironic. He would not have found any

9 This is stated in the first quarter of the penultimate concluding verse: | *de ltar byaṅ phyogs lam pa'i mkhas pa'i źabs bsten nas* | [...] *Byaṅ phyogs lam pa* mirrors Sanskrit **uttarapatha/uttarāpatha*.

comfort in his being convinced of the genuineness of the Fourth Initiation. It follows that the "treasure" he seems to be worried about should be read *kākvā*, in a mocking tone.

Although Ratnavajra seems to refer to the *Caturthāloka*/TaRaA exclusively, it is very likely that his reading of Vāgīśvarakīrti was much broader. After all, verse 17 from that work does not reveal much about his position concerning the Fourth Initiation. I think that there is a possibility that this is what he refers to in the verse (D 157b1) immediately following the one we had attested in the *Gūḍhapadā*:

> | *'on kyaṅ gti mug bsal ba daṅ* | | *som ñi rab tu źi ba daṅ* |
> | *phyin ci log ni bsal ba'i phyir* | | *mkhas pas bstan bcos rgyas par mdzad* |
>
> Now, in order to dispel confusion, to put doubts at ease, and to clear up distortions, [this] learned man expanded his treatise.

In what follows, Ratnavajra echoes in his *pūrvapakṣa*s many points brought up by the TaRaAVi. If this conjecture holds, it would seem that some time elapsed between Vāgīśvarakīrti's writing his verses and the auto-commentary. It is also not impossible that the SaA was written partly as an answer to Ratnavajra's criticism. However, for all this to be determined one would need access to the Sanskrit original of the *Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa*. Until that time, we must leave the matter to rest.

In spite of the numerous corruptions we have encountered in the *Gūḍhapadā* passage, let us recapitulate what may be gathered with certainty. At some point before 1057 CE, an influential Kashmiri master called Ratnavajra or Sūkṣmāvarttabhaṭṭa published a scornful refutation of the idea that there is a Fourth Initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka*). This position he seems to have attributed first and foremost to "Eastern" scholars, singling out Vāgīśvarakīrti and his *Tattvaratnāvaloka* or *Caturthāloka*. In spite of the vitriolic dismissal, it is evident that Vāgīśvarakīrti was too important to be ignored. The debate between the two remained well known, as some of its salvos were preserved perhaps already in the now lost *Bṛhatkāśmīrapañjikā*, and certainly in the *Gūḍhapadā*. The latter was still an influential work before the end of the 12th century, since the famous Raviśrījñāna used it as a source.

One could extrapolate a more general point from this debate, namely that scholarly communication between East India (at this point in time under Pāla sovereignty) and Kashmir was vigorous. Kashmiris seem to have been a little more orthodox in their views, but innovations—for which the hotbed was undoubtedly Pāla East India—did filter in. This exchange between the

two regions was certainly not a unique event. The famous satirist Kṣemendra describes Bengali students flocking to Kashmir around the same time (*Deśopadeśa*, chapter 6 in 45 verses). He is even more scornful of Easterners, describing them as illiterate, dim-witted, pretentious, sanctimonious, vulgar, and ugly. I find it very likely that the poet's bigoted diatribe met with many a sympathetic ear in his local audience.

3 Vāgīśvarakīrti among the Khmer

The document known as the Sab Bāk inscription (K. 1158), consisting of fifteen (idiosyncratic) Sanskrit verses and a few lines in Old Khmer, was discovered at an unconfirmed location in what is now Nakhon Ratchasima province, Thailand. It is one of the most important sources testifying to the presence of the Guhyasamāja system in Southeast Asia. The text of the inscription was first edited by Prapanvidya (1990). Since then it has been noted and discussed in a fairly large number of publications, the latest of which, at least to my knowledge, is by Conti (2014). This article also features a new translation by Tadeusz Skorupski.

The inscription, dated Śaka year 988, 7th of the waxing fortnight of Tapasya (Friday, 23rd of February 1067 CE), records the words of one Vraḥ Dhanus, given the title *ācārya* in the Khmer portion, a devotee of the Guhyasamāja. The text first eulogises three teachers of Vraḥ Dhanus, all indicated by toponymic surnames: the venerables of Cuṅ Vis, Campaka, and Dharaṇīndrapura. It then describes the erection of an unspecified number of icons beginning with an image of the Buddha. The Khmer portion refers to previous installations as well.

The document is fascinating and important, but still requires substantial work. I cannot touch on these topics here; instead, I wish to concentrate on a particular aspect, the identity of a master referred to in verses 3 and 4. The most reliable edition of the text is that of Estève (2009, 557–558), which I have checked against an estampage of the original (ÉFEO n. 1497); here I quote only the relevant couplet:

śrīsamāje parā yasya bhak(t)iḥ śraddhā ca nirmmalā
tasya dāsasya dāso haṃ bhaveyaṃ sarvajanmasu || [3]
ity ājñā paramaguroḥ śrutvā stutyā namaskṛtā
anukathyā mayā bhaktyā śrīsamājan name sadā || [4]

These are the translations that have been published thus far. Prapanvidya (1990, 12) interpreted the text as follows:

> In all my births, may I become the slave of that slave, who has great devotion to and impeccable faith in the Śrīsamāja. 'Having saluted with praise, I must hear and repeat the teacher's command devotedly:' thus is the command of the supreme teacher. I constantly pay my obeisance to Śrīsamāja.

Estève's French translation is perhaps a bit more accurate (2009, 561):

> «Ce Śrī Samāja pour lequel j'ai une dévotion suprême et une foi pure, que j'en sois le serviteur du serviteur dans toutes mes existences». Après avoir entendu l'*ājñā* du *paramaguru*, je dois lui rendre hommage avec des louanges puis, avec dévotion, le répéter. Je rends hommage perpétuellement à Śrī Samāja.

Finally, Skorupski's translation published in Conti (2014, 393) is quite similar to that of Prapanvidya:

> In all my existences, may I become a servant of the servant who has supreme devotion and stainless faith in the glorious Samāja. Having thus heard the command of the supreme guru, I respect it with praises, (and) having repeated it with devotion, I always pay homage to the glorious Samāja.

The first hemistich of the quoted portion is in my view an echo of Vāgīśvarakīrti's words. The penultimate closing verse of his TaRaAVi is this:

> *śrīsamāje parā yasya bhaktir niṣṭhā ca nirmalā* |
> *tasya vāgīśvarasyeyaṃ kṛtir vimatināśinī* ||[10]
>
> This is the work to dispel all opposed opinions of Vāgīśvara[kīrti], whose dedication to the glorious [Guhya]samāja is supreme and whose devotion is without blemish.

Moreover, this is the closing verse of his SaA (D 202b7–203a1, P 238b5–6):

> | *dpal ldan gsaṅ ba 'dus pa las* | | *dri med dad mchog mthar phyin pas* |
> | *ṅag gi dbaṅ phyug de yis 'di* | | *byas pas blo ṅan* (D, *ldan* P) *'jig gyur cig*

10 There are two silent emendations by Sarnath editors; the Ms. reads *bhaktiniṣṭhā* and *vimatināsanī*.

I find it almost certain that this is a clumsy Tibetan rendering of the same verse. The small emendation *las* to *la* would fix the first *pāda*, whereas the second would better read **dad mchog mthar phyin dri ma med*, were it not the case that *mthar phyin pa* (**niṣṭhāgata*?) is a very bad choice for *niṣṭhā*. The third and fourth *pāda* may be seen as a very loose rendering: "may this work written by Vāgīśvarakīrti destroy wicked views!" However, here too the choice of words is inapposite, as we would expect *lta* and not *blo* for *mati*.

I am unaware of any other texts that would use the same phrasing; it can be said therefore that this is a 'signature verse' of Vāgīśvarakīrti.

The only difference between the hemistich of the Khmer inscription and the verse transmitted in India, Nepal, and Tibet is a mere synonym, *śraddhā* for *niṣṭhā*. Perhaps the Khmer author thought that the latter is a lesser-known word for "devotion" and decided to replace it with a metrically and gender-wise unproblematic, more current noun. Otherwise the echo is unmistakable.

In light of this discovery, the second line of the Khmer inscription would mean that someone is wishing to become a devotee (*dāsa*) of that devoted one (*tasya dāsasya*) in all subsequent rebirths—i.e., these are the words of a student of Vāgīśvarakīrti.

In the first *pāda* of verse 4, these words seem to be described as "the command (*ājñā*) of the *paramaguru*." The syntax here is quite incorrect, since *ājñā* should also be construed with *śrutvā*, and we would therefore require an accusative; however, *namaskṛtā* and *anukathyā* forces the author to leave it in the nominative. This is not the only bizarre usage of Sanskrit in the text. To note only the most glaring examples, in verse 6 we have a double *sandhi*, *saiva* for *sa eva*, in verse 15 the enclitic *cet* stands at the beginning of the line, and so on. Another oddity is that such pious exclamations are not called *ājñā*, but *praṇidhāna* or *praṇidhi*, even in the tantric context (e.g. *Hevajratantra* 2.8.6–7 and prose before).

It should also be noted that the first quarter of verse 4 is a *na-vipulā*, with the minor blemish that the fourth syllable is not long. This perhaps suggests that the composer found it important to include the term *paramaguru*. This does not only mean "supreme teacher," but has a more technical sense, namely one's spiritual grandfather, i.e. one's guru's guru. I could not find Buddhist texts that clearly have this usage (a possible exception is the Balinese *Buddhaveda*, p. 75); however, it is prevalent in Śaiva literature. In Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra* (Ed., p. 156) we find the sequence *guru*, *paramaguru*, and *parameṣṭhin*, followed by the collective *pūrvācāryāḥ*. In the glosses to the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (Ed., vol. 3, ad 13.58ab) we find this list stretched for five generations: *guru*, *paramaguru*, *parameṣṭhiguru*, *pūjyaguru*, and *mahāpūjyaguru*. We sometimes (e.g. *Puraścaryārṇava*, Ed., vol. 1, 3.578cd-579ab) find *parāparaguru* between *parama* and *parameṣṭhin*.

Keeping in mind the hypothesis that *paramaguru* has a technical meaning here and does not simply mean "supreme teacher," two further likely hypotheses emerge. The command, which Vraḥ Dhanus relates, is spoken by one of his teachers, namely his guru's guru, in which case Vāgīśvarakīrti was the guru of this person, that is to say, Vraḥ Dhanus' *parameṣṭhiguru* or *parāparaguru*. However, given the loose phrasing seen elsewhere in the document, it might just be the case that Vraḥ Dhanus is referring only to the first half of the verse, in which case he is acknowledging Vāgīśvarakīrti as his *paramaguru*. The latter is grammatically speaking less likely, but more likely if we think about the number of spiritual generations elapsed between Vāgīśvarakīrti, active in the earlier half of the 11th century, and Vraḥ Dhanus, whose commissioned inscription is dated 1067 CE. Whichever scenario we accept as the most plausible, what seems to be certain is that by this date Vāgīśvarakīrti's person and Guhyasamāja-related teachings were known in the Khmer lands.

If Vāgīśvarakīrti was known in the Khmer lands, then so was Jñānapāda's school of thought. Although more attention should be dedicated to this matter, I feel confident in saying that Vāgīśvarakīrti was a follower of the Jñānapāda exegesis. The strongest evidence for this claim is his brief overview of Jñānapāda's *Samantabhadra* or *Caturaṅgasādhana* as well as at least one unattributed quotation from the same work in his SaA (D 202a2 ff., P 238a1 ff.).

4 Epilogue

During the editorial process, I came across two further possible testimonies for Vāgīśvarakīrti's influence. I am grateful to the editors for allowing me the opportunity to include them here.

The first comes from what is now Burma/Myanmar, an inscription dated 1442 CE celebrating the construction of a monastery and related donations by a district governor called Thirizeyathu (Taw Sein Ko 1899, 37–47). The document records a large number of books as part of the governor's generous gift, including the famous couple *Mahākālacakka* and *Mahākālacakka ṭīkā*, long accepted as evidence for the presence of the Kālacakra system in Burma. The work listed immediately before this (p. 47) is called the *Mṛtyuvañcana*. While this could refer to any death-cheating ritual manual, the most celebrated such work was that of Vāgīśvarakīrti. There is therefore a strong possibility that he was still read in Burma as late as the first half of the 15th century. Naturally, I do not claim this as conclusive evidence.

Another possible allusion to Vāgīśvarakīrti, or at the very least the debate he was famous for, comes from certain recensions of Saraha's *Dohākośa*. In a

verse criticising fellow Buddhists, the famous *siddha* (or the author posing as the *siddha*) says that "[without having realised reality,] some are immersed in explaining the Fourth."

I read the verse in the following three sources: a) Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen manuscript Xc 14/16, folio 2r: *ko vi vakkhāṇa caüṭṭhihi laggo*; b) Tokyo University Library manuscript 517, folio 17v: *ke vi vakkhāṇa caüṭṭhahiṃ laggaü*; and c) NAK 1–1607 = NGMPP A 49/18, recto of 83rd leaf: *koï vakkhaṇa caüṭhṭhihi laggo*. The verse with this line was not available for Śāstrī (1916, 85), Shahidullah (1928, 129—although the Tibetan given here does mirror our reading very closely: *kha cig bźi ba'i don 'chad pa la źugs*) or Sāṃkṛtyāyan (1957, 4); Bagchi (1938, 16) reconstructs the verse, and his reading is followed by Jackson (2004, 58), who also suggests that one possibility for interpretation is the "Fourth Initiation"; see also Schaeffer 2005, 136.

The single-folio NAK fragment is a part of the *Sahajāmnāyapañjikā* commentary, a very precious (and unfortunately very corrupt) witness, as here Bagchi's manuscript has a lacuna. The relevant passage in Tibetan can be found in D 184r7–185v2. Interestingly, here the target is identified as a monk, but *caüṭhṭhihi* is glossed either as a cardinal number, in which case the four schools are meant (Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, Madhyamaka), or as an ordinal number, in which case the meaning is innate bliss (*sahaja*). This commentator would therefore not think that the object of the (fruitless) explanation is the Fourth Initiation.

It is of course possible, and perhaps even likely, that Saraha here refers to the fourth and ultimate state of consciousness or the fourth and highest bliss (*ānanda*), but it is not out of the question that what he has in mind is the (or a) debate regarding the Fourth Initiation. However, again, this is hardly conclusive evidence.

Abbreviations

Aka	*Amṛtakaṇikā*.
D	Tibetan text in the Canon's Derge (Sde dge) print. Numbers according to Tōh.
Ed.	edition
KCDS	中国藏学研究中心收藏的梵文贝叶经（缩微胶卷）目录 [*Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin shouzangde fanwen beiye jing* (*Suowei jiaojuan*) *mulu*] *Kruṅ go'i bod kyi śes rig źib 'jug lte gnas su ñar ba'i ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos* (*sbyin śog 'dril ma'i par*) *kyi dkar chag mdor gsal*, n.a.

Ms.	manuscript
NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project
Ōta.	Daisetz T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition—kept at the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto—Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Catalogue & Index*, Tokyo, 1962.
P	Tibetan text in the Canon's Peking (Pe ciṅ) print. Numbers according to Ōta.
TaRaA	*Tattvaratnāvaloka*.
TaRaAVi	*Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa*.
Tōh.	Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yenshô Kanakura, Tôkan Tada (eds.), *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (*Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur*), Tôhoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934.
SaA	*Saptāṅga*.

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(V) Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms. Hodgson no. 35. Palm leaf, 62 folios (of which this work once occupied 1 to 40r), East Indian script (Maithilī/Bengali), undated (ca. mid-15th century).

(D) Tōh. 1395, translated by *Maṇiśrījñāna, Ñi ma'i dbaṅ po'i 'od zer, Chag Chos rje dpal.

(P) Ōta. 2111, ditto.

Amṛtakaṇikoddyota

(Ed.) see *Amṛtakaṇikā*.

(Ms.) Tokyo University Library, no. 18 (old no. 348). Palm leaf, 90 folios (once complete in 91 folios), Old Newar script, dated *Nepālasamvat* 420 = 1300 CE. (same as Ed.'s Ms. Ka)

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Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa

(Ms.) not accessible.

(D) Tōh. 2475, translated by *Vidyābhadra and Tshul khrims bkra śis.

(P) Ø.

Tattvaratnāvaloka

(TaRaA) [a.k.a. *Caturthāloka*]. (Ms.) see *Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa*.

(Ed.) see *Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa*.

(D) Tōh. 1889, no translator given.

(P) Ōta. 2753, no translator given.

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See *Hevajratantra*.

Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi

(Ed.) see Sakurai 1996, 412–421.

(Ms.) NAK 3–387 = NGMPP A 1156/24 and retake B 24/15.

(D) Tōh. 1887, translated by Sumatīkīrti, Klog skya Gźon nu 'bar, Mar pa Chos kyi dbaṅ phyug.

(P) Ōta. 2751, ditto.

Saptāṅga

(SaA). (D) Tōh. 1888, translated by 'Gos Lhas btsas.

(P) Ōta. 2752, ditto

Sahajāmnāyapañjikā

(Ed.) see Bagchi 1938.

(D) Tōh. 2256, translated by Vairocanavajra of Kosala.

(P) Ōta. 3101, ditto.

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CHAPTER 8

Reflections on the King of Ascetics (*Yatirāja*): Rāmānuja in the Devotional Poetry of Vedānta Deśika

Srilata Raman

The ocean of Śrīvaiṣṇava literature is vast and it is a humbling scholarly endeavor to realize that the more one works on it, the more there is to discover; thus, any conclusions that one reaches on the intellectual history of the tradition can only be tentative postulations which can and must be superseded by further research.[1] This being said, it has become increasingly clear that we are seeing a particularly fertile period between Rāmānuja (traditional dates: CE 1017–1137 CE) and Vedānta Deśika (traditional dates: CE 1268–1369 CE): a period when doctrinal ideas are emerging from a wide spectrum of genres—from devotional poetry and hagiographies to commentaries and *kāvya* literature. We see also that, for instance, when it comes to the issue of the salvational means—the *upāya* for *mokṣa*—and their definitions, there was in fact much variation and a spectrum of views, without one single overarching version. Thus, to take one example, even within what emerged as a consensus on the significance of *prapatti* as the more appropriate *upāya* for the Kali Yuga, as opposed to *bhakti*, matters were by no means settled in the immediate post-Rāmānuja period as to how to understand the qualifications (*aṅga*s) for *prapatti*, or who was qualified for it.[2]

1 In this essay, the transliteration of maṇipravāḷa passages is uneven in that I have adhered to the exact wording in the respective printed books, which is often not systematic, sometimes giving the *devanāgarī* letters and sometimes not. All translations are my own.

2 This has been suggested in the tradition particularly of the writings of Meghanādārisūri, a senior contemporary of Vedānta Deśika. Raghavan (1979), in his survey of Viśiṣṭādvaitic literature post-Rāmānuja, suggests that the principal work of Meghanādārisūri on *prapatti*, called the *Mumukṣūpāyasaṃgraha*, is currently lost. I have been able to acquire a copy of a single printed Telugu manuscript with this title which, in the *Upodghātaḥ* section, points to at least one view of the author, cited as Meghanādārisūri, which is dramatically different from both the mainstream Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai *ācārya*s on *prapatti*. The relevant sentence is: *asmin granthe dvitryaṃśavyatirikteṣu bahvaṃśeṣu śrīmadvedāntācaryapakṣīyair upādeyārthā eva pratipāditā iti bhāti. taditareṣv artheṣv ayam anyatamaḥ sāmānyaviśeṣalakṣaṇalakṣitaprapattijñāne tadarthānuṣṭhāne ca traivarṇikānām evādhikāraḥ na śūdrasya iti. śrīmadvedāntācāryapraṇīteṣu granthesu sapramāṇaṃ prapatteḥ sarvādhikāratā yā samarthitā sā tatraiva*

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With the wisdom of hindsight, therefore, one could say that it is not at all surprising that a tradition that grappled with such wide divergences would find some of them encapsulated and formalized in the Teṅkalai and Vaṭakalai *aṣṭādaśabheda*s by as late as the eighteenth century. The perception of Rāmānuja, as well as ideas regarding his role in the salvation of his community, correspondingly, also change with the other doctrinal divergences that emerge in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition after him. This topic forms the core of this paper.

Here, I hope to show that there are many points of convergence in the hagiographical understanding of Rāmānuja between what consolidated into the later Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai *ācārya stotra* traditions. The primary texts of comparison here are the *Irāmāṉuja Nūṟṟantāti* (henceforth, *IN*) of Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār, one of the earliest hagiographical/*stotra* works we have at hand on Rāmānuja (see the next section for some tentative dating), and Vedānta Deśika's *Yatirājasaptati* (henceforth, *YS*). The paper suggests that we do not see any major doctrinal divergence between the views of Vedānta Deśika and those expressed by Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār. What we are therefore seeing is a consolidated viewpoint regarding Rāmānuja's stature in the tradition as a whole, which remains unchanged through the centuries. Further, I would suggest that both these works see Rāmānuja not simply as any other *ācārya* of the tradition, but unique in his special role as being central to the salvation of every Śrīvaiṣṇava. Nevertheless, there are definite variations of emphasis and hence of doctrinal inflection that can be traced and these, in turn, the paper suggests, feed into eventual soteriological differences in significant ways. Exploring these subtle inflections is also the purpose of this paper.

The paper begins with a brief examination of the motifs regarding Rāmānuja in the *IN*, contextualizing the poem within the history of earlier devotional poetry addressed to the *ācārya* within the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. It then proceeds to consider two of the main motifs of the poem relating to Rāmānuja's divinity before turning to the *YS* of Vedānta Deśika. It then discusses the dif-

draṣṭavyā. ("In this work, other than with regard to two or three sections, in many sections, only the meanings established by those who adhere to Vedānta Deśika's position have, it seems, been proven. In the case of meanings that differ, there is this one—that, with regard to the knowledge of *prapatti* characterized by general and special features, as well as in the accomplishment of the meaning of it, only those of the three *varṇa*s are qualified, not the *śūdra*. In the texts authored by Vedānta Deśika the establishment of [the position that] all are qualified for *prapatti*, together with authoritative proofs, can be seen there [within those texts themselves].") I am currently in the process of having this text transcribed and will begin a study to determine whether something definitive can be said about its authorship.

ference in emphases of the two poems and concludes with some historical observations about what this might mean for Teṅkalai and Vaṭakalai soteriological doctrine, post-Rāmānuja.

1 Amutaṉār's *Pirapantam* on Rāmānuja

The Śrīvaiṣṇava hagiographical tradition places the author of the *IN*, Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār or Amutaṉār, as he is also referred to, within Rāmānuja's own lifetime. In the hagiography, the *Splendour of the Previous Ācāryas* (*Pūrvācārya Vaibhavam*), Prativāti Payaṅkaram Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyār (1955) states that he was either the father or the grandfather of Piḷḷai Perumāḷ Aiyaṅkār, the author of the *Aṣṭaprabandham*, who was a disciple of Parāśara Bhaṭṭar. Since Bhaṭṭar is traditionally considered to date to the twelfth century, this would place Amutaṉār within Rāmānuja's own traditional dates of 1017–1137 CE. This is further consolidated by details given in the hagiography of Amutaṉār. In it, Amutaṉār is introduced as a recalcitrant employee of the Śrīraṅgam temple (*kōyil kottil uḷḷavar*) who first resists but later accepts Rāmānuja's chief disciple Kūrattāḻvāṉ as his own teacher and, rewarded for this by being made the administrative head of the temple (*srīkāryam*) by Rāmānuja, subsequently also composes the *IN*.[3]

The *IN* is an extensive poem of 108 verses composed in the *kalittuṟai viruttam* metre. In terms of its poetic type it falls within the "super-genre" called *pirapantam*. Zvelebil (1974, 193) has pointed out that the great variety of poetic forms that fall within this category have only this much in common: "the character of a connected narrative with strong elements of description." Traditionally, *pirapantam*s were listed as thirty-six in number but by the eighteenth century, when Beschi wrote his *Caturakarāti*, the number had increased to ninety-six.[4] The *IN* faithfully follows the logic of the genre of *Nuṟṟantāti*, being a poem of technically one hundred verses (here we actually have eight, auspicious additional verses), in *veṇpā* and *kallituṟai* metres in an *antāti* arrangement, where the last syllable or word of the preceding stanza is identical with the first syl-

3 Aṇṇaṅkarācāriyār (1955, 40): … *irāmāṇuca nūṟṟantāti aruḷicceyta amutaṇār emperumāṇāruṭaiya niyamaṇattiṉāl āḻvāṉai aṭipaṇintu tiruntiṇavar*. A further Tamil work attributed to Amutaṉār is the *Tiruppatikkōvai*, a poem in Tamil of 40 verses in the *kōvai* genre of *pirapantam* literature that is considered to list the 108 sacred places of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

4 In effect the *pirapantam* emerged as the most prolific genre of poetic composition in premodern Tamil literature, outdoing the *tanippāṭal*, *bhakti* poetry and epic/narrative forms. On this see Zvelebil 1974, 194.

lable or word of the succeeding one. It models itself consciously on the poetry of the *āḻvar*s, on the *Tiviyappirapaṇtam*, and its very specific model is the small work attributed to Maturakavi āḻvār, the "*Knotted, Fine, Small Rope*" (*Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu*), since the latter is the first work of the *Tiviyappirapaṇtam* where the *ācārya* himself, rather than Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, becomes the object of veneration and worship.[5] Hence, the *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu* functions as a precursor to all subsequent hagiographical *stotra*s on the *ācārya*s of the tradition. The opening verse of this very short poem of ten verses is:

> Sweet it will be, my tongue will fill with nectar
> in saying, "Nampi of South Kurukūr"
> after nearing him through my Lord,[6]
> the Great *Māyaṉ*, who allowed himself to be tied
> by the knotted, fine, small rope.[7]

The verse sets the tone for the entire poem, where the poet seeks out Nammāḻvār, implicitly seen as the focus of direct devotion rather than Māyōṉ/Kṛṣṇa. In his introduction (*avatārikai*) to the text, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai (an older contemporary of Vedānta Deśika traditionally dated to the mid-thirteenth century) makes it clear that Maturakavi takes refuge with Nammāḻvār himself as the person who can most help him when it comes to reaching God, as the person who can bring about the experience of the Blessed One for him (*bhagavadanubhavasahakārī*) and who, due to helping him in various ways, is himself the object to be aimed at (*uddeśya*).[8] There are three motifs in the poem: first, that Nammāḻvār himself is the direct object of refuge; second, that he has rid the

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5 Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār (1999, 1): *nālāyiraṭiviyaprapantattil "kaṇṇinuṇ ciruttāpu" nammāḻvār viṣayamāka amaintatu pōla emperumāṉār viṣayamāka irāmāṉuca nūṟṟantāti eṉappaṭum tiviyaprapantam amaintuḷḷatu.*

6 The commentators interpret the words "*eṉṉappaṇil naṇṇi*" in two different ways. They either take the "il" to be a negative suffix, thereby suggesting that the poet moves away from Māyaṉ towards Nammāḻvār, or they take it as an ablative suffix, thereby suggesting that he approaches Nammāḻvār through or via God.

7 Kiruṣṇasvāmi Aiyyaṅkār (1993, 31):
kaṇṇinnuṇciṟuttāmpiṇāl kaṭṭuṇṇap
paṇṇiyaperumāyaṉ eṉṉappaṇil
naṇṇit teṉkurukūr nampiy eṉṟakkāl
aṇṇikkum amut ūṟum eṉ nāvukkē.

8 Kiruṣṇasvāmi Aiyyaṅkār (1993, 23): *… prāptitacaiyil pakavatanupavasahakārikaḷāyum, ippaṭi pahumukamāṉa upakārattālē sarvāvastaiyilum tatīyarē uttēcyareṉṟu atyavacittu, tamakku vaiṣṇava viṣayīkārattukku muṉpē ajñātajñāpakamukattālē pakavatviṣayattilē mūṭṭiṉa mahōpakārakararāṉa āḻvār tammaiyē paṟṟukiṟār.*

poet of his bad *karma*/sins, and finally, that he has rendered the Vedas into Tamil. As we proceed to look at the *IN* we will see that these three motifs as well as the religious assumptions and the contents of the *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu* both permeate and influence the poem.

The *IN* itself came to occupy a special place within quotidian Śrīvaiṣṇava religiosity. Its significance can be gauged from the fact that, though it is not composed by the *āḻvār*s, it is one of the few anomalous works to be included within the corpus of the *Tiviyappirapantam* itself, as part of the concluding section of the *Iyaṟpā*,[9] and hence also a part of the daily cycle of prayers—the *nityānusaṃdhānam*—for all Śrīvaiṣṇavas, both Teṅkalai and Vaṭakalai. A further name attributed to it, and included in Amutaṉār's traditional hagiography, is *Prapannagāyatrī*—in other words, that like the *Gayatrī* mantra recited by the twice-born male during the daily morning and evening prayers (*saṃdhyāvandanam*), the *IN* must also be a part of the daily prayer rituals of the one who has undertaken *prapatti* (*prapanna*).[10] The hagiography of Amutaṉār points out that the decision to include the *IN* within the *Iyaṟpā* as well as the decision to make it part of the daily prayer cycle of Śrīvaiṣṇavas was taken by Uṭayavar (Rāmānuja) himself, as recorded in the chronicles of the Śrīraṅgam temple (*Kōyil Oḻuku*).[11]

In this brief consideration of this poem, with its verses of simple and elegant beauty, I begin with two examples which show its debt both to the *Tiviyappirapantam* and to the *stotra* tradition of the *ācārya*s generally. In the first example, towards the latter part of the poem, we have the following verse (76) where there is the piling up of examples of all that which is precious and delectable, culminating in the assertion that only Rāmānuja can offer the devotee that which is most precious, which are his feet:

> O Rāmānuja!
> Enduring fame, expansive waters,
> splendid Vēṅkaṭam with its golden summit,

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9 The *Tiviyappirapantam* is traditionally divided into four books of which the *Iyaṟpā*, meaning, "short metres," forms the third book. For a detailed discussion of the possible rationale of the arrangement of the poetry into this four-fold division and their internal contents, see Hardy 1983, 247–256.

10 Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār (1999, 2).

11 Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār (1999, 2): *uṭaiyavar, nūṟṟantāṭiyai iyaṟpāvōṭē—mutalāyirattil kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpaip pōlē cērttu sakala śrīvaiṣṇavarkaḷukkum* ***prapannakāyatrīyāka nityānusantēyam*** *eṉṟum; inta amutaṉārukkum tiruppaṇi ceyvārukkum maṭamum tirumāḷikaikaḷilē atyāpaka śrīvaiṣṇavarkaḷukkum muṉṉē pahumāṇamum tiṭṭam ceytu aruḷiṉār. ivai* (***kōyiloḻuku***) *tarum ceytikaḷ.*

the land of Vaikuṇṭha, the celebrated Milk Ocean—
How much pleasure all these give you!
That much pleasure your lotus feet also give me.
Then, grant them, graciously.[12]

Not only does this verse immediately echo for us the opening line of Nammāḻvār's verse 68 of the *Periyatiruvantāti*, which begins, "mountains, the groveringed Ocean and the heavenly kingdom of Vaikuṇṭha" (*kallum kaṉaikkaṭalum vaikunta vā nāṭum*), but even while echoing the prior poem it is doing something entirely novel. In Nammāḻvār's verse the poet is talking about how Kṛṣṇa, the dark God, has entered his heart and will not be dislodged from it. Hence, all God's usual habitations—the sacred mountain, the Cosmic Ocean and even Vaikuṇṭha itself appear abandoned. Here, in the *IN*, Amutaṉār seems to suggest that these places where Kṛṣṇa normally dwells are the very same places which are within Rāmānuja's reach—and give him pleasure. For him, in contrast, he would gladly forsake all these for Rāmānuja's feet.

Verse 92 of the *IN* turns to another ubiquitous theme in Śrīvaiṣṇava *prapatti stotra*s: the unworthiness of the person seeking refuge. Here, in the first two lines Amutaṉār says, "I have not done the virtuous vows" (*puṇṇiyanōṉpu purintum ilēṉ*), and "I have not spoken the subtle, rare and sacred words" (*nuṇaruḷkēḷvi nuvaṉṟum ilēṉ*). These lines resonate for us with the words of another verse of Nammāḻvār's: *Tiruvāymoḻi* 7.5.1 (*nōṟṟanōṉp illēṉ, nuṇṇaṟivilēṉ*). We are further reminded of the poetry of another *ācārya* whose Sanskrit work was also heavily influenced by the *Tiviyappirapantam*—Āḷavantār's *Stotraratna*, verse 22: *na dharmaniṣṭho'smi na cātmavedī, na bhaktimāṃs tvaccaraṇāravinde*.

The *IN* thus consciously positions itself within this lineage of devotional poetry—showing us that it continues and builds upon doctrinal views regarding God and the *ācārya*, who are seen as mirror images of each other, just as the poetry of each previous *ācārya* becomes a template available for embedding, as a literary echo, within the work of a successor. Indeed, the *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu* itself becomes a direct source of further emulation in the *Maṇavāḷamāmuṉikaḷ Kaṇṇiṇuṇciṟuttāmpu*—a 13-verse poem (*circa* fourteenth-century) by the lat-

12 *IN*, verse 76:
niṉṟa vaṇkīrtiyum nīḻpuṉalum niṟaivēṅkaṭap
poṟkuṉṟamum vaikuṇṭhanāṭum kulaviyapāṟkaṭalum
uṉṟaṉakk ettaṉai iṉpantarum uṉ iṇaimalarttāḷ
eṉ taṉukkum atu irāmānucā ivai īṇṭaruḷē.

ter's disciple Kōyil Kantāṭai Aṇṇaṉ, which centres on Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's feet as a refuge because he, in turn, had taken refuge with Nammāḻvār.

This brings me to one of the main motifs that appears again and again in the poem: the indirect identification of Rāmānuja with Māyōn/Māyavaṉ/Kaṇṇaṉ as the dark cloud who brings cool rain and alleviates suffering.

In this regard a few examples from the poem should suffice: "the dark cloud that is Rāmānuja" (*irāmānucaṉ eṉṉum kār*), in verse 24; in verse 25, "O Rāmānuja, benevolent as a dark cloud" (*kārēy karuṇai irāmāṉucā*); verse 27 speaks of Rāmānuja as that capacious rain cloud that enters the heart of the poet; verses 55 and 60 use the word *koṇṭal* for rain cloud, where Rāmānuja is likened to a cloud pouring out the rain of the Vedas (55), or a rain cloud endowed with good qualities (60); and verse 83 speaks of his generosity being like a dark rain cloud (*kār koṇṭa vaṇmai*), as does verse 104, likening him to a bountiful rain cloud (*ceḻuṅkoṇṭal*). Finally, verses 74 and 104 even suggest, through a kind of poetic hyperbole similar to that which will surface later in the *Ācāryahṛdayam* of Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyaṉār,[13] that Rāmānuja, the dark cloud who convinces everyone through cool reason, might even be more effective than Māyavaṉ with his fiery discus—or that even if one were shown Kaṇṇaṉ like a gooseberry in the palm of one's hand, one would want nothing other than Rāmānuja's greatness (*cīr*).[14]

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13 The reference here is to *Ācāryahṛdayam, sūtras* 56 ff., where the *Tiviyappirapantam* is compared to a golden vessel and the Vedas to an earthen vessel.

14 *IN*, verse 74:

tērārmaṟaiyiṉ tiṟam eṉṟu māyavaṉ tīyavaraik
kūrāḻi koṇṭu kuṟaippatu koṇṭal aṉaiya vaṇṃai
ērārkuṇatt em irāmānucaṉ avv eḻilmaṟaiyil
cērātavarai citaippatu appōtu oru cintai ceytē
Māyavaṉ reduces with the sharp discus
those who don't understand the path of the Vedas.
My Rāmānuja of great qualities
with the strength of a raincloud
destroys those who don't accept the splendid Vedas
merely through a thought.

Verse 104:

kaiyiṟ kaṇiyeṉṉak kaṇṇaṉaik kāṭṭittarilum uṉṟaṉ
meyyiṟ piṟaṅkiya cīr aṉṟi vēṇṭilaṉ yāṉ nirayat
toyyil kiṭakkilum cōtiviṉ cērilum ivv aruḷ nī
ceyyil tarippaṉ irāmānucā eṉ ceḻuṅkoṇṭalē
Rāmānuja, my bounteous cloud!
Even if one were to show Kaṇṇaṉ as a fruit in the hand
other than the splendour emanating from your body

These multiple references to Rāmānuja as a dark, bountiful, compassionate and cooling rain cloud cannot but take us back again to the *Tiviyappirapantam* and, even prior to it, to the early history of Kṛṣṇa worship in the Tamil country. As Hardy in his magnum opus *Viraha Bhakti* has convincingly shown (1983, 149 ff.), the earliest references to the God Māyōṉ come to us from specific verses in the *Puṟanāṉūru* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*. The word itself, meaning "the dark complexioned one," clearly is the Tamil equivalent of Kṛṣṇa and the references from the earliest poetry are to his dark colour, which is compared to the ocean. Hardy masterfully traces the images of Māyōṉ from these early references through the late *Caṅkam* poetry into the use of the *akattiṇai* by the *āḻvār*s. The *IN* clearly situates itself with this lineage of poetic images and plays with the image of Rāmānuja as both Māyōṉ, as better than Māyōṉ, or in a crucial verse I shall come to later, as the incarnation of the weapons of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. There is no doubt that this invocation of Rāmānuja as Kṛṣṇa is meant to set the stage for the second ubiquitous motif in the poem—that Rāmānuja has cleansed the poet of his sins by giving him his feet as a refuge.

2 Rāmānuja as Saviour from Sin and Granter of the Ultimate Goal

As mentioned previously, the motif of the *ācārya* saving the disciple appears in the *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu* already. The relevant verse is number 7, where Maturakavi āḻvār says Nammāḻvār removed and destroyed his ancient, bad deeds (*paṇṭaivalviṉai pāṟṟiy aruḷiṉāṉ*). It is this very claim that the *IN* makes with regard to Rāmānuja. Let me give a few salient examples for this motif in the poem: verse 4 states that Rāmānuja destroys karma, as in the lines, "After making me a substantive thing in this world, he [Rāmānuja] first cut at the root, age-old karma that secreted illusion …" (*eṉṉaip puviyil oru poruḷākki maruḷ curanta muṉṉaippaḻaviṉai **vēr aṟuttu***); verse 7 refers to Rāmānuja as he who enables the poet to cross over sin (*paḻiyaik kaṭattum irāmāṉucaṉ*); in verse 26 the poet reiterates that Rāmānuja has removed his true defects that are in the form of his terrible sins/*karma* (*eṉ cey viṉaiyām meyykuṟṟam nīkki*); in verse 35 the poet asks how *karma* could ever shroud him after he has in his memory the lotus feet of Rāmānuja (*aruviṉai eṉṉai evvāṟ iṉṟiy aṭarppatuvē*); verse 41 plays upon the idea of the accessibility of Rāmānuja by pointing out that even when Mādhava

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I do not want.
Even if cast into the affliction of Hell,
or reach the Heaven of light,
this grace done by you sustains me.

is born on earth within each body, as the Inner Dweller, those who not recognize him are able to become his devotees when Rāmānuja incarnates and gives them true knowledge; in verse 45 the poet emphatically declares that there is no other greater desired object than Rāmānuja's feet, and that no one can make them attainable except the feet themselves (*pēṟ oṉṟu maṟṟ illai niṉ caraṇ aṉṟi, appēṟ aḷittaṟk āṟeṉṟum illai maṟṟaic caraṇ aṉṟi*), etc. In verse 66 the poet sets up an analogy that both compares and distinguishes between the generosity of God and Rāmānuja. Mādhava, he says, gives the supreme abode (*vāṉam*) to those who pine (*naipavar*) for him. But this same goal also becomes available to those who have committed grave sins, because these have been removed by Rāmānuja from their hearts (*valviṉaiyēṉ maṉattil īṉam kaṭinta irāmānucaṉ*). These verses build up to a crescendo in verses 71 ("my previous karma was removed due to your gracious conduct," *muṉ cey viṉai nī cey viṉayataṉāl pōntatu*) and 77 ("he burnt out my sins at their roots," *eṉ viṉaikaḷai vēr paṟiyak kāyntanaṉ*). In verse 94 the poet emphasizes the assurance that Rāmānuja grants right conduct, the wealth of service to God, and the ability to execute this.

In a brief digression it must be added that we cannot fully understand the theological developments on the Teṅkalai side, or the Tamil *stotra* tradition on the *āḻvār*s and *ācārya*s in particular, without seeing very similar parallel developments on the Tamil Śaiva side. We are speaking of a shared religious and, most importantly, poetic landscape here where there was mutual influence and emulation. Hagiographical *pirapantam*s were composed on the leading religious figures of both traditions. Thus, the *Irupā Irupaṯtu*, attributed to Aruḷnaṉti Śivācāriyar (traditional dates: thirteenth century), who is considered one of the foremost disciples of Meykaṇṭar whose work *Civañāṉapōtam* (*Śivajñānabodham*) inaugurates the Tamil *Śaiva Siddhānta* canon, is a *pirapantam* poem of 12 verses whose resemblance to the *IN* is striking. The *Irupā Irupaṯtu* equates Meykaṇṭār with Śiva himself, his greatness as a guru being such that he can rid devotees of primal impurity (*mala*). Such parallels between poetic traditions must also be kept in mind when reflecting on the hagiographical traditions linked to Tamil devotional poetry, considered across the sectarian divides.

Careful reading of the poem shows that *IN* sets up a series of analogies: between Kaṇṇaṉ/Māyōṉ and Rāmānuja, and between the salvation promised by Kṛṣṇa in *Bhagavadgītā* 18.66, the *Caramaśloka*, according to which taking refuge with him would remove all sins of the devotee, and the descent of Rāmānuja in the *Kali Yuga*, which removes the sins of the poet. This analogy is by no means the only one and I do not wish, hereby, to simplify the poem, reducing it to this doctrinal message. Indeed, in other verses the poem suggests that taking refuge at the feet of the devotees of Rāmānuja is equally important,

or that Rāmānuja is not so much Māyōṉ as the incarnation of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa's weapons. But there is no doubt that many of its verses suggest that Rāmānuja is connected with the promise of the *Caramaśloka*; and it is this motif, with the direct analogies it draws between Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, on the one hand, and Rāmānuja, on other, that is central to the hagiographical impulse of the poem.

But before I expand on what this means for the representation of Rāmānuja from the earliest hagiographical tradition on him, I would like to focus our attention on Vedānta Deśika's 70 verses on the King of Ascetics, the *Yatirājasaptati*, to see how it might converge or diverge in its representation of Rāmānuja.

3 The *Yatirājasaptati*

The *YS* is a poem of remarkable lyrical beauty consisting of a total of 74 verses. Of a very different aesthetic feel than the *IN*, the poem begins with ten verses on the *guruparamparā*, where the poet salutes his lineage of teachers, beginning with Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and concluding with Rāmānuja. It is carefully structured to hold in a dialectical unity the greatness of Rāmānuja, his divine incarnation, on the one hand, and the greatness of his works and his achievements, on the other. The poem moves in circles, again and again, around these two themes, with the additional theme of the greatness of his devotees inserted in some of these circular reflections. Vedānta Deśika tells us, at the very end of the poem why he has composed it (verse 73):

> *upaśamitakudṛṣṭiviplavānām upaniṣadām upacāradīpikeyam |*
> *kabalitabhagavadvibhūtiyugmāṃ diśatu matiṃ yatirājasaptatir naḥ ||*
>
> May the *Yatirājasaptati*, the lamp that aids the Upaniṣads by which the distortions that are wrong views are extinguished, give us the knowledge that encompasses both the *vibhūti*s of the Blessed One.

Thus in this verse, which is a *phala-śruti*, Vedānta Deśika makes it clear that the poem is as much about Rāmānuja's feat in composing the *Śrībhāṣya*, thereby giving the right interpretation of the Upaniṣads, as it is about the greatness of Yatirāja himself. Indeed, Vedānta Deśika makes it clear that Rāmānuja's greatness lies in his composition of the work on Vedānta.

The poem's first ten verses create the context for the exaltation of Rāmānuja. This context is the lineage of teachers (*guruparaṃparā*) who preceded him and are listed in the first eight verses of the poem in the following order: Nārāyaṇa, Śrī-Lakṣmī, Viṣvaksena, Nammāḻvār, Puṇḍarīkākṣa (Uyyaṅkoṇṭār),

Śrīrāmamiśra (Maṇakkāl Nampi), Yāmuna (Āḷavantār) and Mahāpūrṇa (Periya Nampi). In verse 11 Rāmānuja is addressed, for the first time, with the phrase "Lord of the Ascetics" (*patiṃ yatīnām*).

It is relevant that this is not the first time in the hagiographical literature that this epithet is used for him. Instead, as the modern commentator of the *YS* Vātūla Nīlameghācārya points out, the word is already used for him, as the title bestowed upon him by Lord Varadarāja at Kāñcīpuram when he took the vows of an ascetic, according to the hagiographical literature composed contemporaneous to the poem. Here the commentator references the *Yatirājabhairavam*, composed by Rāmānuja's immediate disciple Āndhra Pūrṇa (Vaṭuka Nampi) probably around the same time as the *IN*, where this episode is narrated.[15]

When we come to the poem's understanding of the divinity of Rāmānuja we find a wide spectrum of meanings. In verse 12, which agrees with verse 33 of the *IN*, Rāmānuja is seen as the coming together of all the five weapons of Murāri (*apṛthakpratipanna yanmayatvaiḥ vavṛdhe pañcabhir āyudhair murāreḥ*, 12cd). In the very next verse, 13, there is a playful simultaneous narration or *śleṣa* on the victorious activities of both Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rāmānuja, where the meanings converge in the word Rāmāvarajaḥ, referring both to Yatirāja as well as Kṛṣṇa himself as the younger brother of Balarāma, thus establishing identity between the two figures. Verse 27 lauds Rāmānuja as the aggregation of the threefold splendour (*saṃvalita-tridhāman*) of Agni (*śikhāvān*), the moon (*auṣadhīśaḥ*) and the sun (*tāpanaḥ*). In verse 32 Rāmānuja is seen as having the same capacity to offer protection to the world as Viṣvaksena, with the latter's cane staff transformed into his ascetic's rod.[16] Verse 28 is particularly eloquent in describing and encapsulating all his nurturing and protecting qualities, which are compared to those present everywhere in nature itself—as the mountain from which originate all the streams of knowledge (*sakalavidyāvāhinījanmaśailaḥ*), the tree under which the weary traveller wandering in *saṃsāra* takes rest (*janipathaparivṛttiśrāntaviśrāntiśākhī*), the ris-

15 *YS* (2010, 20): *parigṛhītaturyāśramasya śrīrāmānujasya bhagavatā śrīvaradarājena yatirāja iti nāma kṛtam iti guruparaṃparāprabhāve varṇyate. Yatirājabhairavam*, verse 50: *patnīṃ parityajya sa vītarāgaḥ śrīdevarājaṃ praṇipatya tasmāt | turyāśramaṃ svīkṛtavān dadau sa devo 'pi tasmai yatirājanāma* ||. The use of the epithet *Yatirāja* was not the prerogative only of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas but of the hagiographical traditions of other sectarian groups as well, seeking to exult their ascetic religious founders, as for instance the Madhvas of Vyāsatīrtha. On this see Stoker 2016.

16 *YS*, verse 32cd:

viśvaṃ trātuṃ viṣayaniyataṃ vyañjitānugrahaḥ san
viṣvakseno yatipatir abhūt vetrasāras tridaṇḍaḥ ||

ing sun that keeps the illusionary darkness of those with distorted views at bay (*nikhilakumatimāyāśarvarībālasūryaḥ*) and the full moon that brings to high tide the ocean of the Vedas (*nigamajaladhivelāpūrṇacandraḥ*). Finally, in verse 63 Rāmānuja is Viṣṇu himself in his form (*mūrtiḥ*) as Dattātreya, with his yellow-ochre robes (*pītavasanaḥ*) and protective ascetic rod.[17]

When we consider the range of figures that Rāmānuja is identified with in the *YS* we see that they converge overwhelmingly, with some exceptions, on Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Thus, the references to him as Agni, the sun and the moon, as the yellow-robed ascetic God, and then, secondarily, as Viṣvaksena or the collective of the weapons of Viṣṇu, all draw upon images that have a long genealogy in Vedic, epic and Purāṇic literature on Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. If the *YS* echoes other Vaiṣṇavite devotional poetry at all, in addition to the *Tiviyappirapantam*, we would do well to consider the images of Viṣṇu presented in the *Paripāṭal*, in the context of the overall Vedicism of the early poetic work.[18] Thus, despite the commonality between the *IN* and the *YS* in stressing Rāmānuja's divinity, his being elevated to a level above that of the other *ācārya*s, we see a subtle differentiation in the manner in which the *IN* foregrounds the significance of the *Bhagavadgītā* in contrast to the Vedic, epic and Purānic representations of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the *YS*. This difference in inflection can also be understood if we consider the overwhelming importance that the *YS* attributes to Rāmānuja's establishment of the "right" kind of Vedānta.

17 *YS*, verse 63ab:
kāṣāyeṇa gṛhītapītavasanā daṇḍais tribhir maṇḍitā
sā mūrtir muramardanasya jayati traiyyantasaṃrakṣiṇī ||

18 On this see Raman 2011, 661–662: "A brief comparison of the Tirumāl motifs of the *Paripāṭal* with those relating to Viṣṇu in the Vedic and immediate post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa and epic literature shows how thoroughly vedicized the Vaiṣṇavism of the text is. It would not be unreasonable to speculate that this Vaiṣṇavism of the *Paripāṭal* may be drawn from Sanskrit textual sources: the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, the *Mahābhārata* (particularly the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Śāntiparvan*) and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Here, one should draw attention to the following motifs which already appear in these sources: [...] the general description of Tirumāl clad in yellow garments, with the Goddess and the jewel Kaustubha on his chest and, finally and, most importantly, the identification of Tirumāl with elements of the Vedic sacrifice in *Paripāṭal 2.61–64*. ... There is also the repeated insistence in the text that our only true source of knowledge for Tirumāl's appearance, his deeds, his prowess and his divine grace are the Vedas (called, variously, *maṟai, mutumoḻi* and *vāymoḻi*), guarded and transmitted by the Brahmins (*antaṇar*)."

4 The Eyes of the Vedas: Rāmānuja's Vedānta[19]

There are allusions to Rāmānuja's "protection" of the Vedas, his defeat of those who hold other Vedāntic views as well as the significance of his establishment of the right interpretation of the Vedas in innumerable verses of the *YS*. Thus, Rāmānuja's words are a firmly established cage of logic to prevent the wanderings that are the Vedas (v. 14) and they also draw in the texts that are the Vedānta (v. 26).[20] They cause those who have touched the bed of the Ocean that is the rules of the Vedānta to rejoice, and have them establish the state of salvation.[21] Rāmānuja, the poem states, is the *tridaṇḍa*-bearing ascetic who sits at the base of the tree of the Vedas, removing the fear of deceitful people from the minds of people (v. 22).[22] Verse 31 captures in a lovely set of images the nature of Rāmānuja's works. They are wish-fulfilling trees for the imagination of debaters (*kathakajanamanīṣā-kalpanākalpavṛkṣāḥ*), oozing with the nectar of Hari's feet (*haripadamakarandasyandinaḥ*), possessing many branches (*anugatabahuśākhāḥ*) so that they can remove suffering/heat (*āpam unmūlayanti*), and subduing (with their perfume) the stench of sins (*śamitaduritagandhāḥ*).

The repeated reference to the Vedic basis of Rāmānuja's teachings is stressed in several further phrases in verses 44, 47, 50, etc. In verse 57 Vedānta Deśika interestingly historicizes the tradition, accepting that even if Rāmānuja's doctrine (*mata*) is new (*navīnaṃ*) and others might have come before (*prāk*), this does not matter. For Rāmānuja is within the lineage of those ancient commentators such as Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa and Guhadeva, who were fearless (*nirātaṅkāḥ*) because of their unobscured vision (*nijamatitiraskāravigamāt*). This view of Rāmānuja's central role in the establishment of a new, Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta is the second central motif in the poem. Thus, even while we also have verses in the poem that, like in the *IN*, echo the sentiments of taking refuge at the feet of Rāmānuja, such as verses Verse 18, where those who take refuge at the feet of Yatipati become free of sin (*anaghā*) or Verse 20, where the feet are a

19 *YS*, verse 30: *śrutinayanasanābhiḥ śobhate lakṣmaṇoktiḥ*.

20 *YS*, verse 14:
abahuśrutasaṃbhavaṃ śrutīnāṃ jaratīnām ayathāyathapracāram |
vinivartayituṃ yatīśvaroktir vidadhe tāḥ sthiranītipañjarasthāḥ ||
Cf. verse 26a: *ākarṣaṇāni nigamāntasarasvatīnāṃ*

21 *YS*, verse 21:
śvasitāvadhūtaparavādivaibhavāḥ nigamāntanītijaladhes talaspṛśaḥ |
pratipādayanti gatim āpavargikīṃ yatisārvabhaumapadasātkṛtāśayāḥ ||.

22 *YS*, verse 22ab:
mūle niviśya mahatāṃ nigamadrumāṇāṃ
muṣṇan pratārakabhayaṃ dhṛtanaikadaṇḍaḥ |

refuge compared to medicine that stills the fluctuations of the mind (*calacittavṛttivinivartanauṣadhaṃ śaraṇaṃ yatīndracaraṇaṃ vṛṇīmahe*), it becomes clear that the framework of the poem does not allow for a predominant focus on the analogy between Rāmānuja and Kṛṣṇa nor that his feet themselves are the predominant *upāya* for *mokṣa*.

In summing up, we see a common emphasis in the representation of Rāmānuja in the two poems, the one composed in Tamil and the other in Sanskrit separated by centuries. This was a representation rooted in a strong hagiographical, *stotra* tradition parallel to that of the *guruparamparā*s that emerge from the twelfth century onwards and the various commentaries with hagiographical elements on the *Tiviyappirapantam*. It reaffirmed Rāmānuja's divine descent, similar to the divine descent of the *āḻvār*s. It was less uniformly codified, though, as to in what or in whom to locate Rāmānuja's divinity—in Kṛṣṇa himself, in Viṣvaksena or Dattātreya, in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa or his weapons. It is also equally clear that from early on the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition was united in seeing Rāmānuja as central to the salvific process, and in considering that, for those who were his disciples, taking refuge in Rāmānuja would accelerate the path to Vaikuṇṭha and the state of servitude (*kaiṅkarya*) to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Nevertheless, the frequent references to Rāmānuja as destroying one's sins, a reference directly calqued on the central promise of the *Caramaśloka*, is not absent but does not function as the fulcrum of the *YS* as it does in the *IN*.

Here, we would do well to recollect Vedānta Deśika's poetic tribute to other figures of the *guruparaṃparā* in the *kāvya* style, such as his references to Nammāḻvār in the *Pādukāsahasram*, the *mahākavya* of 1008 stanzas that centres around the *Rāmāyaṇa* episode where Bharata takes the sandals of Rāma on his head and has these reign as the symbol of Rāma's presence, in the latter's absence. Playing in certain verses on the double meaning of the *pādukā*s—one as the divine sandals and one as Nammāḻvār himself being the sandals, adorning the feet of God as his ideal devotee—allows the poet to speak of Nammāḻvar's subordination (*śeṣatva*) as well as his greatness in giving us the Tamil Vedas.[23] Similar to the treatment of Rāmānuja in the *YS*, the *Pādukāsahasram* section on Nammāḻvār is careful to place him within the context of the entire *guruparaṃparā* tradition as someone who performs an extraordinary function in establishing the doctrinal foundations of the school, rather than as a unique figure who towers entirely above all the others of the lineage. Such a perspective, which even while lauding the achievement of each respective *ācārya* also

23 For a brief analysis of the relevant verses (22–29) of the *Pādukāsahasram*, see Hardy 1979, 64–67.

relativizes it within a historical understanding of the tradition, is very different from the affective framework of the *IN*, which dwells on the emotional resonance of a single figure.

5 Post-Prapatti

The *IN*'s greater emphasis on Rāmānuja in his role as the *ācārya* significant for salvation anticipates Teṅkalai doctrinal development, as we see it evolving in the works of Piḷḷai Lokācārya (traditional dates: CE 1264–1327) and in the commentaries on his works. In his works attention had decisively shifted to a soteriological path that was considered even more appropriate than *prapatti* for the seeker of salvation—both in terms of being easier as well as the most appropriate expression of the humility of the soul. This new salvific means was "love for the *ācārya*"—*ācāryābhimāna*.

In her thorough study of the writings of Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi in the immediate post-Vedānta Deśika period, Mumme (1988) demonstrates the consolidation of the doctrine of *ācāryābhimāna* as the preferred form of salvation in his commentaries on Piḷḷai Lōkācārya's works. Summarily put, the doctrine of *ācāryābhimāna* mirrors, in a mimetic fashion, the reasons why *prapatti* was favoured above *bhaktiyoga* in the immediate post-Rāmānuja stage of doctrinal formation. *Ācāryābhimāna* is not simply for the person incapable of *prapatti*; it is also "not only a separate means, but the superior or ultimate means (*caramopāya*), given the ultimate limits of the soul's nature and destiny" (p. 243). The pragmatics of it meant a total surrender of all one's own responsibility for doing anything for salvation by relying on the *ācārya* to do the needful. What, then, exactly was the *ācārya* to do? As the commentary of Piḷḷai Lōkam Cīyar on Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Arthapañcakam* explains, this meant, in effect, that one surrendered all responsibility for performing *prapatti* to the *ācārya*, who out of great compassion and being a great devotee himself, does it for you in your stead and advises you on all your future conduct, so that the *prapatti* he does for you might prove efficacious.[24] Thus, as Mumme (1988, 226–227) puts it succinctly,

24 *Arthapañcakam*, Sūtra 9 commentary: "The person who does this *ācāryābhimāna* is incapable of doing anything else. With regard to him, reflecting on his lowliness and the happiness of the Lord if he were to obtain him, like a mother, who when her child falls ill, sees this as her own fault and gives it medicine, the *ācārya* is that greatly compassionate one (*paramadayālu*) and great devotee (*mahābhāgavata*) who can undertake the means of salvation for the soul. All that the souls has to do is to surrender to the love for him and,

> The only means of salvation in practice today among the Teṅkalai is *ācāryābhimāna*—the love of the *ācārya*. As they see it, Rāmānuja has already done *prapatti* to the Lord for all future generations of his followers. Therefore, rather than surrendering to the Lord himself, one merely has to take refuge with an *ācārya* of his lineage. For the Vaṭakalai, the way of salvation is through the performance of *prapatti* to the Lord in the manner prescribed by the śāstras under the guidance of a qualified *ācārya*. Though the *ācārya* can perform *prapatti* specifically for a particular disciple, mere relationship with the *ācārya* is no substitute for the performance of *bharaṇyāsa* [understood in the broadest sense as the laying down of all one's agency] with it's *aṅga*s.

Hence, she also goes on to point out that there is a widely held belief among contemporary Teṅkalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas, not established in any of the writings of Piḷḷai Lōkācārya, Maṇavāḷamāmuṇi or Vedānta Deśika, that "Rāmānuja is the *ācārya* who has saved all future generations of Śrīvaiṣṇavas with his *prapatti* …" There is a conspicuous textual exception to the absence of this doctrine in the writings of the major *ācārya*s of both traditions in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, though. This is the *Caramopāyanirṇaya* of Nāyaṇār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai (traditional dates: 1227–1327), the nephew and adopted son of Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, a work that clearly endorses the view that taking refuge with Rāmānuja himself is central to salvation, thus making this a doctrinal position found well before contemporary belief. Mumme's arguments (1988, 87–89) for doubting that this could be the work of Nāyaṇār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai is not dissimilar to the controversy regarding Rāmānuja's authorship of the *Gadyatraya*, which I have addressed in some detail in my 2007 book: stylistically, she suggests it is different (too simple) compared to the same author's other doctrinal works and ideologically it is far too radical for its time, anticipating a doctrine of *ācāryabhimāna* centred on Rāmānuja which only came much later.

The detailed look I have taken at the *Caramopāyanirṇaya*, to be dealt with in another paper, shows a great deal of doctrinal convergence with the *IN*. Indeed, both works in their emotional appeal to Rāmānuja within a salvific framework

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[as in the saying], "if you were to give me the certain prize, then we are meant to obtain it", with regard to all his activities do and not do what he [the *ācārya*] commands."

Arthapañcakam vyākhyāna, p. 68: *ācāryāpimāṇamāvatu ivayoṉṟukkum caktaṇaṇrikkēyiruppāṉ oruvaṇaik kuṟittu, ivaṇuṭaiya iḷavaiyum, ivaṇaip peṟṟāl īcuvaraṇukk uṇṭāṉa prītiyaiyum aṇusantittu staṇantaya prajaikku vyātiyuṇṭāṉāl atu taṉ kuṟaiyāka niṇaitta auṣata sēvaiyaip paṇṇum mātāvaippōlē ivaṇukkāka tāṉ upāyānuṣṭāṇam paṇṇi rakṣikavalla paramatayāluvāṇa makāpākavataṉ apimāṇattilē oṭuṅki, vallaparicu varuvipparēl atu kāṇṭum eṉṟu collukiṟapaṭiyē sakalapravṛttinvṛttikaḷaiyum avaṇiṭṭavaḷakkākkukai.*

allow one to assume that Rāmānuja's salvific qualities, stretching to a point where they can extend over historical posterior time, had become accepted doctrine in at least one important strand of the tradition, even within (if not shortly after) his postulated dates. That Vedānta Deśika, for his part, was also not unaware of these views centred around Rāmānuja becomes clear from a particular passage of his major work on *prapatti*, the *Rahasyatrayasāram*. In Chapter 8 of the text, where he is discussing the different categories of those qualified for *prapatti* (*adhikārivibhāga*), Vedānta Deśika differentiates between the *uktiniṣṭhaṉ* person, whose *prapatti* is based upon the utterance taught to them by their *ācārya*, and the *ācāryaniṣṭhaṉ* person, whose *prapatti* is done for them by their *ācārya*. Regarding this second category of persons, he has this to say:

> Among these [two categories], the *ācāryaniṣṭhaṉ* is himself included within the *ācārya*'s laying down of his burden (*bharasamarpaṇam*) with regard to him and his own …. For this *ācāryaniṣṭhaṉ*, according to the axiom of "how much more, then" (*kaumutika ṇyāya*), there can be no doubt as to the attainment of the fruit. Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ [Rāmānuja's nephew] taught the verse: like those creatures on the body of a lion that leaps from one mountain to another, when *Bhāṣyakāra* [Rāmānuja] jointly leaps [does *prapatti*], then, due to our bodily relationship with him [i.e. being related to him due to kinship ties], we too have been elevated [we get the same salvific benefits as he does].[25]

Vedānta Deśika is fully aware that these words attributed to Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ are capable of being understood as implying that Rāmānuja's act of *prapatti* becomes the single soteriological event that saves all those who come after him in the community. Precisely to firmly reject such an understanding he adds, almost immediately, the following emphasis:

> In the *Nyāsatilakam* [verse 21] we also said: "The blind man is able to move about led by the one with sight, O Lord of Śrīraṅgam; the cripple, placed within a boat, is taken across by a boatman; the children of a servant relish [royal] food though they don't know the king; thus will my compassion-

25 Vedānta Deśika (1980, 293–296): *ivarkaḷil ācāryaniṣṭhaṉ …. ācāryaṉuṭaiya ātmātmīyabharasamarpaṇattilē tāṉum antarbhūtaṉ. … ācāryaniṣṭhaṉukku kaumutikanyāyattālē phalasiddhiyil sandeham illai. oru malayil niṉṟum oru malaiyilē tāvum simhacarīrattil jantukkaḷaippōlē bhāṣyakārar saṃyoga laṅghanam paṇṇa avarōṭu uṇṭāṉa kuṭaltuvakattālē nāmum uttīrṇar āvuvōm eṉṟu mutaliyāṇṭāṉ aruḷicceyta pācuram.*

> ate teacher help me to reach you." The Lord of All will not relent to give the supreme goal without *prapatti* being done in some way, through some person.[26]

The significant point here is that Deśika is citing poetry of his own to show that the *ācārya* is the helper, even up to a point where he can do the *prapatti* for you. What this means that is that it is your current *ācārya* who can do this for you, and this is what the *Nyāsatilakam* verse elaborates. This does not mean that Rāmānuja's *prapatti* at one historical moment absolves his entire community from henceforth doing it. Thus, Vedānta Deśika is concerned to subtly disagree with the statement of Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ's or at least differs in his interpretation from what it comes to mean later within the Teṅkalai tradition.

Ultimately, the doctrinal musings on Rāmānuja are central to a theme that lies at the heart of the tradition: the issue of how to reconfigure the nature of God's and the religious canon's own accessibility to the community of ordinary devotees. Succinctly put, the literature of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition has repeatedly reconfigured the motif of accessibility both to enable the incorporation of doctrinal change and to allow for canonical expansion. Thus, the central argument in the equation of the *Tiviyappirapantam* and the Vedas is one of the accessibility of Vedic revelation in a manner that overcomes linguistic, caste and gender boundaries. We see this elaborated in detail for the first time in Nañjīyar's *Āṟāyirappaṭi vyākhyānam* and then more radically reiterated in the *Ācāryahṛdayam* of Aḷakiya Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyaṇār. The *IN* is also drawing upon this theme of accessibility—suggesting that Rāmānuja's feet provide the same refuge in the Kali Yuga that Kṛṣṇa's did in the Dvāpara Yuga. While Vedānta Deśika is determined to pay homage to Rāmānuja's significance within the tradition and sees him as occupying a summit of his own, he is also determined to place him within a framework that establishes the coherence of the school of Viśiṣṭādvaita as a whole. The differences between the two poems are reflective of the differences, broadly speaking, in the hermeneutical strategies between the Teṅkalai and Vaṭakalai literature, which Mumme (1988) again summarizes so well: the Teṅkalai literature, in general, leans towards hyperbole and dramatic intensity, drawing heavily upon popular idioms and metaphors and rooting itself in the Tamil, devotional poetry. In contrast, in Vedānta Deśika,

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26 Vedānta Deśika (1980, 296–297): *andho' nandhagrahaṇavaśago yāti raṅgeśa yadvat, paṅgur naukākuharanihito nīyate nāvikena | bhuṅkte bhogān aviditanṛpaḥ sevakasyārbhakādiḥ, tvatsaṃprāptau prabhavati tathā deśiko me dayāluh || eṉṟu nyāsatilakattilē coṉṉōm. Ētēṉum oru parkaramākavumām, ārēṉum oruvar anuṣṭikkavumām prapattikk allatu sarveśvaraṉ puruṣārtham koṭukka iraṅkāṉ eṉṟatāyiṟṟu.*

particularly, we see the need to balance rhetorical flourishes with scholastic precision. He wishes to be seen to be speaking for the coherence of the tradition as a whole, particularly in order that it withstand pan-Vedāntic scholastic scrutiny. For him, homage to Rāmānuja must not lead, through rhetorical excess, to a new and radical turn in the doctrine of *prapatti*, as it does in the Teṅkalai case.

The analysis of the *stotra* literature on Rāmānuja here, by no means exhaustive but rather exemplary of the formative phase of doctrine, also reinforces for us what has already been established for Rāmānuja's own writings, as in the case of the *Gadyatraya:* that devotional poetry composed not just by the *āḻvār*s but also the later *ācārya*s is as central as commentaries and independent works to the evolution of Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine.

Finally, it is no mere coincidence that both the Vaṭakalai and Teṅkalai *nityānusaṃdhānam* texts begin with a pool of common single, independent verses (*taṉiyaṉ*) of salutation to each figure in turn in one's *guruparaṃparā*, which Śrīvaiṣṇavas are encouraged to recite on a daily basis. Both contain Kūrattāḻvāṉ's *taṉiyan* that ends with the words *asmadguror bhagavato 'sya dayaikasindhoḥ, rāmānujasya caraṇau śaraṇam prapadye*. This convergence in Rāmānuja as the object of veneration speaks for his centrality—as the central gemstone in the necklace of the *guruparamparā*, as Vedānta Deśika says in his poem (verse 15): a pendant that holds together, gives structure to and makes resplendent not just the individual beads of the necklace but indeed, as the other *ācārya*s who are themselves likened to the beads of the necklace would say, adorning and forming the dazzling central gemstone of the entire tradition.

Abbreviations

IN *Irāmāṉuja Nūṟṟantāti* of Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār.
YS *Yatirājasaptati* of Vedānta Deśika.

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PART 3

Religion, the State, and Social History

∴

CHAPTER 9

Not to Worry, Vasiṣṭha Will Sort It Out: The Role of the *Purohita* in the *Raghuvaṃśa*

Csaba Dezső

It is my greatest pleasure to dedicate this paper to Professor Alexis Sanderson, whose guidance I was fortunate to have during my doctoral studies at the University of Oxford. I couldn't have wished for a better supervisor. His formidable knowledge of the intellectual history of early-mediaeval India has been both overwhelming and inspiring right from the first lectures I attended. The reason why I hold that without the sound skills of philology it is pointless to undertake the study of the past is to a large extent thanks to the mastery he has shown in using those skills. The breadth of his learning and his keen interest in diverse aspects of classical Indian culture prevented me from ever feeling uncomfortable for not doing research on Śaivism, his main field, but persisting in studying *kāvya*. Our tutorials had a formative influence on my scholarship; they were always stimulating and eminently enjoyable. I am grateful to have had the good fortune of being his student.

Recounting the deeds of several kings of a royal lineage, Kālidāsa's epic does not describe a single hero's rise to success (*abhyudaya*). One could regard with Bonisoli-Alquati (2008, 105) the dynasty itself as the protagonist of the *Raghuvaṃśa*. There is one character, however, whose timely interventions help the continuance of the dynasty throughout the whole epic: this character is Vasiṣṭha, the royal chaplain, *purohita*. But how is it possible that Vasiṣṭha was the *purohita* and *guru* of the Sūryavaṃśa for so many generations? Is it the same Vasiṣṭha?

A legend in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* tells us that among the sages it was Vasiṣṭha alone who could see Indra. The god taught him the *Stomabhāga*s with the charge that any king who had him as *purohita* would thereby flourish if Vasiṣṭha did not tell the *Stomabhāga*s to other sages. "Therefore—teaches the text—one should have a descendant of Vasiṣṭha (a Vāsiṣṭha) as one's *brahman* priest."[1] The

1 *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 3.5.2.6: *tásmād Vāsiṣṭhó brahmā́ kāryàḥ*. In the later *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we read that formerly only a descendant of Vasiṣṭha could become *brahman*, but now anyone who is suitable can (12.6.1.41, quoted in Minkowski 1991, 126).

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brahman was the priest who silently monitored the ritual. He was associated with the *Atharvaveda* and with the office of the family priest, the *purohita* of the patron of the sacrifice, the *yajamāna*.[2] We may connect with these Vedic passages the tradition that Vasiṣṭha or several Vasiṣṭhas were the *purohita*(s) of the kings of Ayodhyā, the members of the Ikṣvāku- or Sūryavaṃśa. Pargiter (1922, 203ff.) distinguished seven Vasiṣṭhas in the legends, but, as he pointed out, these Vasiṣṭhas merged into one person. Thus we read in the *Mahābhārata* (1.164.9cd–11):

> *Ikṣvākavo mahīpālā lebhire pṛthivīm imām.*
> *purohitavaraṃ prāpya Vasiṣṭham ṛṣisattamam*
> *ījire kratubhiś cāpi nṛpās te kurunandana.*
> *sa hi tān yājayām āsa sarvān nṛpatisattamān*
> *brahmarṣiḥ Pāṇḍavaśreṣṭha Bṛhaspatir ivāmarān.*
>
> The Ikṣvāku kings conquered this world.
> Having obtained Vasiṣṭha, the best of sages, as their excellent *purohita*,
> those kings performed sacrifices, O descendant of the Kurus.
> For that brahmin sage officiated for all those great kings at their sacrifices,
> O best of the Pāṇḍavas, as Bṛhaspati did for the gods.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, too, it is the same Vasiṣṭha who is the *purohita* of the whole dynasty. As Dilīpa says to the priest (1.71cd): *Ikṣvākūnāṃ durāpe 'rthe tvadadhīnā hi siddhayaḥ*,[3] "For the successes of the Ikṣvākus depend on you in goals that are hard to achieve." When Rāma returns from Laṅkā he also greets Vasiṣṭha as the *guru* of the lineage of Ikṣvāku (*ikṣvākuvaṃśagurave praṇamya* …, 13.70).

Both Vedic and epic texts emphasise the *purohita*'s role by the king's side in achieving victories and averting dangers.[4] As Gonda (1975, 322) has shown, this protective function is already expressed by the name of the office: *puro hita* means "placed in front," that is in front of the king like a shield. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we read that "the gods do not eat the food of that king

2 Cf. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 12.8.6: *annaṃ vai brahmaṇaḥ purodhā*, "the office of the *purohita* is the food of the *brahman*."

3 I quote the verses of *Raghuvaṃśa* 1–6 from Goodall and Isaacson 2003, and the verses of cantos 7–19 from Nandargikar 1982, unless indicated otherwise.

4 Gonda 1975 *passim*, Gonda 1956, 150ff.

who has no *purohita*,"[5] and "the *purohita* is half of the *kṣatriya*'s self,"[6] he is the protector of the kingdom, *rāṣṭragopa*.[7] This close relationship between king and chaplain and their co-operation in the protection of the state is expressed in a verse of the *Raghuvaṃśa* in which Kālidāsa writes about king Atithi (17.38):

> *Vasiṣṭhasya guror mantrāḥ sāyakās tasya dhanvinaḥ*
> *kiṃ tat sādhyaṃ yad ubhaye sādhayeyur na saṅgatāḥ?*
>
> The mantras of Vasiṣṭha, the guru, and the arrows of that archer—
> what is there to achieve that these two could not achieve when
> united?

According to the *Arthaśāstra* the *purohita* had a central place among the king's closest advisers. The ninth chapter of its first book gives us some details about the person of the royal chaplain (1.9.9–10):

> *purohitam uditoditakulaśīlaṃ sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyāṃ cābhivinītam āpadām daivamānuṣīṇām atharvabhir upāyaiś ca pratikartāraṃ kurvīta.*
> *tam ācāryaṃ śiṣyaḥ pitaraṃ putro bhṛtyaḥ svāminam iva cānuvarteta.*
>
> He should appoint as chaplain a man who comes from a very distinguished family and has an equally distinguished character, who is thoroughly trained in the Veda together with the limbs, in divine omens, and in government, and who could counteract divine and human adversities through Atharvan means.
> He should follow him as a pupil his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master.
>
> trans. OLIVELLE 2013, 74

When Dilīpa visits Vasiṣṭha in his ashram he extolls the merits of the *purohita* in preserving the welfare of the kingdom. Vasiṣṭha is the one who "counteracts

5 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8.24.2: *na ha vā apurohitasya rājño devā annam adanti* (quoted in Gonda 1975, 320).
6 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.26.4: *ardhātmo ha vā eṣa kṣatriyasya yat purohitaḥ* (quoted in Gonda 1975, 320.)
7 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8.25.2 (quoted in Gonda 1975, 332).

both divine and human calamities."[8] The *Arthaśāstra* lists eight divine disasters (4.3.1): fire, water, famine, rats, harmful animals, snakes and demons. In another passage (8.4.1) it mentions fire, flood, disease, famine and epidemic. The mantras and rituals of the *Atharvaveda* and thus the *purohita* who was an expert in Atharvavedic rituals had major roles in averting these calamities.[9] Vasiṣṭha's "holy spells defeat the enemy even from a distance,"[10] and "his offering thrown into the fire becomes rain for the crops parched by drought."[11] It is the sacred power (*brahmavarcasa*) of the *purohita* thanks to which diseases and other disasters avoid the people (1.63). The king attributes the welfare and safety of his country to his *guru* (1.64):

> *tad evaṃ cintyamānasya guruṇā Brahmayoninā*
> *sānubandhāḥ kathaṃ na syuḥ sampado me nirāpadaḥ?*
>
> Therefore when my guru, who was born from Brahmā, takes care of me in this way,
> how could my accomplishments not be continuous, free from calamities?

Vasiṣṭha, who is well-versed in yoga, discovers with the help of concentration what causes Dilīpa's childlessness: once he failed to salute Surabhi, the sacred cow, who cursed the king, at least in some versions of the texts. In another version it is the king's negligence in itself that made him childless.[12] Luckily the grandchild of Surabhi is in Vasiṣṭha's ashram, so the king can wait on her to obtain her blessing. As soon as her name has been uttered the holy cow appears: a good omen according to the sage, who is also an expert in the interpretation of signs, as a *purohita* should indeed be.

In the eleventh *sarga* Daśaratha is on his way back from the court of the king of Mithilā, where they have celebrated the weddings of his sons, when he encounters ominous signs: strong headwinds tear the flags of his army, a frightening circle surrounds the sun, the points of the compass filled with red clouds

8 *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.60: *daivīnāṃ mānuṣīṇām ca pratikartā tvam āpadām*, cf. Ayyar 1925, 8.

9 *Arthaśāstra* 9.7.84 prescribes the rites of the *Atharvaveda* against too much or too little rain, and against demons, 4.3.40 also against demons, while 4.3.35 against snakes. On the association of the *purohita* with the Atharvavedic tradition see Sanderson 2007, 204 f., notes 28 and 29.

10 *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.61: *mantrair dūrāt saṃyamitāribhiḥ*.

11 *Raghuvaṃśa* 1.62: *havir āvarjitaṃ … vṛṣṭībhavati sasyānām avagrahaviśoṣitām*.

12 On these variants see Dezső 2014, 163 f.

resemble a menstruating woman, and female jackals are howling.[13] Daśaratha asks for Vasiṣṭha's help (11.61 in Vallabhadeva's text):[14]

> *tat pratīpapavanādi vaikṛtaṃ kṣipraśāntam adhikṛtya kṛtyavit*
> *anvayuṅkta gurum īśvaraḥ kṣiteḥ svantam ity alaghayat sa tad-*
> *vyathām.*
>
> The king who knew what to do asked his guru about those portents like the headwind etc.,
> if they would be averted soon, and he removed his fears saying, "It will end well."

The southern commentators (Mallinātha, Aruṇagirinātha and Hemādri) read the second *pāda* as *prekṣya śāntim adhikṛtya* (v. 62 in their version), that is Daśaratha asks the *purohita* about the pacifying ritual that quells the ills. Vasiṣṭha's reply, "it will end well," might mean in this case that there is no need to perform such a ritual. The omens indicate the arrival of Paraśurāma, who is defeated by Rāma, so the story does indeed end well.[15]

The *purohita* performed such important ceremonies for the royal family as the rituals associated with childbirth. As we read in the *Arthaśāstra* (1.17.26): *prajātāyāḥ putrasaṃskāraṃ purohitaḥ kuryāt*, "When she (i.e. the queen) has delivered, the chaplain should perform the rite of passage for the son" (trans. Olivelle 2013, 89). As Olivelle (2013, 486) remarks, this may also refer to the rites of early childhood, possibly including the *upanayana*. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* we see that Vasiṣṭha performs the priestly duties when Dilīpa's son Raghu is born (3.18):

> *sa jātakarmaṇy akhile tapasvinā tapovanād etya purodhasā kṛte*
> *Dilīpasūnur maṇir ākarodgataḥ prayuktasaṃskāra ivādhikaṃ babhau.*
>
> When the complete birth ritual was done by the ascetic chaplain who had come from the grove of ascetics,
> Dilīpa's son shone yet more, like a precious stone taken from a mine and then polished.

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13 *Raghuvaṃśa* 11.57–60 in Vallabhadeva's commentary, 58–61 in Mallinātha's.

14 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

15 The source of the story is *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.73.7 ff.

In Kālidāsa's poetry, as Ingalls (1976, 19) has observed, ritual is associated with beauty. The *purohita* is like the jeweller who polishes the precious stone and transforms it into a gem. He performs the life-cycle rituals that make the individual a member of civilised society.

The *purohita* also had an important role in the marriage ceremonies of the royal families. Aja and Indumatī were wed by the chaplain of Indumatī's brother (7.20):

> *tatrārcito Bhojapateḥ purodhā hutvāgnim ājyādibhir agnikalpaḥ*
> *tam eva cādhāya vivāhasākṣye vadhūvarau saṃgamayāṃ cakāra.*
>
> There lord Bhoja's venerable chaplain, who was like fire, offered clarified butter and other things to the fire,
> and having made the same [fire] witness to the marriage he wed the bride and the groom.

At the end of his life Raghu entrusted the kingdom to his son, Aja, and lived the life of a yogin, aiming for *apavarga*, liberation from the cycle of rebirths (8.16). He chose the time of his death himself: "by yogic meditation he reached the eternal Soul, beyond darkness" (*tamasaḥ param āpad avyayaṃ puruṣaṃ yogasamādhinā*, 8.24). The verse describing Raghu's funeral ceremonies is transmitted in two versions. Vallabhadeva knew the following version (8.26):[16]

> *śrutadehavisarjanaḥ pituś ciram aśrūṇi visṛjya Rāghavaḥ*
> *vitatāna samaṃ purodhasā kratum antyaṃ pṛthivīśatakratoḥ.* (8.26)
>
> When he heard that his father had laid off his body, Raghu's son shed tears for a long time,
> and then performed the final sacrifice of that Indra of the earth together with the chaplain.

The second half is transmitted in the southern commentaries as follows (8.25cd in Mallinātha, Aruṇagirinātha and Hemādri):

> *vidadhe vidhim asya naiṣṭhikaṃ yatibhiḥ sārdham anagnim agnicit.*

16 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

> … he, who had arranged the sacrificial fires, performed his last rites without fire together with the ascetics.

According to this version Raghu's body was not cremated but buried, as it was the custom in the case of *saṃnyāsin*s, ascetics striving for final liberation. The *purohita* is not mentioned in this version; it was rather Raghu's fellow yogins who attended the ceremony. In the version known to Vallabhadeva it is not made explicit that the ritual was performed without fire, and Vasiṣṭha, the *purohita* was also present. If we suppose that this was the original version, the text known to the later commentators might be the result of a correction or disambiguation: since Raghu had retired from secular life and was striving for *mokṣa* as a renunciant, it might have seemed more correct to have his burial performed by the community of ascetics.[17] However, the question might be more complicated, since in the variants of the verses describing Raghu's final years, as well as in the Keralan commentaries and that of Hemādri, we can detect a tendency to weed out or explain away references to Raghu being a *saṃnyāsin*. But in this verse, interestingly, it is the Southern commentators' version in which Raghu is clearly treated as a deceased *yati*. Raghu's position as a retired king was not without ambiguities: his son, Aja, did not allow him to retire to the forest, so Raghu moved to a place outside the palace, *bahiḥ kṣitipālaveśmanaḥ*, at least in Vallabhadeva's version (8.14),[18] because the Southern commentators knew a text according to which the old king moved outside the town, *purād bahiḥ*.[19] Here we perhaps see the same effort that tries to make Raghu's position less ambiguous and to move him further away from the palace and worldly life. But this effort is not completely successful since in the second half of the same verse we read that Śrī, the goddess of wealth and royal majesty, who was now enjoyed by his son, served Raghu like a daughter-in-law (*samupāsyata putrabhogyayā snuṣayevāvikṛtendriyaḥ śriyā*), which means that Raghu did not entirely live the life of an ascetic.

The king of the last canto of the epic, Agnivarṇa, lived a dissolute life and died of a consuming disease. His death was kept secret (19.54):

> *taṃ gṛhopavana eva saṃgatāḥ paścimakratuvidā purodhasā*
> *rogaśāntim apadiśya mantrinaḥ sambhṛte śikhini gūḍham ādadhuḥ.*

17 Thus Goodall 2001, 121.

18 8.14ab: *sa bahiḥ kṣitipālaveśmano nivasann āvasathe yativrataḥ …* (Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.)

19 8.14ab: *sa kilāśramam antyam āśrito nivasann āvasathe purād bahiḥ.*

The ministers joined by the chaplain who knew the last rites placed him on the pyre in secret
in the palace garden, under the pretext of a ceremony that averts disease.

The ministers and the *purohita* concealed the king's death because they wanted to secure the succession to the throne. Since Agnivarṇa did not have a son, they placed his pregnant widow on the throne, in accordance with the instructions of the *Arthaśāstra* (5.6.36).[20]

The *purohita* had a central role in the ceremony of the royal consecration. About Aja we read the following in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (8.3–4):

anubhūya Vasiṣṭhasaṃbhṛtaiḥ salilais tasya mahābhiṣecanam
viśadocchvasitena medinī kathayām āsa kṛtārthatām iva.
sa babhūva durāsadaḥ parair guruṇātharvavidā kṛtakriyaḥ
pavanāgnisamāgamo hy ayaṃ sahitaṃ brahma yad astratejasā.

Having experienced his great consecration with water gathered by Vasiṣṭha,
the earth seemed to express her contentment with clear sighs.
When the ritual had been performed for him by the guru who knew the *Atharvaveda*, he became unassailable by his enemies,
for when brahman is united with the power of weapons it is a union of wind and fire.

Both Aruṇagirināṭha and Mallināṭha quote ad loc. the *Manusmṛti* which teaches the inseparability of royal and priestly power (9.322):[21]

nābrahma kṣatram ṛdhnoti nākṣatraṃ brahma vardhate
brahma kṣatraṃ ca saṃpṛktam iha cāmutra vardhate.

The Kṣatriya does not flourish without the Brahmin, and the Brahmin does not prosper without the Kṣatriya;
but when Brahmin and Kṣatriya are united, they prosper here and in the hereafter.

trans. OLIVELLE 2005, 206

20 See Dezső 2014, 161 f. Though many generations separate Raghu and Agnivarṇa, Vallabhadeva also identifies the *purohita* of the latter as Vasiṣṭha (commentary to 19.54).

21 Cf. Ayyar 1925, 8.

In the case of Atithi's consecration Kālidāsa stresses the importance of Atharvavedic mantras (17.13):

> *purohitapurogās taṃ jiṣṇuṃ jaitrair atharvabhiḥ*
> *upacakramire pūrvam abhiṣektuṃ dvijātayaḥ.*
>
> The brahmins headed by the chaplain began to consecrate him who was destined to victory
> first with Atharvavedic mantras that lead to victory.

The rituals performed by the *purohita* made the king invincible in battle. When Raghu was about to set off to defeat Kuvera, the god of riches, Vasiṣṭha empowered his chariot (5.27):

> *Vasiṣṭhamantrokṣaṇajāt prabhāvād udanvadākāśamahīdhareṣu*
> *marutsakhasyeva balāhakasya gatir vijaghne na hi tadrathasya.*
>
> Due to the power arisen from the sprinkling performed with mantras by Vasiṣṭha
> the course of his chariot was not blocked on the ocean, in the sky and in the mountains, like that of a cloud helped by the wind.

The source of the mantras used by the *purohita* was again probably the Atharvaveda. The ritual manual of the *Kauśikasūtra* (15.11) contains several verses prescribed for the consecration of the chariot.

In the *Raghuvaṃśa* we see the *purohita* at every important ceremonial occasion taking place in the royal court, from the birth of the heir through the marriage of the prince to the funeral of the king. Vasiṣṭha protected the king's person and made him invincible in battle with his Atharvavedic mantras. On the other hand Vasiṣṭha was also the guru and adviser of the king who showed him the path to be followed: we see him in this role in the eighth canto when he comes to the support of the despairing Aja.

When a garland falling from the sky kills his wife, Aja laments over her with some of the most moving verses of Sanskrit literature. The only reason he does not throw himself on the funeral pyre is that people would speak badly of a king who follows a woman in death. Vasiṣṭha learns in his ashram that Aja has been paralysed by grief,[22] and since he is engaged in a ritual and therefore can-

22 *abhiṣaṅgajaḍam*: 8.75 in Mallinātha, 76 in Hemādri, 73 in Aruṇagirinātha. Vallabhadeva reads *abhiṣaṅginam* (8.76).

not visit the king personally he sends one of his disciples to convey Aja his message. Vasiṣṭha knows everything that has happened, happens or will happen in heaven, on earth or in the netherworld, so he tells Aja in his message that Indumatī was a cursed *apsaras* who had to live in a human body until she was touched by a heavenly garland. Aja should stop grieving (8.84 in Vallabhadeva):[23]

> *tad alaṃ tadapāyacintayā vipad utpattimatām avasthitā*
> *vasudheyam avekṣyatāṃ tvayā vasumatyā hi nṛpāḥ kalatriṇaḥ.*
>
> So do not think about her death. Those who have been born will surely die.
> Have regard for this Earth, for the Earth is the true wife of kings.

Vasiṣṭha first expresses the truism we also find in the *Bhagavadgītā*, *jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyuḥ*, "death is certain for all that is born."[24] Then he reminds Aja of his duty as a king: he must protect the earth, who, as the goddess Earth, is also his wife. This idea has already appeared in the same canto: Raghu handed over Aja the earth as a second Indumatī, and Aja took possession of the earth gently, as one enjoys a newly wedded wife (8.7). His divine wife gave him lots of gems, his human wife gave him a valorous son (8.28). But Aja's lament makes it clear whom he regards as his real wife (8.53 in Vallabhadeva):[25]

> *manasāpi na vipriyaṃ mayā kṛtapūrvaṃ nanu kiṃ jahāsi mām*
> *vata śabdapatiḥ kṣiter ahaṃ tvayi me bhāvanibandhanaṃ manaḥ.*
>
> Surely I have not offended you even in my thoughts, why are you leaving me?
> Truly I am the earth's husband only in name, my heart is bound with feelings to you.

If we consider Aja's words we might suspect that Vasiṣṭha's admonition will not have much effect on him.

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23 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

24 *Bhagavadgītā* 2.27, quoted by Vallabhadeva ad loc.

25 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

The disciple continues Vasiṣṭha's message as follows (8.85 in Vallabhadeva):[26]

> *udaye yad avāpyam ujjhatā śrutam āviṣkṛtam ātmanas tvayā*
> *manasas tad upasthite jvare punar aklīvatayā prakāśyatām.*
>
> The learning that you showed when you avoided what could have been achieved in the time of success—
> demonstrate the same again like a man now that your heart is suffering.

"What could have been achieved" (*avāpyam*) and what Aja avoided was, according to Vallabhadeva, ecstasy or being overjoyed (*praharṣaṃ madaṃ vā*). As at the time of success he could stay away from an excessive mental state, in the same way he should behave like a man and be composed at the time of grief.[27] Aja could not find Indumatī even if he followed her in death, since those who live in the other world go on paths that differ according to their karma (8.86 in Vallabhadeva). Aja should stop crying because the tears of the relatives burn the departed souls (a belief we also read about in texts on *dharmaśāstra*[28]). Then Vasiṣṭha's message becomes more philosophical:[29]

> *maraṇaṃ prakṛtiḥ śarīriṇāṃ vikṛtir jīvitam ucyate budhaiḥ.*
> *kṣaṇam apy avatiṣṭhate śvasan yadi jantur nanu lābhavān asau.* (8.88 in Vallabhadeva)
>
> The wise say that death is the natural state of embodied creatures and life is a change in that state.
> If a being remains breathing even for a moment it is surely fortunate.
>
> *avagacchati mūḍhacetanaḥ priyanāśaṃ hṛdi śalyam arpitam,*
> *itaras tu tad eva manyate kuśaladvāratayā samuddhṛtam.* (8.89 in Vallabhadeva)

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26 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

27 Instead of *yad avāpyam* Mallinātha (8.84) and Aruṇagirinātha (8.82) read *madavācyam*, while Hemādri reads *yad avācyam* (8.85).

28 E.g. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3, 11: *śleṣmāśru bāndhavair muktaṃ preto bhuṅkte yato 'vaśaḥ | tasmān na roditavyaṃ hi kriyā kāryā prayatnataḥ* ||, quoted by Vallabhadeva and Aruṇagirinātha ad loc.

29 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

The foolish man regards the loss of his dear one as a dart shot into his heart.
Another man looks on the same as a dart that has been pulled out, for it is a door to beatitude.

svaśarīraśarīriṇāv api smṛtasaṃyogaviparyayau yadā
virahaḥ kam ivānutāpayed vada bāhyair viṣayair vipaścitam? (8, 90 in Vallabhadeva)

When we are taught that our own body and soul unite and then separate,
tell me which wise person should be tormented by separation from the external objects of the senses?

Death should be regarded as an unavoidable, natural event, which can even be beneficial: as Vallabhadeva says, when attachment ceases, one attains the imperishable state (*snehakṣayāt kila nirapāyapadāvāptiḥ*), the cutting of one's emotional bonds helps achieve the stopping of rebirth and redeath. Aja should regard his dead wife as one of the sense objects he meets and is parted from every day.

Finally Vasiṣṭha appeals to Aja's pride:[30]

na pṛthagjanavac chuco vaśaṃ vaśināṃ uttama gantum arhasi.
drumasānumatoḥ kim antaraṃ yadi vāyau dvitaye pi te calāḥ? (8.91 in Vallabhadeva)

Best of the self-controlled! You ought not to become subject to grief like common people.
What would be the difference between a tree and a mountain if both shook in the wind?

When Duṣyanta gives way to despair over the loss of Śakuntalā, the *vidūṣaka* expresses his puzzlement with similar words: "How have things got this far? How could the fortitude of good men be affected by grief? Surely mountains remain unshaken even by a storm wind."[31] Duṣyanta is shaken up by Mātali,

30 Quoted from a draft edition prepared by Dominic Goodall, Harunaga Isaacson, Csaba Kiss, and myself.

31 *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 6, 103 (p. 278): *kiṃ ṇedaṃ īdisaṃ uvaṇadaṃ? kadā uṇa sappurisā soabaddhadiyyā honti? ṇaṃ pavādeṇa vi girīo ṇippakampā*. Trans. Vasudeva 2006, 279.

Indra's charioteer, who pretends to kidnap the *vidūṣaka* and thus arouses in the king his fighting spirit and his sense of duty to protect others.

Aja seemingly acquiesced in the words of his *purohita*, but, as Kālidāsa writes, Vasiṣṭha's counsel "could not find a place in his heart full of grief and returned, as it were, to his guru" together with the disciple.[32] The king took into consideration that his son was not yet of age and reigned eight more years, while his only solace was the likeness of his beloved (similarly to Duṣyanta who found pleasure only in painting a portrait of Śakuntalā). When his heart was completely shattered by grief, Aja starved himself to death and left his body behind at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sarayū. Then he met his beloved again in Indra's heaven in a form that surpassed her former beauty.

We do not know what Kālidāsa's sources were for Aja's tragic story, but there is a work with which we can make interesting comparisons: Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*.[33] When prince Siddhārtha leaves the palace to live the life of a wandering ascetic in search of the teaching that gives liberation, the king's minister and *purohita* undertake to find him and appeal to his better self. Though they do not trust in the success of their undertaking, they set off nevertheless, setting off a battle between the bodhisattva and the diverse rules of scripture.[34]

Like in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, we read about a message, but in the *Buddhacarita* it is the *purohita* who conveys the words of the king to his son, a king whose heart has been transfixed by the dart of grief.[35] The king is inconsolable because Siddhārtha has not waited until his old age, as is prescribed in the *śāstra*s, to retire to the forest in search of *mokṣa*, and so his father could not transfer the kingdom to his son and retire himself (9.22). Only the coward needs such things as the forest and the symbols of ascetics (*vanaṃ ca liṅgaṃ ca hi bhīrucihnam*, 9.18), for kings may also walk on the path leading to *mokṣa* (9.20). The *purohita* tries to stir the *bodhisattva*'s feelings and paints in vivid colours the sorrow he caused to his father, foster mother, wife, little son and the whole harem when he left the palace behind (9.23 ff.).

The *bodhisattva*, after some thought, replies that he had no other choice: because of the fear of sickness, old age and death he had to forsake his fam-

32 8.92 in Vallabhadeva: *tad alabdhapadaṃ hṛdi śokaghane pratiyātam ivāntikam asya guroḥ*.

33 On the parallels between the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa see Gawronski 1914–1915; Johnston 1984, lxxxi; Nandargikar 1982, 161–196; and Tubb 2014.

34 *Buddhacarita* 8.85: *yadi tu nṛvara kārya eva yatnas tvaritam udāhara yāvad atra yāvaḥ | bahuvidham iha yuddham astu tāvat tava tanayasya vidheś ca tasya tasya*.

35 9.13: *tvacchokaśalye hṛdayāvagāḍhe*.

ily.[36] Separation is unavoidable anyway, as in the case of travellers who meet on the way, therefore his father's clinging to him is pointless (9.33):

> *maddhetukaṃ yat tu narādhipasya śokaṃ bhavān āha, na tat priyaṃ me,*
> *yat svapnabhūteṣu samāgameṣu saṃtapyate bhāvini viprayoge.*
>
> You spoke about the king's grief on account of me; I am not pleased that he is so distressed,
> amidst associations as fleeting as dreams, when separation is bound to take place.
> trans. OLIVELLE 2008, 257

Such ideas might be familiar from the *Raghuvaṃśa* where the *purohita* tries to shake up Aja with similar words, but without much success: during the remaining eight years of his life Aja consoles himself with the festivals of brief encounters with his wife in his dreams.[37] While Aja out of a sense of duty does not throw away his life immediately and reigns until his son grows into a man, nothing and nobody can convince the *bodhisattva* to break his vow, return to the palace and take upon himself the burden of kingship, which he deplores.[38]

After the *purohita* the minister also tries to persuade the *bodhisattva* to return to the palace. He argues that we have no certain knowledge about the afterlife, so one should enjoy power and wealth as long as one can (9.53 ff.). Real liberation is the clearing of the three debts: towards one's ancestors by fathering offsprings, towards the gods by sacrificing and towards the sages by studying the Vedas (9.65). But the *bodhisattva* cannot be discouraged: for him there is no way back to the palace, and instead of a sceptical attitude he wants to acquire the knowledge leading to liberation himself (9.73).

The mission of the *purohita* in the *Buddhacarita* does not succeed; the *bodhisattva* is unwilling to leave the path he has chosen himself (9.78):

> *tad evam apy eva ravir mahīṃ pated, api sthiratvaṃ Himavān giris tyajet,*
> *adṛṣṭasattvo viṣayonmukhendriyaḥ śrayeya na tv eva gṛhān pṛthagjanaḥ.*
>
> Therefore, although the sun may fall to earth, or Himālaya lose its fixity,
> I'll not return home like a common man,

36 9.31: *vyādhijarāvipadbhyo bhītas tv agatyā svajanaṃ tyajāmi.*
37 *Raghuvaṃśa* 8.93: *svapneṣu kṣaṇikasamāgamotsavaiḥ.*
38 *Buddhacarita* 9.40: *mohāyatanaṃ nṛpatvam.*

> whose senses yearn for sensual things, and who has not perceived the truth.
>
> trans. OLIVELLE 2008, 275

Siddhārtha does not want to live the life of a common man, a life into which the *purohita* and the minister want to pull him back. For him separation from his loved ones is indeed the door leading to liberation. Vasiṣṭha asks Aja to rise above common people and not to let his feelings take hold of him. Aja should accept what cannot be avoided; he should not grieve because of separation that is bound to happen, but he is unable to do this. Siddhārtha has recognised the impermanence of human relations and he is not shaken by appeals to family bonds.

The *bodhisattva* is more than human; his firm resolution to break away from the values of brahmanical society inspires awe. Aja remains very much human in his grief. Vasiṣṭha demands of him detachment while remaining in the world: a way of life that Vasiṣṭha himself, an ascetic sage who is at the same time a royal chaplain, lives. Vasiṣṭha is truly the *purohita* of the dynasty and the dynasty needs kings who rule in an exemplary fashion, beget offspring and transfer the kingship to a suitable heir when the time has come. He saves the dynasty again since the transfer of power between Aja and his son Daśaratha takes place smoothly, but he fails to have any influence on Aja's feelings. Here we touch upon one of the key issues of Kālidāsa's poetry: the difficulty of creating and maintaining a harmony of duties, interests, and emotions, be they love or grief. Aja's example shows that there is a grief so deeply felt that no teaching about detachment, no appeal to duty can assuage.

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CHAPTER 10

Buddhism, Kingship and the Protection of the State: The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* and *Dhāraṇī* Literature

Gergely Hidas

1 Introduction

This article focuses first on the ritual core of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, which teaches the protection of the state for the mutual benefit of the Buddhist Sangha and the monarch. The essay then explores the ways in which this theme appears in *dhāraṇī* literature in the first half of the first millennium.[1] It is shown that offering safeguard to rulers and their regions is a long-established practice in South Asian Buddhism, persisting into modern times, and that there have been a variety of incantation scriptures available for accomplishing this task.

2 The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*: The Sūtra of Golden Light

This scripture of Mahāyāna Buddhism survives in its oldest form in South Asia in two palm-leaf manuscripts from Nepal dated to the 14th and 16th centuries.[2] The remaining witnesses from the subcontinent are paper codices of later centuries, but dozens of Central Asian Sanskrit fragments survive from the second half of the first millennium. The Sanskrit text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* has been edited a few times, most recently by Skjaervø (2004). This scripture was remarkably influential across the Buddhist lands of Asia, and was translated into Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese and several additional languages over the course of many centuries. The Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema is the earliest, from circa 417 CE, which marks the *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of this *sūtra*. Editions of Tibetan and Chinese recensions were published

1 For a survey of *dhāraṇī* literature, see Hidas 2015.

2 Cambridge Add. 2831, 1385 CE; Tōyō Bunkō 1979, 1581 CE. It appears that previous publications have left the dated colophon of the former manuscript unnoticed (NS 505 [1385 CE], written as *pañcādhikaḥ pañcaśataḥ*; see cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02831/96, lines 3–4).

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by Nobel in the 1940s and 1950s, while Skjaervø (2004) provides the most comprehensive treatment of the Khotanese version. Several translations of this scripture are available in Western languages, with Emmerick 1970 being the classical point of reference, based on the Sanskrit. An excellent overview of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* with a detailed account of previous research was published by Gummer (2015).

3 The Ritual Core of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*

The structure of this scripture shows evidence of considerable expansion over the centuries. The most widespread Sanskrit version contains nineteen chapters, but Nobel (1937) suggests that there may only have been fourteen *parivarta*s initially.[3] He also proposed that chapter 3, the *Deśanāparivarta*, is likely to represent the original core of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, containing verses on the confession of sins, the resolution to attain buddhahood and praise of the buddhas, the recitation or hearing of which brings about great benefit.[4] If we look, however, for chapters that actually have detailed ritual instructions, it appears that the ritual core of this *sūtra* is contained in sections 6, 7 and 8: the *Caturmahārājaparivarta*, *Sarasvatīparivarta* and *Śrīparivarta*. The latter two include more complex observances and *dhāraṇī*-spells.

Chapter 6, the *Caturmahārājaparivarta* or Chapter on the Four Great Kings,[5] conveys an explicit message: those kings (*manuṣyarāja*) who venerate the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* and support the Buddhist Sangha will be protected from hostile armies and other dangers by the Four Great Kings, and their countries will exist in highest state of harmony. Simultaneously, those who ignore this tradition will face decline. This *sūtra* directly and repeatedly refers to monarchs, and throughout this chapter and the whole scripture it is obvious that kings are envisaged as the principal target audience. At one point the

3 On the structure of this *sūtra*, see Skjaervø 2004, lii–liv. The earliest Chinese version contains eighteen chapters, while later Chinese and Tibetan recensions consist of 21, 24, 29 or 31 sections.

4 Cf. Suzuki 2012.

5 These eminent *yakṣa*s Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa are celestial guardians of the cardinal directions, along with their retinues in Jambudvīpa. From the Pali *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta* (Dīgha-nikāya 32) to various Sanskrit *rakṣā* texts, they often take the role of chief protectors. Note that the Four Great Kings guarded the cardinal points at the great stūpa of Bhārhut, circa 100 BCE (Skilling 1992, 163). For a study of the Sanskrit *Āṭānāṭīya/Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, see Sander 2007.

scripture calls itself a *rājaśāstra*,[6] a text for kings, and it is notable that chapter 12 is entitled *Devendrasamayarājaśāstraparivartaḥ*, or Chapter of the Royal Treatise called Conventions for Divine Kings, which expounds the ideal of the Dharma-following monarch.[7] On the basis of the general tone of the *Caturmahārājaparivarta* it is fairly evident that the main intended function of this *sūtra* was proselytizing, that is, attracting leaders of various regions to Buddhism by offering them mutually beneficial services. The Buddhist community appears to have been in perceptible need of securing support from the highest places; some passages seem to indicate a degree of despair, as reflected in their accentuation of vital threats for those not prepared to follow this tradition.[8] It is also not unlikely that Buddhism was at times persecuted, as certain references indicate.[9] Occasionally the text becomes somewhat guarded or equivocal, for example in its claim that the Four Great Kings and the summoned deities arrive in the king's palace with invisible bodies,[10] which suggests an effort by the text's compilers to achieve their goals in the most secure possible ways. As for the ritual instructions in this chapter,[11] it is prescribed that the king should clean the palace, sprinkle the premises with perfumes and scatter flowers. He should prepare an ornamented Dharma-throne and a lower seat for himself. He should listen to this *sūtra* recited by a *dharmabhāṇaka* monk and honour those of the Sangha who present the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*. As a result, the whole universe will be adorned, lit up by golden light. The Four Great Kings and other divine beings will approach the palace to listen to the recitation and will protect the sovereign and his realm.

In chapter 7, the *Sarasvatīparivarta*,[12] the goddess Sarasvatī grants her support to the Dharma preacher through the gift of eloquence, and presents a bathing ritual with enchanted herbs for him and his audience in order to appease all disturbances. It is promised that, invoked by praise, Sarasvatī herself

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6 *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* 6.2.6 (Skjaervø 2004): *yaḥ kaścid bhadanta bhagavan manuṣya-rājo bhavet ya-m-anena Devendra-samayena rāja-śāstreṇa rājatvaṃ kārayet*.

7 Cf. also chapter 13 on King Susambhava.

8 Skjaervø 2004, 6.5.14–6.5.32. Chapter 12 also includes a description of grave dangers for kings who fail to follow the Dharma; see Skjaervø 2004, 12.17–12.61.

9 *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* 6.1.35–36 (Skjaervø 2004): *manuṣyarājā … teṣāṃ sūtrendra-dhārakāṇāṃ bhikṣuṇāṃ sarva-pratyarthikebhya ārakṣāṃ kuryāt*.

10 *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* 6.2.17, 6.2.37 (Skjaervø 2004): *te vayaṃ bhadanta bhagavaṃś catvāro mahā-rājānaḥ sa-bala-parivārā anekair yakṣa-śata-sahasrair adṛśyair kāyātma-bhāvais tenopasaṃkramiṣyāmaḥ*. It seems that the redactors wished to avoid the risk that the listener expects these divine beings to come in a perceptible form, and then perhaps be disappointed.

11 Skjaervø 2004, 6.3–6.4.

12 Skjaervø 2004, 7.1–7.67. For a detailed study of this chapter see Ludvik 2007, 145–221.

will appear and remove all diseases and difficulties. The ritual instructions prescribe that one should pound herbs and consecrate the powder with mantras at the time of the Puṣya constellation. A *maṇḍala* should be drawn with cow-dung, flowers should be scattered and gold and silver vessels filled. Four armed men and four well-adorned maidens should be placed there holding pots in their hands, thus accomplishing the protective sealing of the boundaries (*sīmā-bandha*). One should use incense, music, umbrellas, flags, banners, mirrors, arrows, spears and *dhāraṇī*-spells, and in due course bathe behind an image of the Buddha.[13]

In chapter 8, the *Śrīparivarta*,[14] the goddess Śrī offers support to the Dharma preacher and good fortune to his audience. A rite which provides prosperity is described, through which Śrī herself enters that place. According to the ritual instructions, one's home must be purified and one should bathe and wear clean garments. One should offer worship (*pūjā*) with perfumes, flowers and incense, then sprinkle juices (*rasa*) and utter the names of Śrī, Ratnakusuma Tathāgata[15] and the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. One should then recite *dhāraṇī*-spells, draw a *maṇḍala* of cow-dung and offer perfumes, flowers and incense. Finally, a pure seat should be provided where Śrī descends and stays.

As can be seen, chapters 7 and 8 contain ritual instructions primarily for securing health and wealth. These seem to be ancillary rites which accompany the ritual for the protection of the state taught in chapter 6. Interestingly, these rituals are actually more complex than those in the *Caturmahārājaparivarta*, where recitation is the main focus, potentially indicating a somewhat later date of composition. It is worth noting that chapters 9 and 10, the *Dṛḍhāparivarta* and *Saṃjñāyaparivarta*, also offer further support and protection but do not include detailed ritual instructions.

4 *Dhāraṇī* Literature Presenting Rites for the Protection of the State

Perhaps contemporaneous with the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, there are at least three pieces of *dhāraṇī* literature proper which include detailed ritual instructions for the protection of the state: the *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī*, *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā/Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinīdhāraṇī* and the *Mahāsāhasrapramar-*

13 Skjaervø 2004, lvi notes that the treatise on magical herbs and the *dhāraṇī*s may be later additions to this chapter.

14 Skjaervø 2004, 8.1–8.71. On Śrī Lakṣmī see Shaw 2006, 94–109.

15 Note that a Ratnakusumasaṃpuṣpitagātra Tathāgata is listed in the shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūha*.

danasūtra.[16] The former two are centered on this theme, while in the latter the defence of the state is included as one among various rituals. In all three cases the monarch is directly referred to as the beneficiary of the rites.

The *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī*[17] was edited by Giunta (2008) based on an undated palm-leaf manuscript, and compared with the Tibetan translation by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde of circa 800 CE.[18] The Chinese translation by Dānapāla/Shi-hu dates to 982 CE.[19] The setting of this scripture is the celestial Trāyastriṃśat abode where Śakra requests help from the Buddha after the gods have been defeated by the *asura*s, led by Vemacitrin. The lord tells Śakra to learn the invincible *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī*, which he had come to know from Aparājitadhvaja Tathāgata during a previous existence. Then the Bhagavān reveals the *dhāraṇī* and teaches that its user becomes victorious in battles and conflicts. The spell is to be fixed atop a banner (*dhvajāgra*) or around the neck, and protects kings (*manuṣyarāja*) or heroic people (*śūrapuruṣa*). Manifesting as a divine female, it stands in the frontline, providing fearlessness and protection, driving the enemy away as well as granting blessings and prosperity.[20] Following the main text, the manuscript incorporates the brief *Dhvajāgrakeyūrahṛdaya* "spell-essence."

The *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā/Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinīdhāraṇī*[21] was edited, along with the Tibetan translation[22] by Bstan pa'i nyin byed,[23] by Banerjee (1941) on the basis of a palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1361 CE. No Chinese translation seems to be available. The setting of this scripture is Mount Svar-

16 While the Chinese and Tibetan translations of these scriptures are relatively late, on the basis of language and terminology it seems that all three date to the first half of the first millennium. On the approximate antiquity of the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* see Hidas 2013, 229.

17 Cf. the *Dhajagga-sutta* in Pali (*Saṃyutta-nikāya* I.11.3), where the Buddha teaches that, just as Sakka encouraged the gods to behold his banner or that of other deities when experiencing fear in a battle against the *asura*s, monks experiencing dread should call to mind the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.

18 E.g. Derge Kanjur 612 = 923. Cf. also *Lhan kar ma* No. 376 (Herrmann-Pfandt 2008, 215) and Dunhuang IOL TIB J 372 (Dalton and van Schaik 2006, 106).

19 Taishō Tripiṭaka 943. Cf. also Taishō Tripiṭaka 1363 from 988 CE.

20 *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī* (Giunta 2008, 190): *dhvajāgre kaṇṭhe vā baddhvā dhārayitavyā | manuṣyarājñā śūrapuruṣāṇāñ ca sarvveṣā rakṣā karoti strīrūpadhāriṇī bhūtvā purataḥ tiṣṭhati abhayaṃ dadāti | rakṣā karoti parasainya vidrāpati māṅgalyaṃ pavitra śrīlakṣmī saṃsthāpikā*. Cf. the *Śrīparivarta* of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.

21 Note that there exists another text titled *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā*, quoted, for example, in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

22 E.g. Derge Kanjur 684.

23 Known more widely as Si tu Paṇ chen (1700–1775).

ṇaśṛṅga,[24] the mansion of Vaiśravaṇa, where Nārāyaṇa requests help from the Buddha upon defeat by the *asura*s, much like the *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī*. The lord tells him that earlier, during the reign of King Ratnaśrī of Magadha, there lived Sarveśvara Tathāgata, from whom the Bhagavān learned the *Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī* spell. For hundreds of thousands of years that king ruled righteously by the power of this *dhāraṇī*. In his next existence he was born as Māndhātā, a bodhisattva and *cakravartin* king,[25] who practiced charity for sixty-four thousand *kalpa*s and became a buddha. Then the lord tells Nārāyaṇa that this spell should be learnt, recited and taught to others. The *dhāraṇī* should be fixed upon five models of chariots and placed across the battlefield. Then the personified Queen of Spells (i.e. Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinī) should be visualized there as devouring the enemy.[26] At midday the king should write down this incantation with saffron, after which he is to conquer the hostile army.[27] By reciting this *dhāraṇī* three times daily one is freed from even the five sins of immediate retribution, gains heaps of merit and shall be able to remember former existences. Laypeople, monastics, kings (*rāja*), princes (*rājaputra*), Brahmins and Dharma preachers are all promised to benefit from this spell.

The *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* was edited in Iwamoto 1937 based primarily on a paper manuscript from 1553 (CE[28]), while its rituals are studied in Hidas 2013. The Tibetan translation by Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha and Ye shes sde dates to circa 800 CE, and the Chinese one was completed by Dānapāla/Shi-hu in 983 CE. The setting of this long and complex

24 The Suvarṇaśṛṅga is listed as a King of Mountains (*parvatarājā*) in the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī* (Takubo 1972, 49).

25 For an overview of the classical Buddhist ideal of *cakravartin* kingship see Harvey 2007. On the *vidyādhara-cakravartin* of tantric Buddhism see Davidson 2002, 330–334.

26 For references to consuming the enemy cf. the *Dhvajāgrakeyūrahṛdaya*: *oṃ bhagavati dhvajāgrakeyūre parasainyavidhvaṃsanakari | svasainyaparipālanakari | ulkāmukhi | kha kha | khāhi khāhi | parasainyam anantamukhenānantabhujena prahara prahara | hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*.

27 *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā* (Banerjee 1941, 4): *nārāyaṇa atha tasmin samparāye senayor ubhayor madhye pañcasu sthāneṣu etad dhāraṇīcakraṃ rathapratikṛtau yuñjyāt | nārāyaṇa ubhayor madhye parasenāgre tasmin rathamadhye mahāmāyāvijayavāhiṇīṃ nāma vidyārājñīm anekaśatasahasrarūpām anekaśatasahasrabhujāṃ trinetrāṃ lohitakṛṣṇavarṇāṃ dīptaiś caturvaktraiḥ parasenāṃ bhakṣayantīm iva cintayet | svayam eva cakravartyākāraṃ kṛtvā madhyāhne dhāraṇīṃ kuṅkumena likhitvā rājā parasya ca senāṃ svabhāvena māyāsadṛśena cchādayan vividhena sāreṇa vijayī bhaviṣyati*.

28 Iwamoto (1937) consulted two undated paper manuscripts as well. All three codices are *Pañcarakṣā* collections kept in Japan. Many thanks to Dr. Kenichi Kuranishi for his help with the Japanese introduction to the edition.

scripture is Rājagṛha, where the Buddha and the Four Great Kings offer protection from calamities following an earthquake in Vaiśālī. Towards the end, this *sūtra* provides detailed instructions for several rituals, including one for the protection of the state. This prescribes that the royal residence (*rājadhānī*) should be cleaned and purified with flowers, incense and other offerings. Four maidens should be placed in the four directions with swords in their hands.[29] The *dhāraṇī* should be recited and written on strips of cloth, mounted on the top of *caitya*s, trees and banners. Recitation should continue for a fortnight, thus saving the state.[30]

5 *Dhāraṇī* Literature Making General Reference to the Protection of the State

Various examples of *dhāraṇī* literature, in the wider sense, include references to the defense of the state, while not being centered on this theme and lacking detailed ritual prescriptions. Schopen (1978: 363–367) lists the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra, Prajñāpāramitā*, *Ratnaketuparivarta*, *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha* and *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* as relevant texts surviving among the Gilgit manuscripts (6th–7th centuries). The *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* claims that all disturbances to an anointed *kṣatriya* king, including hostile armed forces, shall cease by performing worship (*pūjā*). The *Prajñāpāramitā* teaches that those who study this text shall be protected in the battlefield. The *Ratnaketuparivarta* declares that those kings who commit this spell-text to writing shall not face any danger from an enemy's army. If they raise the *Ratnaketudhāraṇī* on a banner they shall be victorious in battle. Paying reverence to the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha* will cause victory for kings and queens in war and riots. Those monarchs who preserve the *Śrīmahādevīstotra* will face no calamities in their realm, and Śrī herself will reside in their homes.[31] In addition to these scriptures, the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* states that to protect one's land from the enemy or calamities the ritually pure officiant should fill a vessel with various substances, perform great *pūjā* and recitation; peace shall follow thus.[32] The *Amoghapāśakalparāja* teaches a couple of methods for success in warfare.

29 Cf. the *Sarasvatīparivarta* of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.

30 For a detailed translation see Hidas 2013, 236–237. See also Gentry 2016.

31 Cf. the *Śrīparivarta* of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.

32 *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* (Meisezahl 1962, 325–326): *paraviṣayarājyarāṣṭropadravarakṣāsu pūrṇṇakalaśaṃ sthāpayitvā śucinā śucivastraprāvṛtena mahatīṃ pūjāṃ kṛtvā vācayitavyam | mahāśāntir bhavati*. Cf. also *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 3b.

By the use of a magical noose the army of the enemy and its weapons shall be bound.[33] By encircling a sword the weapons of the enemy shall be broken and disabled.[34] The *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* promises the destruction of hostile armies and victory in battle with the help of its *dhāraṇī*.[35] This scripture includes a testimonial narrative in which King Brahmadatta overpowers the army of the enemy by fixing the spell upon his body before entering the battlefield.[36] In another story it is Śakra who defeats the *asura*s with the help of this incantation.[37]

6 The Characteristics of Buddhist Rituals for the Protection of the State in the First Half of the First Millennium

As the passages above show, the protection of the state and acquiring safety in battle were recurring topics in Buddhist ritual literature from the early centuries of the common era onwards. The target audience was primarily monarchs.[38] Besides defence, the texts occasionally promise additional rewards as well, most commonly health and wealth. While these incantation scriptures principally aim at worldly goals, it is worth noting that in a few cases they promise a better future existence, such as rebirth as a bodhisattva. Even bud-

33 *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 18b (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai. 1998–2011): *sainyamadhyotkṣipet sainyā pāśabandhā bhavanti | saṃgrāmamadhye kṣipet sarvvaśastrapraharaṇadhanuśaraśaktiˇasimusalamusuṇḍicakrakuntaˇāyudhavarmakavacā sarvve pāsabandhā bhavanti ||*. 21b: *saṃgrāmamadhye kṣipeta yasya nāmā kṣipyate sa ca pāsabaddhā agratam upatiṣṭhati |*. 30a: *saṃgrāme yudhyamāne krodharājaṃ japatā pāśaṃ saṃgrāmamadhye kṣeptavyam | mahāntaṃ āśīviṣaṃ prādurbhavati | vikaṭākṣaṃ lolajihvaṃ aṅgāradīptinayanaṃ saha darśanamātrāṇi caturaṅgaṃ balakāya diśividiśāni prapalāyante |*.

34 *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 29a (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai. 1998–2011): *ato vidyādhareṇa kruddhena khaḍga bhrāmayaṃ sarvvavighnavināyakānāṃ duṣṭayakṣarākṣasānāṃ sarvvabhūtānāṃ chinnā bhaviṣyati | sakṛtasaṃgrāmamadhye bhrāmayet sarvvayodhinānā(ṃ)m āyudhānā cchinnā bhaviṣyanti | stambhitāni bhaviṣyanti | sarvve daśavidiśāni prapatāyanti |*.

35 Hidas 2012, 205, 241, 243, 249.

36 Hidas 2012, 216–217. Note the setting similar to the *Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī*.

37 Hidas 2012, 227.

38 Note that monarchs were also addressed in a highly elevated literary style by prominent Buddhist personalities such as Mātṛceta and Nāgārjuna in the first centuries CE (cf. e.g. Zimmermann 2006, 228–229, Sanderson 2009, 103–104, Bronkhorst 2011, 103–107). While works such as the *Ratnāvalī* lack the ritual instructions, as might be expected, their counsel of righteous governance, however idealized, sometimes resonates with certain parts of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*.

dhahood is promised.[39] These texts of both mainstream and Mahāyāna Buddhism employ various ritual means, such as the use of mantra, *dhāraṇī*, *maṇḍala* and *sīmābandha*. It is difficult to suggest a precise chronology for the emergence of these scriptures and, for example, to estimate whether the grand *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* appeared first, with independent *dhāraṇī* texts following afterwards, or the reverse. What can be stated more or less with certainty is that all the aforementioned scriptures originate from the first half of the first millennium, but emerged over an uncertain interval of time.

As far as actual users or evidence for the protection of the state in South Asia is concerned, only indirect information is available. Various Chinese sources refer to the successful use of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* in some Indian kingdoms as early as the first century CE, although these may only be legendary accounts for the promotion of Buddhism in China.[40] A more telling piece of evidence, however, from the middle of the first millennium, is the Gilgit collection of manuscripts, where royal patronage and apotropaic literature are closely linked, albeit without surviving exemplars of the *Sūtra of Golden Light*.[41] In the southern island of Sri Lanka, where monastics and worldly rulers were deeply interdependent for most of the centuries, we have no proof that the Sangha provided protection for the state or that the king used the above mentioned texts. There are however accounts from at least the fourth century CE onwards reporting the performance of *paritta*-recitals with the *Ratanasutta* in times of national calamities.[42] Simultaneously, in East Asia we find plenty of direct evi-

39 See the *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā*.

40 Ludvik 2007, 150–151.

41 See von Hinüber 2014 and 2018. It is notable that in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (early-7th-century), the *Mahāmāyūrī* (surviving in Gilgit in numerous manuscript copies) is mentioned as being recited for healing at the royal palace: "So amid the salutations of the chamberlains he slowly entered the palace. There he found people bestowing all their goods in presents, worshipping the family gods, engaged in cooking the ambrosial posset, performing the Six Oblation sacrifice, offering tremulous *Durvā* leaves besmeared with clotted butter, chanting the Mahā-Māyūrī hymn, purifying the household, completing the rites for keeping out the spirits by offerings. Earnest Brahmans were occupied in muttering Vedic texts; Śiva's temple resounded with the murmur of the Hendecad to Rudra; Śaivas of great holiness were bathing Virūpākṣa's image with thousands of vessels of milk." (Cowell and Thomas 1897, 137).

42 Gunawardana 1979, 226–227; Norman 1983, 174. On *paritta* texts, the *Ratanasutta/Ratnasūtra* tradition and its remodelling as the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra* see Skilling 1992. Cf. also Hidas 2013. On modern Thai amulet cultures incorporating the *Ratanasutta* see McDaniel 2014, 143–144. On Southeast Asian aspects and the recitation of the *Mahādibbamanta* before going to battle see Skilling 2007, 195, and for a detailed study of this text Jaini 1965. Note that Pali canonical sources acknowledge the efficacy of spells, but do not have a high opinion of them: in the *Kevaṭṭasutta* (Dīgha-nikāya 11) the Buddha teaches

dence for protective practices employing *dhāraṇī* texts. De Visser (1935), May (1967), Sango (2015) and Gummer (2015) provide a detailed picture how the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* was actually used for the defense of the emperor and the state. From these studies it becomes clear that Japanese ritual procedures follow what is prescribed in the original Sanskrit remarkably closely;[43] it thus appears that the 'periphery' preserves well what may have once been the norm in the native center of this tradition.

7 The Continuity of Buddhist Rituals for the Protection of the State into Later Times

From the second half of the first millennium CE, new types of Buddhist ritual texts incorporated the theme of state protection in South Asia within the tantric traditions. Sanderson (2009, 105–106) refers to passages in the *Sarvavajrodaya* of Ānandagarbha and the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* of Dīpaṅkarabhadra (9th c.) being used for the protection of the monarch, in connection to rites of initiation. Sanderson (2009, 125) also observes that the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* both offer protection to the ruler through royal consecration. In the latter text protection is accomplished by Vajradhara and the Four Great Kings, reflecting continuity with earlier sources. As for chronicled accounts of the protection of royal dynasties, Sanderson (2004, 238; 2009, 93–94) refers to Tāranātha's history of Indian Buddhism, which reports that upon seeing omens of the future ruin of the Pāla dynasty, the eminent master Buddhajñānapāda of Vikramaśīla persuaded Dharmapāla (r. circa 775–812) to institute a regular fire-sacrifice at the monastery in order to protect his dynasty. The rituals lasted for many years at immense cost. In another reference to Tāranātha, Sanderson (2009, 107) notes that tantric rituals were often performed to avert the enemy, especially Turuṣkas. Based on passages from the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* and a grant by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, dated to 805 CE, Sanderson (2003–2004, 433–434 fn. 308) writes that "[t]he practice of going into battle with an image of one's personal deity and the belief that this will protect one's troops and confound those of the

that monks who display supernatural powers in order to promote faith in the Bhagavān among people would be thought by some to have used incantations like the *Gandhārīvijjā* or *Maṇikāvijjā* to achieve these accomplishments, rather than the power of their contemplation.

43 The *Sūtra of Golden Light* reached Japan as early as the end of the 6th century (Skjaervø 2004, xxxii).

enemy, is well attested in Indian Buddhist sources and in Far-Eastern sources derived from them." A few texts of this period also pick up on the theme of protection in warfare. The *Siddhaikavīratantra* introduces mantric amulets worn on the body which, with help from enchanted swords, ensure victory in battle.[44] The *Laghusaṃvaratantra* claims that one who enters the battlefield after reciting a certain mantra one thousand times towards the enemy cannot be hurt by weapons and obtains an indestructible *vajra*-body.[45] Finally, one of the latest and most complex tantric scriptures in South Asia, the *Kālacakratantra*, mentions a number of war-machines (*yantra*), presumably integrated into this religious text because of the imminent threat from Western 'barbarian' invaders in North India around the 11th century.[46]

8 The Protection of the State in Modern Nepal

As for recent practices in the Kathmandu Valley, there is evidence for the performance of a royal ritual for protection involving *Pañcarakṣā* recitation in the era of Mahindra Vira Vikram Shah (r. 1955–1972). As the officiant, Ratnarāj Vajrācārya of Patan, kindly provided information, in 1962 he performed a ceremony in the royal palace for the protection of the monarch and his realm using this influential apotropaic collection.[47] In this part of South Asia, few early manuscripts of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* survive, though this *sūtra* became part of the renowned *Navadharma* collection of nine texts in medieval times.[48]

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44 *Siddhaikavīratantra* (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai. 1995, 7): *kuṅkumādilikhitaṃ kaṇṭhe bāhau mantraṃ dhārayan saṃgrāme śastraṃ stambhayati; saṃgrāme 'nusmaran mantraṃ vijayaṃ labhate; khaḍgam abhimantrya saṃgrāme praviśaṃ jayam āsādayati.*

45 *Laghusaṃvaratantra* 12.4 (Pandey 2002): *parasainyābhimukhaṃ sahasrajaptaṃ kṛtvā saṃgrāme vā prativiśati. śastraśatair hanyamānasya vyathā notpadyate. na ca śastrasahasrair bhidyate. vajraśarīraṃ bhavati.* On the formation of the concept of *vajrakāya* see Radich 2011.

46 See Grönbold 1996. Many thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó for calling my attention to this article. On Buddhism and warfare in a pan-Asian context through the ages see Jerryson and Juergensmeyer 2010.

47 Personal communication, April 2009. Many thanks to the late Min Bahadur Shakya for arranging a meeting with Ratnarāj Vajrācārya.

48 On the *Navadharma* or *Navagrantha* collection, consisting of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Pañcarakṣā*, *Nāmasaṃgīti*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Daśabhūmi*, *Samādhirāja*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Lalitavistara* and *Laṅkāvatāra* in an earlier set, with the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Tathāgataguhyaka* replacing the *Pañcarakṣā* and *Nāmasaṃgīti* in its present form, see Tuladhar–Douglas 2006, 144–147 and von Rospatt 2015, 819–821. The latter remarks that "[t]hese canonical works are not so much studied for their content as liturgically recited or put to other ritual uses."

Various other scriptures of *dhāraṇī* literature, however, such as the *Pañcarakṣā*, are available in several old palm-leaf witnesses, and we have colophons from the wider region which indicate their use at the court.[49]

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49 For the use of the *Pañcarakṣā* by a Pāla queen in the 11th century see Pal 1992 (cf. also Hidas 2012, 84–85). For modern talismanic cults related to warfare in Japan see Bond 2014, and for the protective *Jinapañjaragāthā* used in Thailand see McDaniel 2011, 77–120.

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CHAPTER 11

Adapting Śaiva Tantric Initiation for Exoteric Circles: The *Lokadharmiṇī Dīkṣā* and Its History in Early Medieval Sources

Nina Mirnig

1 Introduction

A consistent concern in the study of early Śaivism is to understand the scope of the clientele texts were written for, and how representative this literature was of practices on the ground at given times. The methodological limitations we face in exploring this largely prescriptive body of literature in relation to actual practice are notorious. Yet, in his seminal works on Śaiva religious history, Alexis Sanderson developed groundbreaking insights into the socio-religious and political landscape in which the surviving texts were produced, reconstructing processes that led to the dominant position of Śaivism in the medieval Indic world. Thanks to his pioneering research, and that of other scholars who have taken up the subject in the wake of his work, our understanding of the relative chronology of Śaiva scriptures and medieval authors has also greatly improved.[1] This increasingly enables us to investigate these materials historically, and thus to pursue questions of a socio-historical nature, which are at the heart of Sanderson's work. In his own words (Sanderson 2005, 230),

> [...] it is possible, I would say necessary, to read the literature and inscriptions with the sort of questions in mind that a social historian would wish to ask.

For this felicitation volume, the present article is intended as a small contribution of this kind, applying a social-historical approach to a certain form of Śaiva initiation, namely the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*. In essence, this denotes a form of initiation that is compatible with maintaining one's socio-religious and ritual obligations in society—the *lokadharma*.

1 See, e.g., Goodall 1997, xxxvi–lxxvi, and the preface and introduction to Goodall 2004, as well as Sanderson 2001 and 2014.

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Scholars familiar with tantric traditions know well that initiation (*dīkṣā*) is one of the core tantric rituals. As Goodall explains, tantric initiation was novel and different from earlier Indic forms of religious initiation, being not only "a preparation for a particular religious undertaking, but … also a transformative rite that purifies the soul."[2] This purification is achieved through an innovative ritual technology, using the power of mantras to destroy an individual's *karma*s and connected rebirths at all reality levels (*tattva*s). This enables the Śaiva Guru to free the bound soul of all ties, and to guide the candidate to a cosmic level where he can either realize liberation through union with the highest form of Śiva, if he is a liberation seeker (*mumukṣu*), or attain divine powers, if he is a seeker of supernatural powers and enjoyments (*bubhukṣu*). As such, tantric initiation confers spiritual benefits to the candidate *a priori* to his practice. It is thus arguably the most powerful tantric rite, designed in principle for practitioners who intend to devote their lives to the religion, as was probably the case in its original setting of esoteric, probably ascetic, circles.

At the same time, we know from history that tantric Śaivism did not remain confined to the margins of society, but emerged as a religious movement which successfully interfaced with the mainstream, and gradually came to dominate the religious and socio-political discourse of the early medieval Indic world.[3] As one would expect, this development is reflected in ritual and in changes to the constitution of the initiatory community, which by then encompassed not only ascetic practitioners fully devoted to Śaiva religious practice, but also brahmanical householders. The increasing engagement with the mainstream led to the creation of exoteric forms of initiation, including versions that would confer spiritual benefits without requiring the candidate to adopt a purely Śaiva ritual lifestyle. The most well-known example is the *nirbījā dīkṣā* ("initiation without the seed [of having to perform post-initiatory rites]"), which offers the candidate the highest soteriological goal of ultimate liberation at the time of death. However, according to the scriptures, such an initiation was only granted in special cases, namely when the candidates were considered unable to perform any kind of post-initiatory practice for special reasons. The list of such people classically comprises the king, but also the old, the young, the sick, and women.[4]

2 See Goodall's entry on *dīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

3 See, e.g., Sanderson 2009.

4 See, e.g., *Svacchanda*, 4.88, as quoted by Goodall in his entry on *nirbījadīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

The other, lesser-known form of exoteric initiation is the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, which forms the subject of this paper. This term translates as "the initiation which contains/adheres to the *lokadharma*," the *lokadharma* denoting the sphere of observance that Śaiva sources consistently define as the exoteric religion of *śruti* and *smṛti*, that is to say the domain of the brahmanical householder.[5] Unlike the *nirbījā*, access to the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation is not limited to specific groups, and in its original context, the initiation is mainly benefit-oriented: a *lokadharmī* initiate is said to pursue mundane spiritual goals before attaining some kind of divine status. He does so by means of the merit procured through lay worship, and not through Śaiva rites that require the propitiation of mantras. This seemingly antithetical initiatory category is little discussed by Śaiva authors, probably precisely because of the doctrinal implications of such an initiation, which foregrounds a level of practice and spiritual goals that Śaivas claim to surpass. In the course of time, the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation underwent several shifts in application. These developments are deeply entangled with the complex history of the system of initiatory categories, which was subject to processes of division and reassignment reflecting local and historical circumstances. A historical investigation into this form of exoteric Śaiva initiation therefore touches upon the larger issue of how tantric initiatory communities related to the brahmanical mainstream, at various stages, after their emergence from esoteric ascetic circles.

The first part of the paper investigates the *lokadharmiṇī* in its original setting, as an initiation for Sādhakas, first by surveying the available sources and then by contextualizing them in the socio-religious setting of tantric Śaivism's early stages. The second part will examine how this category of exoteric *bubhukṣu* initiation is subsequently re-assigned to the sphere of the *mumukṣu*, thus becoming integrated into the Śaiva soteriological path, especially in the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The third section looks into the usage of the *lokadharmī* category in the ritual manuals of the 11th–13th centuries, particularly sources from the South, tracing how in some works, notably the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, there is another shift in usage: the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* comes to denote a regular Śaiva initiation for the householder, as opposed to the ascetic, who receives a *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*. The final section reflects upon how the initiatory category of the *lokadharmiṇī* fits within the larger context of tantric Śaivism's development in medieval India.

5 For an example, see Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.85: *lokamārgaḥ śrutisṃrtyācāraḥ* …, also quoted in note 10.

2 The Original *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* as a Form of Sādhaka Initiation: Sources and Mechanics

The earliest sources that mention a *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*—always as the counterpart of the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*—feature it as a form of Sādhaka initiation[6] in the domain of the *bubhukṣu*, i.e. the seeker of power and enjoyment, as opposed to the liberation-seeker (*mumukṣu*). The first extant text to feature the *lokadharmiṇī* is the *Svacchanda*. In its fourth chapter, dedicated in its entirety to initiation, the text gives an overview of all the initiation categories, dividing the initiatory community into *mumukṣu*s and *bubhukṣu*s. The former may receive either a *sabījā* or *nirbījā* initiation, and the latter a *śivadharmiṇī* or *lokadharmiṇī* initiation.[7] Of these, the *śivadharmī* Sādhaka is the Śaiva Sādhaka proper, who through initiation gains the ability to propitiate Śaiva mantras in order to attain benefits and supernatural powers, while the *lokadharmī* Sādhaka is his exoteric counterpart, seeking enjoyments and spiritual benefits through mundane religious acts rather than mantras:

> The Sādhaka is of two kinds. On the one hand, there is the *śivadharmī*, for whom the cosmic path is purified by Śaiva mantras and who is yoked to [particular] mantras that are to be mastered; he is knowledgeable, consecrated [to office], and devoted to the propitiation of mantras. This Śaiva Sādhaka is capable [of mastering] the threefold supernatural powers.[8] The second [kind of Sādhaka] adheres to the mundane path and

6 Brunner, in her 1975 paper dedicated to the figure of the Sādhaka, also outlines many of the general features of the Śaiva Sādhaka's initiation and practice thereafter. She does, however, not treat the *lokadharmiṇī* kind of initiation at length.

7 *Svacchandatantra* 4. 79b–81b: *atha dīkṣādhvaśuddhyarthaṃ bhuktimuktiphalārthinām || vidhānam ucyate sūkṣmaṃ pāśavicchittikārakam | guruḥ saṃprcchate śiṣyaṃ dvividhaṃ phalakāṅkṣiṇam || phalam ākāṅkṣase yādṛk tādṛk sādhanam ārabhe |*, "Next there is the initiation for the purpose of the purification of the cosmic path (*adhvan*) for those who seek the fruit of [either] enjoyment or liberation. The subtle method that causes the cutting of the bonds is explained. The Guru asks the candidate seeking benefits [about] the two-fold [option]. Whatever fruit he desires, accordingly he should start the propitiation of Mantras."

8 This may be a reference to the old classification of *siddhi*s into three kinds, which goes back to early sources such as the *Niśvāsa* and Buddhist Kriyātantras, as Goodall (2014, 16 and 80–82) discusses. Thus, in the *Niśvāsa* Guhyasūtra three levels of *siddhi* can be attained after preparing some potion. Which kind of *siddhi* has been obtained can be deduced from the manifestation of heat, if the power is to cover great distances on foot, the manifestation of smoke if he is to have the power to disappear, and the manifestation of flames if he is to have the power to walk through the sky (Goodall 2013, 81). For more on *siddhi*-practices in Tantric Śaivism, see Vasudeva 2012.

> is devoted to the performance of good and meritorious works (*iṣṭāpūrtavidhau*); desiring the fruits produced by [his] *karma*, he abides solely [devoted to] meritorious [*karma*], free of the unmeritorious. [The Guru] should always perform the destruction of the unmeritorious portion [of the candidate's *karma*] with mantras.[9]

Kṣemarāja, in his commentary, further specifies that meritorious acts in the case of the *lokadharmī* consist of bathing at sacred places, providing food and building wells, tanks and monasteries.[10] These are precisely the kinds of religious activity that we would expect of an ordinary lay worshipper. As we see in this passage, what the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation does is to enhance the initiate's spiritual benefits by destroying bad *karma* connected to all reality levels, leaving only good *karma* and its positive outcomes in place.

This function of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* is reiterated later in the chapter, when the text explains how the two kinds of *bubhukṣu* initiations differ from that of the *mumukṣu*. These differences concern two points:[11] firstly, the portion of *karma* that is purified and thus removed for the candidate; and second, the cosmic level at which the candidate is united with the respective deity upon initiation's conclusion:

> Next, he should then bring about destruction of the past and future *karma* for the liberation-seeker (*mumukṣu*), because of his indifference [to the world]. He should not purify the one [part of *karma*] that is the *prārabdha* [karma], [which fuels his present existence]. But for the Sādhaka, *he should purify* [*only*] *one* [*part of the*] *past karma for the purpose of power*,[12] and having manifested the past and future *karma* together (*ekastham*), he should initiate [the candidate]. This is the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*. The

9 *Svacchanda* 4.83–86b: *sādhako dvividhaḥ tatra śivadharmy ekataḥ sthitaḥ | śivamantraviśuddhādhvā sādhyamantraniyojitaḥ || jñānavāñ cābhiṣiktaś ca mantrārādhanatatparaḥ | trividhāyāḥ tu siddher vai so 'trārhaḥ śivasādhakaḥ || dvitīyo lokamārgastha iṣṭāpūrtavidhau rataḥ | karmakṛt phalam ākāṅkṣañ śubhaikastho 'śubhojjhitaḥ || tasya kāryaṃ sadā mantrair aśubhāṃśavināśanam |.*

10 Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.85: *lokamārgaḥ śrutismṛtyācāraḥ. iṣṭaṃ tīrthasnānnadānādi. pūrtaṃ kūpataḍākamaṭhādi*, "The mundane path is the observance according to *śruti* and *smṛti*. The sacred rites (*iṣṭam*) [consist of] such actions as bathing at a sacred site and giving away food. The meritorious acts (*pūrta*) are [the donations and setting up of] such things as wells, tanks and monasteries for ascetics."

11 See also, Brunner 1975, 417–420.

12 See pp. 254 ff. for a discussion of this problematic passage, here italicized.

> other form [of *bubhukṣu* initiation] is the *lokadharmiṇī*, which destroys both past and future demerit. That *lokadharmiṇī* [*dīkṣā*] is known to exclude the obligation to propitiate mantras [by means of *purvasevā* etc.]. However, when the current body breaks, [the candidate] experiences [the series of eight supernatural natural powers] starting with becoming very small (*aṇimā*). Having experienced [these] enjoyments he moves upwards to whichever [cosmic level] the Guru has joined him [by *yojanikā*]. Whether this is at the *sakala* or *niṣkala* level [of Śiva] depends on [the preference of] the candidate and Guru.[13]

Thus, we learn that the *lokadharmī* candidate can be united with any deity of any cosmic level at the end of the procedure, and could even choose to be united with the highest, *niṣkala* form of Śiva, a form of union synonymous with the state of ultimate liberation. In addition, while the *lokadharmī* initiate cannot propitiate Śaiva mantras, unlike the Sādhaka, he is nevertheless granted supernatural powers, which are usually said to result from mantra practice; the difference is that he experiences these powers after death.

Regarding the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, we note that there is some difficulty interpreting how *karma* is held to be eliminated at this point. As evident from the translation, the problematic phrase is 142ab, *sādhakasya tu bhūtyarthaṃ prākkarmaikaṃ tu śodhayet*; this is supposed to define the difference in procedure from the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* of the *mumukṣu*, for whom only *prārabdha karma*, the *karma* that fuels the current life, is to be preserved.[14] Looking at the different treatments of this phrase, we find that commentators disagree on whether or not any additional *karmic* bonds are excluded from purification—and in effect, whether the *dīkṣā* of the Sādhaka is very close to that of the *mumukṣu* Putraka or not. Kṣemarāja, in his commentary, wants to see a clear difference, and interprets this passage to indicate that two kinds of *karma* are excluded from purification, in case of the Sādhaka, namely (1) the *karma* that is necessary for the attainment of supernatural powers (i.e. *bhūtyarthaṃ*), without

13 *Svacchanda* 4.141–145: *prākkarmabhāvikasyātha abhāvaṃ bhāvayet tadā | mumukṣor nirapekṣatvāt prārabdhr ekaṃ na śodhayet || sādhakasya tu bhūtyarthaṃ prākkarmaikaṃ tu śodhayet | prākkarmāgāmi caikasthaṃ bhāvayitvā ca dīkṣayet || śivadharmiṇy asau dīkṣā lokadharmiṇy ato 'nyathā | prāktanāgamikasyāpi adharmakṣayakāriṇī || lokadharmiṇy asau jñeyā mantrārādhanavarjitā | prārabdhadehabhede tu bhuṅkte sa hy aṇimādikān || bhogān bhuktvā vrajed ūrdhvaṃ guruṇā yatra yojitaḥ | sakale niṣkale vāpi śiṣyācāryavaśād bhaved ||.*

14 For the *locus classicus* regarding the mechanics of *prārabdha karma*, see *Kiraṇa* 6.20–21, edited and translated in Goodall 1998.

making explicit what that means,[15] and (2) the good portion of the *prārabdha karma*, which ensures the success of the *siddhi* practice by preventing its being blocked by bad *karma*.[16] On the other hand, Abhinavagupta, when adopting this passage in his *Tantrāloka*, as discussed below, drops pādas 142cd and rephrases 142ab as *prākkarmetthaṃ tu śodhayet*, "He should purify the past *karma* in the same way [as in the case for the *mumukṣu*]"—thus indicating that for him, the procedure for the Sādhaka is exactly the same as for the *mumukṣu* Putraka, except that the *prārabdha karma* is directed towards supernatural powers rather than liberation. In his commentary on this passage, Jayaratha, in turn, criticizes Kṣemarāja's reading of *ekam* instead of *ittham*, undermining his understanding that the bad portion of the *prārabdha karma* is destroyed, instead saying that neither is it possible to remove any part of the *prārabdha* karma, since this fuels the current life force, nor does this interpretation have scriptural support.[17] At the same time, he remains silent about the fact that the text teaches the removal of only the bad *karma* in case of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*.[18]

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15 Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.142a (*sādhakasya tu bhūtyarthaṃ*): *bhūtiproyojanaṃ bhāvimantrārādhanarūpaṃ yat tad api na śodhayed ity arthaḥ*, "He should not purify the [portion of *karma*] which is for the future propitiation of mantras for the purpose of supernatural powers; this is the meaning."

16 Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.142b (*prākkarmaikaṃ tu śodhayet*): *bhūtyarthād yat prāg dehārambhi śubhāśubhaṃ tata ekam aśubham evāsya śodhayet, evaṃ hi nirvighnaṃ bhogasiddhir bhavati || yat tu janmāntarasaṃcitaṃ śubhāśubhaṃ yac cāsmiñ janmani kariṣyati, tat sarvam uktanītyā mantrārādhanavarjam asya putrakavac chodhyam evety āha*, "For the purpose of supernatural powers, from the past pure and impure [*karma*] that maintains the [current] body (i.e. the *prārabdha karma*) he should only purify the impure [portion] for him, for in this way (*evam*) the achievement of enjoyment comes about without any obstacles. As for the pure and impure [*karma*] that is accumulated in other [past] births and which he will do in a [future] birth, all those should be purified for him according to the proclaimed procedure, like in the case of the Putraka, apart from [those *karma*s for] the propitiation of mantras (*mantrārādhanavarjam*). Therefore he said, [*prākkarmāgāmi caikasthaṃ bhāvayitvā ca dīkṣayet* (*Svacchanda* 4.142cd)]."

17 Jayaratha *ad Tantrāloka* 15.28: *sādhakasya ca ittham eva karmaśodhanaṃ, kiṃ tu tat bhūtyarthaṃ, tasya hi bhogaunmukhyāt tadvāsanābhedāt phalabheda iti pratijñāto 'pi artho nirvāhitaḥ | yad uktaṃ "sādhakasya tu bhūrtyarthaṃ prākkarmetthaṃ tu śodhayet | prākkarmāgāmi* (corr. Hatley; *prākkarmagāmi* Ed.) *caikasthaṃ bhāvayitvā tu dīkṣayet" iti. atra ca udyotakṛtā yad ittham iti apāsya ekam iti paṭhitvā dehārambhiśubhāśubhakarmamadhyād ekam aśubham api asya śodhayed iti vyākhyātaṃ, tad upekṣyam ārabdhakāryadehārambhikarmocchedāśakyatvasya prāgupapāditatvāt kva cid apy evam anāmnātatvāc ca.*

18 A similar problem of interpretation also occurs in the passage of the *Mṛgendra*, which outlines the superior and the inferior *bhautikī dīkṣā*, the former being the *śivadharmiṇī* and the latter the *lokadharmiṇī*. This passage appears to say that for the superior kind, i.e. the *śivadharmiṇī*, along with the *prārabdha karma* some undefined additional *karma* is

Another early source which distinguishes between the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* is the *Mṛgendra*, which was composed after the *Svacchanda*. This scripture maintains the same basic set of categories and organization of initiatory groups, even though it uses slightly different terminology. Thus, instead of referring to initiations for the *mumukṣu* and the *bubhukṣu*, the *Mṛgendra* uses the terms *naiṣṭhikī* and *bhautikī*,[19] the former of which is divided into the *sāpekṣā* and *nirapekṣā*,[20] corresponding to the *sabījā*/*nirbījā* distinction, and the latter again into *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī*, for which we find the following description:

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preserved for the success of the *siddhi* practice (*śaivasādhanasādhyena*), perhaps similar to Kṣemarāja's *bhūtyartham* category. *Mṛgendra* 8.1146–148: *evam eva kriyāyogād bhautiky api parāparā | kiṃ tu dehāviyogārthaṃ prārabdhaṃ karma dehinaḥ || śaivasādhanasādhyena saṃdhāya paripālayet | sānubandhaṃ dahed anyad dīpte dīkṣāhutāśane || kaṣṭākaṣṭapadāntasthe sādhake pañcakeśvare | yogo 'syātmikadeśinyām anyasyām iṣṭavigrahe ||* (for a translation, see Brunner 1985, 258). However, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, commenting on this passage, is against such an interpretation, and rather awkwardly interprets *śaivasādhanasādhyena* to refer to the post-initiatory discipline that the Sādhaka is to carry out, which would seem odd given that such post-initiatory practice is also to be carried out by the *mumukṣu*: *... prārabdhaṃ karma prārabdhakāryaṃ dehinaḥ jantoḥ dehāviyogārthaṃ śarīrapātasaṃrakṣārthaṃ śaivasādhanasādhyena samayācārapālanena saṃdhāya saṃyojya paripālayet rakṣayet*. (For a translation, see Brunner 1985, 286).

19 That the terms *bhautikī* and *naiṣṭhikī* correspond at this point to the initiations for the *bubhukṣu* and *mumukṣu* respectively, is suggested by the commentary of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (*ad Mṛgendra, Kriyāpāda* 2: *niṣṭhā kaivalyam. te bhūtiniṣṭhe prayojanaṃ yayos te tathā. bhautikī bhūtikāmasya. niṣṭhārthino naiṣṭhikī nairvāṇikīty arthaḥ*), which also Brunner follows in her translation, translating *bhautikī* as "donneuse de jouissance" and *naiṣṭhikī* as "donneuse de liberation" (Brunner 1985, 199). Further, from later passages it is clear that the *bhautikī* is equated with the Sādhaka; e.g. in *Mṛgendra, Caryāpāda* 11, where the *lokadharmiṇī* is even referred to as a Sādhaka. As such, this division of the *Mṛgendra* would reproduce the same structure as we found it in the *Svacchanda*; but internally we have to note that the category of the *bhautikī* and the *naiṣṭhikī*, if taken in this manner, don't overlap with what in the *Cāryapāda* of the *Mṛgendra* is described as *bhautikavratin*s and *naiṣṭhikavratin*s, as Brunner (1985, 347, note 2) already points out. Thus, here, the *bhautikavratin*, i.e. one who has a temporary vrata, and the *naiṣṭhikavratin*, who has a permanent vrata, are both opposed to those who have no vrata at all (*avrata*), a category which, in turn, includes the *lokadharmī sādhaka* featuring under the *bhautikī dīkṣā*. However, it may be that the *Mṛgendra* is simply not entirely consistent. Interpretative problems appear also in other places regarding the definitions and procedures for the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī*, and similarly, perhaps confusion also remains on the *bhautikī* and *naiṣṭhikī* distinction. Goodall also draws attention to the difficulties in interpreting the terms *naiṣṭhika* and *bhautika* in his entry on the term *naiṣṭhika* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

20 However, note that in her English summary it seems that Brunner (1985, 481–482) applies the divisions of *sāpekṣā* and *nirapekṣā* to both the *naiṣṭhikī* and *bhautikī*.

> The *śivadharmiṇī* [initiation] is the root of success for the fruits of the Śaiva religion for the individual soul. There is another [kind of *śivadharmiṇī*] taught without the destruction of the body, up until the dissolution of the world.[21] The remaining one is taught to be the *lokadharmiṇī*, for the purpose of [attaining the eightfold supernatural powers] starting with *aṇimā* after the current life, after all the bad portions [of *karma*] were destroyed at all reality levels.[22]

While the description of the *śivadharmīṇī* initiation differs somewhat, implying that there are two levels of Śaiva Sādhaka,[23] the explanation of the *lokadharmiṇī* resonates much with what we found in the *Svacchanda*, namely that all bad *karma* is destroyed and the initiate attains supernatural powers after death. Regarding the end point of union for the *lokadharmī* candidate, the *Mṛgendra* offers a choice similar to that of the *Svacchanda*, namely that the candidate is either lifted up to the cosmic level of his choice and absorbs the applicable deity's divine powers, or that he is united with the highest form of Śiva, for liberation:

> Having lifted up the *lokadharmī* to [the cosmic level of] the deity he desires, he should cause [this deity's] qualities to be present in the candidate, or, for those desirous of liberation, [join him] in Śiva. *He should establish the* [*regent*] *who is at the top of the* [*respective*] *path*,[24] together with his powers, recite the OṂ at the end of the mantra, and then join [him with the deity], while remaining untouched by unmeritorious [*karma*].[25]

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21 See below, note 23.

22 *Mṛgendra, Kriyāpāda* 8.6–7: *śivadharmiṇy aṇor mūlaṃ śivadharmaphalaśriyaḥ | hitetarā vinā bhaṅgaṃ tanor ā vilayād bhuvām || bhogabhūmiṣu sarvāsu duṣkṛtāṃśe hate sati | dehottarāṇimādyarthaṃ śiṣṭeṣṭā lokadharmiṇī ||.*

23 The definition of the *śivadharmiṇī* appears more general here, in comparison to the *Svacchanda*, since the *śivadharmiṇī bhautikī* initiation is simply said to confer the fruits rooted in the Śaiva religion, presumably through the propitiation of Śaiva mantras. In addition, the *Mṛgendra* also teaches a special version of the *śivadharmiṇī*, in which the candidate attains the ability to keep his body until the end of dissolution, the form of the *śivadharmī* that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha declares to be the superior one (see Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha *ad Mṛgendra* 8.6b: *itarā dvitīyā śivadharmiṇy eva tanoḥ bhaṅgaṃ vinā hitā vihitā śreyas sādhikā.*).

24 I am following Brunner's interpretation (1985, 287) of the problematic phrase placed here in italics.

25 *Mṛgendra, Kriyāpāda* 8.149–150: *lokadharmiṇam āropya mate bhuvanabhartari | taddharmāpādanaṃ kuryāc chive vā muktikāṅkṣiṇām || yasya yo 'dhvā tadantas tam upasthāpya satadbalam | mantrānte tāram uccārya yojayet kaṣṭam aspṛśān ||.*

However, the *Mṛgendra* goes even further than the *Svacchanda* and makes explicit that this procedure can also be applied in case a candidate wishes to be united with a non-Śaiva brahmanical deity:

> In exactly the same way (*evam eva*), [the Guru] may guide a devotee to union [with a deity such as] Ambikā, Sūrya, Smara, Viṣṇu or Brahmā, after having purified that path [up to the cosmic level of the desired deity] [of all bad *karma*]. And the same procedure (*evam eva hi*) [is applicable] for any other deity that is on the path [that the devotee wishes to be united with].[26]

As for the mode of religious practice of the *lokadharmī*, we learn in the *Caryāpāda* of the *Mṛgendra* that the *lokadharmī* is *avrata*,[27] presumably referring to

26 *Mṛgendra, Kriyāpāda* 8.151–152b: *evam evāmbikāsūryasmaraviṣṇuprajāsṛjām | sāyujyaṃ bhaktimān neyas tad adhvani viśodhite || mārgasthānāṃ pareṣāṃ ca devānām evam eva hi |*.

27 *Mṛgendra, Caryāpāda* 11: *sādhako lokadharmī yaḥ putrakaḥ snātako gṛhī | samayī prāggṛhasthaś ca śaivāḥ syur vratavarjitāḥ ||*, "The *lokadharmī* Sādhaka, a Putraka who is a married householder, a Samayin and *someone who was previously a householder* [and had become a *saṃnyāsin*] are Śaivas without *vratas*." (I follow Brunner (1985, 349) here in separating the Samayin and *prāggṛhastha*, i.e. one who was previously a householder, as two kinds of initiates intended here; Kṣemarāja also interprets the passage thus. However, as Brunner already points out, this category makes little sense in the present context.) See *Kṣemarāja* ad loc.: *sādhakasya śivadharmilaukikadharmibhedād dvaividhye sati lokadharmī yaḥ sādhakaḥ, putrakaḥ, tathā snātako gṛhī gṛhasthatve sati snātaḥ, samayī, prāggṛhasthaḥ pūrvaṃ gṛhasthaś cety ete vratavarjitā jñeyāḥ | prāggṛhasthaś ca ity uttarakālaṃ gārhasthyatyāgāpekṣayā | yataḥ sambhavanti kecana ājīvanam ujjhitagṛhāvasthitayaḥ | tadvailakṣaṇyārthaṃ prāggṛhasthagrahaṇam ||*. As Brunner (1985, 350, note 5) argues, *vrata* appears here to refer to a Śaiva observance with mantras, as in the *Svacchanda*, perhaps combined with an abstinent ascetic lifestyle, rather than to the performance of a Śaiva post-initiatory discipline as a whole; this is indicated by the fact that the *lokadharmī* is mentioned here next to the Putraka who is a *snātaka* and thus married, the Putraka who is a head of the household, the Samayin, and someone who is the head of the household, though this last category is dubious. In any case, of those we can expect that at least the Samayin and the married Putraka—unless he received a *nirbījā* initiation—would have had to comply with the *samayas*. On the other hand, the other interpretation of *vrata* above would fit for all those cases, since such an ascetic lifestyle would not be appropriate for the married Putraka, and the Samayin would perhaps not be considered able yet to do so given his neophyte status. Nevertheless, there appears also to be the possibility of becoming a *bhautikavratin* with a temporary *vrata*, in which case the practitioner is instructed to reject the paraphernalia he received for the practice and offer them back to the deity after the successful outcome of his *vrata* (see *Mṛgendra, Caryāpāda* 9b–10).

his not being able to perform religious observances involving propitiation of mantras, just as we have seen in the *Svacchanda*.

Aside from the *Svacchanda* and the *Mṛgendra*, there is one more scripture that features the *lokadharmiṇī* as a type of Sādhaka initiation, namely the *Tantrasadbhāva*. However, this scripture does not provide any details concerning the *lokadharmiṇī*; it mentions this initiatory category only for the sake of completeness while introducing the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, here also called *vidyādīkṣā*,[28] as the initiation undertaken by the Śaiva Sādhaka before receiving consecration.[29]

The *lokadharmiṇī*/*śivadharmiṇī* distinction between Sādhaka initiations is carried over into Abhinavagupta's early-11th-century *Tantrāloka*,[30] since Abhinavagupta incorporates the *Svacchanda* passage into his work, somewhat mod-

28 Cf. the *vidyādīkṣā* in the *Niśvāsa*, Goodall et al. 2015, 280–282.

29 *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.516cd–522 (the variants are recorded from the etext of Dyczkowski; emendations and conjectures are my own): *sa guruḥ śivatulyas tu *śivadharmaphalapradaḥ* (em.; *śivadhāmaphalapradaḥ* Ed.) ||516|| *śāntyaṃte bhūtidīkṣā tu sadāśivaphalātmikā* | **śivadharmī* (kh; *śivadharmo* K,g) *tu sā jñeyā lokadharmī matānyathā* ||517|| *śivadharmī tu yā dīkṣā sādhakānāṃ prakīrtitāḥ* | *teṣāṃ kuryābhiṣekaṃ tu sādhakatve* (kh, g; **sādhakaṃ* *? K) *niyojayet* ||518|| *sādhakasyābhiṣeko 'yaṃ vidyādīkṣād anantaram* | †*vidyādīkṣā bhavet sā tu vāsanā*bhedataḥ* (corr.; *-bhedata* mss.) *sthitā* ||519|| *na karmabhede vidyeta *sarvo 'syādhvani* (conj.; *sarvāsyādhvani* Ed.) *saṃsthitaḥ* | *kṛtāni yāni karmāṇi sarvāṇy adhva*gatāni* (K, kh; -sarvānya- g) *tu* ||520|| *tāni saṃśodhya* (K, g; sa -- kh) *vidhivat kalāpañcasthitāni vai*† | *yojanyāvasare bhedaṃ vijñātaṃ* (conj. Hatley; *bhedo vijñānaṃ* mss.) *sādhakasya tu* ||521|| *prārabdhakarma paśvarthe tam ekasthaṃ tu bhāvayet* | *śivam uccārya sakalaṃ sadāśivatanau* (K, kh; sadāsiva -- g) *nyaset* ||522||, "That Guru is equal to Śiva, bestowing the fruits of the Śaiva *dharma*. The *bhūtidīkṣā* contains the fruits of Sadāśiva at the end of the Śānti [level]. This [initiation] is known as the Śivadharmī; the other is called the Lokadharmī. The Śivadharmī is known to be the initiation for Sādhakas. For them [the Guru] should perform consecration, and unite them with the state of being Sādhakas (*sādhakatve*). The consecration for the Sādhaka [should be performed] after the *vidyādīkṣā*. †The *vidyādīkṣā* is based upon a difference in intention (*vāsanā*); *one should not understand it on the basis of difference in action* (*karma*). Everything is established on the path: all actions which have been performed, associated with [various levels of] the cosmic course [of *tattva*s] [and] established on/with the five *kalā*s, should be duly purified.† The difference [in procedure] for the Sādhaka is known to be at the time of union [with the deity]: he should manifest together (*ekastham*) the *prārabdha karma* for the sake of the bound soul, pronounce the mantra of Śiva in its *sakala* form, and place [the consciousness] into the body of Sadāśiva."

30 *Tantrāloka* 15.23c–24b: *sādhako dvividhaḥ śaivadharmā lokojjhitasthitiḥ* || *lokadharmī phalākāṃkṣī śubhasthaś cāśubhojjhitaḥ* |, "There are two types of Sādhakas. The one following the Śaiva *dharma* [i.e. Śivadharmī] is free of mundane [observances]. The *lokadharmī* Sādhaka is desirous of fruits, rooted in meritorious [actions] and free of impure [actions]."

ified.[31] However, Abhinavagupta does not deal with the *śivadharmī*/*lokadharmī* Sādhaka distinction beyond quoting this passage. On the other hand, Jayaratha returns to this division among *bubhukṣu*s in his commentary on the 13th chapter, which is dedicated to the different degrees of *śaktipāta*, the descent of Śiva's divine power upon souls, which causes them to seek initiation. In this chapter, Abhinavagupta ranks the intensity of *śaktipāta*, relating each degree—from highest, middle, and lowest, each further divided into three levels—to a certain kind of initiatory category. The principle is that the more intense the descent of power, the more immediate is the candidate's final liberation; and by this criteria he is to receive the appropriate form of initiation.[32] On this scale, the enjoyment-seeking *bubhukṣu* is at the lower end, but Abhinavagupta himself does not make explicit how he correlates different degrees of *śaktipāta* to the *śivadharmī* and *lokadharmī* initiates. Rather, he restricts himself to the *bubhukṣu*, assigning the middle (*madhya-madhya śaktipāta*) and lower levels (*manda-madhya śaktipāta*) of the middling kind of *śaktipāta* to two unspecified categories thereof. Of those, the middle level is for the *bubhukṣu* who attains Śivahood after enjoying the *siddhi*s of his respective *tattva*,[33] and the lower level for the *bubhukṣu* who enjoys *siddhi*s in his subsequent

31 *Tantrāloka* 15.27–30: *abhāvaṃ bhāvayet samyak karmaṇāṃ prācyabhāvinām* (< *Svacchanda* [Sv] 4.141ab: *prākkarmabhāvikasyātha abhāvaṃ bhāvayet tadā*) | *mumukṣor nirapekṣasya prārabdhr ekaṃ na śodhayet* (< Sv 4.141cd: *mumukṣor nirapekṣatvāt prārabdhr ekaṃ na śodhayet*) || *sādhakasya tu bhūtyartham ittham eva viśodhayet* (< Sv 4.142ab: *sādhakasya tu bhūtyarthaṃ prākkarmaikaṃ tu śodhayet*) | *śivadharmiṇy asau dīkṣā lokadharmāpahāriṇī* (< Sv 4.143ab: *śivadharmiṇy asau dīkṣā lokadharmiṇy ato 'nyathā*) || *adharmarūpiṇām eva na śubhānāṃ tu śodhanam* (< Sv 4.143cd: *prāktanāgamikasyāpi adharmakṣayakāriṇī*) | *lokadharmiṇy asau dīkṣā mantrārādhanavarjitā* (< Sv 4.144ab: *lokadharmiṇy asau jñeyā mantrārādhanavarjitā*) || *prārabdhadehabhede tu bhuṅkte 'sāv aṇimādikam* (< Sv 4.144cd: *prārabdhadehabhede tu bhuṅkte sa hy aṇimādikān*) | *bhuktvordhvaṃ yāti yatraiṣa yukto 'tha sakale 'kale* (< Sv 4.145ab: *bhogān bhuktvā vrajed ūrdhvaṃ guruṇā yatra yojitaḥ* | *sakale niṣkale vāpi śiṣyācāryavaśād bhaved*) ||, "He should destroy all the past and future *karma*s for the liberation-seeker who is indifferent. He should only purify the *prārabdha karma*. For the Sādhaka he should purify [the *karma*s] in the same manner for the purpose of powers (*bhūti*). This is the *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, which removes the worldly religion (*lokadharmāpahāriṇī*). The purification of only the bad *karma*, and not the meritorious, is the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, which is without the worship of mantras. Upon the death of his current body he enjoys [the supernatural powers], starting with *aṇimā*; and having enjoyed these he goes upwards to where he was joined [during the initiation ritual], at a *sakala* or *niṣkala* level."

32 See Takashima 1992, 72–75, who explains the different levels of *śaktipāta* and the corresponding initiation categories.

33 *Tantrāloka* 13.242. See also Takashima 1992, 72–73.

rebirth and only attains union with Śiva after that.[34] In his analysis of this chapter, Takashima (1992, 73) points out that the *śivadharmiṇī* and the *lokadharmiṇī* division would fit these two respective levels well, yet Jayaratha's commentary nonetheless interprets these differently. He instead equates the two levels of *bubhukṣu* with two levels of the *śivadharmī* Sādhaka, a distinction encountered in the *Mṛgendra* passage above, which spoke of an ordinary Sādhaka and one who retains his body until the time of cosmic dissolution.[35] It is of course not clear whether Jayaratha had precisely this distinction in mind, but be that as it may, by assigning these two levels to the *śivadharmiṇī* category, Jayaratha frees up the category of the *lokadharmī* Sādhaka to cover the three remaining, lowest levels of *śaktipāta*, which are concerned appropriately with practices focused on worldly enjoyments.[36] In order to create three levels of *lokadharmī*, he uses the following distinctions, according to which the way to liberation is increasingly remote: the highest (*tīvra-manda śaktipāta*) concerns the *lokadharmī* who automatically attains Śivahood after an interval of of some period, which he spends in a desired cosmic level—a category of *lokadharmī* Jayaratha equates with the standard form we have so far encountered;[37] the second highest (*madhya-manda śaktipāta*) concerns the *lokadharmī* who is initiated again in another world before reaching liberation;[38] and the third (*manda-manda śaktipāta*) concerns the *lokadharmī* who first experiences enjoyments for a very long period, as well as different levels of proximity to the deity (*sālokyasāmīpyasāyujyāsādanakrameṇa*)[39] of the cho-

34 *Tantrāloka* 13.243. See also Takashima 1992, 73.

35 See p. 255. Note that this passage caused some confusion of interpretation, even for Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.

36 *Tantrāloka* 13.245c–246b. See also Takashima 1992, 73.

37 Jayaratha even quotes the *Mṛgendra* (cf. note 25) passage at this point, *ad Tantrāloka* 13.246: *yaḥ kaś cit tīvramandaśaktipātavāṃl lokadharmī, sa dīkṣābalāt dehānte kva cana yathābhimate bhuvanādau bhogān bhuktvā śivatāṃ yāyāt | yad uktaṃ: lokadharmiṇam āropya mate bhuvanabhartari | taddharmāpādanaṃ kuryāc chive vā muktikāṃkṣiṇaṃ ||, vakṣyati ca: prārabdhadehabhede tu bhuṅkte 'sāv aṇimādikam | bhuktvordhvaṃ yāti yatraiṣa yukto 'tha sakale 'kale ||*. See also Takashima 1992, 73.

38 Jayaratha *ad Tantrāloka* 13.246: *kaś cic ca madhyamandaśaktipātavān kva cana bhuvanādau kaṅ cit kālaṃ bhogān bhuktvā, tadīśvaradīkṣitaḥ paryante śivatāṃ gacchet*.

39 On these different grades of "theistic liberation," see Watson et al. 2013, 249–250, note 154; and Goodall 1998, xxxvii–xxxix, note 85. As Watson et al. (2013, 249–250 and note 167) discuss, an example of a "lower" level of liberation, associated with paurāṇic spiritual goals, is to become a *gaṇapati*, or chief attendant, of the lord, thus experiencing being in the same world (*sālokya*) as the Lord or in his vicinity (*sāmīpya*)—spiritual goals, as the authors point out, which are also expressed in the lay literature of early medieval India, such as the old *Skandapurāṇa* and *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

sen universe, and only then receives initiation again, through which he attains Śivahood.[40] In creating these different levels, Jayaratha might have had a system similar to the *Mṛgendra* in mind, where we also found various levels of *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, whose recipients range from those seeking final liberation to those who want to be united with and experience enjoyments related to a non-Śaiva deity.[41]

3 Tracing the Socio-historical Context of the Emergence of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*

Thus, to sum up, the following five features consistently appear in descriptions of the *lokadharmī* initiate:

1. His source of merit lies in lay religion, the *lokadharma*, namely what is taught in *śruti* and *smṛti*.
2. During initiation all the bad karma connected with any level of reality is to be purified, leaving good *karma* intact to be enjoyed by the initiate.
3. He is not entitled to perform the propitiation of mantras (*mantrārādhana*).
4. He experiences supernatural powers after death.
5. He can choose whether he eventually attains ultimate liberation, or instead union with any deity of the cosmos he wishes; in the case of the *Mṛgendra* these include even non-Śaiva, brahmanical deities.

For obvious reasons, this initiatory category is difficult to position within a Śaiva doctrinal framework, for it offers not only enhanced merit through destruction of all bad *karma*, but also attainment of any cosmic level, including liberation, without the commitment to perform Śaiva ritual with mantras. In this light, even the very label "Sādhaka" to such a candidate appears inappropriate, given the Sādhaka's paradigmatic association with seeking supernatural attainments through the power of mantras. Perhaps with this hesitation in mind,

40 Jayaratha *ad Tantrāloka* 13.246: *mandamandaśaktipātavān punas tatraiva sālokyasāmīpyasāyujyāsādanakrameṇa cirataraṃ kālaṃ bhogān bhuktvā, tata eva dīkṣām āsādya śivatām iyat*. See also Takashima (1992, 73), who has a slightly different interpretation of the *sālokyasāmīpyasāyujyāsādhanakrameṇa*, taking it to denote "various stages of enjoyment."

41 Cf. pp. 257–256. Note that in his conclusion, Takashima (1992, 74–75) proposes that Abhinavagupta intended the *manda* level of *śaktipāta* for those who only received *samayadīkṣā*, contrary to Jayaratha's interpretation of different levels of *lokadharmī* initiates.

Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.85, offers a weak explanation for the *lokadharmī* being called a Sādhaka, leaning on the meaning of the underlying verbal root "*sādh-*," "to be successful, achieve;" he says that the *lokadharmī* is referred to as a Sādhaka "because he achieves (*sādhanāt*) the fruit by his pious acts alone."[42] One could argue that a stronger reason to refer to the *lokadharmī* as a Sādhaka is that he will experience supernatural powers, like the Śaiva Sādhaka, except that he does so after death. Yet this addition to the professed outcome of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* seems almost to be a doctrinal elaboration added to warrant its place among Sādhaka initiations. Another sign that the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* held a doctrinally difficult position might be the meager commentary these passages receive. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, for instance, restricts himself to rather self-explanatory comments on the entire *lokadharmiṇī* passage in the *Mṛgendra*.

Regardless of this awkward near-silence, at least for these scriptural sources and Kashmirian Śaiva authors, such an initiatory category appears to have been a social reality that needed to be accommodated and acknowledged. In addition to the sources discussed, the *lokadharmiṇī*/*śivadharmiṇī* distinction also features in a fourteenth century Kashmirian initiation manual, the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* of Mānodatta,[43] and Kṣemarāja introduces these initiatory categories into his commentary on the *Netratantra*, even though the root text itself does not contain them.[44] Additionally, we have seen how Jayaratha uses the category of the *lokadharmī* Sādhaka to speak of initiates who pursue mundane spiritual goals, giving the impression that there exists a wide range of *lokadharmī* initiates with different degrees of involvement in the Śaiva religion, similar to the model in the *Mṛgendra*.

However, the question remains why such an initiatory category, which seems so counter-intuitive and difficult to justify doctrinally, came into existence in the first place. From a socio-historical perspective, the creation of a *bubhukṣu*-orientated exoteric form of Śaiva initiation appears to be connected to the position of tantric communities in an early phase, when the sphere of the

42 Kṣemarāja *ad Svacchanda* 4.85: *śubhakarmaṇaiva tu phalasya sādhanāt sādhako 'yam*.

43 I thank Professor Alexis Sanderson for sharing with me his handout, "Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary on the opening passage of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*," which quotes the *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* on this point (pp. 36–37), and through which I found out about the usage of the *śivadharmī*/*lokadharmī* categories in this manual. For more information on Manodatta's work, see Sanderson 2004, 362, note 34.

44 See Kṣemarāja *ad Netratantra* 4.1: *bhuktidīkṣā śivadharmalaukikadharmabhedena bhinnā sādhakasya*, "The *bhuktidīkṣā* for the Sādhaka is divided into the *śivadharma* and *laukikadharma* kind."

power-seeking practitioner had a more prominent role. Brunner (1975, 439) long ago noted that the *Svacchanda* and the *Mṛgendra*—both of which contain the *lokadharmiṇī*, as we have seen—appear to preserve a comparatively prominent position for the power-seeking Sādhaka, which she suspects harkens back to an early phase of the tantric traditions, when the gulf between soteriological and power-orientated goals was not so vast. Her hypothesis finds confirmation in findings of the past decade, particularly those resulting from study of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (Goodall et al. 2015). As the earliest extant Śaiva tantra, the *Niśvāsa* affords important insights into the early stages of the "tantric age,"[45] particularly in that—as Goodall points out—it envisages a time when tantric communities appear to have been restricted to limited esoteric circles[46] with much focus on the propitiation of mantras for magical purposes, which were pursued prior to liberation. He further observes that the classical fourfold hierarchy of Samayin, Putraka, Ācārya and Sādhaka is entirely absent at this stage, with all practitioners simply referred to as Sādhakas—a category of initiates associated with the utilization of mantras for both supernatural powers and liberation. The community had not yet been divided into those who sought one to the exclusion of the other.[47] That the pursuit of power and soteriological goals belonged to the same spiritual path is reflected in the *Niśvāsa*'s initiation system, which teaches rites of two types, namely *vidyādīkṣā*,[48] through which a candidate is admitted to the community and becomes a Sādhaka with authority to propitiate mantras, and the *muktidīkṣā*, through which the confirmed Sādhaka attains liberation.[49] Of neither initiation is there an exoteric form at this stage.[50]

Theoretical repercussions caused by separating the liberation- and power-seekers' goals are visible, for instance, in the ambiguous treatment of *karma*'s

45 The *Niśvāsa* is the earliest extant tantric scripture, preserving a stage of the development of tantric communities where non-tantric, Atimārgic roots are often visible, as Sanderson (2006) observed.

46 On the absence of the domain of social ritual in the *Niśvāsa*, see Goodall et al. 2015, 47.

47 See Goodall et al. 2015, 47–50. As for all initiates probably being referred to as *sādhaka*s at this stage, see also Goodall et al. 2015, 281.

48 See Goodall et al. 2015, 50. And, in fact, the *dīkṣā* for the Sādhaka is sometimes referred to as *vidyādīkṣā*, as in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. For more see Goodall's entry *nirvāṇadīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

49 See Goodall et al. 2015, 280–282, 289. However, Goodall also notes that this interpretation that any initiate takes first the *vidyādīkṣā* and then the *muktidīkṣā* is a working hypothesis at the moment, not completely excluding the possibility that these may be two separate modes of initiation, which at the same time seems less likely.

50 See also Goodall et al. 2015, 51.

elimination during the initiation ritual for the Śaiva Sādhaka.[51] Nevertheless, we find that the status and centrality of the "original" Sādhaka's position and practices are preserved in most early tantric scriptures, even after the community came to be divided into different initiatory ranks, and centered around the Ācārya and liberation-seekers. It is tempting to conclude that the creation of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* is directly connected to this early sphere of tantric religion, which put so much emphasis on the pursuit of magical powers and benefits. While in due course Śaiva literature grew to put more emphasis on the soteriological aspirations of the *mumukṣu*—reflected in the fact that the soteriological-orientated *nirbījā dīkṣā* has a more prominent role—the attraction of the powers and benefits gained through mantras must nonetheless have played an important role in the initial popularization of tantric groups. For the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* would hold obvious attractions for laypeople desiring to enhance the fruits of their current practice without committing to the disciplinary regimen of tantric Śaiva ritual. Another appealing aspect may have been that through this initiation, a *lokadharmī* became part of the initiatory community and perhaps privy to services accessible only to initiates, especially those offered by Śaiva Sādhakas. That broadening access to initiation may have played an important role in popularizing tantric Śaivism at an early stage is suggested by the fact that the *Mṛgendra* extends the scope of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* to those who are not even Śiva-worshippers, people who may nonetheless have desired specific services distinctive to the Śaiva tantric domain. However, the doctrinally awkward position of the *lokadharmī* Sādhaka, combined with the increasing emphasis on purely soteriological goals, may have led to the gradual oblivion of this category, causing its reassignment in later sources, as will be seen below.

51 See ibid., pp. 254ff. I am not aware of an established, coherent theory on what kind of *karma* needs to be left in place in order to pursue supernatural powers. But note that—in quite a different context—the idea that the success of a Sādhaka's practice is intertwined with his *karmic* position is also found in the *Brahmayāmala*. In his analysis of the chapters on the Sādhaka, Kiss shows how the *Brahmayāmala* teaches complex mechanics underlying a logic of *karma*, according to which the level of a Sādhaka's practice is dependent on actions in past births and on whether he had received initiation in a past life, as well as special rituals to remove *karmic* bonds that would block the success of the Sādhaka's practice (see Kiss 2015, 35–55, in particular 52–53 concerning the rites to remove *karmic* bonds).

4 The *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* in the Context of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*

The two other early Śaiva scriptures which make a distinction between *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* initiations are the *Jayadrathayāmala*[52] and the rather later *Bṛhatkālottara*, both composed after the *Svacchanda*, and in the latter case certainly after the *Mṛgendra* as well. However, in both of these works the association of these initiatory categories with the Sādhaka gets lost; they become reassigned to the context of *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, the initiation for those seeking liberation rather than supernatural powers and enjoyments. However, unlike the *Bṛhatkālottara*, the *Jayadrathayāmala* preserves in part the original logic of *karma*-elimination seen in the *bubhukṣu* category of *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, despite this reassignment.

In the *Jayadrathayāmala* we find both of the initiatory categories in question—here referred to as *śivadharmadīkṣā* and *lokadharmadīkṣā*—in the description of initiation types[53] outlined in the first *ṣaṭka*. This is the portion of the text which Sanderson (2007, 235–236) identifies as its oldest layer, deriving originally from a work called the *Śiraścheda*. Unlike the *Svacchanda* and *Mṛgendra*, the *Jayadrathayāmala* does not here employ the broad division between the *mumukṣu* and *bubhukṣu* in its exposition of initiatory categories, but rather makes a distinction between an initiation that bestows *adhikāra*, that is to say the authority to perform certain rituals,[54] and those that bestow liberation (*mokṣadā*).[55] In presenting the latter, the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, the

52 In search for references and access to this passage in the *Jayadrathayāmala* I am grateful to several people: to Dominic Goodall, who first drew my attention to the fact that the *lokadharmiṇī* features in the *Jayadrathayāmala*; to Olga Serbaeva, for searching her etext and locating references for me, which showed that the thirteenth chapter is relevant; to Csaba Kiss, for sharing with me the paper manuscript of this chapter; and to Alexis Sanderson, for sharing his preliminary edition of the passage, which is quoted below in note 57, and for reading and discussing the passage in question with me.

53 The immediate context here is Devī's question to Bhairava about the number of initiatory categories as well as the issue whether the initiatory procedure is the same for all four caste-classes.

54 The passage is problematic, and it is not specified what exactly is intended by the category of *adhikāradā* initiations. We may hypothesise that this refers to a kind of initiation that bestows to Śaiva office holders—i.e. the Ācārya and the Sādhaka—entitlement (*adhikāra*) to perform rituals for others. See Goodall's entry on *niradhikāradīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. See also note 83 for an example of the pair *adhikāradā* and *niradhikāradā dīkṣā* in a list of initiation types in the *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

55 The *Jayadrathayāmala* (1.13.3) appears to want to impose this distinction already on the Samayadīkṣā, which would be unusual, since the Samayadīkṣā by itself typically cannot grant *adhikāra*. For the Sanskrit text and translation, see note 56.

Jayadrathayāmala teaches the following options:[56] (1) the *śivadharmadīkṣā*, (2) the *lokadharmadīkṣā*, and (3) the *kṣipraghnī*, which appears to be a synonym of the *sadyonirvāṇadīkṣā* (i.e. "the initiation that instantly grants liberation").

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56 As mentioned earlier (note 52), a preliminary edition of this passage was kindly made available to me by Alexis Sanderson, who has also discussed the passage with me, helping to clarify points for the translation. I quote his text below, except that I mark his conjectures with "conj. S.," and degeminate doubled consonants after "r" (any mistakes in the text and translation are, of course, my own). *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, 13.3–18: *sā *samayātha* (conj. S.; *sāmayātha* Cod.) *nirvāṇā dvibhinnā dvisvarūpata⟨ḥ⟩ | samayā hi punar yāti dvibhāvaṃ phalabhedataḥ* ||3|| *jñānayogapravṛttisthā prāṇinām adhikāradā | tadvāsanavadhā *nityavyāpti* (conj. S.; *nityā vyāpti* Cod.) *pada⟨pra⟩dāyikā* ||4|| **samayā* (conj. S.; *sāmayā* Cod.) †*yac ca*† *vijñeyā nirvāṇāpi dvirūpiṇī | *mokṣādhikārabhedābhyāṃ* (conj. S.; *mokṣārthikārabhedābhyāṃ* Cod.) †*sthāṇubhis tantravedibhiḥ*† ||5|| *bhūyo vimuktidā dīkṣā nirvāṇā bahubhedagā | śivadharmmā *lokadharmmā* (conj. S.; *lokadharmmī* Cod.) *kṣipraghnī piṇḍapātikā* ||6|| **ekatamādhvacicchuddhyā* (conj. S.; *ekātamodhvacicchuddhyā* Cod.) *vyāvṛtte bandhanatraye | śivāptidarśitāśeṣā* (conj. S.; *śivāptidarśitāśeṣa* Cod.) *samayācārapālanāt* ||7|| *mokṣāvāptikarī yā tu lokācāraviparyayāt | śivadharmā smṛtā dīkṣā dvisvarūpā *maheśvari* (corr. S.; *maheśvarī* Cod.) ||8|| *nirbījākhyā *sabījā* (conj. S.; *savīryā* Cod.) *ca dīkṣābhedaḥ śivāgame | pākamūrkhasudīrṇāṅga-*eḍaka*(conj.; *eḍatva* Cod.)*kuṇiyoṣitām* ||9|| **sarujātyantyabhaktānāṃ* (conj. S.; *saruḍhātyantabhaktānāṃ* Cod.) *bhūbhṛtsa⟨ṃ⟩nyāsināṃ priye | viśuddhasamayācārā yā kṛtā daiśikena tu* ||10|| *nirbījā sā bhaved dīkṣā sabījā syād vilomataḥ | *vidvad*(em.; *vidhi* Cod.)*dvandvasahānāṃ tu sundari kriyate tadā* ||11|| *gurudevāgnikāryāṇi yaiḥ kāryāṇi subhaktitaḥ | akurvatāṃ hi tat teṣāṃ vāñchitaṃ na bhavet phalam* ||12|| *lokadharmā tu yā dīkṣā sā syāt sthitivilomagā | śivadharmakriyā sā tu kin tu laukikavṛttigā* ||13|| *śodhayed atha vā sarvaṃ dharmam ekaṃ na śodhayet | laukikācāradharmasthaḥ tad bhuktvā nirvṛtiṃ vrajet* ||14|| *athāsitaṃ viśodhyaṃ tu karmaikaṃ daiśikena tu | malino 'dhvāthavā devi *śodhyo bhogo* (conj. S; *śuddho bhogyo* Cod.) *na jāyate* ||15|| **na bhogyaṃ tad dhi bhuktatvāt* (conj. S.; *tad bhogyaṃ tadvibhuktatvā* Cod.) *prayāty ātmā paraṃ padam | smṛteyaṃ *lokadharmā* (conj. S.; *lokadharmī* Cod.) *tu dīkṣā *nirvāṇagāminī* (em. S.; *nirvvāṇamāminī* Cod.) ||16|| *eṣātīte niruddhe tu prārabdhe karmaṇi priye | kṣīṇabhogyavaśād yā tu sā dīkṣā piṇḍapātikā* ||17|| *kṣurikāstrogramantraiś ca *yogenādāya* (conj. S.; *yogenādhāya* Cod,) *prakṣipet | parayogasamāyoge sadyonirvāṇadā hi sā* ||18||, "And that [initiation] is either a Samayadīkṣā or Nirvāṇādīkṣā, divided into two because it has two natures. Now the Samayadīkṣā is further twofold because of a difference in the result (*phala*). [The first] bestows *adhikāra* [and] follows the practices of *jñāna* and *yoga*, [the second] destroys the latent impressions (*vāsana*) of that [soul?] and bestows a state of eternal pervasion [with the deity]. † [*That is known*] *by the firm ones who know the tantras*. † Besides (*bhūyas*) the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* bestowing liberation is of many kinds: *śivadharma*[*dīkṣā*], *lokadharma*[*dīkṣā*] and the initiation which kills quickly, causing the body to fall. [The initiation] which reveals everything through the attainment of Śiva (*śivāptidarśitāśeṣā*) through the performance of post-initiatory rites (*samayācārapālanāt*) once the three bonds (i.e. the three impurities (*mala*)) have ceased due to the purification of the consciousness on one [of the six] paths, [that] initiation is known to be the *śivadharmadīkṣā*, which bestows the attainment of liberation (*mokṣāvāptikarī*) because it is contrary to the mundane practice. [And], O Goddess, [the Śivadharmadīkṣā] has two forms: in Śaiva scriptures the division of initiation

Of those, the *śivadharmadīkṣā* is defined as twofold, namely *sabījā* (i.e. with the seed of post-initatory practice) and *nirbījā* (i.e. without the seed of post-initatory practice), which amounts to the bifurcation we typically expect of *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. The *śivadharmadīkṣā* initiate therefore attains liberation at death, either with the stipulation to perform post-initiatory rites (*sabījā*) or without this stipulation (*nirbījā*). The *lokadharmadīkṣā* variations, on the other hand, lead to liberation only after the initiate has enjoyed the merit earned through his mundane ritual practice. In this category, two versions are taught: first is the *lokadharmiṇī* kind, which we have already encountered in the *Svacchanda*, *Mṛgendra* and *Tantrāloka*, namely an initiation involving the elimination of all bad *karma*, leaving meritorious *karma* in place to be enjoyed before the eventual attainment of liberation. The second appears to be a version of the *lokadharmadīkṣā* in which only the impure universe is purified, the idea being that the initiate will go to some segment of the pure universe after death.[57]

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is called that without the seed (*nirbījākhyā*) and that with the seed (*sabījā*). The Ācārya performs the [initiation] which contains the duty to perform post-initiatory rites purified (*viśuddhasamayācārā*) for children, imbeciles, those whose limbs suffered trauma, deaf people, women, people who are suffering from chronic illness and kings and renouncers (*saṃnyāsin*) who are extremely devoted [to Śiva]; this [initiation] is the *nirbījā*. The *sabījā* is the opposite to this and is performed, O beautiful one, for those who are learned, endure extremes and are able bodied. By those the rituals towards the Guru, the God and the fire have to be performed with extreme devotion, since the desired fruit will not come about for them who don't do [these rites]. The *lokadharmadīkṣā* is a Śaiva ritual [and therefore] proceeds contrary to established [practice] (i.e. the brahmanical order), but also conforms to worldly religion. Either [the Ācārya] should purify all [*karma*] or only not purify the *dharma* (i.e. the auspicious *karma*); [then the initiate] is dedicated to [the accumulation of] *dharma* through mundane observances (*laukikācāradharmasthaḥ*), and having enjoyed this [*dharma*] he proceeds to liberation. Thus, the Ācārya should only purify the bad [*karma*]. Alternatively, (*athavā*) [only] the impure path is purified, [so that] no experience (*bhogaḥ*) comes about [in the impure universe]. [In other words] that [experience] does not have to be experienced [anymore in the impure universe] because it has already been experienced [through the process of initiation]. The soul [of the initiate] (*ātmā*) goes straight to the higher level (i.e. the pure universe). That is known to be the initiation called *lokadharma*, which leads to liberation. Such [an initiation] (i.e. the *śivadharma*- or *lokadharmadīkṣā*?) [is performed] when the past action has been destroyed, but the *prārabdhakarma* [is present], O loved one. But that initiation which [is performed] after [all experiences that] need to be experienced have waned, that is the *piṇḍapātikā* (i.e. which causes the dropping of the body). [The Ācārya] should take hold [of the soul] through *yoga* and expel it with the razor and other fierce mantras in order to bring its union [with the deity] through the highest fusion (*parayogasamāyoge*). For this is the [initiation which] bestows liberation immediately (*sadyonirvāṇadā*)."

57 For the interpretation of the second kind of *lokadharmadīkṣā* I am indebted to Alexis Sanderson.

While our sources discussed so far did not teach such a variation of the *lokadharmiṇī*, we did see that the *Mṛgendra* and Jayaratha conceived of different levels of *lokadharmī* practice, the latter even adding a level in which the *lokadharmī* is reborn and then initiated again on another cosmic level.[58] The *śivadharmadīkṣā* and the *lokadharmadīkṣā* thus differ broadly from each other in that the former bestows spiritual liberation through the power of Śaiva ritual alone, being opposed to the worldly practice (i.e. *mokṣvāptikarī yā tu lokācāraviparyayāt | śivadharmā smṛtā dīkṣā*), while in the latter brahmanical ritual acts as the source of the immediate spiritual benefit, even though—as in the earlier cases—the power of initiation eventually brings about union with a deity on some or another cosmic level. That in the *Jayadrathayāmala* too this category holds a doctrinally awkward position can perhaps be inferred by the need the redactors felt to stress that the *lokadharmadīkṣā* is indeed a Śaiva ritual (*Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 1, 13.12).[59]

In the case of the *Bṛhatkālottara*, the *śivadharmiṇī*/*lokadharmiṇī* terminology makes only a brief appearance. So far I have only been able to locate a single passage featuring this distinction, at the end of the chapter on initiation.[60] Here too these categories are not used in the context of the Sādhaka or *bubhukṣu*, but feature rather as variations of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. In contrast to the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the pair is used to describe the *nirbījā dīkṣā* and *sabījā dīkṣā*, respectively, and in the case of the *lokadharmiṇī*, there is no reference to the elimination of bad *karma* alone. What is curious is that the text, as preserved in the manuscript available to me, equates *nirbījā dīkṣā* with the *śivadharmiṇī* and *sabījā* with the *lokadharmiṇī*.[61] This seems counterintuitive, since in all the classifications we have seen the *sabījā* is the initiation after which a candidate is obliged to observe Śaiva post-initiatory rites (*samaya*s) until death, whereas in the *nirbījā* case, the initiate is free of this obligation and maintains his ritual obligations in accordance with his position in society. It is tempting to conjecture that the transmission of the text is simply wrong at this point—that we should emend the order so that the *nirbījā* is equated with *lokadharmiṇī* and the *sabījā* with *śivadharmiṇī*. However, this remains conjectural, and a more thorough study of the initiatory categories will require critically editing at least

58 See here, pp. 255 ff. and pp. 261 ff.

59 For the Sanskrit text and translation, see above, note 56.

60 The text has not been critically edited yet and to my knowledge only some parts of it have been transcribed electronically, kindly shared with me by Nirajan Kafle; the passage in question appears at the end of what is termed "*dīkṣāpaṭala*" in the palm-leaf manuscript, also kindly provided to me by Nirajan Kafle.

61 *Bṛhatkālottara* 43r, line 2–3: *nirbījā śivadharmakhyā sabījā lokadharmiṇī*, "The *nirbījā* is called the *śivadharma*[*dīkṣā*], the *sabījā* is the *lokadharmiṇī*."

this portion of the text. Nevertheless, what we can extract for our discussion is that here the classification is associated neither with the Sādhaka, nor with the "karma logic" of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* found in the *Jayadrathayāmala*.

5 Pre-13th Century Saiddhāntika Manuals: Householders versus Ascetics

Labels for the initiation categories *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* are carried over into the Saiddhāntika manuals, though differently and inconsistently reassigned by various sources, and with weak links to the original Sādhaka context. The following surveys early Saiddhāntika manuals, with particular focus on the earlier sources, but is not exhaustive. Noticeably, the influential *Somaśambhupaddhati*, also called the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*, of Somaśambhu does not teach a mundane form of the *sādhakadīkṣā*, nor does it include *lokadharmiṇī* among the *mumukṣu* options; rather, the text speaks of the Śaiva Sādhaka receiving, as in the sources discussed earlier, a modified form of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* right before his consecration to office.[62] However, in the description of the *sabījā nirvāṇadīkṣā*, at the point when *karma*s are emplaced upon the *pāśasūtra*—representing all reality levels of the cosmos, which will be burnt and destroyed in the consecrated fire—the *Somaśambhupaddhati* presents various options for the *karma* that can be exempted from purification, namely the *prārabdhakarma*, the *karma* for *mantrasiddhi*, and the *karma* that results from meritorious acts, comparable to those of the lay devotee. While Somaśambhu himself does not explicitly correlate these options to specific initiation types, we may note that the latter two categories of *karma*, to be exempted for purification in certain circumstances, correspond to the procedures we have seen envisaged for the *śivadharmiṇī* initiation for the Śaiva Sādhaka, and the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation, respectively. In fact, in his commentary on this passage, Trilocana explicitely assigns these categories accordingly.[63]

62 See, *Somaśambhupaddhati Sādhakābhiṣeka* 1–2: *sādhaskyābhiṣeke tu nivṛtyādikalātrayam | mumukṣor iva saṃśodhya śāntyatītāṃ viśodhayet || tataḥ sadāśivaṃ dhyātvā mūlamantreṇa pūrṇayā | śāntau saṃyojya kurvīta guṇāpādanam aṣṭadhā*. For a tanslation and notes, see Brunner 1977, 500–506.

63 *Somaśambhupaddhati, Nirvāṇadīkṣāvidhi* 31–32: *sabījāyāṃ tu dīkṣāyāṃ samayācārapāśataḥ | dehārambhakadharmāc ca mantrasiddhiphalād api || iṣṭāpūrtādidharmāc ca vyatiriktaṃ prabandhakam | caitanyarodhakaṃ sūkṣmaṃ kalānām antare smaret ||*. For a translation and annotation, see Brunner 1977, 190–196. For Trilocana's commentary on this passage, see Brunner 1977, 191, [32a] and notes thereon.

Another manual from this period is the *Vimalāvatī* of Vimalaśiva, who composed his work in 1101/2 and lived in Vārāṇasī (Sanderson 2014, 22). Vimalaśiva explicitly uses the categories of *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī*; and though he partly draws on the passage from the *Mṛgendra* examined earlier, he does not assign these to different kinds of Sādhaka, but rather assigns the *śivadharmiṇī* initiation to the Putraka and Ācārya—a feature we also see in the *Ajitāgama*[64]—and the *lokadharmiṇī* simply to the Sādhaka devoted to meritorious action.[65] However, it appears that in this passage the allocation of initiation categories has gone awry, such that the Śaiva Sādhaka is missing, unless the reason for this omission is the actual disappearance of the Sādhaka from medieval South-India.

Jñānaśiva wrote his *Jñānaratnāvalī* also while residing in Vārāṇasī, probably some decades later.[66] In his application of the *śivadharmiṇī*/*lokadharmiṇī* terminology he seems to be the most innovative of Saiddhāntika authors in this period. He also quotes sources for this classification that have yet to be identified. Jñānaśiva uses this terminology to denote divisions of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*—that is to say, the full regular Śaiva initiation—in essence in order to distinguish, broadly, between initiations performed for the ascetic practitioner, here the *śivadharmī*, and those for the householder practitioner, here the *lokadharmī*.[67]

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64 *Ajitāgama* 77.14: *sabījā ca dvidhā bhinnā prathamā śivadharmiṇī* || *sādhakācāryayoḥ proktā deśakālādibhedanaḥ* | *dharmādharmātmakaṃ karma prāgāgāmi vicitrakam* || *sañcintya śodhyate yatra saivoktā śivadharmiṇī* | *adharmamātrasaṃśuddhau dvitīyā lokadharmiṇī* ||.

65 *Vimalāvatī* f. 67r: *dvividhā syāt sabījāpi tatrādyā śivadharmiṇī* | **putrakācāryayor* (conj.; *putrakācāryayo* Ed.) *mukhyā dharmādharmakṣayakarī* || *iṣṭāpūrtādinirate sādhake lokadharmiṇī* || *śivadharmiṇy *anor* (conj.; *aṇau* Ed.) *mūlaṃ śivadharma*phalaśriyaḥ* (conj.; **phalaṃ śriyah* Ed.) | **hitetarā* (conj.; *hitatarā* Ed.) *vinā bhaṃgaṃ *tanor* (conj.; *tannaur* Ed.) *ā vilayād *bhuvām* (conj.; *bhavāṃ* Ed.)|| *bhogabhūmiṣu sarvāsu *duṣkṛtāṃśe* (conj.; *duḥskṛtāṃśa-* Ed.) *hate śati* | *dehāntarāṇimādyarthaṃ śiṣṭeṣṭā lokadharmiṇī* ||.

66 See Goodall 2000, 209 for the date of Jñānaśiva. I am extremely grateful to Dominic Goodall for sharing with me his etext of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* as well as his photographs of the transcript (Re 1025/52) cited in this article.

67 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 266: *tatra tāvat *sāpekṣānapekṣā* (conj.; *sāpekṣāpekṣā* Cod.) *dvividhā śivadharmiṇī lokadharmiṇī ceti. tatra tāvac chivadharmiṇī liṅgināṃ śikhācchedasamāyuktā anyā gṛhiṇāṃ tadvirahitā. uktaṃ ca: dvedhā nirvāṇadīkṣā laukikī śivadharmiṇī*|*gṛhiṇāṃ laukikī jñeyā liṅgināṃ śivadharmiṇī* || *śikhācchedo na yatrāsti dīkṣā sā lokadharmiṇī* | *śikhākhaṇḍena saṃyuktā dīkṣā sā śivadharmiṇī* ||, "Therein, now, [the initiation types] are twofold, [namely] dependent on [whether] there is a requirement to perfrom post-initiatory practice or not; and [they are also twofold insofar as being] *śivadharmiṇī* or *lokadharmiṇī*. Here [in the category of the *sāpekṣā nirvāṇadīkṣā* kind], the *śivadharmiṇī* is for ascetics and contains the cutting off of the topknot, while the other [initiation] is for householders and is without [cutting off the topknot]. And it is said: The *nirvāṇadīkṣā* is twofold, [divided into] the mundane (*laukikī*) [kind] and the *śivadharmiṇī*. The mun-

The actual procedures for the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* initiations are the same, being those for the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, with only one difference: for the *śivadharmī*, the topknot is cut off during the initiation, while for the *lokadharmī* it is not.[68] The topknot is believed to contain the *rodhaśakti*,[69] that is to say the power to delude the soul,[70] which is apparently eliminated by cutting the topknot off in the case of the ascetic. This is not done for the *lokadharmī*, who, after all, is by definition still engaged in worldly activity. In terms of post-initiatory practice prescribed for the *lokadharmī* initiate, the *Jñānaratnāvalī* differs from the earlier scriptural sources discussed in the first part of the paper, in which an initiate who received a *lokadharmiṇī* or *lokadharmadīkṣā* was only required to continue his ritual obligations of the brahmanical ritual sphere (the *lokadharma*), without Śaiva-specific additions. In the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, however, we have seen that the *lokadharmiṇī* is clearly defined as a form of *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, which—unless otherwise specified—is of the *sabījā* kind. Thus, the significance here is that the initiate retains his socio-religious status in mundane society (*lokadharma*) as a householder and keeps up these practices in addition to his Śaiva post-initiatory ritual obligations, a principle that is already expressed in early Śaiva sources.[71] There is no mention of the procedure to

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dane is known to be for householders, the *śivadharmiṇī* for ascetics. In the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation there is no cutting of the topknot. The initiation in which the topknot is cut off is the *śivadharmiṇī*." At the end of this section, all the *sāpekṣā* types are contrasted with the *nirapekṣā*; see *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 269: *evaṃ sāpekṣā bahudhā jñeyā nirapekṣā ca parāparatvena dvividhā sadyosadyonirvāṇā ceti*, "In this manner the *sapekṣā* type is known to be manifold, and the *nirapekṣā* type is twofold on account of its higher and a lower forms, [namely] the immediate and the not-immediate types of *nirvāṇadīkṣā*."

68 For the Sanskrit text and translation, see note 67. Note that this is not the case in all manuals; for instance, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* does not maintain this distinction. See Brunner 1977, 338, note 395.

69 Also referred to as *tirodhānaśakti*.

70 See, e.g., *Somaśambhupaddhati, Nirvāṇadīkṣāvidhi*, verse 219 (Brunner 1977, 338–339): *śikhāmantritakartaryā* ***rodhaśaktisvarūpiṇīm*** | ***śikhāṃ*** *chindyāt śivāstreṇa śiṣyasya caturaṅgulām* ||, and also *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 344: ***śikhāñ*** *chidyāt tayā śaktyā* ***rodhaśaktisvarūpiṇīm*** | *kāraṇaṃ sarvapāśānāṃ sāvadhe dvādaśāṅgulāt*. See also Brunner 1977, xli, and for a discussion of the cutting of the topknot at other moments during initiation in some sources, see Goodall et al. 2015, 282–283.

71 Sanderson (2009, 302) has demonstrated how Śaiva scriptures and commentaries early on developed clear positions regarding the importance for Śaiva householder initiates of maintaining their brahmanical householder duties, i.e. the *lokadharma*. This helped ensure that Śaiva initiation remained attractive to the householder mainstream, who, in this way, were not required to completely transform their public lives. However, it is emphasised in these sources that such full Śaiva initiates were asked to maintain brahmanical practice merely for the sake of conformity, or in order to avoid transgression, not as a source of spiritual merit.

eliminate only the bad *karma* linked to all reality levels, which we have seen associated with the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*.

However, while this seems to be the underlying basic division of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* in the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, these distinctions subsequently become entangled with aspects of the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* initiations stemming from their original Sādhaka context. This happens in the context of creating sub-categories for both the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* categories, based on a division between those who desire something (*sakāma*), i.e. what would otherwise be called the *bubhukṣu*, and those who do not desire anything except liberation (*akāma*, *niṣkāma*), i.e. the *mumukṣu*. For ascetic practitioners, the *śivadharmiṇī* is divided into kinds for temporary ascetics (*bhautika*) and permanent ascetics (*naiṣṭhika*),[72] and each of these is further divided into the *sakāma* and *niṣkāma* type.[73] In the case of the *naiṣṭhikī sakāmā* initiation, the initiate is promised enjoyments of the pure universe, after which he is to attain liberation.[74] The *naiṣṭhikī niṣkāmā* initiation, on the other hand, bestows liberation immediately. On the division of the *bhautikī* into *sakāmā* and *niṣkāmā* types, Jñānaśiva quotes the first two verses of a passage from the *Mṛgendra*, which mentions that there are two types of *bhautikī dīkṣā*, the superior and the inferior, the first being *śivadharmiṇī* and the second being the *lokadharmiṇī* type.[75] However, since Jñānaśiva uses these as sub-categories

72 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 266 (with a conjecture by Goodall recorded from the etext): *tatra śivadharmiṇī dvidhā naiṣṭhikī bhautikī ceti tatra niravadhitapasvino naiṣṭhikāḥ. teṣāṃ yā sā naiṣṭhikī niravadhīty api kathyate dvitīyā *katipayadina*(conj. Goodall, *gādipayadina* ms.)*vratapālanād anantaraṃ gṛhapadadāyī* |, "Here the *śivadharmiṇī* kind is twofold, [namely] *naiṣṭhikī* and *bhautikī*. Of these (*tatra*) the *naiṣṭhika*s are permanent ascetics. The [initiation] that is [performed] for them is the *naiṣṭhikī*, that is to say the one called the permanent. The second [kind of initiation] (i.e. the *bhautikī*) restores the state of being a householder immediately after the performance of an observance for a certain number of days."

73 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 266: *tatra naiṣṭhikī sakāmākāmabhedena dvidhā*, "In that case, the *naiṣṭhikī* initiation is divided into one for those who desire [enjoyments and supernatural powers] and one for those who don't."

74 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, pp. 266–267: *tatra sakāmasya śuddhādhvabhogan datvā tadanantaraṃ śivapadapradā sakāmā*, "In that case, for the one who desires [enjoyments and supernatural powers] the *sakāmā* [initiation] [first] bestows the pleasures of the pure universe and immediately after that the level of the [highest] Śiva."

75 For the *Mṛgendra* passage, see pp. 256 ff. *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 267: **atha* (em.; *athā* Cod.) *bhautikī ca tathā dvividhā* | *uktaṃ ca*: *evam eva kriyāyogād *bhautiky* (conj.; *bhaumity* Cod.) *api parāparā* | *kin tu dehāviyogārthaṃ prārabdhaṃ karma mohinām* || *śaivasādhanasādhyena sandhāya paripālayet* | *sānubandhaṃ dahed anyad dīpte dīkṣāhutāśane* || *asyāpy ayam arthaḥ*: *evam eveti naiṣṭhika*sakāmākāmavad* (conj.; *-sakāmakāmavad-* Cod.) *bhautikasakāmākāmayor api kriyāyogāt kriyā ca yogaś ceti kriyāyogam* | *tat kriyā*

of the *śivadharmiṇī*, this is not the way in which he wants the *Mṛgendra* to be understood; rather, the prose after the quotation explains that the difference lies in the *sakāmā* entailing purification of the impure universe only up to *māyā*, thus providing enjoyments within the sphere of the pure universe; the *niṣkāmā* type, however, entails purification of all levels of the universe, and the initiate thus attains liberation at death.[76] If we are to understand these as two sub-categories of the temporary ascetic, the second type makes little sense, a confusion that is probably caused by the terminology *bhautikī* and *naiṣṭhikī dīkṣā* in the *Mṛgendra*, where the terms are not, in turn, synonyms of the *bhautikavrata* and *naiṣṭhikavrata*,[77] as they are understood in the *Jñānaratnāvalī*.[78]

The *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, in turn, is divided into superior (*para*) and inferior (*apara*) forms. Of those, the superior version is what we expect of the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*, with all *karma* but the *prārabdha* destroyed, the candidate thus being united with Śiva at the end of the initiation ritual in anticipation of his ultimate liberation at the time of death.[79] The inferior form is assigned to an initiation in which only bad *karma* is destroyed, thus the version of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* seen in the *Svacchanda* and the *Mṛgendra*.[80] Jñānaśiva even

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sakāmasya māyāntādhvaviśodhanam | niṣkāmasya samastādhvaviśodhanañ ca yogaḥ | punaś śuddhādhvani bhogayogas sakāmasya niṣkāmasya śivayogaś ca [...], "Next, the *bhautikī* [*dīkṣā*] is twofold, and it is said [in the scriptures]: 'In the same way the *bhautikī* [*dīkṣā* is achieved] through ritual and union [and] is also of a superior and inferior kind. Rather, for the [still] deluded [souls] he should preserve the *prārabdha karma*, which has the purpose of keeping [the initiate] with his [current] body, after joining it with [the *karma*] to be cultivated for the practice of propitiating Śaiva mantras for supernatural powers (i.e. *śaivasādhana*). The other [*karma*s] together with their consequences he should burn in the blazing initiation fire.' This is the meaning: 'in the same way' means through *kriyāyoga*, that it to say the rituals and union [with the respective deity] for the *sakāma* and *akāma bhautikī* are just like those for the *sakāma* and *akāma naiṣṭhikī*. Therefore the ritual for the *sakāma* kind is the purification of the universe up to *māyā*. For the *niṣkāma* it is the purification of the entire cosmic path and then union. Or rather, for the *sakāma* there is union with enjoyments in the pure universe, and for the *niṣkāma* there is union with Śiva. [...]"

76 Ibid.

77 See p. 254, note 19.

78 See note 72.

79 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 268: *atha lokadharmiṇī ca parāparatvena dvividhā. tatra parā śivatvadā. uktaṃ ca*: *śivāśivātmakaṃ karma śodhayitvādhvamadhyagam | yā yā nirvāṇam āpnoti sā parā lokadharmiṇī. iti*, "Now the *lokadharmiṇī* is divided into the superior and the inferior. Of these the superior bestows Śivahood. And it is said: 'Having purified the pure and impure *karma* situated on the cosmic path (*adhvamadhyagam*), whichever [initiation] brings about liberation is the supreme *lokadharmiṇī* [initiation]'."

80 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 268: **śarīrapātottaram* (em.; *śarīrapādotaram* Cod.) *abhilakṣitabhuvane śiṣṭāparālokadharmiṇī. aparā punar abhilaṣitabhuvanaṃ yāvad adhvaśuddhau sa-*

quotes a verse which is shared with or probably original to the *Mṛgendra*, though embedded in a quotation from a different, unidentified text, which reiterates that the initiate can be united with the deity of his choice at the end of the initiation ritual.[81] However, what is not made explicit in any of these passages is what the practice after initiation consists of; since both of them are *sabījadīkṣā*s, we expect some form of post-initiatory practice to be applicable, which is fitting for the superior kind, but not for the inferior kind, as we have seen it so far. But given the context, we can probably assume that the intention is the same as it was in the original context, namely that the initiate of the lower (*apara*) form simply follows his *lokadharma* after initiation. However, it is difficult to know whether this reflects actual practice—that is, whether this categorization intimates the convention of giving initiation even to lay worshippers of non-Śaiva deities—or whether this is an artificial distinction created in the process of accounting for the *Mṛgendra*'s shared terminology. Another place where Jñānaśiva invokes the *śivadharmiṇī*/*lokadharmiṇī* distinction is regarding the post-funerary *śrāddha* rituals, which vary according to initiatory types. Here, the mode of *śrāddha* for the *śivadharmī* appears to

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*tyām abhīṣṭabhuvane 'py *aśubhāṃśakarmanivṛttau* (conj.; *aśubhāṃ karmanivṛttau* Cod.) *tadbhuvaneśvara*guṇāṇimādisiddhipradā* (conj.; **gaṇāṇimādisiddhipradā* Cod.). *uktaṅ ca*: *bhogabhūmiṣu sarvāsu duṣkṛtāṃśe hate sati | dehottarāṇimādyarthaṃ *śiṣṭeṣṭā* (conj.; *śiṣṭoṣṭa-* Cod.) *lokadharmiṇī || iti*, "The remaining one is the inferior *lokadharmiṇī* [initiation], [which] after death (*śarīrapātottaram*) [leads the candidate to] the universe he desired. But the inferior [*lokadharmiṇī* initiation] bestows supernatural powers, starting with the power to become as small as one wishes, and the qualities of the deity presiding over the [respective cosmic level], after the purification of the cosmic path up to the level of the universe [the candidate] desires. And even on this desired cosmic level, the cessation of *karma* is [only] of the unmeritorious part. And it is said: 'The remaining [initiation], known as the *lokadharmiṇī*, [is performed] for the purpose of [obtaining supernatural powers], such as the power to become as small as one wishes, in a subsequent body, after the bad portion of [*karma*] is destroyed on all reality levels [through initiation]'." Note that the appropriation of the *Mṛgendra* verse here to denote the inferior level of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* is not the original intention. Rather, the phrase *śiṣṭeṣṭā lokadharmiṇī* denotes the second kind of *bhautikī dīkṣā*, namely the *lokadharmiṇī* itself, in contrast to the *śivadharmiṇī*.

81 *Jñānaratnāvalī*, p. 268: **śivadharminam* (conj.; *śivadharmiṇīm* Cod.) *āśodhya *yojayet* (conj.; *yo japet* Cod.) *parame pade | dehapāte ca *mokṣas* (conj.; *mokṣa* Cod.) *syāt samayācārapālanāt || *lokadharmiṇam* (conj.; *lokadharmiṇīm* Cod.) *āropya mate* (conj.; *made* Cod.) *bhuvanakartari | *taddharmāpādanaṃ* (conj.; *taddharmapālanaṃ* Cod.) *kuryāc chive vā muktikāṃkṣiṇām ||*, "Having purified the *śivadharmī*, he should join him with the highest cosmic level, and after having performed his post-initiatory obligations liberation will come about at death. Having lifted up the *lokadharmī* to the desired [level] of the presiding deity, he should bring about the qualities of this [deity in the candidate] or [unite him] in Śiva, for those who desire liberation."

be that which is intended for ascetic initiates, while that for the *lokadharmī* is for householder initiates, thus being consistent with the basic distinction Jñānaśiva sets up in the beginning of the initiation section (Mirnig 2013, 292–295).

The *Jñānaratnāvalī*'s innovative application of the *śivadharmiṇī*/*lokadharmiṇī* terminology led to some interpretative confusion and inconsistencies in subsequent classifications,[82] perhaps especially since the influential *Somaśambhupaddhati* does not mention this division of initiatory categories.[83] Thus Trilocana, for instance, who is a student of Jñānaśiva and wrote a commentary on the *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*, when commenting on the initiation categories taught there, fits the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* initiations into Somaśambhu's system under the category of *sāpekṣā* initiation, even incorporating such details as the difference in cutting or not cutting off the topknot.[84] However, he runs into difficulties when mapping the initiatory categories onto the various forms of *śrāddha*, which differ according to the initiate's spiritual status during his lifetime (Mirnig 2013, 296).

This distinctive idea that the topknot is be to cut off in the case of the *śivadharmiṇī* initiation, but not in the *lokadharmiṇī*, is carried over into subsequent sources that include these categories in their initiatory classifications.

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82 See, for instance, Brunner 1977, 194, note 71.

83 *Somaśambhupaddhati, Samayadīkṣāvidhi* 5–13: *nirādhārā ca sādhārā dīkṣā tu dvividhā matā* | *nirādhārā dvayos teṣāṃ sādhārā sakalasya tu* || *ācāryanirapekṣeṇa kriyate śambhunaiva yā* | *tīvraśaktinipātena nirādhāreti sā smṛtā* || *ācāryamūrtim āsthāya mandatīvrādibhedayā* | *śaktyā yāṃ kurute śambhuḥ sā sādhikaraṇocyate* || ***iyaṃ caturvidhā*** *proktā* ***sabījā bījavarjitā*** | ***sādhikārā niradhikārā*** *yathāvad abhidhīyate* || *samayācārasaṃyuktā sabījā jāyate nṛṇām* | *nirbījā tv asamarthānāṃ samayācāravarjitā* || *nitye naimittike kāmye yasya syād adhikāritā* | *sādhikārā bhaved dīkṣā sādhakācāryayor ataḥ* || *nirbījādīkṣitānāṃ tu tathā samayiputrayoḥ* | *nityamātrādhikāritvād dīkṣā niradhikārikā* || *dvividheyaṃ dvirūpāpi pratyekam upajāyate* | *ekā kriyāvatī tatra kuṇḍamaṇḍalapūrvikā* || *manovyāpāramātreṇa yā sā jñānavatī matā* | *itthaṃ labdhādhikāreṇa dīkṣācāryeṇa sādhyate* ||. For a translation and notes, see Brunner 1977, 4–13.

84 Thus, Trilocana's *Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā*, p. 184, is somewhat similar to Jñānaśiva's text (see note 67): … *yā dīkṣaiva sabījā, nirbījā, sādhikārā, niradhikāra ceti caturvidhā proktā. tatra tāvat samayācārasaṃyuktā yā sā sabījā. sā ca dvividhā śivadharmiṇī lokadharmiṇī ca. tatra tāvac chivadharmiṇī śikhāyāś chedasahitā. sā ca dvividhā naiṣṭhikī bhautikī ceti. tāvan naiṣṭhikī niravadhiḥ. dvitīyā katipayadinavrataparipālanānantaraṃ gṛhapadadāyinī.* And Trilocanaśiva *ad Somaśambhupaddhati, Nirvāṇadīkṣāvidhi* 31, as quoted by Brunner 1977, 191, [32a]: *atraivāvasare tāvan nirbījināṃ dehārambhakarmaṇaḥ* | *sabījāyāṃ tu dīkāyāṃ śivadharmiṇyāṃ samayācāradehārambhakakarmadvayāt* | *atha sādhakadīkṣāyāṃ mantrasiddhiphalād api* | *lokadharmiṇyām iṣṭāpūrtādidharmāc ca vyatiriktaṃ prabandhakaṃ kalānām antare smaret*. For notes and a translation, see Brunner 1977, 190, note 66.

Thus, the *Siddhāntaśekhara* (18–22b)[85] of Viśvanātha, who wrote in Vārāṇasī in the first half of the thirteenth century (Sanderson 2014, 23), in essence teaches a structure similar to the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, with the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* being the broad divisions of *sabījā* initiation, except that the *lokadharmiṇī* is not further divided; the *śivadharmiṇī*, in contrast, is divided into *naiṣṭhikī* and *bhautikī* varieties, but there is no further division into *sakāma* and *niṣkāma* kinds.[86]

Even this brief survey of some early-medieval South-Indian sources, written some centuries after the sriptural material discussed in the first part of the paper, shows that there was no fixed consensus on what the different initiatory categories covered exactly; the same elements appear in various places, assembled together differently.[87] What the sources share, however, is that these categories are no longer in any case associated with the *bubhukṣu* category.

6 Conclusion

The material reviewed above allows us to trace how the emergence and development of the *lokadharmiṇī* initiation are linked to larger developments in tantric Śaiva history. To sum up: the initial stage appears to reflect an early phase of tantric Śaivism, when the power- and enjoyment-seeking aspects of

85 *Siddhāntaśekhara* p. 145, *Naimittikakāṇḍa*, chapter 2.18–22b: *sabījā dvividhā proktā prathamā śivadharmiṇī | dharmādharmātmakaṃ karma sañcitāgāmicitrakam* ||18|| *saṃmṛdya sādhyate yasmāt sā dīkṣā śivadharmiṇī | adharmasañcitaṃ sarvaṃ karmāṅgam iva śodhyate* ||19|| *dharmāvaśeṣito yatra sā dīkṣā lokadharmiṇī | tatrādyā saśikhācchedā na śikhācchedanādarā* ||20|| *bhautikī naiṣṭikī ceti dvidhā sā śivadharmiṇī | vratamokṣasamāyuktā bhautikīti nigadyate* ||21|| *śarīrapātaparyantā yathā sā naiṣṭhikī matā* |.

86 See, for instance, Nigamajñāna 11's *Dīkṣādarśa*, for which see Ganesh 2009, 196; see also further mention of these categories on pp. 137, 164–165, 196, and 240.

87 For instance, in the 16th century *Śaivaparibhāṣā* (for the date of which see Sanderson 2014, 86) of Śivāgrayogin, the *śivadharmiṇī* and *lokadharmiṇī* are differentiated according to an original feature: that for the former all *karma*s are destroyed, and for the latter only the bad ones. The feature of cutting off the topknot, on the other hand, is connected with the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* as opposed to the *samayadīkṣā* and *viśeṣadīkṣā*; however, the text does link the cutting of the top-knot to the ascetic, saying that it should take place after his *nirvāṇadīkṣā*; see *Śaivaparibhāṣā*, chapter 5, p. 5: *iyam api śivadharmiṇī lokadharmiṇī ceti dvividhā. dharmādharmayor ubhayor api yatra saṃśodhanaṃ sā śivadharmiṇī. adharmamātrasya yatra saṃśodhanaṃ sā lokadharmiṇī. kriyāvatī prakārāntareṇa trividhā. samayadīkṣā viśeṣadīkṣā nirvāṇadīkṣā ceti. yatra rudrapade yojanaṃ kriyate sā samayadīkṣā. yatreśvarapade yojanaṃ sā viśeṣadīkṣā. anayor ubhayor api nāsti śikhācchedaḥ. yatra śivapade yojanaṃ sā nirvāṇadīkṣā. yatra nirvāṇadīkṣapūrvakaṃ sannyāsaḥ tatra tv asti śikhācchedaḥ.*

tantric practice held a comparatively prominent role. It seems that the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* was created in this milieu in order to extend the benefits and services of the tantric repertoire to various groups within the brahmanical mainstream, in this way appealing to the ordinary lay worshipper, who was perhaps attracted by the magical and merit-enhancing aspects of the religion but did not want to commit to the ritual life of a tantric practitioner. This initial function aligns with a gradual process of professionalization within tantric Śaiva communities, bridging the gap between esoteric practitioners and the laity. In this matter they followed in the footsteps of the Atimārga, for epigraphical evidence attests to members of these Śaiva ascetic initiatory circles serving as religious officiants for lay practitioners from as early as the fourth century (Sanderson 2013).[88] However, at the same time, the Sādhaka form of *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* is found only in the *Svacchanda*, *Mṛgendra*, and the *Tantrasadbhāva*, suggesting that in the broader Śaiva tantric world—apart from Kashmir—its function was of marginal or no importance, a circumstance likely contributing to its disappearance from subsequent sources.

We have seen that in other sources using the *lokadharmiṇī* category, this was reassigned to the sphere of the liberation-seeker. This allocation, in turn, may be correlated with two further developments. Firstly, increasing emphasis was given to the liberation-seeking aspect of the religion, a development that in the South culminates in the disappearance of the figure of the Śaiva Sādhaka, as Brunner (1974, 440) observes. Consequently, retention of an exoteric form of the enjoyment-seeker category may have gradually become obsolete. Secondly, we know that tantric Śaivism was successful in gradually adapting to the ritual needs of the brahmanical mainstream, even to the point of incorporating its practices within the tantric ritual repertoire, so that full initiation also became available to brahmanical householders, giving them unrestricted access to the religion.[89] This development is reflected in the use of the category *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā* in the 12th-century *Jñānaratnāvalī*, where it is prescribed for precisely those householder initiates who had full access to the tantric repertoire but maintained their position and brahmanical ritual obligations in society (the *lokadharma*). Again, the need for a *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, which made the *bubhukṣu* aspect of the religion more accessible and may originally have been a catalyst for outreach, may thereby have become less meaningful. The increasingly large-scale inclusion of the brahmanical main-

88 See also Sanderson 2009 for the many ways in which tantric officiants created strong links with the laity, also by acting as officiants in the domain of royal and consecration rituals.

89 See Sanderson 1995 and 2009.

stream from this time onwards is also visible in other areas of ritual, especially in South-Indian sources. Thus, for instance, we find the emergence of literature on penance rites regulating social interactions, such as the two works known as *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* by Hṛdayaśiva and Trilocana, respectively, the latter having been edited and translated by Sathyanarayanan (2015). In his introduction to this volume, Dominic Goodall draws attention to the socially all-encompassing nature of the work, showing how its prescriptions include even women as part of the community, and how the focus shifts to public temple ritual.[90] Goodall also points out another change within these tantric traditions, which we may find reflected in the history of the *lokadharmiṇī dīkṣā*, namely that along with these developments the goal of individual liberation gradually waned in importance. He observes also that the "colonization by the Śaiva Siddhānta of many large South Indian temples, and the dominance of Vedāntic non-dualism appear to have diminished the significance of ritual salvific *dīkṣā*."[91] As the tradition's focus shifted from individual to public ritual life, it may be this waning importance of *dīkṣā*'s salvific function that has contributed to the confusion evident in Saiddhāntika manuals concerning how to categorize the *lokadharmiṇī* and *śivadharmiṇī dīkṣā*s. The dominant concern in allocating these initation types eventually became simply to differentiate the householder initiate from the ascetic, rather than to distinguish the spiritual goals attained through various initiations. This usage of the terminology is far removed from its original purpose: designating special types of tantric intiation for those seeking powers, access to higher cosmic realms, and, ultimately, liberation.

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90 In Sathyanarayanan 2015, 15–63.

91 See Goodall's entry on *dīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III. For more on the influences on the development and formation of Śaiva Siddhānta theology from the 10th century onwards, see Goodall 2006, in particular pp. 98–103.

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CHAPTER 12

Innovation and Social Change in the Vale of Kashmir, circa 900–1250 C.E.

John Nemec

iti prakaṭito mayā sughaṭa eṣa mārgo navo mahāgurubhir ucyate sma śiva-dṛṣṭiśāstre yathā |

Thus I have set forth this new (*nava*), easy path as it was explained by my distinguished teacher [Somānanda] in the *śāstra*, [entitled] the *Śivadṛṣṭi*.

*Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā*s of Utpaladeva at 4.16ab

1 Introduction

It is well known that religious agents in premodern South Asia appealed to the purported timelessness and transcendence of their scriptural sources to secure not only their legitimacy but also that of the ideas found in them. Equally well known—in no small part due to the work of Alexis Sanderson on the social history of Śaiva and other religious traditions in early-medieval Kashmir and elsewhere—is the fact that premodern South Asian religions do not appear as unchanging and immobile traditions in social stasis. Quite the opposite: the various religious traditions of medieval South Asia were nothing if not innovative in idea and practice, most notably in their literary productions. These myriad religious traditions, moreover, had a measurable and not insignificant influence on contemporaneous social life.

In beginning to address the question of religious change in premodern South Asia I would like not merely to point out that the religious practitioners of the day were surely able to distinguish new religious, and other, ideas and practices from received tradition—just as we are today—a fact that itself calls into question the reification of the sort of social stasis and lack of historical awareness posited in previous Indological scholarship.[1] I also will argue that

1 Monier-Williams (1891, 38–39), for example, suggested that Brahminical theology preempts

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a self-conscious, emic *theory* or explanation of scriptural authority and social change may be found in the history of religions in premodern Kashmir. I wish to examine the significance of novelty, of innovation, as it was conceived by the authors I propose to place under study, and to identify its role in establishing, or challenging, religious authority in the period in question, all of which I will do by exploring an exemplar that illustrates what I suggest should be taken as a maxim in the study of South Asian religions (and religion more generally), namely, that *change is not inimical to religion*, even if particular religious agents are not infrequently inimical to change.[2]

In particular, I propose to examine selected writings of some among the most prominent of the Śaiva tantric "post-scriptural" authors of the Kashmir Valley, who thrived there in the period reserved by the title of the present essay. They include Somānanda (circa 900–950), Utpaladeva (circa 925–975), and Abhinavagupta (circa 975–1025), as well as Jayaratha (early 13th C.E.), the author of the *Tantrālokaviveka* commentary on the *Tantrāloka* (hereafter TĀV and TĀ, respectively). Their textual contributions are properly associated with what continues, sometimes, to be labeled "Kashmiri Shaivism,"[3] and they offer an important opportunity to reevaluate the nature of various sources of reli-

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any proper appreciation of history. MacDonell, in turn, both reiterates this position and adds to it a second claim regarding what he calls the "total lack of the historical sense" in premodern Indian literature: he claims that historical events in premodern South Asia were insufficient to trigger the cultivation of a properly historical consciousness. See MacDonell [1900] 1962, 8–9. This pair of views exemplifies the two types of arguments that earlier Indologists have made regarding the supposed ahistoricality of premodern South Asian works: Scholars often suggested either that the authors of premodern Sanskrit works held theoretical—mainly religious—views that precluded them from taking interest in historical concerns; or, they argued that historical events in premodern South Asia transpired in ways that preempted the possibility of a properly historical response to them.

2 Scholars in the academy have given new attention to the question of the place of change in religion in recent years. Jonathan Edelmann, formerly of Mississippi State University and now at the University of Florida, has suggested, in an unpublished précis of concerns addressed by four panelists of a session of the 2011 American Academy of Religion National Meeting entitled "Authorizing Theologies," that the question to hand was a matter of "newness," of novelty, and of "authorizing" such novelty in the language of "theology," with the shared hypothesis of all the panelists being that the various theological formulations they placed under examination each sought to "recast and re-contextualize influential concepts and arguments from earlier traditions" (to quote from the panelists' description of the session). Some of the products of this panel may be found in a special issue of the *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, for which see Edelmann 2014. The present essay constitutes a response to and an engagement with the broader theme first engaged by these scholars at the AAR Annual Meeting in question.

3 It is well known by now that this term is something of a misnomer, because it is both overly specific geographically and overly general doctrinally. See Dyczkowski 1987: 222–223.

gious authority in premodern South Asia, as well as the manner of establishing and deploying such authority in practice in India's premodernity.

This is so, firstly and primarily, because the authors in question *explicitly* wedded themselves to the notion that novelty, the production of something new, was not only acceptable, but was an asset to their religion. This they maintained over and against the ethos of Vedic religious authority, which was defined by its claim to offer a kind of knowledge that was beyond question, its infallibility guaranteed by the purported timelessness and authorlessness of the Vedic scriptures themselves. Secondly, and related to this, they lived and wrote in the Valley at a time when Kashmir was economically dynamic and culturally and religiously pluralistic, and was perhaps the most active center of Sanskrit literary production in the Indian sub-continent not only in its day, but in Indian history (after the time of the Guptas).[4] Indeed, the bibli-

4 Royal patronage certainly did much to cultivate this cultural richness, as the many Kashmiri contributions in poetry and aesthetic theory illustrate, these of course being important concerns of the premodern South Asian court; but this was not the only catalyst. Five additional elements served to make such cultural production possible. These include:

(1) The relative security of Kashmir. Closing the famed "gates" to the Valley—the mountain passes or *dvāras*—offered reliable protection from outside military interference, though this did not help quell internal military threats, as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* makes abundantly clear.

(2) This does not mean, however, that Kashmiris were unaware of outside military and other influences. One anecdote illustrates as much: to my knowledge the earliest use in Sanskrit of the term *turuṣka* appears in a Kashmiri work, the famed *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta; and the term frequently appears in later Kashmiri works such as the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. So much signals the second catalyst: cosmopolitanism, or a cognizance of the wider world and significant contact with it. Foreign invaders were long kept at bay, to be sure; but, simultaneously, scholars and merchants regularly were given leave to visit the Valley from the plains of India and from as far afield as Central Asia and China, and possibly beyond. Perhaps most notably, Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims frequented Kashmir in order to study in the Valley's thriving monasteries, which were influential in the period in question even if relatively few archaeological traces of them have survived to the present day.

(3) Next, the extensive and longstanding cross-pollination of Hindu and Buddhist thought did much to enrich humanistic thinking in the Valley in the period under study; it helped that, with relatively few exceptions, the kings of Kashmir supported a healthy religious diversity in the Valley. (Harṣa of course is one exception to the general rule that Kashmiri kings, and members of the court, patronized various traditions simultaneously, and certainly lived up to the Dharmaśāstric norm of leaving religion alone short of the emergence of egregious concerns therewith.) I would count this intellectual and religious pluralism the third productive factor in Kashmiri intellectual and cultural history.

(4) A fourth influence was economic: global trade along the nearby Silk Road is likely to have contributed to the Valley's material prosperity, which would have facilitated the cultivation of Kashmir's cultural wealth (though more work is needed better to understand this dimension of Kashmiri social life); and the Valley itself, with its large tracts of arable land, was agriculturally largely self-sufficient.

ography of Kashmiri contributions, one feels, is practically asymptotic to that of premodern Sanskrit learning *tout court*.[5] Quite a number of *innovative* literary works were produced there in this period, moreover; and some among the Śaiva authors in question actively participated in this cultural and literary tradition by composing texts that contributed to selected non-tantric literary genres. A study of these authors thus opens a window into the ways in which religion functioned in larger intellectual and public spheres in a period of tremendous intellectual and cultural flourishing, even if the present essay will examine the internal logic of the selected tradition's philosophical and

(5) Finally, one cannot discount the significance of the location itself: Kashmir was—and is—considered to be one of the most beautiful places of the entire sub-continent, and people simply wanted to live there. This in part explains the long history of Brahminical migration (at the king's invitation) to the Valley from across the sub-continent.

5 The Kashmiri contributions are of course numerous and cover the gamut of fields of Sanskritic learning, from Dharmaśāstra to philosophical writings to *vyākaraṇa* and other technical literatures, to works of *belles lettres* in a range of genres, and, of particular note, to the *alaṃkāraśāstra*. Consider the following. Two of the five works that are demonstrably based on Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā* were composed in Kashmir (these are the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra and Somadeva's famed *Kathāsaritsāgara*). Virtually all the *ālaṃkārika*s of the mature phase of the study of aesthetics were Kashmiri—including Vāmana, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Kuntaka, Mukulabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka, and Pratīhārendurāja. In the various areas of Śāstric learning, the famed Naiyāyika Bhaṭṭa Jayanta was Kashmiri, as were Varadarāja and possibly Vyomaśiva. Among the Buddhists, Arcaṭa, Dharmottara, Śaṅkaranandana, and Jñānaśrīmitra hailed from the Valley, and Vinītadeva (among many others) spent time there. The grammarians Jayāditya and Vāmana, authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, are thought by some to have been Kashmiris, and Kaiyaṭa certainly was (and is said to have been the son of Mammaṭa). So, too, was Helārāja a Kashmiri (of course he is the author of the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*). Medhātithi, the famed early commentator on the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, also hailed from the Valley, as, of course, did Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Additionally, a number of key works of unnamed authorship can be shown to have Kashmiri origins, including the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, and the *Mokṣopāya*, which, as by now is well known, is the early recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. Among Śaiva scriptural works, we can say with some confidence that the *Bṛhatkālottara*, the second, third, and fourth *ṣatka*s of the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*, the *Svacchandatantra*, the *Netratantra*, and, in all probability, the *Tridaśaḍāmaratantra* (about which I wrote my M.Phil. thesis at Oxford under the direction of Alexis Sanderson, the product of which may be found in evidence in Nemec 2013) are Kashmiri productions. Among Pāñcarātrika scriptures (this according to Alexis Sanderson), the *Jayākhya-*, *Jayottara-*, and *Sāsvata-saṃhitā*s are of a Kashmiri provenance. Finally, I note that many other works were also influential in the Valley, and were heavily studied there, even if they cannot be proven to have a Kashmiri provenance. For a survey of Kashmiri authors and the scholarship that treats them, see Nemec 2015. (I thank Harunaga Isaacson for his contribution to my understanding of the provenance of these anonymous tantric works, which came in the form of personal correspondence, via email, in December of 2013.)

religious writings rather than explain the relationship between such writings and those of other, more "secular" genres.

The wider cultural context of the Kashmir Valley is of note, because scholars have sometimes linked the purportedly transcendent nature of religious authority—and of textual production more generally—to a concomitant, forced stasis in the social order. Rigid and purportedly timeless ideas about the nature of reality and the place of various peoples situated in it, the thinking goes, produced and supported rigid rules concerning the innate rights and capacities of particular individuals and groups, with such rights and capacities inevitably being hierarchically and inequitably defined, all in a manner as resistant to change as the transcendent sources of religiously sanctioned authority were held to be. The precise *social* implications of a religious worldview that welcomes innovation, in a context in which innovation in literary production was not uncommon, is therefore of primary concern in defining the role of religion in public life in premodern South Asia.[6]

In what follows I will proceed in three stages. First, I will offer a précis of the problematic associated with the issues to hand, this by examining Pollock's theorization of the relationship of theory (*śāstra*) to practice (or *prayoga*) in premodern South Asia. Pollock is selected for further examination because his writings on premodern South Asian cultural change are, in my view, the most sophisticated and engaging of any scholarly treatment of the subject to date, even if I will ultimately adopt his view only in part, challenging it in part as well.

Following this, I will examine key textual passages from the writings of the tradition here placed under study, this to illustrate the ways in which transcendentally authorized religious ideas can be conceived simultaneously to be historically situated and, indeed, *new*—and therefore demanding of a new social consciousness. Here I wish to support the claim that *social change in premodern South Asia tends almost invariably to be incremental, not revolutionary, in nature*. It regularly—not to say exclusively—involves modifications of social norms and strictures, not wholesale changes thereof. The relevant textual passages will be examined in two sections, the first dealing with the tradition's emic theory of textual authority, the second with its religious practices.

6 The idea, then, is to begin, at least, to consider the tantric Śaivas' religion in light of the existence of their non-tantric lives (if not explicitly their non-tantric textual contributions), as well to measure their religious writings with the wider social, cultural, and intellectual contexts in which they thrived in mind. I intend, anyhow, to make a start at this here by examining the role of innovation, of change, *in religion*, even if any exploration of these themes more broadly will have to wait for a subsequent study.

Finally, I will conclude by charting the implications of this exemplar in a concentric series of contexts, culminating with the study of religion, broadly conceived. If I might be allowed to argue by way of example—*ab uno disce omnes*—I will suggest in conclusion that the present illustration offers insight into the nature and functioning not only of religion in premodern India, but also of religion *tout court*.

2 Theory and Practice: Sheldon Pollock on *śāstra* and *prayoga*

The issues associated with endeavors to negotiate cultural and social change may be set in the brightest relief if we read them in light of what is in my view the most sophisticated treatment to date of the relation of *śāstra*—i.e., (textual) theory—on the one hand, and cultural and intellectual practice or *prayoga*, on the other, that of Sheldon Pollock (as articulated in a pair of articles: "Mīmāṃsā and the Problem of History in Traditional India" [1989] and, perhaps more importantly, "The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History" [1985]). Pollock has argued, in what is the most significant theoretical contribution of this pair of articles, that classical Sanskrit theoretical works in premodern South Asia articulated an epistemological formulation according to which there was *no dialectical relationship* between theory (*śāstra*) and practice (*prayoga*). New practices were not seen as able to challenge or shape theoretical models, Pollock has argued, due to the claimed *a priori* status of the theoretical works themselves, which came to be understood to represent (in, he suggests, the language of Ryle) a form of "knowing that" a given social or cultural form was in its very nature just as it appeared in practice, as opposed merely to offering a "knowing how" the social or cultural form in question functioned or could function (based on empirical observation).[7]

This is to say that the purportedly timeless and authorless works defined the world in terms of what it is and should—and must—be, rather than articulating a contingent theory, one subject to revision on the basis of on-the-ground practices, or in other words in a dialectical relationship with events. "For here," Pollock argues, "on a scale probably unparalleled in the pre-modern world, we find a thorough transformation—adopting now Geertz's well-known dichotomy—of 'models of' human activity into 'models for,' whereby texts that initially had shaped themselves to reality so as to make it 'graspable,' end by

7 See Pollock 1985, 504.

asserting the authority to shape reality to themselves."[8] Pollock ultimately identifies three consequences to this theory of theory and its practical application: (1) the "'creation' of knowledge" was understood to be exclusively a divine activity; (2) knowledge was "by and large viewed as permanently fixed in its dimensions"; and (3) third and finally, there could be "no conception of progress, of the forward 'movement from worse to better,' on the basis of innovations in practice."[9]

One product of such "ahistoricality"[10] was an apparent stasis in Brahminical views of the normative social order, at least as such views were codified in the classical Sanskrit *śāstra*s par excellence—the Vedas, which, to reiterate, were reified as authorless and timeless works and said therefore to convey transcendent and unchanging truths.[11] The *śāstra*s were self-consciously understood to

8 ibid.

9 See Pollock 1985, 515.

10 This is the term so often used to describe Indian attitudes toward history—and change. Pollock is not alone in using it (though one should be careful to note that he deploys it differently, and in a markedly more self-conscious and sensitive manner, than his predecessors). So much was it perceived to be the case that India knew nothing of history, that some Western Indologists around the turn of the last century went so far as to suggest, per A.A. MacDonell, for example, that "early India wrote no history because it never made any." See MacDonell [1900] 1962, 8–9; cf. footnote 1, above; finally, see footnotes 11 and 27, below, for Pollock's use of the term in question.

11 As Pollock (1989, 606) understands it, the practice of producing "a content invariably marked by ahistoricality" has its root in the early history of Vedic exegesis, which sought to establish the authority of the Vedas by claiming them to be timeless and authorless productions—ahistorical productions—in which any apparent references to contemporaneous events or persons were said to be explicable by a variety of analyses that served to vitiate any reference to historical realities. See Pollock 1989, 608:

> Mīmāṃsā holds on empirical grounds that the tradition of the recitation of the Vedas must be beginningless (*uktaṃ tu śabdapūrvatvam*, PMS 1.1.29; cf. *Ślokavārttika*, *Vākyādhikaraṇa*, vs. 366). But that is not sufficient to prove its transcendence and thus infallibility (something false can be beginningless, the *jātyandhaparaṃparānyāya*). It is therefore argued that the Vedas are transcendent by reason of their anonymity. Had they been composed by men, albeit long ago, there is no reason why the memory of these composers should not have been preserved to us. Those men who are named in association with particular recensions, books, hymns of the Vedas—Kaṭhaka, for example, or Paippalādaka—are not to be regarded as the authors but simply as scholars specializing in the transmission or exposition of the texts in question (*ākhyā pravacanāt*, 1.1.30; *pūrvapakṣa* ad 1.1.27). Texts for which no authors can be identified *have* no authors, and this applies to the Vedas and to the Vedas alone (which are thus presumably the only authentically anonymous texts in Indian cultural history).

See also ibid.:

> The transcendent character of the Vedas, which is proved by the fact of their having no beginning in time and no author, is confirmed by their contents: the Vedas show

articulate a range of social and other normative views that were consciously held to be unassailable, because the works in which they were recorded were said to stand entirely outside the realm of mundane and contingent existence:

> History, one might thus conclude, is not simply absent from or unknown to Sanskritic India; rather it is denied in favor of a model of 'truth' that accorded history no epistemological value or social significance. The denial of history, for its part, raises an entirely new set of questions. To answer these we would want to explore the complex ideological formation of traditional Indian society that privileges system over process—the structure of the social order over the creative role of man in history—and that, by denying the historical transformations of the past, deny them for the future and thus serve to naturalize the present and its asymmetrical relations of power.[12]

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no dimension whatever of historical referentiality. Allusions to historical persons or to historical sequentiality are only apparently so. For instance, the Vedic sentence 'Babara Prāvāhaṇi [son of Pravāha] once desired …' [TS 7.1.5.4]—which might establish a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the text (i.e., after Pravāha begot Babara)—contains merely phonemic resemblances to the names of historical persons (*paraṃ tu śrutisāmānyamātram* 1.1.31; *pūrvapakṣa* ad 1.1.28). 'Etymological' analysis shows that the references are in fact to eternally existing entities (in the case in question, to the 'howling wind').

Note that Pollock thus challenges the notion, maintained by earlier Indologists such as MacDonell, that such ahistoricality reflects any lack or deficiency in Indian intellectual historical awareness, and he clearly would disagree, as I emphatically do, with those earlier Indologists who denigrated Indian thinkers for failing to develop a "proper" (Western-like) historical consciousness. See, e.g., Pollock 1989, 604: "I believe the received view about Indian historical consciousness is constructed out of a set of ideas whose truth can no longer be taken for granted: ideas about history and narrativity as such, about ancient historiography in general and Indian intellectual history in particular. Moreover, even if we grant that there are idiosyncratic features about the traditional Indian response to historical experience, the characteristics of this idiosyncrasy have never been adequately described or convincingly explained." (See also, ibid.: "On the face of it the reduction of historical consciousness to a 'zero-category' for traditional India is improbable; from the viewpoint of phenomenology, which offers us the most sustained analysis of such consciousness, it is impossible.") Rather, Pollock argues, any "ahistoricality" is intentionally constructed, in his view to perpetuate the social control of those (Brahmins) who constructed it. See below.

12 See Pollock 1989, 610.

3 The Kashmiri Śaiva Example in Its Theoretical Form

If I question Pollock's model in part, it is not because it is nowhere operative in premodern South Asia or, *mutatis mutandis*, in contemporary Indian religions. For, decidedly it was, and sometimes is; and Pollock's theory adroitly explains a strategy for dealing with cultural and social change that in its primary features is also operative in other religious traditions of other times and places. Indeed, it signals what is a fundamental concern for religion and does much to theorize and explain what is a common response to it.[13] Where I differ with Pollock is with his understanding of this model as monolithic, as functioning equally across the gamut of premodern *śāstric* modes of discourse and across textual genres and religious traditions.[14] For the facts as we can discern them "on the ground" in the period in question challenge the universal applicability of his model, and the construction and use of religious authority in premodern South Asia was regularly if not uniformly more *complex* than Pollock's model allows.

Two dimensions of textual production in premodern South Asia complicate his view of the *śāstra*s—the normative, technical, and for our purposes religious writings—of classical India. These are, firstly, (1) the fact that the canon—or, more precisely, canons—of Hindu scripture remained (and in certain instances continue to remain) open, allowing for a *proliferation* of scriptural sources regularly to emerge "on the ground"; and, secondly, (2) the fact that "ahistoricality"—the very basis of the authorless and timeless transcendence that, Pollock has shown, furnished (religious) authority—was conceived in multiple ways, including, in the tradition placed under consideration in this essay, in a manner that allowed purportedly divine and timeless teachings simultaneously to be associated with the particular biographies of historically-located religious figures ("perfected ones" or Siddhas, in the present example).

13 The concern may be summed up in plain terms, namely, that while the world changes, the religious ideas, ideals, practices, and principles that are meant to shape and guide human activity are established before such changes can be known or fully anticipated. More than this, religious authority not infrequently is derived from its very antiquity, from the fact that it is born from what is said to be a transcendent source or sources, which can speak "truths" neither produced by, nor subject to the revisions of, the fallible and fickle. There is a need, then, to prove the prescience of the religiously authoritative sources, either through exegesis or eisegesis: one may do so either by finding events as they eventually transpired to have been anticipated in the scriptures or by reading events as they transpire into the scriptures themselves.

14 On the ubiquity of this strategy, in Pollock's view, see footnote 27, where he refers to the use of the strategy in "whatever sort of [Sanskrit] text it might be" that one has to hand.

This pair of dimensions of scriptural production allowed for the recognition of and advocacy for change in Hinduism in ways that have heretofore passed without mention: religious authority could be conceived of as simultaneously new *and* timeless; and in a context in which religions could readily proliferate textual sources of a staggering variety, religious authority was complex, both because it was layered and because it could and did change over time. It is precisely for these reasons that the example offered by the Śaiva tantrics of Kashmir both challenges and confirms elements of Pollock's theory.

I begin the case-study with the examination of a theoretical work, a *śāstra*, one inspired by Śaiva tantric scriptures and views, but one voided of explicit references to such texts: Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā*s (hereafter ĪPK), the preeminent expression of Pratyabhijñā philosophy, for which the author wrote both a short and a long autocommentary, respectively the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikāvṛtti* (ĪPKVṛ) and the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā-vivṛti* or *-ṭīkā* (the latter of which is lost excepting that a number of fragments of the work have been recovered in recent years; see chapter 5 of this volume). The ĪPK and ĪPKVṛ offer an exoteric explanation for the nature of the divine and the place of the practitioner in the world. They were written by a Brahmin who in his public life would have adhered to caste norms and the associated rules of purity and pollution. Yet, as is well known, Utpaladeva and the other authors of the Pratyabhijñā simultaneously would have allowed, in theory, at least, for the contravention of these rules in the context of the family of tantric initiates, a complex practice summarized by the famous dictum, "internally a Kaula, externally a Śaiva, and in social practice a follower of the Veda."[15] (I will return to this maxim in what follows in order to examine the wider textual context in which it is recorded.)

My contention is that the ĪPK and its commentarial tradition exemplify the possibility of self-consciously introducing religiously—indeed, what are held to be transcendently—authorized *innovations*, and that they also serve to illustrate and explain the possibilities and limits of such innovations on contemporaneous social life. Consider, to begin, the by now well-known invocatory verse (*maṅgala*) of Utpaladeva's masterwork:

15 See TĀV ad TĀ 4.251ab (vol. 3, p. 278, line 5): *antaḥ kaulo bahiḥ śaivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ*. Cf. TĀV ad TĀ 4.24cd–25ab (vol. 3, p. 27, line 11).

I note that there is a difference in the writings of Utpaladeva, Somānanda, and Abhinavagupta as regards the place of the norms of *varṇāśramadharma*; for, the latter two authors were more explicit in their understanding of the merely conventional nature of such social distinctions than was Utpaladeva (in the ĪPK and ĪPKVṛ, at least).

> Having somehow become a servant of Maheśvara, wishing to offer assistance to all people (*janasyāpi*), I will facilitate the recognition of [the Lord], which brings about the achievement of all successes.[16]

Utpaladeva's stated wish to assist "all people" (*janasyāpi*) requires further examination, and I will return to this statement in what follows. More immediately, one may note two key and perhaps obvious qualities of the *maṅgala* as it is offered to the reader. First, Utpaladeva claims access to the transcendent, for he says he has "somehow become a servant of Maheśvara," i.e., of Śiva. Second, he promises to bring others to a similar level of accomplishment by accounting for his insight in the very text that is to hand, paving a path for others to the same ennobled state.

The first quality is anticipated in the *maṅgala* with which Somānanda opens his *Śivadṛṣṭi* (hereafter ŚD), a verse that is also by now well known:

> May Śiva, who has penetrated/possessed my form by warding himself off by means of his own self, pay homage to his (all-)extensive self by means of his own power.[17]

Here, as before, the author's association with Śiva is noted, though it is rather more prominently asseverated than is the association with Śiva described by Utpala in the ĪPK—for the ŚD uses the Kaula scriptural idiom of possession. We thus clearly are not met with those who count themselves merely to be informed intellectuals, but with those who claim to be both scholars and practitioners, who understand themselves to be close to—or in fact the very embodiment of—God in the form of Śiva.

So much is confirmed in the history of the transmission of the teachings of the Pratyabhijñā that is found in a textual passage appended to the *Śivadṛṣṭi*, said to be an autobiographical account of Utpaladeva's teacher, Somānanda.[18]

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16 See ĪPK 1.1.1: *kathañcid āsādya maheśvarasya dāsyaṃ janasyāpy upakāram icchan | samastasaṃpatsamavāptihetuṃ tatpratyabhijñām upapādayāmi.*

17 See ŚD 1.1: *asmadrūpasamāviṣṭaḥ svātmanātmanivāraṇe | śivaḥ karotu nijayā namaḥ śaktyā tatātmane.*

18 An edition and translation of this "autobiography" may be found in Nemec 2011, 22–24. As noted there, I have my doubts about the authenticity of the passage *as autobiography*, and rather think it is something probably composed after Somānanda's day, but I here note that it is likely to have existed by the eleventh century, as it is replicated, to a substantial degree, in Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* (ĪPVV), which explicitly associates the narrative with the ŚD itself. (See below, especially footnote 33.)

While this quasi-mythological passage claims a divine origin for the Pratyabhijñā, origins that were shrouded with secrecy, it emphasizes the *emergent quality of the teachings*—their very entry from obscurity into circulation among men, or, in a word, their novelty. For the teachings, we are told therein,[19] were kept by "great-souled sages" (*mahātmanām ṛṣīṇām*) until they retreated from the world at the dawn of the Kali Yuga, at which point it was incumbent on God (*deva*) himself to cross down to earth "in order to grace [humanity]" (*devaḥ … anugrahāyāvatīrṇaḥ … bhūtale*).[20] This he did by instructing the irascible and imprecating sage Durvāsas to perpetuate the lineage of initiates. Durvāsas is said to do so by producing a mind-born son named Tryambakāditya, who stands at the head of a fifteen-generation lineage of such mind-born Siddhas (all named Tryambaka).[21] The last falls in love with a Brahmin woman who bears him a son named Saṃgamāditya. He in turn is said to have moved to Kashmir,[22] and over the course of the generations the lineage and its esoteric teachings were passed down to Somānanda. Thus, we are told, the teachings were not lost (*nocchidyate*).

I would further suggest that the type of autobiographical expression offered by Somānanda is also found in Abhinavagupta's famed autograph verse, with which he opens virtually all his Trika commentarial works and which Sanderson has examined, already, in detail. Sanderson (2005, 89) has rendered this bivalent (*śleṣa*) *maṅgala* verse as follows:

> May my heart shine forth, embodying the bliss of the ultimate, [for it is] {one with the state of absolute potential made manifest in the fusion of these two, the 'Mother' grounded in pure representation, radiant in ever new genesis, and the 'Father', all-enfolding [Bhairava], who maintains the light [of consciousness] through his five faces} / {*formed from the emissions produced through the fusion of these two, my mother Vimalā, whose*

References to verse numbers of this "autobiography" reflect the enumeration of the edition found in Nemec 2011.

19 See the "autobiography" at ŚD 7.107a–c. *śaivādīni rahasyāni pūrvam āsan mahātmanām | ṛṣīṇāṃ vaktrakuhare …*

20 See the "autobiography" at ŚD 7.108–109: *kalau pravṛtte yāteṣu teṣu durgamagocaram | kalāpigrāmapramukham ucchinne śivaśāsane. kailāsādau bhraman devo mūrtyā śrīkaṇṭharūpayā | anugrahāyāvatīrṇaś codayām āsa bhūtale.*

21 See the "autobiography" at ŚD 7.111: *tataḥ sa bhagavān devād ādeśaṃ prāpya yatnataḥ | sasarja mānasaṃ putraṃ tryambakādityanāmakam.* See also the "autobiography" at ŚD 7.114: *siddhas tadvat sutotpattyā siddhā evaṃ caturdaśa | yāvat pañcadaśaḥ putraḥ sarvaśāstraviśāradaḥ.*

22 The move to Kashmir is recounted in the narrative at ŚD 7.118cd.

> *greatest joy was in my birth, and my father* [*Nara*]*siṃhagupta*, [*when both were*] *all-embracing* [*in their union*]}.[23]

These expressions, in turn, reflect the tradition of the poet's autograph verse, which, it must be added, is something of a late phenomenon in the history of Indian literature. I offer for comparative purposes one example thereof, that of Ratnākara (as rendered by David Smith), which opens his famed *Haravijaya*:

> Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu who was the son of him who lived at Gaṅgāhrada on Himādri's peak and was of Śrīdurgadatta's lineage, wrote this poem, a lovely composition, which is beautiful because it is based on the deeds of Śiva, whose crest is the digit of the moon.[24]

The similarities lie precisely in the fact that by identifying his parentage and/or family lineage each author stakes a claim to his unique biography and thereby his historicality, even if each does so without explicitly situating himself historically with any traceable reference to a calendrical date or reign of any particular royal sovereign. The autograph, then, furnishes precisely what this term suggests, a marker of the unique identity of the author.[25]

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23 The verse reads as follows: *vimalakalāśrayābhinavasṛṣṭimahā jananī bharitatanuś ca pañcamukhaguptarucir janakaḥ | tadubhayayāmalasphuritabhāvavisargamayaṃ hṛdayam anuttarāmṛtakulaṃ mama saṃsphuratāt*. See Sanderson 2005, 89.

24 The verse reads as follows: *śrīdurgadattanijavaṃśahimādrisānugaṅgāhradāśrayasutamṛtabhānusūnuḥ | ratnākaro lalitabandham idaṃ vyadhatta candrārdhacūlacaritāśrayacāru kāvyam*. See Smith 1985, 104.

25 One may observe that only authors of particular genres reveal much of anything of themselves: some authors never compose autograph verses, or anything similar to them. Thus, while the poets who clearly worked in the royal courts of Kashmir reveal parts of their own biographies to the reader, or at the least are willing to acknowledge themselves as biographical figures, we conversely know little from the playwrights of their parentage or their place in the world, nor do the philosophers reveal much of themselves (though Kalhaṇa places many such figures in history in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī*).

It is clear that the Śaivas of concern in this essay were willing to think of and talk about themselves in a language that best pairs—at least up until the time when they lived—with the literary agents who operated in the "secular" arena of the royal court. In Somānanda's case, his personal story is, as we have seen, offered in semi-mythological terms; Utpaladeva's is presented in the *maṅgala* of a text that he surely would have had circulated in intellectual circles, probably those connected, in some significant ways, to the royal court. All of this clearly signals some sense of—some self-conscious awareness and articulation of—historical location, which is proximate to a self-conscious awareness and articulation of novelty. Abhinavagupta's autograph verse in particular is, in my view, most like those of the poets, and it certainly indicates his very entrance into historicality, however extraordinary and exulted he wished to suggest his entrance may have been.

It bears reiterating that the *historical accuracy* of such accounts is not here pertinent; what is of concern in these and other similar expressions is the fact that their authors conceive of themselves not only in terms of their *historicality*, the mere fact that they appear in time, but also in terms of their *historicity*:[26] the authors in question claim for themselves—and whatever (religious) authority they claim—the possibility of being mapped historically, located in particular social, political, religious, and other contexts due to their own distinguishable personages and individual biographies.

Most significant is the fact that Utpaladeva is explicit in the ĪPK about the nature and significance of the spiritual path he describes: it is not only efficient and effective, but it is *explicitly new*.[27] This Utpaladeva tells us in the concluding passage of the fourth and final section (*adhikāra*) of the work, where, reflecting on his completed text, he says:

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26 I here adopt the distinction between historicality and historicity as defined by J.N. Mohanty (2010, 334): "Historicality is the property of being *in* history. Historicity is the condition of the possibility of history. One can distinguish between three levels of historicity: historicity of human existence; historicity of a culture; and historicity of scientific thinking and, in the long run, philosophy. A mere fact or an event does not have historicity. Only an ideal meaning, as Derrida insists in his work on Husserl, can have it."

27 That this is so is significant, for it is indeed the case that such expressions of novelty are relatively scarce in premodern Sanskrit sources, as Pollock has noted. But they are not entirely absent, and one suspects that scholars will find a greater number of such passages as they continue to look for them. See Pollock 1989, 606: "To an astonishing degree Sanskrit texts are anonymous or pseudonymous, or might just as well be. The strategy of eliminating from the text—whatever sort of text it might be—the personality of the author and anything else that could help us situate the text in time is a formal correlate of a content invariably marked by ahistoricality. Works on statecraft, for example, describe their subject without specific reference to a single historically existing state. Books on law expatiate on such crucial questions as the relationship between local practices and general codes of conduct without adducing any particularized events or cases. Belles-lettres seem virtually without date or place, or indeed, author. Literary criticism prior to the tenth century (Ānandavardhana) neither mentions the name nor cites the work of any poet, the *ālaṃkārika*s themselves supplying all examples. Philosophical disputation takes place without the oppositional interlocutor ever being named and doxographies make no attempt to ascribe the religious-philosophical doctrines they review to anyone, unless a mythological personage. Even in those texts whose historical vision I suggest merits particular reconsideration—*Raghuvaṃśa*, for instance—referentiality remains somehow unanchored: We are indeed told that it is the Bengalis that Raghu uproots (4.36), the Kalingas he attacks (38), the Pandyas he scorches (49), the hair of the Kerala women upon which he sprinkles the dust of his army (54), and so on, but if the *digvijaya* has local contours, it remains essentially timeless. In short, we can read thousands of pages of Sanskrit on any imaginable subject and not encounter a single passing reference to a historical person, place, or event—or at least to any that, historically speaking, matters."

> Thus I have set forth this new (*nava*), easy path as it was explained by my distinguished teacher [Somānanda] in the *śāstra*, [entitled] the *Śivadṛṣṭi*.[28]

We see this sentiment reiterated, moreover, in the ĪPKVṛ, where Utpaladeva glosses the term "new" (*nava*) with the synonym *abhinava*;[29] and Abhinavagupta reproduces this latter term in the shorter of his two sub-commentaries, the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (ĪPV), where he adds that the path in question is both "included in" all the various secret *śāstra*s (*sarvarahasyaśāstrāntargata*) and, because it has been concealed from public view, is not well known (*sannigūḍhatvād aprasiddha*).[30]

Isabelle Ratié, the first scholar explicitly to note the significance of this passage, has suggested that Utpaladeva refers to the novelty of the path he described in the ĪPK because he wishes to indicate that it does not authenticate itself by any overt appeal to scripture.[31] Now, it is undoubtedly the case that the *Kārikā*s are unmistakably philosophical in tone and content, and that they require no special or extensive knowledge of esoteric scriptural sources for their comprehension; and one may note that Utpaladeva's teacher, Somānanda, similarly obscured the scriptural influences on his articulation of the Pratyabhijñā.[32]

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28 See ĪPK 4.16ab: *iti prakaṭito mayā sughaṭa eṣa mārgo navo mahāgurubhir ucyate sma śivadṛṣṭiśāstre yathā* |.

29 See ĪPKVṛ ad ĪPK 4.16: *so 'yam avakra evābhinavo mārgaḥ sākṣātkṛtaparameśvarabhaṭṭārakākārair bhaṭṭaśrīsomānandapādaiḥ śivadṛṣṭināmni prakaraṇe nirdiṣṭo mayā yuktinibandhanena hṛdayaṃgamīkṛtaḥ. etatpariśīlanena śivatāveśāt jīvann eva mukto bhavati.* "This new, *direct* path was foretold in the treatise entitled the *Śivadṛṣṭi* by the venerable Somānanda, whose very appearance is that of the great lord Parameśvara in front of one's eyes; I have made it [i.e., this path] enter the heart(s) (of men) by furnishing a logical justification for it. By pursuing this [path] one becomes liberated in this very life [*jīvann eva*], this as a result of being (fully) penetrated by Śiva-nature."

30 See ĪPV ad ĪPK 4.16: *asmatparasmeṣṭhibhaṭṭārakaśrīsomānandapādaiḥ śivadṛṣṭiśāstre 'yam abhinavaḥ sarvarahasyaśāstrāntargataḥ sannigūḍhatvād aprasiddho bāhyāntaracaryāprāṇāyāmādikleśaprayāsakalāvirahāt sughaṭas tāvad uktaḥ* … "This new, easy [path]—(easy) because it lacks in the (need for) skill in the external and internal exertions (usually required) for the (removal of one's) afflictions, [practices] such as appropriate conduct [*caryā*] and breath exercises [*prāṇāyāma*]—which is included in all the secret *śāstra*s, (and) is not well known since it has been concealed from public view, was first explained in the *śāstra* (entitled) the *Śivadṛṣṭi* by the venerable Somānanda, our great-grand guru."

31 See Ratié 2011, 6 (and especially note 8): "Pourtant, Utpaladeva lui-même présente la Pratyabhijñā comme une 'voie nouvelle' (*mārgo navaḥ*). Nouvelle, elle l'est avant tout au sens où elle ne fait pas appel à l'autorité scripturaire."

32 About this phenomenon, see Nemec 2011, 12–19.

I would propose, however, that one must understand a rather different justification for Utpaladeva's description of the path he describes as "new." It is not—or, rather, it is not merely—the fact that one need not appeal to Śaiva scriptures to follow it; rather, I suggest that the primary sense of Utpaladeva's description of the path as "new" is that it is *new to humanity*. As is evinced in Somānanda's "autobiography," the Pratyabhijñā teachings were said to have been concealed by great sages at the beginning of the Kali Age, preserved as they were by means of the secret lineage described therein, and were only revealed subsequently for the benefit of those who would come to be initiated into its ways. Some justification for linking these mythological origins to the attested novelty of the path may be found, moreover, in the fact that Abhinavagupta explicitly invokes the narrative found in Somānanda's "autobiography" in a passage of the ĪPVV that comments on ĪPK 4.16, precisely the verse in which the novelty of the Pratyabhijñā's path is proclaimed. And in doing so Abhinavagupta may be understood himself to associate the lineage with Utpaladeva's claim to novelty.[33]

The Pratyabhijñā thus presents the reader with a self-conscious (theoretical) understanding of their *śāstra* as divinely sanctioned, guaranteed by the identity of the authors in the lineage with Śiva himself; and, while thus divinely sanctioned, the *śāstra*s are intimately, inextricably, tied to the biographies of individual, monadic agents—Utpaladeva, Somānanda, and those preceding and following them in their lineage. Thus, and perhaps not unlike the theology

33 ĪPVV ad ĪPK 4.16 (vol. 3, p. 402, lines 14–20): *śivadṛṣṭīti tadgatam ā śrīkaṇṭhanāthāt guruparvakramaṃ sūcayati. tatra hi śrīśrīkaṇṭhanāthaḥ śāsane samutsanne śrīdurvāsomuniṃ tadavatāraṇāya dideśa, so 'pi śrītryambakādityaṃ traiyambakākhye lokaprasiddhyā tairimbābhidhāne gurusantāne pravartayitāraṃ mānasaṃ sasarja—ityādi vitatyoktam. śrīkaṇṭhanāthaś cādhigatatattvaḥ śrīmadanantanāthāt, so 'pi śrībhagavacchaktita ityādy āgameṣu nirūpitam iti saṃpūrṇo guruparvakrama uktaḥ.*

Compare, in the following graph, the lineages as articulated in the ĪPVV and the ŚD "Autobiography," with coincident names in the respective lineages underlined:

ĪPVV:	Bhagavacchakti → Anantanātha → **Śrīkaṇṭhanātha** → **Durvāsas** → **Tryambakāditya**.
ŚD "Autobiography":	**Śrīkaṇṭha** → **Durvāsas** → **Tryambakāditya** → 14 Tryambaka-s → Saṃgamāditya → Varṣāditya → Aruṇāditya → Ānanda → Somānanda.

Clearly, Abhinavagupta wishes both partially to confirm the lineage offered in the "autobiography" and also to add to it at the top the persons Bhagavacchakti and Anantanātha. (Or, if the composition of the ŚD "autobiography" postdates that of the ĪPVV, one may instead conjecture that the author of the former wished to add to the lineage of the latter at the tail end of the same.)

associated with, e.g., the *avatāra* theory, we are here offered a view of Siddhas or "Perfected Ones" who have emerged in human form in the world in their particular historical contexts, contexts to which they could—and did—actively and explicitly respond. Finally, this concurrence of historicity and divine authority allows the ĪPK in particular to claim to offer something that is plainly and explicitly "new" (*nava*), yet nevertheless "transcendent," even "timeless," as it were, insofar as authorized by Śiva himself. The Pratyabhijñā thus achieves in its explicit and implicit theoretical formulations the apparently paradoxical aims of offering something both historically located and new, on the one hand, and transcendent, on the other, the teachings being ultimately authored and authorized by Śiva himself and thus held to be uncontained by any historical bounds.

4 The Kashmiri, Śaiva Example in Practice

This much, then, represents the Kashmiri non-dual Śaivas' theory, their self-conscious view of the place of their *śāstra* and those who carry it in history. But, what of their practices? What did their theory suggest they should do, and what, so far as can be known, did they do?

As is well known, the Śaivas of the Pratyabhijñā understood the various practices related to *varṇa* or birth to involve mere social custom, their view being that caste identity was not based in any real difference in the natures of the individuals so marked by it. We see this view exemplified perhaps nowhere more clearly than in a passage of Somānanda's ŚD (at 3.42cd–47), where the question of the need to purify a fire installed in an outcaste's, a *caṇḍāla*'s,[34] house is addressed:

> *svecchāto bhāvarūpatve parādhīnā kutaḥ sthitiḥ* 3.42
> *kṣīravad yadi vocyeta parādhīnaṃ jaḍaṃ bhavet*
> *etayaiva diśā śodhyaṃ śuddhanyūnādidūṣaṇam* 3.43
> *abhagne 'sya svarūpatve śuddhanyūnādikaṃ kutaḥ*
> *patadgrahādike hemni hematvaṃ mukuṭādike* 3.44
> *sthitam eva na hemno 'sya kācid asti vibheditā*
> *caṇḍālasadmago vahnir na vahnir yadi kathyate* 3.45
> *tad evaṃ syād athocyeta vahneḥ saṃskāracodanā*
> *śāstreṣu varṇitā kasmāt kāryārthaṃ kāryam eva tat* 3.46

34 A *caṇḍāla* in this context is the offspring of a Brahmin woman and an outcaste male.

na svarūpavibhāgo 'tra tathā tatra vyavasthiteḥ
saṃjñākaraṇamātraṃ tad vyavahārāya kalpitam 3.47

Given that he [i.e., Śiva] exists of his own volition in the form of (all) the entities (that make up the universe), how is existence dependent on another than himself? If, for example, you say it [i.e., the purported dependence] is one similar to (the example of curds, whose genesis depends on the) milk (of which they are comprised), it [i.e., the universe] would be insentient, dependent on another. The fault (attributed to our system) that must be corrected—being pure, being diminished, or the like—is precisely the result of this (wrong) point of view. How can there be something pure, something diminished, etc., when his nature is undivided? The fact of being gold simply exists in gold, (be it) in (the form of) a golden spittoon, etc., or in (the form of) a tiara, etc. The (fact of being) gold is in no way divided [i.e., differentiated] whatsoever. If you argue that a fire installed in an outcaste's house is not (properly) called a fire [i.e., it is not a proper, ritually-purified fire], we reply: that may be so [i.e., this does not contradict our notion of the uniformity of the nature of fire as such]. But, if you say (in reply) that injunctions involving the rites of passage for fire are explained in the (Śaiva) teachings, (we reply:) what is the goal of the (ritual) action (in question)? It is the action itself.[35] There is no division of its [i.e., the fire's] nature, here. It is the same for his [i.e., Śiva's] abiding there [in the world]: that [i.e., the distinguishing of "pure" from "impure" elements in the world, or the distinction of that which is said to be Śiva and that which is said not to be] is conceived of merely as the assignation of names for the purpose of everyday speech/everyday activity [*vyavahāra*].[36]

35 In other words, there is no substantial change in the fire *qua* being fire that results from the performance of the ritual. It is a social custom, not something that materially transforms the fire so treated.

36 See also the ŚDVṛ on the same passage: *atha vahner yady aśuddhatā na syāt tat tasya kuto mantraiḥ saṃskārayogaḥ kāryasaṃpādanārthaṃ śāstre codyeta tasmāt tasyāśuddhatā saṃbhavet. naivam kāryam evānuṣṭheyam eva tad vyavahārāya na tu svarūpe vahner vibhāgaḥ, svarūpe nijarūpe sthite tu vahnāv upagamyamāne tatsvarūpatā vahnirūpataiva sarvatra. tadvac chivarūpatā jagatas tasya, tatheśvaratanmātraprthivyādirūpatayā vyavasthānāt parasthūlasūkṣmatādibhedaḥ. tathā ca sarvatraikye saṃsāravyavahārāya saṃjñākaraṇamātraṃ tat kalpitaṃ bhavati*. "Now, if you argue that, if fire cannot be impure, then it is inexplicable why the rites of passage, replete with the mantras, are enjoined to it in the (Śaiva) teaching(s), this for the purpose of accomplishing their (purifying) effect; thus, it must be possible that [fire] can be impure, (we reply:) this is not so. The rite itself is simply established for the purpose of everyday speech/activity, while

That caste distinctions should not disqualify anyone from hearing the teachings of the ĪPK has also been stated plainly enough, if somewhat obliquely, in the *maṅgala* verse of the ĪPK, where, as noted above, the "new path" (*nava mārga*) is explicitly said to be offered to "all people" (*janasyāpi*). While the *maṅgala* is merely suggestive of any implications regarding caste, however, the ĪPKVṛ and Abhinavagupta's ĪPV and ĪPVV further clarify what is intended by the expression; and what Utpaladeva means by "all people" is explained with increasing clarity as one delves into the succeeding levels of commentary.

The ĪPKVṛ indicates that one should understand the term to refer to all people without exception: Utpaladeva glosses *janasyāpi* with *imam akhilam*.[37] Abhinavagupta, in turn, addresses the caste implications of this pledge—to help all people—in a more explicit fashion. In the ĪPV subcommentary, he indicates that the term *jana* refers to any person regardless of the circumstances of his birth (*janasyeti yaḥ kaścij jāyamānaḥ tasya*); and he further specifies that no distinction by the "office" held by a candidate for initiation (*adhikāriviṣaya*) may serve to restrict access to the teachings of the Pratyabhijñā.[38] He later adds that the term in question should be understood to refer to anyone afflicted by the suffering of incessant births and deaths.[39]

Finally, Abhinava also is explicit, in both the ĪPV and ĪPVV, in stating that *jāti* should not be considered an appropriate measure of a candidate's eligibility for entry into the soteriological path of the Pratyabhijñā. This he does in the passages of his two sub-commentaries that address the concluding verse of the *Kārikā*s, where Utpaladeva has again indicated that the text is meant for "[all] people." Referring to himself in the third person, he says (at ĪPK 4.18):[40]

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there is no change in the nature of the fire. Rather, it being established that fire is fixed in its nature, i.e., in its own form, the fact of having that nature, i.e., the very fact of being fire, exists in every instance (of fire). Similarly, the universe has Śiva as its nature. Thus, division into the fact of being supreme, coarse, and subtle, etc., exists as a result of (the same Śiva) being established in the form of the Lord, the subtle elements, the earth, etc. And thus, there being oneness everywhere, that [i.e., such categorization or division of Śiva-nature] is conceived of as merely the assignation of names for the purpose of everyday speech/everyday activity in *saṃsāra*."

37 See ĪPKVṛ ad ĪPK 1.1.1. *parameśvaraprasādād eva labdhātyantadurlabhataddāsyalakṣmīr aham ekākisaṃpadā lajjamāno janam apīmam akhilaṃ svasvāminaṃ vakṣyamāṇopāyena pratyabhijñāpayāmi yena tasyāpi paramārthalābhena parituṣyeyam.*

38 See ĪPV ad ĪPK 1.1.1. (vol. 1, p. 14, lines 10–12): *janasyeti yaḥ kaścij jāyamānaḥ tasya, ity anenādhikāriviṣayo nātra kaścin niyama iti darśayati …*

39 See ĪPV ad ĪPK 1.1.1. (vol. 1, p. 15, line 9) where Abhinava glosses *jana* with *anavaratajananamaraṇapīḍita*.

40 See ĪPK 4.18: *janasyāyatnasiddhyartham udayākarasūnunā | īśvarapratyabhijñeyam utpalenopapāditā.*

> In order that [all] people (*jana*) can attain perfection effortlessly, Utpala, the son of Udayākara, has presented this *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* [treatise].

Abhinava's ĪPV suggests that with "people" (*jana*) Utpaladeva refers to any person, for neither *jāti* nor any other criterion is innately disqualifying.[41] He reiterates the same in the ĪPVV as well, where, additionally, he excludes the individual's "conduct" (*ācāra*) from consideration in determining whom the teachings may help.[42] Note also that the ĪPVV explicitly links the present passage with the one found at the beginning of the ĪPK, saying: *etac ca prārambha evāsmābhir vitatam*.[43] Simply, distinctions marked by birth—including caste distinctions—are to be ignored.

The professed catholic reach of the work is significant, not only due to its inclusivism, a quality well attested in the context of tantric rules of initiation, even if this cannot be taken to imply the existence in practice "on the ground" of a concomitant equality of participation, or status, within the context of the initiatory "family" (*kula*); but it is further significant that it is declared, albeit obliquely, in the ĪPK (and ĪPKVṛ), a text (and commentary) that has all the hallmarks of works intended for audiences of non-initiates.[44] I submit that there must have been some appreciation for a certain novelty in the apparent inclusivism professed in the work. This, then, may constitute another reason for Utpaladeva's description of the Pratyabhijñā path as "new": it offers a certain novelty in being (more or less explicitly) indifferent to caste distinctions.

While the use of the term *jana* in the ĪPK offers a certain ambiguity of expression, Abhinava's subcommentaries are explicit in stating the inclusivism of the *śāstra*. One can thus see operative here a certain stratification of expression, a certain obliqueness with regard to any reference to caste in the ĪPK and ĪPKVṛ, but a more explicit asseveration of the sociological parameters of the tradition in Abhinavagupta's sub-commentaries. So much of course reflects the

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41 See ĪPV ad ĪPK 4.18 (vol. 2, p. 276, lines 5–6): *yasya kasyacij janor iti nātra jātyādyapekṣā kācid iti sarvopakāritvam uktam*. See also the *avataraṇikā* to ĪPK 4.18 (ĪPV, vol. 2., p. 275, line 14), where Abhinava describes the *śāstra* in question as one that can help "everyone": *sarvopakārakaṃ mahāphalam idaṃ śāstraṃ …*

42 See ĪPVV ad ĪPK 4.18 (Vol. 3., p. 404, lines 6–8): *yaḥ kaścij jananadharmā, tasyātaḥ siddhiḥ, na tv atra jātyācārādau bhara iti sarvānugrāhakatvam uktam. etac ca prārambha evāsmābhir vitatam*.

43 See footnote 42.

44 On the intended audiences of the ĪPK and ĪPKVṛ, on the one hand, and the ŚD (and ŚDVṛ), on the other, see Nemec 2011, 12–19.

complex of practice of the tradition, exemplified as it is by the dictum quoted above, "internally a Kaula, externally a Śaiva, and in social practice a follower of the Veda."

This dictum and the complex practice it invokes—one of engaging different rules and norms in differing contexts—is explicitly tied to the question of social practices, those associated with caste and life-stages, as the context provided by Jayaratha for this quotation clearly indicates. For he considers the significance of preserving the social order—*varṇāśramācāra*—precisely where he quotes the complex form of practice that is here of concern.[45] Moreover, the entire matter is raised in the context of coming to understand precisely whether the Śaiva practitioner should respect the Veda-based rules of purity and impurity. For the relevant section of the fourth *āhnika* of the TĀ is governed

45 See TĀ (and TĀV ad) 4.251ab (vol. 3, p. 277, line 9 to p. 278, line 6):
evaṃ sarvotkṛṣṭatvāc chaiva eva śāstre mukhyayā vṛttyā niṣṭhā kāryā, nānyatrety āha
tasmān mukhyatayā skanda lokadharmān na cācaret | 4.251ab
niṣṭhāśūnyatayā tu gauṇyā vṛttyā lokasaṃrakṣaṇārthaṃ lokadharmān ācarato na kaścid doṣa iti bhāvaḥ. tad uktaṃ tatra
ye tu varṇāśramācārāḥ prāyaścittāś ca laukikāḥ |
saṃbandhān deśadharmāṃś ca prasiddhān na vicārayet.
garbhādhānāditaḥ kṛtvā yāvad udvāham eva ca |
tāvat tu vaidikaṃ karma paścāc chaive hy ananyabhāk.
na mukhyavṛttyā vai skanda lokadharmān samācaret.
iti. ata eva
antaḥ kaulo bahiḥ śaivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ |
sāram ādāya tiṣṭheta nārikelaphalaṃ yathā.
"Thus, [Abhinavagupta] says that, since it is superior to all (other *śāstra*s), what is to be done is fixed in its primary sense in the Śaiva *śāstra* alone and not elsewhere:

'Therefore, O Skanda, one need not observe the rules of the (everyday) world as though they were of primary importance.'

However, the sense (of this passage) in its secondary meaning, absent of what is fixed (to be done), is that no fault accrues to the one who performs *lokadharma* for the purpose of protecting the people/world [*loka*]. The following is said on the matter:

'Moreover, one should not cause the well-known, proper customs of the country (in which one lives) to go awry, these being (*ye*) the societal [*laukikāḥ*] acts of conduct associated with *varṇa* and *āśrama* and the expiatory acts. From the time beginning with the ceremony before conception and until one has performed the wedding ceremony, Vedic acts (are to be enjoined). Following this, one is to be devoted to the Śaiva [path] and no other. Indeed, O Skanda, one need not perform the rules of the (everyday) world as though they were of primary importance.'

For this very reason:

'Internally a Kaula, externally a Śaiva, and in social practice a follower of the Veda, having extracted the essence, one should remain, as does the fruit of the coconut.'"

precisely by the question of how the *jīvanmukta* should behave in the world, and Abhinavagupta explicitly cites the eighteenth chapter of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* there as an authoritative voice in the matter.[46] Note, in addition,

46 See TĀ 4.213–221ab (vol. 3, pp. 241*ff*., which quote the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, verses 18.74–81):

atra nāthaḥ samācāraṃ paṭale 'ṣṭādaśe 'bhyadhāt |
nātra śuddhir na cāśuddhir na bhakṣyādivicāraṇam 4.213
na dvaitaṃ nāpi cādvaitaṃ liṅgapūjādikaṃ na ca |
na cāpi tatparityāgo niṣparigrahatāpi vā 4.214
saparigrahatā vāpi jaṭābhasmādisaṃgrahaḥ |
tattyāgo na vratādīnāṃ caraṇācaraṇaṃ ca yat 4.215
kṣetrādisaṃpraveśaś ca samayādiprapālanam |
parasvarūpaliṅgādi nāmagotrādikaṃ ca yat 4.216
nāsmin vidhīyate kiṃcin na cāpi pratiṣidhyate |
vihitaṃ sarvam evātra pratiṣiddham athāpi ca 4.217
kiṃ tv etad atra deveśi niyamena vidhīyate |
tattve cetaḥ sthirīkāryaṃ suprasannena yoginā 4.218
tac ca yasya yathaiva syāt sa tathaiva samācaret |
tattve niścalacittas tu bhuñjāno viṣayān api 4.219
na saṃspṛśyeta doṣaiḥ sa padmapatram ivāmbhasā |
viṣāpahārimantrādisaṃnaddho bhakṣayann api 4.220
viṣaṃ na muhyate tena tadvad yogī mahāmatiḥ. 4.221

"Here, the Lord has explained the appropriate conduct (of the accomplished yogin) in the 18th chapter (of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*): 'There is no purity here, nor impurity, no consideration of what is to be eaten, etc. There is no duality, nor non-duality, and no (requirement to perform) acts of devotion to the *liṅga*, etc. There is similarly no (requisite) abandoning of those [acts], nor the (required) renunciation of material possessions, nor again any (requirement regarding the) accumulation of material possessions. There is no (requisite) maintenance of twisted locks of hair [*jaṭā*], of (smearing oneself with) sacred ashes, or the like, nor any (requisite) abandoning of the same. And as regards the performance or non-performance of vows, etc., and entrance into sacred places, etc. [i.e., *kṣetra*s, *pīṭha*s, and *upapīṭha*s; see TĀ 4.259cd and the TĀV thereupon], the observance of rules of action, and (those rules associated with) initiatory name, initiatory lineage [*gotra*], or the like [i.e., according to the lodge (*ghara*) and the like of the initiate; see TĀ 4.267cd], whether the form, sectarian marks, and so on be one's own or another's—nothing is prescribed here regarding these, nor, contrariwise, prohibited. Absolutely everything is performed here [according to the rules of the *Mālinīvijayottara*], and, contrariwise, omitted. Yet, this (alone) is necessarily enjoined here [in the *Mālinīvijayottara*], O Goddess, that the wholly pleased yogin must fix his consciousness [*cetas*] on reality; and he should therefore act only in accordance with that [reality (*tattva*)], whatever that may be for him. Moreover, the one whose consciousness [*citta*] is fixed on reality, partaking even in the pleasures of the senses [*viṣaya*], is not touched by bad consequences, just as the petal of a lotus (is not affected) by water. The yogin who has great understanding [*mahāmati*] is the one who is similar to the person who, armed with mantras that counteract poison and the like, is not deluded by the poison even while devouring it.'"

I thank Shaman Hatley for answering several queries I had about this passage.

that it is the matter of *śuddhi* and *aśuddhi*, as in was in ŚD 3.42cd–47, which is here (at TĀ 4.213cd) explicitly placed in question. The TĀ and TĀV go on to suggest that yogis know for themselves what is pure, what impure; and they further state that it is their very awareness that should determine how they act, for the normative rules of purity do not apply to them.[47]

Following this, the key objection is raised: are there not (Vedic) injunctions that require one to follow the rules of purity?[48] The opponent asks, that is, whether tantric Brahmins must respect Vedic authority as well as Śaiva truths. How is it that, given the apparent validity or "truth" of both sets of *śāstric* injunction, the Vedic and the Śaiva, one can be invalidated, the other affirmed? *How* can one be internally a Kaula, externally a Śaiva, and a Vaidika in social practices when to be one sometimes requires one to contravene the strictures of the other?

The answer given not only suggests that it is not always inappropriate in practice to contravene the rules of purity and impurity, of *śuddhi* and *aśuddhi*; it further offers a rationale—a theory—for this complex of practice. This it does by invoking a general, and common, *śāstric* sensibility, namely, that the *śāstra*s operate by first issuing blanket rules, which may later be superseded in certain specified contexts. This is a fundamental organizational structure of, among other *śāstric* works,[49] the system of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*—which (as is well known) sets out exhaustively to account for correct speech not by listing every possible form of speech, but by structuring classes of rules that first define the *utsarga* or generally applicable rule, only then to itemize the *apavāda*s or

47 See TĀ (and TĀV ad) 4.228ab (vol. 3, p. 249, lines 4–12):
yoginaṃ prati sā cāsti bhāveṣv iti viśuddhatā | 4.288ab
paśuprāyāṇāṃ hi mantreṣv api śivātmatvena parijñānaṃ nāsti iti tān prati teṣāṃ svakāryakāritvābhāvāt saṃbhāvanīyam api aśuddhatvam. dharādīnāṃ ca yoginaṃ prati tatparijñānam asti iti teṣām api viśuddhatvam. etad eva hi nāma yogino yogitvam, yat nikhilam idaṃ viśvaṃ śivātmatayā parijānāti iti.
"'As regards the yogin, moreover, that purity exists with respect to (all) entities.'
Indeed, the majority of bound souls do not perceive even (Śaiva) *mantra*s as having Śiva-nature, and therefore they suppose them to be impure, since they fail (even) to perform their own duties (in employing these *mantra*s). But, as for the yogin, he perceives (everything,) beginning with the earth(-*tattva*), as having that [Śiva-nature]. Therefore, (he perceives that) all of them without exception are completely pure. Indeed, this alone is the very nature of the yogin as a yogin, that he perceives this entire universe as possessed of Śiva-nature. This is definitive."

48 See TĀ 4.228cd (vol. 3, p. 250, lines 4–5): *nanu codanayā śuddhyaśuddhyādikaviniścayaḥ*. "Objection: a fixed knowledge of purity, impurity, and so on exists by way of (Vedic) injunction(s) [*codanayā*]."

49 It is of course a model found in the Mīmāṃsā, as well, for example.

exceptional rules that can override the former in the appropriate contexts. So much is explained in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* as follows:[50]

> Now, one may object by asking whether it isn't the case that, when this (system of) instruction of (correct) speech is operative, one must recite each word in the course of acquiring the (correct forms of) words. (That is:) Every word must be recited, as in 'cow, horse, man, elephant, bird, deer, Brahmin.' Reply: Certainly not! It is not expedient to recite each word in the course of acquiring the (correct forms of) words. For, so much has been communicated as follows: 'Bṛhaspati imparted to Indra the study of words by uttering each one individually over the course of a thousand divine years, and he did not reach the end of it.' Bṛhaspati was the teacher [*pravaktṛ*], and Indra was the student [*adhyetṛ*]; and the time of instruction did not reach its terminus over the course of a thousand divine years. What of (the use of this method) today? One who plainly lives a long time (today) lives for (only) a hundred years … How, then, should these (correct) words be acquired? A certain characteristic associated with the generic [*sāmānya*] and the particular [*viśeṣa*] should be activated, by means of which [people] can—with little effort—become acquainted with the extremely massive flood of words. What, pray tell, is that? *Utsarga* and *apavāda*. A general rule [*utsarga*] is (first) to be employed; (then,) an exception [*apavāda*](, which overturns the general rule). But under what circumstances is the general rule to be used, under what circumstances the exception? The general rule is to be used generically. E.g.: *karmaṇy aṇ* (A 3.2.1). The exception to it (should be used) in a particular circumstance. E.g.: *āto 'nupasarge kaḥ* (A 3.2.3).

50 See *Paspaśāhnika* (7) of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*: *utsarga* and *apavāda*, vol. 1, p. 5, line 24 and following of the Kielhorn edition: *athaitasmiñ śabdopadeśe sati kiṃ śabdānām pratipattau pratipadapāṭhaḥ kartavyaḥ. gaur aśvaḥ puruṣo hastī śakunir mṛgo brāhmaṇa ity evamādayaḥ śabdāḥ paṭhitavyāḥ. na iti āha. anabhyupāyaḥ eṣaḥ śabdānām pratipattau pratipadapāṭhaḥ. evam hi śrūyate. bṛhaspatir indrāya divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ pratipadoktānāṃ śabdānāṃ śabdapārāyaṇaṃ provāca na antaṃ jagāma. bṛhaspatiś ca pravaktendraś ca adhyetā. divyam varṣasahasram adhyayanakālaḥ na ca antaṃ jagāma. kim punar adyatve. yaḥ sarvathā ciraṃ jīvati sa varṣaśataṃ jīvati … kathaṃ tarhīme śabdāḥ pratipattavyāḥ. kiñcit sāmānyaviśeṣaval lakṣaṇaṃ pravartyaṃ yenālpena yatnena mahato mahataḥ śabdaughān pratipadyeran. kiṃ punas tat. utsargāpavādau. kaścid utsargaḥ kartavyaḥ kaścid apavādaḥ. kathañjātīyakaḥ punar utsargaḥ kartavyaḥ kathañjātīyako 'pavādaḥ. sāmānyenotsargaḥ kartavyaḥ. tad yathā. karmaṇy aṇ. tasya viśeṣeṇāpavādaḥ. tad yathā. āto 'nupasarge kaḥ.*

Here, we see that it is for efficiency's sake that this model is adopted. And we are given a sample application in Pāṇini's grammar, the details of which are explained in Appendix A. Essential to recognize is the fact that the prescription delineated by the general rule, the *utsarga*, always stands; yet, on some occasions its application is suspended by a special prescription, in the defined context of the *apavāda* or exceptional rule.[51] *Whenever* no *apavāda* applies, however, the *utsarga* automatically prevails, for whenever or wherever the special rule does not apply (or must itself be suspended), one reverts *by default*—invariably and automatically—to the general, standing rule.

It is this very *śāstric* mode that is explicitly invoked by Jayaratha in reference to the very phenomenon we have here, that of a complex of religious practice, Vedic and Śaiva.[52]

> TĀ 4.230ab: 'If you argue that this [Śaiva rule] is invalidated by the Vedic one, (we reply:) why shouldn't it be the other way around?'[53]
>
> ...
>
> Considering that one may object by asking how it is that both [*śāstra*s] are equally real, given that in certain contexts the injunction(s) [*vidhi*] associated with purity and the like are invalidated, even though they apply universally, for all people, [Abhinavagupta] says:

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51 Note, therefore, that the domain of application of the general rule is said to be ubiquitous (*sarvatra*) at both *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A 3.2.1 (which reads, in part: *sarvatra karmaṇy upapade dhātor aṇpratyayo bhavati*) *and* in Jayaratha's explanation of the matter, at TĀV ad TĀ 4.230cd–231ab, for which see below.

52 See TĀ 4.230–232ab (vol. 3, p. 253, line 1 to p. 255, line 16), along with the corresponding passages of the TĀV (though one should note that, for the sake of brevity, none of the commentary is here cited of what follows TĀ 4.230ab, excepting the *avataraṇikā* that introduces 4.230cd–231ab; and only part of the commentary that appears prior to TĀ 4.231cd–232ab is quoted here below):

> *vaidikyā bādhiteyaṃ ced viparītaṃ na kiṃ bhavet* |
> *... nanu katham anayor aviśiṣṭaṃ sattvaṃ śuddhyādividheḥ sarvapuruṣaviṣayatayā pravṛttāv api kvacid viṣaye bādhāt ity āśaṅkyāha*
> *samyak cen manyase bādho viśiṣṭaviṣayatvataḥ.* 4.230
> *apavādena kartavyaḥ sāmānyavihite vidhau* |
> *yadi nāma bādhāvṛttaṃ samyag avabuddhyase, tan na kasyā api codanāyāḥ sattvahāniḥ. tathā hi—niravakāśatvād viśeṣātmā apavādavidhiḥ sarvatra labdhāvakāśaṃ sāmānyātmakam utsargavidhiṃ bādhate, iti vākyavidaḥ ...*
> *śuddhyaśuddhī ca sāmānyavihite tattvabodhini.* 4.231
> *puṃsi te bādhita eva tathā cātreti varṇitam* |

53 This is of course to say, in a rhetorical manner, that it is rather that precisely the opposite must be the case.

> TĀ 4.230cd–231ab: 'If you think about it clearly, a rule that is an exception [*apavāda*] invalidates a rule generally applied [*sāmānyavihita vidhi*], because it applies in a particular domain.'
>
> So, if you properly consider the procedure of invalidation, then (you will realize that) no injunction [*codanā*] whatever loses reality [*sattvahāni*]. To explain: the rule that is the exception [*apavādavidhi*]—by nature specific because it is (generally) void of any occasion (for application)—supersedes the general rule [*utsargavidhi*], which, being one that always has met with its occasion (for application), is by nature generally applicable [*sāmānyātmaka*]. This is what those who know language say …
>
> TĀ 4.231cd–232ab: 'Moreover, purity and impurity, which are generally enjoined, are simply superseded when a man knows reality. This is how it has been explained here [in the *Mālinīvijayottara*].'

In the face of the objections of a more orthodox opponent who demands to know how the less permissive rules of the Veda cannot prevail over Śaiva scriptures, Abhinavagupta brilliantly inverts the hierarchy by appealing to a mainstream *sāstric* interpretive rule: it is the exception that preempts the normative, overarching rule and not the other way around. The rule that applies most generally, the Vedic one, is the *utsarga*. It is invariably prescribed—Jayaratha here described the *utsarga* as *sarvatra labdhāvakāśa* and *sāmānyātmaka*—but it is occasionally superseded by the exceptional rule or *apavāda* (described by Jayaratha as *niravakāśatvād viśeṣātmā*), where in this instance the *apavāda* is the Śaiva rule, occasioned as it is by the special knowledge of the accomplished yogin who sees reality for what it is, as transcending the conventions of social position as determined by birth.

Nevertheless, whenever this special rule does not prevail—viz., outside the confines of tantric knowledge and practice—one must revert by default to conforming to the general rule, the *utsarga* (i.e., the Veda-based strictures), which is never nullified but only occasionally and temporarily superseded. So much is the position Abhinavagupta articulates in the TĀ, and Jayaratha indicates that in doing so he responds to the potential criticism that tantric rules authorize practices that are proscribed by Vedic norms, implying thereby that the tantric practices should be abandoned. This *complex* of practice, offered by Śaivas who engaged in rites that transgressed social and other contemporaneous cultural norms, was thus said to be the necessary product of the mainstream theoretical model that they understood to prescribe it.

The implications of this exemplar, then, are evident. Divinely sanctioned (in no small part by the authors' identification with Śiva), the Pratyabhijñā offers a tradition that prescribes exceptional practices that were introduced

in historical time but are nevertheless rooted in an "ahistorical" authority. The knowledge it offers is fixed in its dimensions: there is no theology of "progress" in this *śāstra*. Each *śāstra*, moreover, Vedic and Tantric, speaks in a voice that in some important sense offers not merely a "knowing how," but rather a "knowing that"; for each individually denies the possibility of a dialectical relationship between theory (*śāstra*) and practice (*prayoga*) *in Pollock's sense of the problematic*. (New political developments could not alter its vision of the nature of Śiva as a ubiquitous consciousness, for example.) To this extent, then, Pollock's model is applicable to these *śāstras*.

Yet, the tantric *śāstra* here placed under study nevertheless allows for a theology of novelty, because its "ahistorical" authority was said to have been introduced by particular agents in particular historical moments. The system thus allowed for, indeed anticipated, the emergence of new exceptional rules, and because the canon remained open, it was ever possible that another text, a new *apavāda* as it were, could emerge in a context in which the general parameters of social action—of religious practice or *prayoga*—otherwise and inevitably would remain operative.

A dialectic, then, between theory and practice in premodern South Asia, while it might not be found in the self-representation of any *single* given work, can be found in the proliferation of multiple *śāstra*s, which in supplementing as well as competing with one another could accommodate innovation, explicitly or implicitly, by introducing novel theoretical models as circumstances warranted. The dialectic may only be found in the scriptural gestalt, however; for, it is only by reading multiple scriptural sources with an awareness of their mutually shared contexts, pedigrees, and, most importantly, structured mutual relations that one might begin to identify patterns of religious (and other forms of) change in Indian premodernity.[54]

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54 In response to two important observations of Shaman Hatley, who read an earlier draft of this essay, two caveats are here required. First, I wish herein to indicate *not* that the Pratyabhijñā authors innovated the practice of deriving authority from their *siddha*-hood. This is a practice that indeed predates these authors. Rather, I wish to suggest that such a practice, and others like it such as the *avatāra* theory, *allowed for* innovations in tradition—they allowed authors self-consciously and explicitly to introduce unprecedented practices and ideas, what would be new in human history, as those that were religiously—transcendently—sanctioned. Thus, in an example offered from the *avatāra* theory, Kṛṣṇa deploys novel—and context-appropriate—ways of upholding *dharma*, even if he is himself ultimately considered to be an emanation of the timeless and transcendent Viṣṇu himself.

Second, it can be observed (as Hatley did in a personal communication, via email, of November 11, 2015) that the social model that Abhinavagupta has developed is in fact also quite conservative, for while allowing for an innovative social institution that ignores caste

5 Conclusion

I note, in closing, a concentric series of five implications of this phenomenon, each of an increasing degree of generalization, and in doing so I intend to point to possible avenues of further inquiry that lie beyond the scope of the present (and admittedly particular) case-study. The first involves a relatively narrow methodological concern in the study of Śaiva post-scriptural sources: the present exemplar stands as a reminder that knowledge of the wider context of "orthodox" *śāstric* texts and concerns should inform scholarly interpretations of the post-scriptural literature; for even works that are primarily rooted in and explicitly concerned with esoteric scriptures, as is the TĀV, fre-

distinctions it also synchronizes such practices with the caste-based Brahminical strictures that were not, historically speaking, espoused in the Kula-Kaula branch of Śaivism; and it limits the transgressive practices by defining them as exceptional, as the (rare) contravention of the overarching, normative structures of Brahminism. (Similarly, Alexis Sanderson, in response to the shortened version of this essay that I presented at the conference held at the University of Toronto in his honor, suggested that what is offered here is a "vertical" model of authority and innovation, as opposed to the more radical, "horizontal" models found elsewhere in the Śaiva traditions, which more fully unshackled themselves from Brahminical norms.) This cannot be denied. There is, in the complex of theory and practice offered by the Pratyabhijñā, a certain preservation of Veda-based tradition. And it is true that there were in premodern South Asia models of change that sought not to modify (as Abhinavagupta does) but to upend Brahminical norms. Yet, a distinction here must be made between the degree to which these traditions in fact *changed* social norms and the fact that they explicitly and self-consciously wedded themselves to the idea that religion could offer ideas and practices that were explicitly said to be new. To put the matter differently, one might reasonably argue that Abhinava was somewhat inimical to (social) change—not entirely so, as what he endorses clearly also allows for the contravention of Brahminical norms, in part at least; but he also explicitly does *not* espouse a view that change is inimical to religious ideas and practices. If it is indeed the case that he—and Utpaladeva—sought to preserve a certain Brahminical order (in part at least), reigning in or domesticating, as it were, the more radical practices of Śaiva and Śākta traditions, it is all the more noteworthy that they did so by explicitly endorsing the possibility of religious change—of changes in ideas and social and other practices—in doing so; for this strategy speaks to the very fact that change, in premodern South Asia, was not inimical to religion, even if, as one might argue, the fact that they said as much was done in service of *limiting* social change to modifications of Brahminical norms, rather than allowing for the wholesale rejection of them. My own view, as is clarified in the conclusion, is that the model here presented—of change through modification of the normative order—both embraced the *idea* of change and ushered in changes "on the ground" in religious and social practice; moreover, I maintain that it offers what was the prevalent model of change in premodern South Asia—that of change through modification as opposed to wholesale change or revolution—and scholars should look for such types of change in places where previous scholarship has only seen a static social and intellectual order.

quently record a substantial interaction with the mainstream systems of learning (including both various *śāstric* systems such as Pāṇinian grammar and the classical philosophical *darśana*s).

Second, there is the matter of the social context, the Kashmir Valley of the period in question, in which the authors of the Pratyabhijñā lived and wrote. While it is worth noting that the tantric initiatory "family" (*kula*) would have frequently offered an uncomfortable home for low-caste and outcaste initiates (as many or few as there might have been in practice), entry into the tantric *kula* could also have afforded the initiate a certain place of privilege. Initiation was, from the perspective of the tradition, a significant institution, one that the tantric practitioner would have coveted and shared sparingly; and membership would have conferred not only a certain prestige but also a special form of knowledge that those within the tradition would have held to be paramount: a certain access to the divine.

Thus, while this form of privilege does relatively little globally to address the social inequities enshrined in normative, caste-based strictures, the initiation of low-caste or outcaste individuals into the secret *śāstra*s nevertheless constitutes a social innovation over and against preexisting Vedic (or, perhaps more accurately, *dharmaśāstric*) norms. The change it offers, however, comes not in the form of social revolution but in the form of a particular and circumscribed social inclusion. Generalizing from the present exemplar, one suspects that social change in premodern South Asia will most often be found in its incrementalism, as opposed to efforts in total revolution such as the toppling of the institution of royal sovereignty or the wholesale displacement of Brahminical authority. Social change, simply, will likely be found, where it is to be found, in the often-subtle exceptions that contradict overarching and often oppressive rules that were more globally applied, in Kashmir or elsewhere, in premodern South Asia.

Third, the model of social conduct witnessed in the Pratyabhijñā exemplar finds correspondences in the narrative tropes of (non-tantric) Śaiva mythology. Śiva is not only paradoxically erotic and ascetical in the mythological literature, as is well known, but he also appears there as both asocial or anti-social *and* integrated into society (and often simultaneously so), as is also well known. Take, for example, the insult of Dakṣa's sacrifice, where Śiva is depicted as a pariah while simultaneously standing as the ideal husband in the eyes of the eminently acceptable Satī. One may therefore query whether the sort of complex of social practice examined in the present essay constitutes a phenomenon more widely attested across various Śaiva traditions.[55]

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55 I thank Shaman Hatley for suggesting that, among the various candidates that present

Fourth, the exceptionalism offered by the *utsarga-apavāda* model is commonly attested across a range of premodern Indian cultural systems, most notably, for the purposes of the present essay, those that address social rules and life. The Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* plainly contravenes a series of generally applicable social strictures, for example, rules that he otherwise would wish vigorously to maintain; and the rules of conduct for crisis-situations (*āpaddharma*) more generally are premised on the idea that the prescribed actions are exceptional both because they contravene otherwise normative behaviors and because they are deemed inactionable outside the only context in which they may apply: that of a social emergency. And one cannot overlook, in this context, the frequency with which the Veda is acknowledged as authoritative in Hindu traditions while the contents of Vedic works are nearly entirely ignored. It is common, in sum, to find a *layering of practice* in South Asian religion and social life; and such complexes of practice, allowing as they do for the exception, in its place, to supersede normative strictures, should probably be counted as the normative model of social organization in premodern South Asia.[56]

Fifth and finally, I address an issue relevant to the study of religion, broadly conceived. It is instructive that Pollock appealed to Geertz in formulating the theoretic that defines his understanding of the relationship of *śāstra* to *prayoga*. Indeed, he finds Geertz's famed distinction of "models of" from "models for" precisely in the article in which he famously defines religion as "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic."[57]

Geertz apparently did not anticipate the possibility of a *complex of* (*sometimes mutually-contradictory*) *beliefs* or a *complex of* (*sometimes mutually-contradictory*) *practices*. His model instead elaborates a more singular structure or phenomenon, referring as it does to "*a* system of symbols" that establishes powerful moods and motivations in men by formulating "*a* general order of

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themselves for examination along these lines, the anti-caste Vīraśaivas immediately come to mind.

56 Indeed, the sort of "And" approach that Pollock identifies and endorses (over and against an "Either/Or" approach) elsewhere in his writings owes something, I think, to this intellectual practice of allowing for exceptions in the context of an overarching normative practice that otherwise prevails. See Pollock 2006, 574–580. Cf. footnote 59.

57 See Geertz 1973, 89.

existence," which is clothed in "*an* aura of factuality," all of which implies a model of a singular source of religious authority. There is in this, as in other similarly situated definitions,[58] an understanding of religion as involving an appeal to an ultimate that *does not seem naturally to allow for variegated and equally legitimate sources of authority*, that fails to account for the type of "And" model found in South Asia and, one imagines, elsewhere, as well;[59] and in defining religion in this manner, we see foreclosed any possibility that a religious tradition might innovate or simultaneously access disparate sources of authority in order to recommend diverse—or even new—doctrines and/or practices, as we see in our premodern Indian exemplar.

The example here studied, then, begs for novel theoretical models of religion, ones that could attend more fundamentally or at least more explicitly to the capacity of religion to accommodate, indeed self-consciously to cultivate, change. To proffer as much would refocus our possible ways of reading premodern religious traditions, allowing us to identify patterns of social and religious change that are not defined by modern understandings of the same (as exemplified in Pollock's dependence on the concept of "progress" to measure any conceptual openness to social change in India's premodernity). It would also require one to cultivate a view of religion that emphasizes not its interest in certainty, in its capacity to memorialize particular ways of acting or models of knowing—be they models of "knowing that" or "knowing how"—but its interest in *possibility*. Cultivating such a new model (and thereby a new interpretation, even a new scholarly definition) of religion could, that is, nurture a view of religion that emphasizes its more active and dynamic, and malleable and practical, dimensions, the capacity of religious practitioners and authors themselves self-consciously to formulate systems of understanding and to stake claims where any number of claims could have possibly been made.

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58 For example, Durkheim's definition of religion reads as follows: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, i.e., things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them." So too could it be said of a number of others, such as Melford Spiro's famed and widely accepted definition of religion as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings." These and other, similarly-oriented definitions all, if they do not demand it, implicitly lean on the notion that what can be true or significant is something similar to a singular ideal, rather than allowing for the sorts of nuanced and contextually situated notions of what counts that we can find in our Indian exemplar.

59 I here follow Pollock in distinguishing between the "And" model offered in South Asia and the "Either/Or" model articulated elsewhere. See Pollock 2006, 574–580; cf. footnote 56.

This would, in short, require one to understand religion not primarily as the *maps* of systems and symbols and practices that are charted by religious agents, but instead in terms of the *strategies* they use to sketch their maps. Those who have crafted religious ideas and ideals, I think, were—and are—well aware of the fact that religions offer changing models of action and modes of reflection in the context of a changing world that is perennially met with novel problems, begging resolution. Those of us who read and theorize their practices should, in turn, seek to shape our reflections on religion in a manner that allows more naturally for the innate flexibility, the freedom of possibility—of *change*—in idea and practice, with which religious agents developed and develop their models for action.

Abbreviations

A	*Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini
ĪPK	*Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpaladeva
ĪPKVṛ	*Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikāvṛtti* of Utpaladeva
ĪPV	*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta
ĪPVV	*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī* of Abhinavagupta
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
ŚD	*Śivadṛṣṭi* of Somānanda
ŚDVṛ	*Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti* of Utpaladeva
TĀ	*Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta
TĀV	*Tantrālokaviveka* of Jayaratha

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Appendix A: *utsarga* and *apavāda* as Exemplified in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) 3.2.1 and 3.2.3

3.2.1. *karmaṇy aṇ*.
3.2.3. *āto 'nupasarge kaḥ*.

1. The Pāṇinian example here offered is of a general rule, or *utsarga*, that is preempted by a special rule, or *apavāda*, in a particular circumstance. The general rule is offered at *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) 3.2.1; the special rule is subsequently given at A 3.2.3. The rules here are used to generate what are referred to as *upapadasamāsa*s.
2. A principal purpose of the grammar, of course, is to allow one to generate the correct form of speech by the application of a series of rules that build, as it were, the correct form of speech in a series of operational steps. The point of the present example is that the general rule, A 3.2.1, regularly—indeed, always—applies,[60] unless the parameters of the special rule, A 3.2.3, apply, in which case the general rule is suspended. If the special conditions that trigger the special rule are not met, the general rule is reverted to as authoritative and is applied.
3. A 3.2.1. states that the affix ***aṇ*** is added after a verbal root (*dhātoḥ* is to be read into A 3.2.1 by *anuvṛtti*, or ellipsis, from a preceding rule) when the object of the verb is in composition with it as an *upapada*. This yields, e.g., *kumbhakāra* ("potter") and *nagarakāra* ("city-builder"); *kāṇḍalāva* ("branch-cutter") and *śaralāva* ("reed-cutter"); and *vedādhyāya* ("the learning of the Veda") and *carcāpāṭha* ("the reading of Carcā"). In each of these cases, the final "*a*" of each word is present because of the affixation of ***aṇ***. (The *a* of ***aṇ*** is precisely this letter or *akṣara*, while the ***ṇ*** of ***aṇ*** is a "marker," an *anubandha* or *it*, which is dropped out in the derivational process and does not appear in the final form of the given word or words being derived, though it does serve to trigger certain rules and operations in the grammar, and so has a meta-function in the derivational process.)
4. On the other hand, the affix ***aṇ*** is **not** allowed to be added in cases where the special rule found in A 3.2.3 does apply. This rule states that the affix ***ka*** will come after a verbal root that ends in "*ā*," if and only if the verbal root in question is **not** preceded by a preverb (*upasarga*), and only when

60 Note that so much is made clear by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A 3.2.1, which reads in part as follows: ***sarvatra*** *karmaṇy upapade dhātor aṇpratyayo bhavati*.

the object of the verb is in composition with it (*karmaṇi* here is extended from A 3.2.1 to the present rule by way of *anuvṛtti* or ellipsis). Examples of the application of this special rule are: *goda* ("giver of cows") and *kambalada* ("giver of a blanket"). In both of these examples, the final "*a*" of each word is present because of the affixation of ***ka***. (The *a* of ***ka*** is precisely this *akṣara*, while the ***k*** of ***ka*** is again a "marker" or *anubandha*/*it* that is dropped out in the derivational process and does not appear in the final form of the word being derived.)

5. If we were to have been able to use the affix ***aṇ*** instead of the affix ***ka*** in the present pair of examples, we would have been required to preserve the long *ā* in the verbal root *dā*, which is present in both examples (*goda* and *kambalada*), generating thereby the wrong forms. Using rule 3.2.1 instead of 3.2.3 (and thus using ***aṇ*** instead of ***ka***) would give us the wrong forms **godā* and **kambaladā* in place of *goda* and *kambalada*. This would be *bad*!
6. Similarly, in an instance where the verb employed does take an *upasarga* or preverb, we have an exception to the special rule, which prohibits the use of ***ka*** in place of ***aṇ*** precisely when there is a preverb affixed to the verb. Thus, even when the verbal root in question ends in long *ā* and is in composition with its object as an *upapada*, rule 3.2.3 cannot apply. A pair of examples is given with the verbal root *dā* + *sam*. The *apavāda* rule (A 3.2.3) is not allowed to take effect, and therefore ***ka*** is not appended to the verb. Thus, we derive *gosaṃdāya* ("who ceremoniously gives a cow") and *vaḍabasaṃdāya* ("who ceremoniously gives a *vaḍaba* horse"), and here the final vowel (*a*) of each term is the product of ***aṇ*** and not ***ka***.
7. What is at stake in this last pair of examples (viz., those of *gosaṃdāya* and *vaḍabasaṃdāya*) is the status of the long vowel (*ā*) in the verbal root *dā* + *sam*. If the affix ***ka*** were used in the present examples, then the "marker" (*anubandha*, *it*) ***k*** would have triggered another rule of the grammar (A 6.4.64, see paragraph 10, below), one that deletes this long vowel. If this marker (***k***) is **not** in play, on the other hand, as it is not, for example, when the affix marked with the *anubandha* ***ṇ*** is used (as in ***aṇ*** of A 3.2.1.), then the rule in question that deletes the long *ā* does not apply.
8. So, to review before concluding: we here have a general rule, A 3.2.1, which applies generally. It is the *utsarga*. We have a special rule or *apavāda* (A 3.2.3) that applies within what otherwise would have been the domain of this general rule, but which is commanded by the special rule under special circumstances, with the application of the special rule blocking the application of the general rule or *utsarga*.

9. How does this figure in the present example? Well, A 3.2.3 ***should*** apply wherever we have the requisite special circumstances, namely whenever a verbal root ending in "*ā*" is in composition with its object as an *upapada*, as it did in the derivation of *goda* and *kambalada*. But the *apavāda* rule (A 3.2.3) does **not** apply in the derivations of *gosaṃdāya* and *vaḍabasaṃdāya*, even though in both cases we have a verbal root that ends in *ā* and that is in composition with its object as an *upapada*. This is so, because in both cases the verbal root appears with a preverb (*upasarga*), and A 3.2.3 specifies that it can apply only in instances when there is no preverb (it reads: *anupasarge*).
10. Because the examples *gosaṃdāya* and *vaḍabasaṃdāya* include a verbal root that appears with an *upasarga* (the verb is *dā*, the *upasarga* or preverb is *sam*, of course), they are no longer to be marked by ***ka***. This is significant because of what ***k*** does: according to A 6.4.64 (*āto lopa iṭi ca*), the final *ā* would have been elided, the rule effecting as much either because it appears before an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix (defined at A 3.4.114) augmented with ***iṭ***, or when the affix begins (as would have been so in the present instance) with a vowel and has an indicatory marker (*aunbandha* or *it*) of ***k*** or ***ṅ*** (the affix *a* in ***ka*** begins with a vowel—*a* of course being a vowel and the first member of a single-lettered affix—this after taking into account that the ***k*** is a marker and not a part of the affix itself).[61]
11. Thus, in these instances A 3.2.3 does not apply. And here is the key to understanding the present example of *utsarga* and *apavāda*: the *utsarga* or general rule (i.e., A 3.2.1) is thus again deemed operative and automatically so, *by default*. This is so because it is understood always to apply, only excepting when an *apavāda* overrules or suspends it. What this means is that there is no need to write yet another rule to account for the derivation in instances where the rule of exception or *apavāda* is itself rendered inoperative by an exception; for upon the suspension of the *apavāda* rule, the *utsarga* is immediately and automatically understood once again to apply. As such—returning now to the pair of examples here reviewed—the final *a* of *gosaṃdāya* and *vaḍabasaṃdāya* results from ***aṇ*** being applied, not ***ka***. One returns to the original rule by default, thus providing for the final letter *a* of both *gosaṃdāya* and *vaḍabasaṃdāya*. And the *anubandha* ***ṇ***, unlike ***k***, does *not* trigger A 6.4.64 and thus does not lead

61 Note that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* ad A 6.4.64 reads in part as follows: *iḍādāv ārdhadhātuke knṅiti cākārāntasyāṅgasya lopo bhavati.*

to the elision of *ā* in the verbal root *dā* appearing in both compounded words. In a word, *apavāda*s can only be written in contexts where an *utsarga* is always otherwise operative.

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CHAPTER 13

Toward a History of the Navarātra, the Autumnal Festival of the Goddess

Bihani Sarkar

In this essay, I wish to address the problems a historian encounters while explaining the function and origin of ancient rituals. One is particularly confronted by these problems when dealing with a ritual such as the Navarātra. With regard to its function, the festival resists sharp distinctions between the sacred and the temporal because it simultaneously propitiates a deity and solemnizes the authority of a ruler. It seems to be two things at the same time: a rite of religious power and a rite of political power. In fact, in the Southern Navarātra, for instance as celebrated in Vijayanagara, the worship of the Goddess would take place largely out of view in a private shrine, while all the individual rites of the festival appeared to publicly celebrate a cult of the king in the larger communal area: the Navarātra thus appeared, as it did to Portuguese and Persian visitors to the Vijayanagara court, to be a political festival with a minor religious dimension.[1] While explaining its origins, we run into even greater difficulty as the earliest traces of the Navarātra are found in more than one distinctive religious tradition: the Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva, the Purāṇic and even possibly in regional traditions of communities outside mainstream 'Hindu' traditions. Where it truly "originates" is therefore difficult to see, though for clarity's sake I have proposed here that the Vaiṣṇava domain was where a mature, theologically coherent[2] conception of the rite evolved. On the whole the ritual appears to have been of a composite character at each stage of its manifestation. The overall impression is that we are looking at many permutations of different rites with different origins that attached themselves around the central figure of the Goddess, and through her, and the demon-slaying mythologies surrounding her, acquired a structural and thematic unity. In the following, I shall

1 Stein 1983, 78, 80, Sarkar 2017, 211–212, 261. Similarly, Abbe Dubois, a visitor to the Mysore Navarātra in the early nineteenth century, described it as a "soldier's feast," and as "entirely military" (Kinsley 1988, 106).

2 For instance the conception of Māyā that we find in earlier speculative traditions on cosmogony was added to the overall presentation of the goddess.

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present and probe these ambiguities of function and origin through a scheme of the richly varied regional traditions of the Navarātra that emerged in the course of its history.

Navarātra, the autumnal festival of the warrior goddess Caṇḍikā, is today one of the most eagerly anticipated events of the Hindu calendar. Built up over nine lunar days and culminating on a tenth, the festival fulfills several, apparently disparate, purposes: it offers obligatory worship to the Goddess, without which her wrath could become implacable (so legends warn in dire tones); wards away omens from—and thereby symbolically cleanses and renews—a community of people; and bestows the ritual stamp of victory on the military forces of a kingdom. What is particularly noteworthy even in the modern ceremony is the symbolic connection between the political, the martial, and the religious, manifested by a priest through a sequence of meaningfully choreographed rites and staged within a lavishly ornamented arena of worship publicly open to all. Facilitating this connection is the Goddess herself, who intertwines in her being an image of secular rulership and transcendent, or spiritual, sovereignty. Little, though, is understood about the historical reasons for the culmination of this overlap in the figure of Durgā and its ritualized realization in the ceremony of the Navarātra. Doubtless, the Navarātra, given that it was dedicated to a war-goddess, played a significant role in preparations undertaken by a medieval kingdom to wage war, and furthermore, to affirm social structure, as notable studies in the past by Alexis Sanderson (2007, 195–311), Shingo Einoo (1999, 33–70) and Ralph Nicholas (2013) have shown. The season of autumn, which in many cultural traditions, and also in classical India, was when armed campaigns would take place, must also have formed a reason for the presence of military rituals such as the lustration of weapons and war-animals during Durgā's Navarātra: following the monsoon, during which it is notoriously difficult to make journeys, the autumn, when the skies are clear and the weather cooler, formed the perfect season to venture forth on campaign.[3] Doubtless there must also have been an association between social governance, its urban political locus, and the Goddess, as there is in the modern ceremony. But when did the autumnal festival acquire such a role in sanctifying heroic endeavor, and in affirming roles and functions dispersed within the social organization? For in many Navarātras certain groups and lineages were traditionally associated with particular rituals: for example the priest's duty, the

3 Dominic Goodall drew my attention to this point, while noting examples from the *Raghuvaṃśa*, chapter 4, and Cambodian inscriptions; see Goodall 2014, 187–188.

cutting of the head of the animal, the making of the effigy, or the provision of virgin girls for worship, etc. This still remains at the forefront of any basic inquiry into the nature of this ritual.

However, answering this question presents certain methodological complications. Literature (primarily in Sanskrit) indicates that during the period the festival developed and was popularized throughout South Asia, viz. the 5th to 12th centuries CE, it grew into a locally diverse tradition. At present these regional traditions seem on the surface to be but tenuously interrelated, and in their diversity forestall our entertaining the possibility of there having been common templates of origination.

Apart from the Navarātra's multiplicity of form, other factors have prevented, it would seem, a full history of the festival from being undertaken—apart from, it is important to note, Einoo's (1999) pioneering study, "The Autumn Goddess Festival Described in the Purāṇas." These factors are as follows: difficulty in interpreting and evaluating sources; confusion prompted by the presence of non-Brahmanical rituals within an outwardly Purāṇic-Brahmanic ritual framework; and ambivalence in status because of the important roles played by people outside the caste-system in the ritual sequence. However, these difficulties, confusions and ambivalences are not insuperable, and do in fact point to an important characteristic of the ritual: that its position within either the Brahmanical or the non-Brahmanical realms was never very clear. Both sides claimed certain aspects of the ritual as theirs, and in fact operated in tandem within its domain. A political synergy between different power-groups was effected through the course of the festival, as indeed has been recently shown by Nicholas (2013) and which will grow even more evident through surveying the different traditions.

However, if we look at a wide range of ritual descriptions in Sanskrit contained in Purāṇas for which the conjectured dates seem reliable, in their reused forms in Dharmaśāstric compendia (*nibandha*s) and in ritual manuals (*paddhati*s), together with ethnographic accounts of ceremonies, where available, a historical pattern begins to emerge. The full analysis of that pattern is treated in my recent book, *Heroic Shāktism: the Cult of Durgā in Ancient Indian Kingship*, including texts and translations from the relevant ritual descriptions.[4] Since it may also be useful to offer a succinct overview of the historical pattern, here I offer a condensed summary of that larger narrative, presented in schematic form below. I also take the opportunity here to include three very early sources that I did not have the opportunity to consider for the arguments made in

4 Sarkar 2017, 210–274.

my book: the Southern *Cilapattikāram*,[5] and two passages from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kādambarī*. These offer fresh insights into—if not the Navarātra proper—the ritual background of the Goddess: her worshippers, their provenance and the purpose for which she may have been worshipped prior to the development of the liturgical materials on the Navarātra. The consideration of the Southern material in particular leads to re-conceiving the historical development of the Goddess's worship south of the Vindhya mountains. In the book, I had suggested that

> The Deccan seems to have followed in the wake of the eastern form of the Navarātra outlined in the *Devī*[*purāṇa*] and the *Kālikā*[*purāṇa*] until at least the early half of the 14th century [on the basis of passages from those works appearing in Deccan Dharmaśāstric *nibandha*-literature] … The gradual independence of the southern tradition and its advocacy by the 15th century of a Navarātra that was qualitatively different from the eastern tradition in that it celebrated Daśamī differently and eschewed rites that were Tantric in their tone are attested by the eyewitness accounts of the Navarātras of the Vijayanagara kingdom, of Mysore under the Wodeyars, of Ramnad and Śivagaṅgai in Tamil Nadu.
>
> SARKAR 2017, 258–259

On the other hand, the *Cīlapattikāram* suggests that already in the early centuries of the common era, a local form of worshipping the Goddess for power in battle, like the Navarātra, was celebrated in the Tamil country, and that this included possession, trance and bacchanalia. On this basis, it is possible to suggest, first, that long before descriptions of Durgā's worship appeared in materials of an Eastern provenance, she was popular in the south and, second, that the direction of liturgical influence could have been the other way: the ritual of bacchanalian enjoyment offered to a goddess of battle could have entered into Eastern liturgies, in which they occupy a prominent place, from Southern prototypes. Moreover, all three textual examples are magnificently composed, and exemplify all that is most vivid and energetic in poetry about the Goddess.

In some of our earliest sources, the rite did not begin in autumnal Āśvina, the month usually associated with the Navarātra. Rather it began in the monsoon month of Śrāvaṇa, and prior to that seems to have been a popular festival celebrated by everyone regardless of sectarian affiliation. It then came to replace a more established set of Brahmanical military traditions (such as the worship

5 The arguments made about this Southern work are hindered by my lack of knowing Classical Tamil. The reader is asked to treat them as preliminary and to refer to the original source.

of weapons and the lustration of the army) practised in Āśvina. Once these Vedic royal traditions were harmonized with the worship of the Goddess, they altered in character to become a goddess-centred heroic tradition, in which sanguinary rites to calm down Durgā's fiery nature began to dominate. But further alterations in the character of the ritual followed, as it was incorporated by other religious "specialisms." One of the most critical transformations to have occurred in the structure of the Navarātra is the appearance of Tantric rituals in descriptions of the rite emerging from East India, notably from Orissa and the kingdom of Mithilā. Compared to the military festival of the earlier Vaiṣṇava and then the Vedicized formats, these rituals amplify the power-bestowing efficacity of the ritual by including rituals that grant *siddhi*s (powers). Moreover, there is no single goddess, but many, and of many forms, names and natures. In literature from Mithilā, the rite expands to nine days to include, apart from the worship of nine forms of Durgā of different colours, an array of Tantricized rituals such as the purification of elements (*bhūtaśuddhi*), the worship of the sixty-four yoginīs, the installation of mantras in the body (*nyāsa*), self-identification with the deity (a ritual that, although also found in pre-tantric materials, came to be associated with tantric practice[6]), rites bestowing powers (*siddhi*) held at midnight, and the heightening of the Goddess's personality so that her ferocious properties are thought to take over. She is invoked as Kālī-Lauhadaṇḍā (Kālī, goddess of the iron rod) in mantras in the mediaeval Bengali rite. In the Maithila rite she is even summoned as Cāmuṇḍā into a bel branch, which is then worshipped as the vehicle of her essence throughout the duration of the worship. In Orissa, as shown by Sanderson (2007), mantra elements from the Kashmirian Kālīkula were incorporated into the Mahānavamī traditions of Bhadrakālī. The effect of this Tantricization was the enhancement of the power-bestowing agency of the ritual, desirable no doubt for rulers eager to achieve victory in the battles they were about to undertake.

The sources in which the above ritual patterns are described are as follows (the specific references with emended Sanskrit texts and analyses are to be found in the locus indicated in the accompanying footnotes):

1. Early Vaiṣṇava phase in the monsoon[7]
Harivaṃśa 57.35–36; *Mahābhārata* 4.5.29 ff. and 6.22.6 ff., old *Skandapurāṇa* 60.46; *Kādambarī* pp. 30–31; *Harṣacarita* p. 126; *Caṇḍīśataka* 16; *Gaüḍavaho* 318, 319, Purāṇic citations in Dharmaśāstric compendia from Mithilā and Bengal.

6 Goodall et al. 2005, 13, note 5.
7 Sarkar 2017, 214–221.

TABLE 13.1 Developmental phases of the Navarātra

I. circa 4th century CE: Early Vaiṣṇava Phase in the monsoon	**II. circa 5th century CE: Incorporation with a pre-existing Brahmanical military festival in Āśvina**	**III. circa 8th century CE: Expansion and inclusion of Tantric power-rituals in Eastern Court Traditions, notably in the kingdom of Mithilā[8]**	**IV. circa 14th century CE: The Southern and Western Court Traditions of the Kingdoms of Devagiri and Vijayanagara**
Worship of Kṛṣṇa's sister Kālarātri/Nidrā, a dark, blood-thirsty, alcohol-loving goddess associated with night, sleep, hallucination and enchantment (*māyā*)	Worship of Bhadrakālī is attached to a pre-existent strata of brahmanical rituals of kingship advocated in Vedic literature. (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 43; *Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra* 57.1 and *Arthaśāstra* 2.30.51[9])	Appearance of a ten day structure spread out over the First lunar day (Pratipat) to the Tenth lunar day (Vijayadaśamī) in the bright phase of Āśvina	On Pratipat: King enthroned and given an amulet empowered by the goddess's mantra; vow of fasting and abstinence to be undertaken by him; king's sword and sceptre ceremonially presented to him and placed at the base of the lineage goddess's image; summoning of the goddess in the person of the king
Buffalo-sacrifice by a ruler to propitiate the Goddess before the onset of battle	Celebrated on the Eighth and Ninth lunar days (Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī) of the bright half of Āśvina	recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya* (*caṇḍīpāṭha*)	King worships Durgā, Lakṣmī and Vāgdevī in lidded pots in a flower pavilion (*puṣpamaṇḍapam*) specially built to worship the goddess and the king; worship of the king's thirty two weapons (*lohābhisārikapūjā*), worship of the royal insignia, worship of the royal horses and elephants; court assembly at the *puṣpamaṇḍapa*; king travels in pomp to an assembly hall (*āsthānamaṇḍapa*) built for the festival at which a durbar is held; public display of goddess's image next to the enthroned king; spectacles in front of the *āsthānamaṇḍapa*
Incorporation of outcaste groups referred to in Sanskrit literature as "Śabaras"	Worship of the Goddess in a cloth in a shrine built in the north-eastern part of a military encampment	The first seven days involve: *kalaśapūjā* (worship of deities including the goddess, the Mothers and waters from the sacred fords in a vase); a king bathing in the sanctified waters from the *kalaśapūjā*; fasting, worshiping Śiva thrice daily, animal sacrifice (*paśubali*); daily worship of the royal horses; fire oblations and feeding a maiden	
Association with the Vindhya mountain	Worship of weapons with flowers, perfume and food, adapted from the pre-existing Vedic model of military festivities.	The sixth (Ṣaṣṭhī) and the seventh (Saptamī) lunar days involve awakening the goddess in a *bilva* tree (*bodhana*), worship of goddess as Cāmuṇḍā and Kālī in the branch, summoning her nine radiations in nine leaves (*navapatrapūjā*/*patrikāpūjā*),	
Rites of self-mortification to be performed by heroes to demonstrate their valour			

8 The Nepalese Tradition, though deriving in the main from the Maithila tradition as embodied in the Kārṇāṭa royal ceremony of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, is much more Tantric in character, involving mantra elements from the Kubjikā cult.

9 All three are cited in Sanderson 2005, 229–300. It was Professor Sanderson who pointed out the existence and relevance of this archaic military stratum of rituals to me (personal communication).

TABLE 13.1 Developmental phases of the Navarātra (*cont.*)

I. circa 4th century CE: Early Vaiṣṇava Phase in the monsoon	**II. circa 5th century CE: Incorporation with a pre-existing Brahmanical military festival in Āśvina**	**III. circa 8th century CE: Expansion and inclusion of Tantric power-rituals in Eastern Court Traditions, notably in the kingdom of Mithilā**	**IV. circa 14th century CE: The Southern and Western Court Traditions of the Kingdoms of Devagiri and Vijayanagara**
Celebrated on the Ninth lunar day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the day after Janmāṣṭamī Possession and bacchanalia involving dancing and the singing of hymns (suggested by the *Cīlapattikāram*)	Staged entertainment of the Goddess Kings to keep a night-vigil on Mahāṣṭamī night and maintain a fast for victory (*śauryavrata*) Worship repeated on Mahānavamī followed by a parade Buffalo-sacrifice Festival performed for the sake of victory and pacification	enlivening an unfired clay image of the goddess (*prāṇapratiṣṭhā*) Nine wooden shrines to be built on the Eighth lunar day (Mahāṣṭamī), and the goddess is to be installed in a gold or silver image, in a sword or in a trident; worship involves chariot and palanquin processions On Mahāṣṭamī: worship of the Nine Durgās (Rudracaṇḍā, Pracaṇḍā, Caṇḍogrā, Caṇḍanāyikā, Caṇḍā, Caṇḍavatī, Caṇḍarūpā, Aticaṇḍikā, Ugracaṇḍā), the eight mothers, the sixty-four *yoginī*s, purification of the gross elements (*bhūtaśuddhi*), installation of mantras on the body (*nyāsa*); restraining the breaths (*prāṇāyāma*); visualization and self-identification with the deity, rite of the sword (*khaḍgapūjā*) in Nepal for powers (*siddhi*s); *paśubali* (animal sacrifice) and offering blood from a king's arms and *naraśiraḥpradāna* (offering a human head); worship of weapons (*astrapūjā*/*śastrapūjā*); goddess is believed to morph into a more uncontrollable presence requiring constant placation	From Pratipat to Navamī: daily worship by the king of nine maidens (*kumārīpūjā*) as nine goddesses, Kumārī, Trimūrti/Trimurtinī, Kalyāṇī, Rohiṇī, Kālikā, Caṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā, Bhadrā Worship repeated till Navamī On Navamī: fire oblation to the goddess (*caṇḍīhoma*); *paśubali*, king removes the amulet On Vijayadaśamī: worship of a *śamī* tree according to a tradition attributed to the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*; king given weapons including five arrows by the priest; king goes to the *śamī* in pomp with his army; shooting of arrows in every direction to destroy enemies; evening court assembly at the *āsthānamaṇḍapa*

TABLE 13.1 Developmental phases of the Navarātra (*cont.*)

I. circa 4th century CE: Early Vaiṣṇava Phase in the monsoon	II. circa 5th century CE: Incorporation with a pre-existing Brahmanical military festival in Āśvina	III. circa 8th century CE: Expansion and inclusion of Tantric power-rituals in Eastern Court Traditions, notably in the kingdom of Mithilā	IV. circa 14th century CE: The Southern and Western Court Traditions of the Kingdoms of Devagiri and Vijayanagara
		Blood sacrifice to pacify demons in various directions and the sacrifice of a dough image of the king's enemy (*śatrubali*) for "universal power" (*sarvavaśyatā*) to take place at midnight (*ardharātrapūjā*), when the asterism Kanyā (Virgo) joins *aṣṭamī*; *navadurgāpūjā* again On Mahānavamī: worship of Bhadrakālī with mantras from the Kālīkula in Orissa (Sanderson 2007, 255–295); worship of the Goddess in a trident; repetition of rites on Mahāṣṭamī; *kumārīpūjā* (worship of a maiden); *rathayātrā* (chariot procession) of the Goddess On Daśamī: worship of goddess Aparājitā; *śābarotsava*; royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*) of king with empowered water from the opening *kalaśapūjā*	

II. Incorporation with a Brahmanical military festival in Āśvina[10]
Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.158.6cd–7, *Agnipurāṇa* 267.13cd–16ab (repeating *Viṣṇudharmottara*); *Varāhapurāṇa* cited in the *Kṛtyaratnākara*, pp. 364–365.

10 Ibid., 221–226.

III. Expansion and inclusion of Tantric power-rituals in Eastern Court Traditions[11]
Devīpurāṇa, *Kālikāpurāṇa*, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Durgāpūjātattva, Durgāpūjāviveka*, *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* in Sanderson (2007); account of the Durgā Pūjā in Kelomal, West Bengal (Nicholas 2013).

IV. The Southern and Western Court Traditions[12]
Caturvargacintāmaṇi, Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā, *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, accounts of ceremonies in Śivagaṅgai and Ramnad, Tamil Nadu (Price 1996), Portuguese traveller accounts from the Vijayanagara Empire (Stein 1983).

To the above sources, I would like to add a passage from the *Mahābhārata* (first noticed and pointed out to me by Sahiṣṇu Bhaṭṭācārya, Bardhaman, West Bengal in a personal communication), whose importance in regard to the worship of Nidrā, Durgā's early form, requires emphasis. This passage appears in the *Sauptikaparvan* (*Mahābhārata* X, 8.64–68) and suggests that the Vaiṣṇava Nidrā, goddess of Sleep and Death, presided over and blessed battle as a dangerous spirit (*kṛtyā*). Called Kālarātri, identified with apocalyptic destruction, adorned with a peacock feather (*śikhaṇḍinīm*) that evokes her alliance with her brother Kṛṣṇa, as prevalent in this period,[13] she manifests herself when Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, secretly enters the Pāṇḍava camp and goes on a murderous rampage. Hers is a strange, menacing apparition:

kālīṃ raktāsyanayanāṃ raktamālyānulepanām |
raktāmbaradharām ekāṃ pāśahastāṃ śikhaṇḍinīm ||
dadṛśuḥ kālarātriṃ te smayamānām avasthitām |
narāśvakuñjarān pāśair baddhvā ghoraiḥ pratasthuṣīm ||
harantīṃ vividhān pretān pāśabaddhān vimūrdhajān ||
svapne suptān nayantīṃ tāṃ rātriṣv anyāsu māriṣa |
dadṛśur yodhamukhyās te ghnantaṃ drauṇiṃ ca nityadā ||
yataḥ pravṛttaḥ saṃgrāmaḥ kurupāṇḍavasenayoḥ |
tataḥ prabhṛti tāṃ kṛtyām apaśyan drauṇim eva ca ||

11 Ibid., 226–258.

12 Ibid., 258–270.

13 See Couture and Schmid 2001, Schmid 2002, Yokochi 2004 and Sarkar 2017, 41–69, for the incorporation of Durgā in Vaiṣṇava traditions.

tāṃs tu daivahatān pūrvaṃ paścād drauṇir nyapātayat |
trāsayan sarvabhūtāni vinadan bhairavān ravān ||
Mahābhārata X, 8.64–68

Good sir, they saw her, Kālarātri, standing, smiling, alone, blue-black in hue, with red mouth and eyes, garlands and unguents of crimson, red robes, a noose in one hand, a peacock feather [in her hair], binding men, horses and elephants with her horrifying fetters while she stood, capturing many headless ghosts trapped in her noose, leading those asleep in their dreams to other Nights (*rātriṣv*[14] *anyāsu*). And at all times the best soldiers saw the son of Droṇa slaughtering. From the time when the battle between the Kuru and Pāṇḍava armies began, they saw [both] that evil spirit (*tām kṛtyām*) and the son of Droṇa. The son of Droṇa later felled those who had first been struck by this divinity [Kālarātri], terrorizing all creatures while shouting out ferocious bellows.

Towering over the nightmarish battlefield, a grinning image of Death, Kālarātri governs both sleep and death, ensuring the interceptor certain triumph during his secret raid.

The Tantricization of Durgā's worship must have been well established by 700 CE, by which time it must have already been correlated with worship of Śiva, rather than Viṣṇu. Such is the impression created by a minutely detailed description of Durgā's shrine and her worshipper in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (pp. 224–228[15]). On his way from Hemakūṭa to Ujjayinī, the hero of the work, Candrāpīḍa, stops for shelter at a shrine of the Goddess that comes midway. The shrine is nestled in the midst of a densely wooded forest, and the narrative, through a telescoping of perspective from outside to inside the shrine, provides a leisurely description of its design, appearance and atmosphere. From afar Candrāpīḍa first sees a "crimson ensign," "inscribing the sky with a gold trident, from which swung a terrifying bell making a raucous clanging (*ghargharar-ava*) that dangled down from an iron chain attached to the tip, arranged with a yak-tail whisk as splendid as a lion's mane" (*dolāyitaśṛṅgasaṅgilohaśṛṅkhalā-valambamānagharghararavaghoraghaṇṭayā ca ghaṭitakesarisaṭāruciracāma-rayā kāñcanatriśūlikayā likhitanabhaḥsthalam … raktadhvajam*; p. 224). Going ahead a little, he then sees that the Goddess Caṇḍikā "was enclosed by a door made from the ivory of wild elephants, as yellowish-white as fragments

14 This appears to be a play with Rātri, another name for this goddess.
15 All references to the *Kādambarī* in this paragraph are from Peterson's edition of 1889.

of *ketakī* filaments, and an iron architrave (*toraṇa*) bearing an ornamental garland of black iron mirrors surrounded by a row of red yak tail whisks resembling a garland of Śabara heads horrific with tawny hair" (*ketakīsūcikhaṇḍapāṇḍureṇa vanadviradadantakapāṭena parivṛtāṃ lohatoraṇena ca raktacāmaraparikarāṃ kālāyasadarpaṇamaṇḍamālāṃ śabaramukhamālām iva kapilakeśabhīṣaṇāṃ bibhrāṇena … caṇḍikām*; pp. 224–228). Then he notices the *dvārapāla* (guardian of the gate), about which it is said that "[Caṇḍikā] had protected her entrance with an iron buffalo installed in front, which, because of the fact that it had been marked by palms [dyed with] red-sandalwood, seemed to have been stamped by Yama's hand-prints red with blood, the red eyes of which were being licked by jackals greedy for drops of blood" (*sanāthīkṛtadvāradeśām abhimukhapratiṣṭhena ca vinihitaraktacandanahastakatayā rudhirāruṇayamakaratalāsphāliteneva śoṇitalavalobhalolaśivālihyamānalohitalocanena lohamahiṣeṇa*; *Kādambarī*, p. 224). Then through the main entrance, the temple yard: "Her courtyard was adorned with thickets of red *aśoka* trees, the spaces between the branches of which were made gapless by flocks of perching red cockerels, [trees] which appeared to reveal unseasonal clusters of blooms in their fear" (*śākhāntarālanirantaraniliīnaraktakukkuṭakūlaiś ca bhayād akāladarśitakusumastabakair iva raktāśokaviṭapair vibhūṣitāṅgaṇāṃ*; p. 225). (More in fact is said about the overflowing mass of flowers, trees and even lion cubs that populate her front courtyard, slippery with blood.) Then the portal to the sanctum sanctorum, a riot of colour and form: "She was being illuminated by the entrance, on which there were hanging cloths reddened by lamp-smoke, a row of bracelets made of peacock-throats festooned [over it], a garland of bells closely-set and pale with powdered flour-cakes, which supported two door-panels, [studded] with tin lion heads with thick, iron pins in their centres, barricaded with an ivory-rod bolt, carrying [what seemed to be] a necklace of sparkling bubbles that were mirrors oozing yellow, blue and red [light]" (*avalambamānadīpadhūmaraktāṃśukena grathitaśikhigalavalayāvalinā piṣṭapiṇḍapāṇḍuritaghanaghaṇṭāmālabhāriṇā trāpuṣasiṃhamukhamadhyasthitathūlalohakaṇṭakaṃ dattadantadaṇḍārgalaṃ galatpītanīlalohitadarpaṇasphuritabudbudamālaṃ kapāṭapaṭṭadvayaṃ dadhānena garbhagṛhadvāradeśena dīpyamānāṃ*; ibid.).

Then follows the image of the Goddess, which in its association with the terrible, and in the predominance of the colour red, matches the conception of Kālarātri in the passage from the *Mahābhārata*: "She was installed on an altar of black stone" (*adhyāsitāñjanaśilāvedikām*, *Kādambarī*, p. 224). "Her feet were never bereft of cloths [dyed with] red lac thrown upon the mound of her seat [on the altar] as if they were the lives of all creatures arrived there for shelter; she resembled an inhabitant of the Underworld because of

the intense darkness obstructed [only] by the flashes from axes, spears, etc., weapons deadly for beings, that seemed to hold nets of hair stuck from decapitations because of the reflections of black yak-tail whisks cast [upon their surfaces]; she was adorned in garlands of *bilva* leaves furnished with gleaming fruits and buds anointed with red sandalwood, that were like hanging garlands of infant-heads; she expressed cruelty with limbs worshipped with clusters of *kadamba* flowers ruddy with blood, which horripilated, it seemed, at the thrill of the flavour of the keen roar of drums during the animal-offering; she bore the coquettish apparel of a woman going out to meet Mahākāla at night, with a vine-like body furnished with a raiment reddened with saffron-dye, with a face with red eyes, whose brows were furrowed into a frown, whose lip was crimsoned with betel that was blood, whose cheeks were reddened by the light shed from ear-ornaments of pomegranate flowers, with a forehead on which there was a *tilaka* dot of vermillion made by a Śabara beauty, covered by a magnificent gold turban (*cāmīkarapaṭṭa*). She was worshipped by goats … mice … antelope and black serpents … She was praised on all sides by flocks of old crows." (*piṇḍikāpīṭhapātibhiś ca sarvapaśujīvitair iva śaraṇam upāgatair alaktakapaṭair avirahitacaraṇamūlāṃ patitakṛṣṇacāmarapratibimbānāṃ ca śiraśchedalagnakeśajālakānām iva paraśupaṭṭiśaprabhṛtīnāṃ jīvaviśasanaśastrāṇāṃ prabhābhir baddhabahalāndhakāratayā pātālanivāsinī, ivopalakṣyamāṇāṃ raktacandanakhacitasphuratphalapallavakalitaiś ca bilvapattradāmabhir bālakamuṇḍaprālambair iva kṛtamaṇḍanāṃ śoṇitatāmrakadambastabakakṛtārcanaiś ca paśūpahārapaṭahapaṭuraṭitarasollasitaromāñcair ivāṅgaiḥ krūratām udvahantīṃ cārucāmīkarapaṭṭaprāvṛtena ca lalāṭena śabarasundarīracitasindūratilakabindunā dāḍimakusumakarṇapūraprabhāsekalohitāyamānakapolabhittinā rudhiratāmbūlāruṇitādharapuṭena bhṛkuṭikuṭilabhruṇā raktanayanena mukhena kusumbhapāṭalitadukūlakalitayā ca dehalatayā mahākālābhisārikāveṣavibhramaṃ bibhratīṃ … chāgair … ākhubhir … kuraṅgair … kṛṣṇasarpair … ārādhyamānāṃ sarvataḥ kaṭhoravāyasagaṇena … stūyamānām*; pp. 225–226).

A Draviḍa ascetic, portrayed as a comical figure, is said to be her priest; perhaps Bāṇa was conscious in making the priest a Draviḍa, on account of the widespread worship of the goddess Koṟṟavai, later correlated with Durgā, in the South? There are apparently several Tantric rites that Bāṇa pejoratively associates with the priest: he, "the ageing Draviḍa religious man" "demeans Durgā with his prayers for the boon of sovereignty over the Southern lands" (*dakṣiṇāpatharājyavaraprārthanākadarthitadurgeṇa … jaraddraviḍadhārmikeṇa*; p. 226); "he had copied a hymn to Durgā on a strip of cloth" (*paṭṭikālikhitadurgāstotreṇa*; ibid), "he had collected palm-leaf manuscripts of spells, Tantras and jugglery the letters of which were written in red lac and fumigated with

smoke" (*dhūmaraktālakākṣaratālapattrakuhakatantramantrapustikāsaṃgrahiṇā*; ibid); "he had written down the [work known as] the 'Doctrine of Mahākāla' instructed to him by a withered Mahāpāśupata mendicant" (*jīrṇamahāpāśupatopadeśalikhitamahākālamatena*, pp. 226–227); "he was one in whom the disease of talking about [finding] treasure had arisen" (*āvirbhūtanidhivādavyādhinā*, p. 227); "in him the wind [disease] of alchemy had grown" (*saṃjātadhātuvādavāyunā*, ibid.); "he entertained the deluded desire of becoming the lover of a Yakṣa maiden" (*pravṛttayakṣakanyakākāmitvamanorathavyāmohena*, ibid.); "his collection of practices for mastering mantras for invisibility had grown" (*vardhitāntardhānamantrasādhanasaṃgraheṇa*, ibid.); "he was acquainted with a hundred tales about the marvels of the Śrīparvata mountain" (*śrīparvatāścaryavārttāsahasrābhijñena*, ibid.); "his ear-cavities were punched by those possessed by *piśāca*-demons, who had run to him when struck by white mustard seed he had empowered with mantras more than once" (*asakṛdabhimantritasiddhārthakaprahitapradhāvitaiḥ piśācagṛhītakaiḥ karatalatāḍanacipiṭīkṛtaśravaṇapuṭena* ibid.); and "he had used magic powders for snaring women many times on aging mendicant ladies, who having arrived from other lands retired [there to rest]" (*anyadeśāgatoṣitāsu jaratpravrajitāsu bahukṛtvaḥ saṃprayuktastrīvaśīkaraṇacūrṇena*).

While it would be imprudent to treat this example of poetic literature as a bald record of fact, it is possible to see Bāṇa's extensive and richly crafted episode of this horrific, yet magnificent, temple as a reflection of social attitudes to the Goddess and her worship. There is a mix of suspicion, fear and reverential awe underlying the image of the forbidding shrine tucked away in the wilds, with its Tāntrika priest who knows not how 'appropriate' worship should be conducted, and its blood-spattered, grisly interiors. The very opposite of this ambivalent attitude surfaces in Bāṇa's unequivocally laudatory poem to Durgā, the *Caṇḍīśataka*—verse 8 of which is consciously alluded here in "she seemed to be scolding the wild buffalo who had offended by moving the trident-shaft by scratching his shoulders [on it]" (*skandapīṭhakaṇḍūyanacalitatriśūladaṇḍakṛtāparādhaṃ vanamahiṣam iva tarjayantīm*; *Kādambarī* p. 226). The topos of Mahiṣa scratching his back on the post appears in *Caṇḍīśataka* 8 too,[16] in which there is a mischievous pun with the word *sthāṇu* that means both "post" and "Śiva." The saviour of Dharma in the *Caṇḍīśataka* contrasts with the menacing though beauteous figure here. One may suggest that the

16 *grastāśvaḥ śaṣpalobhād iva haritaharer prasoḍhānaloṣmā*
sthāṇau kaṇḍuṃ vinīya pratimahiṣaruṣevāntakopāntavartī |
kṛṣṇaṃ paṅkaṃ yathecchan varuṇam upagato majjanāyeva yasyāḥ
svastho' bhūt pādam āptvā hradam iva mahiṣa sāstu durgā śriye vaḥ ||

wider context for this attitude of ambivalence is a historical transition: the Goddess first imagined as we have seen as a *kṛtyā* in the *Mahābhārata* was being absorbed within mainstream devotional practices, through which her demonic attributes became 'toned down,' balanced by the benevolent and the charming, but nevertheless remained, at the stage of Bāṇa's compositions, tinged with a degree of the terrible. The comic portrayal of the priest registers the fact that by Bāṇa's time Durgā's worship had acquired firm cultural associations with Śaiva tantric rites. There was also an association of her site of worship with wild environments inhospitable to people, to flora and fauna in general (note that most of the ornaments in her shrine are of plants and flowers) and even, it seems, with a peculiarly Southern religious attitude.

Regarding the Southern Navarātra, it is tempting to conjecture that the roots of worshiping the Goddess in Devagiri and Vijayanagara drew also upon the older cult of Koṛṛavai, the stag-borne goddess described in the old Tamil poem, the *Cīlapattikāram*.[17] In fact many salient elements of Durgā's rituals in general (especially, though, in the East), such as the transactional nature of worship, trance, possession, ecstatic dancing, singing hymns, the important role of women, virgin-worship and heroic self-sacrifice involving blood are to be found even here, which suggest that among all elements of the Navarātra, these appear to be the earliest. In Canto XII Koṛṛavai is said to be worshipped by cattle-raiders for victory in their missions.[18] The canto, called "Vēṭṭuvavari" (The Hunter's Song), portrays the Eyinar community worshipping their protective goddess for victory before setting off on a raid. The chapter describes vividly the stages of *pūjā* at the shrine of Aiyai (Koṛṛavai), eulogized throughout the canto as Durgā, the slayer of Mahiṣa, the sister of Viṣṇu and the consort of Śiva. First, a respected Maravar lady Śālinī, an oracle, becomes possessed and dances, singing a hymn urging the hunters to offer tribute to the Goddess.[19] In the hymn Śālinī rebukes the men for growing weak and no longer robbing passers-by,[20] the implication being that the Goddess will re-invigorate them with heroic zeal. After the oracle performs, a virgin is selected from the Eyinars, in what appears to be an early form of the *kumārīpūjā*, and treated with especial care as the Goddess. Dressed in tiger skin, with a snake of silver and a wild hog's tooth in her matted hair, a necklace of tiger-tooth, a bow of wood and

17 See Dikshitar 1939 and Danielou 2009. All references to the *Cīlapattikāram* are from Dikshitar 1939. I am grateful to Professor Goodall for kindly indicating the need to include mention of this work within this account.

18 *Cīlapattikāram*, p. 180. See also Danielou 2009, 76–85, and Mahalakshmi 2011, 68–71.

19 *Cīlapattikāram*, XII.6–11; Danielou 2009, 77; Mahalakshmi 2011, 69.

20 *Cīlapattikāram*, XII.12–19; Danielou 2009, 77.

seated on a stag, the *kumārī* is brought before the shrine of the Goddess, set in lush and verdant groves of fragrant and flowering trees.[21] The women offer her various gifts of dolls, beautiful birds, paints, scents, food and flowers with much fanfare and the beating of drums.[22] After worshipping the Goddess, the virgin goes into a trance, and speaks to the heroine of the poem Kaṇṇakī, introducing her to Koṟṟavai, who from this moment in the ritual, it is suggested, becomes a living presence.[23]

Koṟṟavai appears. She bore a moon on her hair, a third eye on her forehead; her lips were red, her throat blue with poison like that of her consort Śiva. The snake Vāsukī was her girdle and she wore a bodice resembling snake-teeth, an elephant's hide over her upper body and a tiger skin over her hips; she carried a trident. There are rich ornaments on her feet. Dark in hue as a sapphire,[24] bejewelled, youthful, beautiful, ascendant on the head of the buffalo demon, she is called, among many names, the sister of Kṛṣṇa, Durgā, Gaurī, the giver of victory, worshipped by Viṣṇu and Brahmā,[25] and also the defeater of Kaṃsa.[26] The names and descriptions indicate that even at this early period, circa 450 CE, when the poem is thought to have been composed,[27] the Goddess, whose initial sectarian affiliation was with Kṛṣṇa, had already become associated with Śiva, and moreover had acquired an independent identity as a supreme divinity, worshipped by all the gods. Another hymn is sung by a girl to the virgin dressed as the Goddess, in which the duality of Koṟṟavai-Durgā is emphasised in a series of rhetorical questions or paradoxical contrasts: she is worshipped by gods and is an exalted repository of Vedic knowledge, yet also stands on a buffalo head adorned with wild animal hides; standing as light above the trinity of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, she stands also on a humble stag with twisted black horns, holding aloft, with hands adorned with delicate bangles, a cruel sword; she who is consort of Śiva with three eyes also has a fierce red-eyed lion and the Vaiṣṇava conch and the discus.[28] She is also said to have danced the *marakkāl*,

21 For the trees see *Cīlapattikāram* XII verse not indicated, p. 184; Danielou 2009, p. 79.

22 *Cilapattikāram* XII.20–53; Danielou 2009, 78; Mahalakshmi 2011, 71.

23 *Cilapattikāram* XII.51–53; Danielou 2009, 78.

24 *Cīlapattikāram* XII, verse not indicated, p. 188; Danielou 2009, 83–84.

25 *Cīlapattikāram* XII, verse not indicated, p. 188; Danielou 2009, 83–84.

26 *Cīlapattikāram* XII. verse not indicated, p. 188; Danielou 2009, 84.

27 Regrettably the dating of this fine work has not yet been settled. Dikshitar (1939, 8–10) suggests sometime in the second century CE. Here I have cited the date proposed by Zvelebil (1977, 132), which nevertheless is inconclusive. I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for explaining the issues concerning the problem of dating this text and providing me with Zvelebil's study.

28 *Cīlapattikāram* XII, verse not indicated, p. 185; Danielou 2009, 80–81.

a dance on wooden legs, to defeat demons. If anyone invokes her wearing a victory garland (*veṭci*) before setting forth to seize cattle, omens of defeat will appear in the enemy's village, and the Goddess will accompany the hero on his quest before his bow.[29] In the song, the plenitude of captured cattle is then praised, and the Goddess is asked to accept the raiders' blood offered by cutting their necks to her in thanks.[30] This offering of flesh and blood is described as the Goddess's price for the victory conferred on the warrior and outlines the transactional nature of the worship.[31] The hymn becomes hypnotic at this climactic moment of blood-offering as in verse after verse the Goddess is asked to accept the blood.

Four things illuminated by the description are worth pointing out. Koṛṛavai is already treated as an eclectic deity merged with Durgā, herself a cluster of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva elements. From the context here it is tempting to speculate that Durgā as a deity of royal power and kingship may trace her roots from local warrior communities such as the Eyinār, who sustained themselves by periodic looting necessitating armed confrontation. In fact, the evidence of the old Tamil text prompts us to refine the schematic diagram, and suggest that the first phase of the ritual going back to the early centuries of the common era was widely practised in the South and, along with blood sacrifice, included ecstatic singing, dancing and deity-possession. When this archaic phase of worship is described in literature, Durgā has already ceased to be a peripheral deity, as I had assumed she still was at this time when I wrote my book, and is considered both the consort of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa's sister, and empress of the gods.

A historical survey of the Navarātra's developmental pattern reveals that it acquired its characteristic shape from a confluence of two different traditions: first, a festival of the goddess Nidrā-Kālarātri on the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of a monsoon month, centred on sanguinary rites exhibiting heroism, and second, a military tradition celebrated in autumn centred on lustrating weapons and armies with fire to ward away ill omens. In this way, through a gradual process of coalescence and subsequent transformation, the Navarātra acquired two of its hallmarks: the central place of the Goddess as the deity to whom all the rituals were dedicated, and the autumnal season as its most favourable and appropriate time. The phases by which this confluence occurred and then further developed show us how a relatively small single-day civic festival, performed by Vaiṣṇavas as part of the celebrations of Janmā-

29 *Cīlapattikāram* XII, verse not indicated, p. 186; Danielou 2009, 82.

30 *Cīlapattikāram*, XII, verse not indicated, p. 186; Danielou 2009, 83; Mahalakshmi 2011, 68.

31 *Cīlapattikāram* XII, verse not indicated, pp. 187–188; Danielou 2009, 84–85.

ṣṭamī, gradually expanded into a much longer rite thought to safeguard society and the political class, which then came to be performed in the month of Āśvina. This development paralleled the attenuation of the rite's importance for the Vaiṣṇavas and its absorption, first by Śaivas, who would promote the worship of the Goddess on Navamī by fasting, in literature about rites for lay devotees,[32] and then by the more widespread Purāṇic-Brahmanical tradition. These sectarian absorptions provided impetus to the popularity of the rite among rulers of upcoming kingdoms eager to cultivate the ritual apparatus of goddess-sanctified kingship.

We can map out two broad regional traditions to have matured later in courts: an Eastern and a Deccan one. By and large these formed the basic blueprint for localized variations. As descriptions of Rajput rites of the *śamī* tree and the weapon-shooting on Daśamī from colonial ethnographic reports from the nineteenth century show, many of the Rajasthani royal rituals were extremely similar to the template of the Southern Navarātra.[33] The most splendid Navarātras seem to have flowered in the ornately ritualized Tantricized environments of Eastern India, among which the kingdom of Mithilā provides us with the most detailed testimonia. These appear to have percolated (in as much as this is reflected through citations) into traditions as far afield as the Deccan. In Mithilā the ten-day structure seems to have matured, and the ferocious identity of the Goddess took a central place in the Tantric rites of Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī. This North-Eastern tradition developed into the Eastern or Gauḍīya tradition—a trend evidenced by a fifteenth-century Bengali work, the *Durgāpūjātattva* by Raghunandana, which incorporates rituals of a Bengali character, such as summoning goddesses and worshipping them in nine leaves from crops. A separate, even more markedly Tantric tradition, with elements borrowed from the Kubjikā cult, developed later in the Navarātra or Dasain of Nepal, but for the time being this will remain excluded from the discussion. In the South, rituals of a Tantric character were largely eschewed. The Navarātra was choreographed around the public display of the king, his court, his weapons and war-animals and magnificent parades, while the worship of the Goddess, and indeed the summoning of the Goddess into the king, occurred privately. During these days the king would worship nine virgins considered vessels of nine forms of the Goddess (different from the Navadurgās of Mithilā and Nepal) for powers such as mastery over enemies, knowledge, riches

32 The rituals of Navamī appear in the *Śivadharma*, and in a parallel in an early Śaiva scripture, the *Niḥśvāsamukhatattva*; these are treated in greater detail in Sarkar 2017, 72–76.

33 Report of Alexander Forbes, in Kinsley 1988, 106–107.

and an abundance of slaves and slave-girls, as described in ritual instructions in Sanskrit. The most resplendent examples of this version of the rite took place, it seems, in the Vijayanagara empire.

In this way what we find are many rituals of a large-scale, communal, public character clustering and growing according to differing political environments (as the Navarātra was chiefly promoted by the court) around the figure of Durgā. This process allowed a more sophisticated ritual interaction to develop between political agents (chiefly the ruler, then the army and the polis) and the Goddess (and her forms), who in the course of the Navarātra's transformations cements her role as the deity who grants the goals of kingship (military victory; territorial protection) and protects communal areas such as fortresses, citadels and palaces. However, in spite of its proliferation one element remained the cornerstone of the rite: blood sacrifice. A key aspect of the nature of the ritual as a pact between the Goddess and solicitor of rewards, this remained constant throughout the development of the Navarātra and indeed even today is seen to be critical to its success. It is possible that before its appearance in Vaiṣṇava sources, the worship of Nidrā-Kālarātri in the monsoon was a widespread popular festival of heroism based on blood-sacrifice, including ecstatic communal bacchanalia, that could have formed part of a marauder's cult, as in the worship of the stag-riding goddess Koṛṛavai. It was gradually absorbed into the influential sectarian traditions when goddess-cults came to be elevated during the Gupta period, as inscriptions from Valkhā, Madhya Pradesh, in the late Gupta period attest.[34]

Recently, the historian Kunal Chakrabarti (2001) has suggested that the origins of the Navarātra lie in indigenous practice, and that its late emergence in Sanskritic literature is the culmination of a long process whereby the Goddess was gradually brought into the Sanskritic sphere. The Goddess, Chakrabarti argues, is a strategic means whereby peripheral and popular deities and traditions can be absorbed into the mainstream. Her festival was the time of the year when these popular traditions could be made public and shown to cohere around her.

Indeed this was the case, and such is also made evident in the description in the *Cīlapattikāram*. The festival of the Goddess, unlike its Vedic autumnal ancestor, integrated rites of different affiliations. Apart from the Tantric, other rites, performed by indigenous groups, would regularly be incorporated into the ritual sequence. In the *Cīlapattikāram* we are shown that, while the main

34 For a further discussion of this, see Chapter 1 of *Heroic Śāktism* (Sarkar 2017).

community profiting from the worship are the Eyinār hunters, a representative of another group, the Maravars, plays a critical ritual role as the oracle. Certain social groups, for example, were authorized to carry through the animal sacrifice. In this sense the Navarātra united disparities within the social canvas in which it was embedded. The obligatory performance of rites that would involve everyone regardless of their caste represents a social inversion that the Navarātra set into motion during the classical period. It was at this time that the strict hierarchies enforced by the orthodox social order were overturned, albeit for a limited period, as the single day Śābarotsava attests. This leads us to question the long-held assumption that the Navarātra is a Purāṇic festival. Indeed, although in outward character it was, since it was taught in texts that were Purāṇic, and since it was further elaborated on by Sanskrit writers working to strengthen the Brahmanic order, it nevertheless was elusive in essence. I would argue that this lack of affiliation was one of the chief reasons why it grew into the most important ritual of political and communal affirmation. That it was one of the few rituals of elevated, that is to say Sanskritic status, that solidified the status and place of outcaste groups, and publicly displayed subversive rites that would otherwise have been deemed suspicious by *brāhmaṇa*s, such as the caste-dissolving, orgiastic *śābarotsava* (The Festival of Śabara-tribes) on Daśamī taught in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and Dharmaśāstric literature, served to identify it as a ritualized act of cohesion.[35] The Goddess herself was a metaphor of this cohesion, worshipped by both outcastes and people within the caste hierarchy. Indeed, literature, particularly classical *kāvya*, shows that her role as an outcaste deity preceded that of the Goddess of special importance to a *kṣatriya*. The importance for *kṣatriya*s is emphasized in the *Devīmāhātmya*, from perhaps the late-eighth century CE. Though images of the Goddess in the presence of warriors offering their blood to her appear from as early as the seventh century, it is in this work that we are first presented with what became a canonized narrative of the Goddess blessing a *kṣatriya* king and a *vaiśya* merchant, thereby being firmly associated with the power-model of the caste system. On the other hand, that the Goddess's worship was meant for all *varṇa*s and also heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*s), Tantric physicians (*gāruḍik*as) and Buddhists, is still registered by the slightly later *Devīpurāṇa*, in which an ecumenical devotee-base, including even women, is envisaged in such verses as

35 Spring rites to Kāma were other orgiastic public celebrations of this kind discussed in brahminical prescriptive literature, but unlike the Navarātra, which survived, they continued in adapted form within Śaiva rituals as the festival of the *damana* plant (*damanotsava*): see Goodall *forthcoming* for this argument.

Devīpurāṇa 91.1[36] and 35.17 cd[37] (on the right of women to worship and the inherence of the Goddess in girls), 22.24 ab[38] (on the worship of the Goddess by all *varṇa*s including *śūdra*s) and 88.1–3[39] (on the Goddess's worship by heretics, Tantric physicians, Buddhists and those engaged in other faiths). After the fourteenth century, and the rise of the Rajput lineages in Rajasthan, she became, nonetheless, even more strictly connected with a specifically *kṣatriya*-ethos despite being, in practice, a non-sectarian deity in the earlier classical period.[40]

One manner in which the Navarātra negotiated the boundary between different religious affiliations is through allowing optionality: nearly all manuals

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36 *Devīpurāṇa* 91.1: *brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vaiśyaḥ śūdro vā yadi vā striyaḥ | pūjayen mātaro bhaktyā sa sarvāṃl labhatepsitān* || (*labhatepsitān* should be understood as *labhate+īpsitān*; the Sanskrit of this work is idiosyncratic).

37 *Devīpurāṇa* 35.17cd: *kanyā devyā svayaṃ proktā kanyārūpā tu śūlinī* |.

38 *Devīpurāṇa* 22.24: *sarveṣu sarvavarṇeṣu tava bhaktyā prakīrtitā | kṛtvāpnoti yaśo rājyaṃ putrāyurdhanasampadaḥ* || (*-sampadaḥ* is the reading of Sharma's edition, adopted by the suggestion of S. Hatley; the Bengali edition reads *-sampannaḥ. Bhaktyā* is used as nominative singular for *bhakti*).

39 *Devīpurāṇa* 88.1–3:

vedaiś śivāgamais tv etāḥ pūjitāś ca mumukṣubhiḥ |
gāruḍe bhūtatantre ca bālatantre ca pūjitāḥ |
sādhyante sarvakāryāṇi cintāmaṇisamāḥ śivāḥ ||
pāṣaṇḍibhir bhaviṣyais tu bauddhagāruḍavādibhiḥ |
svadharmaniratair vatsa svena nyāyena pūjitāḥ ||
yena yena hi bhāvena pūjayanti manīṣiṇaḥ |
tena tena phalaṃ dadyuḥ dvijānām antyajām api ||

Quoted from unpublished draft critical edition prepared by S. Hatley. This passage concerns worship of the Seven Mothers, who are included in the worship of Durgā, even during the Navarātra, as her attendants. A translation, citing the working draft of Hatley (*forthcoming*), is as follows: "People desiring liberation worship the Mothers by way of the Vedas and the Śaiva Tantric revelation. They are also worshipped in accordance with the *Gāruḍatantra*s, *Bhūtatantra*s, and *Bālatantra*s. Beneficent, they bring all endeavors to fruition, and are like wish-fulfilling jewels. Heretics of the future—[viz.] the Buddhist proponents of Gāruḍa Tantra—will worship them according to their own methods, devoted to their own ways, dear child. They give rewards that accord with any disposition wise people worship them with, whether they be Brahmins or even lowborn outcastes." I am grateful to Dr. Hatley for sharing his draft translation and edition with me and indicating the need to include mention of the *Devīpurāṇa*.

40 For a discussion of the iconography, *kāvya* and narratives in Cālukya-era inscriptions portraying the goddess favouring a ruler, see the Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 3 and Chapter 6 of my book *Heroic Shāktism* (Sarkar 2017). One of the arguments therein is that prior to the *Devīmāhātmya*, the worship of the goddess seems to have been non-sectarian and open to all rulers regardless of their caste. It is from the fourteenth century that we find restrictions concerning who could worship the goddess and in what way in Dharmaśāstric literature such as the *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, also treated in my book.

include options allowing the substitution of animals with vegetables, and if one was averse to cutting a human head, about which the Eastern manuals are quite direct, one could just as well manage with a pumpkin. The template was fluid and could be adapted to differing tastes and needs.

Conclusion

To sum up, I wish to take a step back and reflect on the ritual as a political moment—which is what the Navarātra encapsulates in all its regional forms. The political ritual concentrates divine power in the king and simultaneously disperses it within the body politic, thereby integrating all its aspects within one divine body. Cycles of nature were renewed thereby, but so also were political cycles, such as the military year. Forces of nature and the divine that were held to be whimsical were placated, and crises—ill omens, disasters, and calamities—that could potentially damage entire kingdoms were averted. All this was effected within the controlled environment of the ceremony. The charismatic heart of this ceremony was the Goddess herself: elusive because she integrated the essences of other goddesses, and yet powerfully coherent. Her coherence came from a representation of death, and the ceremony became an enactment of her triumph over death. The buffalo, a *vāhana* of Yama, was a symbol of death. Durgā's slaying the buffalo symbolized both her mastery over and her association with death and danger. In this respect, the character of the Goddess that came alive during the Navarātra was that of a capricious and fierce deity. If we study the most archaic layer of the buffalo-sacrifice, and the words used in the hymns accompanying the offering of the animal's blood, we find an old conception of the Goddess to emerge. She is thought to stand at the centre of an essentially cruel natural universe that could only be coaxed into a truce through placatory worship, and through the establishment of a pact between man and deity. That pact, if regularly and respectfully maintained during the Navarātra, generated the goodwill of divine power.

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PART 4

Mantra, Ritual, and Yoga

∴

CHAPTER 14

Śārikā's Mantra

Jürgen Hanneder

The goddess Śārikā belongs to a group of Kashmirian lineage deities (*kuladevī* or *vaṃśadevī*) who, like Bālā, Rājñī, and Jvālā, are identified with particular locations.[1] Śārikā resides on the Pradyumna peak in Śrīnagar, also known as the "Śārikā peak," and is worshipped there in the form of a large stone around which a temple has been constructed. If one wishes to identify the cult practiced there and locate it within the religious landscape of the valley, a visitor might start with the modern inscription shown in figure 14.1, which reads as follows:

bindutrikoṇavasukoṇadaśārayugma-
manvaśranāgadalasaṃyutaṣoḍaśāram |
vṛttatrayaṃ ca dharaṇīsadanatrayaṃ ca
śrīcakrarājam uditaṃ paradevatāyāḥ ||

This verse describes the *śrīcakra*, the yantra of the "supreme deity" (*paradevatā*) commonly known as Tripurā, by merely listing in the first three pādas the geometrical elements of the yantra, for instance *bindu* ("dot") and *trikoṇa* ("triangle"). It is quoted often, with variations,[2] and attributed to several scriptural sources in Tantric literature.

What we are to understand here, one must suppose, is that in modern times Śārikā was understood or presented as a form of Tripurā, or as belonging to her cultic context.

Unfortunately fieldwork of this kind does not disclose the history of the cult. We know that the first scriptures of the cult of Tripurā were written not before the eleventh century;[3] needless to say, they make no mention of Śārikā. On the other hand, the local Kashmirian cult of Śārikā is at least as old as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (second half of the twelfth century),[4] and it is rather doubtful that the two goddesses' association is this old.

1 See Sanderson 2009, 111.

2 For instance, Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* reads the third pāda as *vṛttatribhūpurayutaṃ paritaś caturdvāḥ* and in the fourth *śrīcakram etad* […].

3 Sanderson 2015, 32.

4 See 12.6.111: *yena pradyumnaśikharaṃ śārikākūṭam ity api* […], and 12.6.116: *tatra snātvā vitastāyām arcayitvā vināyakam saṃpūjya śārikāṃ devīṃ digbandhādipuraḥsaram*.

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FIGURE 14.1 Śārikā stone
PHOTOGRAPH BY WALTER SLAJE

For finding out more about the cult of Śārikā, including her ritual and possibly doctrinal details, we have a single published source, the *Devīrahasya*,[5] which contains passages on the cult of the Kashmirian lineage deities. In particular, the ritual texts appended to the edition of the *Devīrahasya* give the *mantroddhāra, sahasranāma* and other typical elements of the worship of these deities. In this text Śārikā is clearly identified as having the form of a stone (*śilārūpā*)[6] on the Pradyumna hill. Her worship is said to remove the impurity (*mala*) stemming from such capital offences as the murder of a Brahmin or drinking alcohol, or eating what is forbidden.[7] The details of the mantra are given, as are the Ṛṣi, etc., a *dhyānaśloka*, her *yantra*, and how to employ the mantra for the magic acts of immobilizing (*stambhana*) and so forth.[8] This is followed by a *Śārikāpūjāpaddhati* (pp. 412–419).

5 *Devīrahasya*, pp. 407 ff.
6 Op. cit., p. 407.
7 Op. cit., p. 408.
8 Op. cit., pp. 410 ff.

Further sources are difficult to trace or remain unpublished. First is a so-called *Śārikāstrotra* attributed to the *Pradyumnāvatāra*. This text is "a mālāmantra in prose with a dhyānaśloka in the beginning and two verses at the end."[9] Apart from its manuscript in the Bodleian, there are two more in the Lindenmuseum (Stuttgart),[10] and one in Śrīnagar.[11] Judging from the excerpts given in the *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (VOHD) catalogue, there are variations such as insertions of new names and additional phrases that cannot be reduced easily to a single critical text.[12] In any case, for our purposes a transcript of the Śrīnagar manuscript (S) is sufficient:

bījaiḥ saptabhir ujjvalākṛtir asau yā saptasaptidyutiḥ[13]
saptarṣipraṇatāṅghripaṅkaja[14]*yugā yā saptalokārtihā*[15] |
kāśmīrapravareśamadhyanagare pradyumnapīṭhe sthitā
devīsaptakasaṃyutā bhagavatī śrīśārikā pātu naḥ ||

oṃ jaya bhagavatyai vindhyavāsini kailāsavāsini śmaśānavāsini huṅkāriṇi kālāyini kātyāyani himagiritanaye kumāramātaḥ govindabhagini śitikaṇṭha[16] *bharaṇe aṣṭādaśabhuje bhujagavalayamaṇḍite keyūrahārābharaṇe jaya-khaḍgā-triśūla-ḍamaru*[17]*-mudgara-paraśu-caṣaka-kalaśa-śaracāpa-varadābhaya-pāśa-pustaka-kapāla-khaṭvāṅga-gadā-musula-tomaravarahaste kṛpāpare prabhūtavividhāyuddhe kṛpāprāgbhūtavigrahe caṇḍike caṇḍaghaṇṭe kirātaveśe brahmāṇi rudrāṇi nārāyaṇi brahmacāriṇi divyatapovidhāyini vedamātaḥ gāyatri bhāvitri sarasvati sarvādhāre sarveśvari viśvakartā* (*sic*) *samādhiviśrāntimaye cinmaye cintāmaṇisvarūpe kaivalye kaivalyasvarūpe śivasvarūpe śive nirāśraye nirupādhimaye nirāmayapade brahmaviṣṇumaheśvaranimitte*[18] *mohani tosaṇi*

9 Aithal 1999, 35. Aithal gives a Kashmirian edition (*Bhaktivivekasāra*, Śrīnagar/Bombay: 1927), but this work has not made it into a catalogued and accessible library.

10 *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* 2.2.711 and 712.

11 Oriental Research Library, University Campus Hazaratbal, Srinagar, National Mission for Mss. DSO 0000/5517.

12 There are other sources that utilize the same material, but with variations: the *Siddhalakṣmīpūjāpaddhati*—I have merely access to the transcription of ms. "Kashmir Research Center accession no: 2376" by the Muktabodha Institute—has for instance a completely different third pāda of the starting verse. The *Agnikāryapaddhati* also transmits this verse.

13 *saptasapti*] em. The ms. reads *saptasapta* as does the one in the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart.

14 *paṅkaja*] em.; *paṅka* ms.

15 *ārtihā*] S; *āśrayā* VOHD.

16 *śiti*] em.; *śati* ms.

17 *ḍamaru*] em.; *ḍumara* ms.

18 *nimitte*] em.; *nimite* ms.

bhayaṅkaranāśini ditisutapramathani kāle kālakiṅkarabhaṣini kālāgniśikhe kālarātri aje nitye siṃharathe yogarate yogeśvari[19]*nimite* (*?*) *bhaktajanavatsale surapriyakāriṇi durge durjaye hiraṇye śaraṇye kuru me dayāṃ kuru me jayam* |

oṃ pradyumnaśikharāsīnāṃ mātṛcakropaśobhitām |
pīṭheśvarīṃ śilārūpāṃ śārikāṃ praṇamāmy aham ||
amā caiva u kāmā ca cārvāṅgī ṭaṅkadhāriṇī |
tārā ca pārvatī caiva yakiṇī śārikāṣṭamī ||

iti śrīśārikāstotram

From this *stotra* we can gather something about the iconography of the deity, for instance the attributes held in her eighteen arms,[20] her names, the seven goddesses (*amā* etc.) that form her retinue and their symbolism.

The main information on a deity for ritual purposes is of course her mantra. Here one unpublished source[21] gives the mantra in a Vedic style by stating its Ṛṣi, metre, and deity, but augmented with the tantric elements *bīja*, *śakti* and *kīlaka*,[22] and there is of course also a tantric Gāyatrī devoted to Śārikā.[23]

So it seems the cult of Śārikā is fairly old, but it has been influenced by the cult of Tripurā or Śrīvidyā. One such influence must have been the Kashmirian Kauls, a clan that migrated to Kashmir not before the fifteenth century[24] and brought their own cults with them, which were then fused with the local Kashmirian cults.[25] The most important figure in this group, Sāhib Kaul, is credited with three ritual handbooks and furthermore fused Advaita Vedāntic ideas with the Kashmirian *Pratyabhijñā*.[26] Sāhib Kaul has also composed a further text on the deity, a *Śārikāstotra*[27] in eighteen verses which, as he says, gives the derivation of her Mantra.[28]

19 *yogeśvari*] em.; *yogaśvari-* ms.
20 We have to count the bow and arrow as one item held in the same hand.
21 *Agnikāryapaddhati*. Manuscript no. 781, Research Library of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, Shrinagar. Transcription of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute.
22 *asya śrīśārikāmantrasya* | *śrīmahādeva ṛṣiḥ* | *triṣṭupchandaḥ* || *śrīśārikābhagavatī devatā* || *śāṃ bījaṃ* || *āṃ śaktiḥ hrāṃ kīlakam* || *home viniyogaḥ* ||
23 *oṃ hrīṃ śārikāyai vidmahe* | *saptākṣaryai dhīmahi* || *tan naḥ śilā pracodayāt* ||3||
24 Sanderson 2003–2004, 362–366.
25 Sanderson 2009, 124–125.
26 See Hanneder 2001.
27 Not to be confused with the *Śārikāstotra* given above.
28 There are further *stotra*s and other minor works of Sāhib Kaul, an edition of which is under preparation by the present author.

1 Sāhib Kaul's *Śārikāstotra*

vande devīṃ śārikāṃ mokṣadātrīṃ
sarvasthāṃ tāṃ sarvato mohadātrīṃ |
mithyāmṛtyuprāptidurbhītidātrīṃ
sadbhaktyāhaṃ mūrdhni candrāṃśadhātrīm ||1||

Mss.: O_3 (CSS e.264, ff. 529r–531v) L_1 (SOAS 44389, ff.1–5) B_1 (Berlin Hs. or. 12509). **1b** *moha*] $O_3B_1L_1^{pc}$; *mokṣa* L_1^{ac} **1d** *mūrdhni*] O_3 B_1; *mūrti* L_1 **1d** *dhātrīṃ*] L_1B_1; *dātrīṃ* O_3

With true devotion I worship that divine and omnipresent Śārikā, who bears the crescent moon on her head, who grants liberation, destroys delusion everywhere, destroys the bad fear of meeting a wrong death.

Since we have to suppose a Kashmirian pronounciation, which does not properly distinguish aspirated from non-aspirated stops, all four lines are realized as an end rhyme. In this verse the goddess is adored as granting liberation, removing[29] confusion etc. One iconographical detail known from the other sources, that she bears the crescent moon on her head, is alluded to as well.

After the introductory stanza the main topic of the *stotra*, the *mantroddhāra* explicitly mentioned in v. 17, commences:

tāraṃ bījaṃ yo japed amba bhaktyā
saṃsārābdhes tārakaṃ śārike te |
brahmajñānaprauḍhayā prajñayāyaṃ
vācāṃ nāthasyāpi kuryād vihāsam ||2||

2b *ābdhes*] L_1; *ābdhaṃ* O_3

O mother Śārikā, whoever devotedly recites your *tāra*-syllable, which carries one across (*tāraka*) the ocean of transmigration, may, when his wisdom is ripened through the knowledge of the absolute, even put to shame the Lord of the Word (*bṛhaspati*).

"Your *bīja*" means the (first) syllable of the mantra of Śārikā. Sāhib Kaul uses code words for the syllables that make up the mantra, a common practice

29 In verse 1a the root *dāṇ dāne* (*Dhātupāṭha* 1.977) is used, while in 1b and 1c the root is *dāp lavane* (*Dhātupāṭha* 2.50).

which enables a writer to—as it were—speak of a mantra without actually pronouncing it. Thus, to those uninitiated and ignorant of the codes, the true form of the mantra must have, at least in theory, remained unknown.

tāra is a common code word for the syllable *oṃ* and poses no problems. The codes that follow are partly difficult to interpret and will be discussed below.

īśaṃ sābjaṃ vahnisaṃsthaṃ sapadmaṃ
bījaṃ te 'nyad yaḥ smaret taṃ smaranti |
nāke devyo bhūtale nāgakanyā
bhūmau nāryo vihvalā mārabāṇaiḥ ||3||

3c *kanyā*] O_3; *patnyo* L_1B_1

He who remembers your next syllable, which is *īśa* with *abja, vahni*, and *padma*, is remembered by goddesses in heaven, Nāga maidens in the netherworld, and women on earth confused by the arrows of Kāma.

lakṣmībījaṃ durlabhaṃ durjanānāṃ
samyagbhaktyā yo japec chuddhabuddhiḥ |
padmā nityaṃ darśanaṃ vīpsur asya
dvāre tiṣṭhaty ādarāc cañcalāpi ||4||

4d *ādarāc*] L_1 B_1; *ādarā* O_3

One of pure mind who recites with complete devotion the *lakṣmī*-syllable, which is difficult for bad people to obtain, him the goddess of good fortune will always be eager to see, and although unsteady (by nature) she will remain at his doorstep out of devotion.

īśaṃ sābjaṃ vāmakarṇordhvasaṃsthaṃ
bījaṃ te 'nyad yo japet tasya śatruḥ |
sarvair devair apy ajayyaḥ kṣaṇena
dṛṣṭeḥ pātād yāmagehātithiḥ syāt ||5||

5a *karṇordhva*] L_1 B_1; *karṇardhva* O_3 **5d** *dṛṣṭeḥ*] B_1; *dṛṣṭoḥ* O_3L_1 **5d** *ātithiḥ*] L_1B_1; *ātithi* O_3

He who recites your next syllable, which is *īśa* with *abja* and the one above the left ear, his enemy, although invincible even for all the gods, will instantly, in the wink of an eye, become a guest in the house of Death.

īśaṃ bījaṃ vaktravṛttena yuktaṃ
sābjaṃ yo 'nyat saṃsmared vahnisaṃstham |
bhuktir muktiḥ sadvicārasya yuktir
bhaktiś caitaddhastayātā bhavanti ||6||

6b *saṃsmared*] O_3; *saṃjaped* L_1B_1 **6d** *bhaktiścai*] L_1; *bhakticai* O_3

He who remembers your next syllable, which is *īśa* together with *vaktravṛtta* and *vahni*, will have at his disposal "enjoyment"[30] (*bhukti*), liberation, the method of real *vicāra*,[31] and devotion.

sābjaṃ bījaṃ vaktravṛttaṃ japed yaḥ
samyagbhaktyā śuddhahṛc chārike te |
vāṇī nānāsadrasair jṛṃbhitaśrīr
nityaṃ vaktre tiṣṭhati prauḍham asya ||7||

7a *sābjaṃ*] O_3; *īśaṃ* L_1 B_1

He who recites your syllable with pure heart and proper devotion, O Śārikā, which consists of *abja* and *vaktravṛtta*, in his mouth a fully developed[32] voice stays, which has the beauty of unfolding through various good emotions.

sābjaṃ bījaṃ vaktravṛttena yuktaṃ
asthyātmākhyaṃ yo japec chārike te |
jīvanmuktaś ceha bhuktvātibhogāl
līnaḥ paścāt tvatpade syād bhavāni ||8||

8c *bhuktvā*] L_1 O_3; *bhuktā* B_1

He who recites your syllable, consisting of *abja* and *vaktravṛtta*, and called *asthyātmā*, O Śārikā, is liberated in life and, enjoying supreme *bhoga*s,[33] will later dissolve in your state, O Bhavānī.

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30 In context, this may mean the enjoyment of powers (*siddhi*).

31 I understand the term in the sense of *ātmavicāra* as used in the *Mokṣopāya* (5.5.27), a text which Sāhib Kaul occasionally refers to.

32 *prauḍham* is of course an adverb, but to translate "stays ripely" would not really capture the intended sense.

33 This could again denote the *siddhi*s, but in a less technical register the enjoyment of the pleasures of liberation.

etadbījaprāntagāṃ śārikāyā
ityākhyāṃ te saṃjaped yo namontāṃ |
tat te dhāma prāpyate tena śaśvad
gatvā bhūyaḥ śocyate naiva yatra ||9||

9b *ityā*] L_1 O_3 B_1; *yityā* O_3

He who recites after that syllable your name, Śārikā, followed by *namaḥ*, attains forever to that abode where, when reached, one never suffers again.

saṃstaumi tvāṃ tvām imām āśraye 'haṃ
seve devīm eva sarvaikaśaktim |
tvām atyuccair gadgadaṃ saṃbravīmi
sarvāṃ sārvāṃ sarvato bhāvayāmi ||10||

10a *tvāṃ tvām imām*] L_1 B_1; *tvā tvāmim* O_3 **10b** *seve*] L_1 B_1; *seved* O_3 **10c** *tvām atyuccair*] L_1 B_1; *tvāṃ mṛtyuccair* O_3 **10d** *sarvāṃ sārvāṃ*] L_1; *sarvāṃ sarvāṃ* O_3 B_1

I praise you; it is you in whom I take refuge. I serve the Goddess alone, the one power of all (powers). I utter my noisy stammering to you; I contemplate (you) who are everything, suitable for all (*sārva*), and everywhere.

jātaḥ so' sau satkule tasya dhanyā
mātā tasmin saṅgatā āśiṣaś ca |
jñātaṃ sarvaṃ tena śambhupriyāyāḥ
samyakprajñā nirmitā yena bhaktyā ||11||

11a *satkule*] L_1 O_3; *satkulye* B_1 **11d** *prajñā*] O_3; *prajā* L_1 B_1

He is born in a good family, his mother is blessed, and he receives good wishes. He knows everything about [Śārikā,] the beloved of Śiva, who has fathomed true knowledge through devotion.

bhaktiḥ puṣṇāty anvahaṃ māṃ tvadīyā
nityaṃ yadvat pūrṇacandrodayo 'bdhim |
tvadbhakteḥ satsaṃpadā prāptayāhaṃ
jiṣṇor lakṣmīṃ cāpy upekṣe purogām ||12||

12a *puṣṇātya*] L_1 B_1; *puṣṇātyu* O_3 **12b** *candrodayo'bdhiṃ*] L_1 B_1; *candrodayābdhiṃ* O_3

My devotion to you nourishes me every day, as the rise of the full moon always nourishes the ocean. On account of the true affluence of victorious devotion to you I even ignore the excellent Lakṣmī.

etat sarvaṃ tvanmayaṃ devadevi
tvaṃ ciddehā kevalā suprasiddhā |
nāsty ajñānaṃ kvāpi tasmāt kva dṛṣṭo
vandhyāputraś cāpam āropya dhāvan ||13||

13a *etat* L_1 B_1; *et* O_3 **13c** *nāstya* L_1 B_1; *nāsti* O_3 **13d** *cāpam āro* L_1; *apasāro* B_1; *cāpimāro* O_3

The whole world (*etat sarvaṃ*) consists of you, Goddess of Gods! Your body is consciousness, you are alone and perfectly established. Nowhere is there ignorance. Thus, where do we see the son of a barren woman run and raise his bow?

āśāste me devabhāvaṃ na cittaṃ
sūteḥ kāle strīva bhogaṃ kadācit |
tvatsadbhaktyā nṛtyati prāptayālam
gāyañ chrutvā meghanādaṃ śikhīva ||14||

14a *cittaṃ* L_1 B_1; *citta* O_3

My mind does not strive after the divine state, just as a woman giving birth never craves enjoyment. Having gained perfect (*alam*) devotion to you it sings like a peacock who has heard the sound of the rain clouds.

sā kā bhūmir yatra nāsti sthitis te
sā kā vāṇī nocyase vā yayā tvaṃ |
ko 'sau śabdaḥ śrūyase yatra na tvaṃ
ko 'sau bhāvo yatra te bhāsanaṃ no ||15||

15a *bhūmiḥ*] L_1; *bhūmi* O_3 B_1

There is no place where you do not reside; there is no voice in which you are not expressed. There is no word in which you are not heard; there is no thing in which you do not shine.

tvatsadbhaktyarkodayāt saṃpraphullaṃ
hṛtpadmaṃ me 'tyadbhutāt sadraseddham |

nityaṃ yasmin sarvadā kāṅkṣaṇīyā
sarvais tiṣṭhaty ādarān mokṣalakṣmīḥ ||16||

16a *tvatsat*] conj.; *tvatpad* L_1 B_1; unclear in O_3 due to damaged folio

When the marvelous sun of true devotion to you rises, the lotus of my heart is inflamed through true emotion (*rasa*). In it always resides, out of respect, the good fortune of liberation that is coveted by all.

jñānasvāmiprāptasadbuddhisāro
jñātajñeyaḥ sarvataḥ svātmabhāvī |
stotraṃ mantroddhāry adaḥ śārikāyāḥ
sāhibkaulo vaṃśadevyāś cakāra ||17||

17a *sāraḥ*] conj.; *sāra* L_1 O_3 B_1 **17c** *mantroddhāry adaḥ*] L_1 B_1; *mantrodāry adaḥ* O_3 **17d** *devyāś cakāra* O_3B_1] *devāś cakāra* L_1

Having attained the strength of true intelligence through Jñānasvāmin, I know what there is to know and everywhere contemplate my own self. I, Sāhib Kaula, have composed this hymn to the lineage deity Śārikā, which contains the construction of her Mantra.

Sāhib Kaul's *Śārikāstava* deals with some aspects of the worship of this deity; most importantly, as the author states in verse 17, it gives the *mantroddhāra* of the Śārikāmantra. The author's teacher Jñānasvāmin, according to Madhusudan Kaul,[34] was his maternal uncle.

yo vāpy etaṃ kīrtayet stotram āḍhyaṃ
samyagbhaktyā śroṣyati śrāvayed vā |
nirmantro 'pi prāpnuyād devadevi
niḥsandehaṃ mantrajaṃ satphalaṃ saḥ ||18||

18a *vāpyetaṃ*] L_1; *vyāpyetat* O_3B_1 **18a** *kīrtayet*] L_1; *kīrtaye* O_3 **18a** *āḍhyaṃ*] L_1; *mādyaṃ* O_3 **18b** *śroṣyati*] conj.; *śroṣyati* L_1; *śriṣyati* O_3 **18b** *vā*] L_1; *vāvā* O_3

Whoever chants this rich hymn of praise with perfect devotion, hears it or has it recited, even if he be without mantra, he will, O supreme Goddess, without doubt reap the great fruit of this mantra.

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34 See above.

This final stanza explains the idea behind this work. A person who is not initiated into the recitation of the mantra of Śārikā and may not even know how to decode the *mantroddhāra* can still benefit from this type of substitute recitation. In this the work is similar in approach to the *Sūryastutirahasya* of Sāhib Kaul's contemporary Ratnakaṇṭha, where the Vedic Gāyatrī-mantra is hidden within a hymn addressed to the sun as an acrostichon.[35]

The aim in both cases is apparently to enable persons who lack proper *adhikāra*—for Vedic mantras, in the case of Ratnakaṇṭha, or Tantric mantras, in the case of Sāhib Kaul—to gain at least some kind of access to these restricted parts of the religion. This technique of "hiding" the actual form of the mantras in a *stotra* meant for religious recitation is not so much a way to conceal it from the outsider, but a method to enable him or her to use it without breaking religious rules, in other words a method to bypass religious and social restrictions. Theologically the matter is of course complicated, because Ratnakaṇṭha's *stotra* actually contains the sounds that make up the Gāyatrī, so in a sense by reciting the *stotra* one does recite the Gāyatrī. In the case of the *Śārikāstava*, since only code names are given, one does not utter the sounds that make up the mantra of Śārikā.

Despite the fact that the *stotra* contains the *mantroddhāra*, it is quite difficult to decipher the mantra from Sāhib Kaul's *stotra* alone, for the system of codes is not otherwise known. The most obvious place to search for a solution would be the *mantroddhāra* in the *Devīrahasya*, for this text deals in detail with the Kashmirian lineage goddesses, and according to Aithal,[36] the *Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati* of Sāhib Kaul as available in the ms. Chandra Shum Shere c. 264 is roughly identical with the ritual manuals printed in the appendix to the *Devīrahasya*.[37] This is the relevant verse:[38]

tāraṃ parā-mā-taṭa-sindhurārṇāḥ
khaṃ śarma tanmadhyagataṃ ca nāma |
ante 'śmarī pārvati śārikāyās
trayodaśārṇo manur asti gopyaḥ ||

35 See Stanislav Jager in Hanneder, Jager and Sanderson, 2012, 23.

36 Aithal, 1999, 35.

37 Judging from the excerpts a similar ms. is described in *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Part IV. A.VIII Tantra*. See Windisch, 1894, 861–862.

38 *Devīrahasya*, p. 407.

TABLE 14.1 The *bīja*s as defined in the *Śārikāstotra*

Verse	*bīja*	Explanation
2	oṃ	*tāraṃ*
3	hrīṃ	*īśaṃ sābjaṃ vahnisaṃsthaṃ sapadmaṃ*
4	śrīṃ	*lakṣmībijaṃ*
5	hūṃ	*īśaṃ sābjaṃ vāmakarṇordhvasaṃsthaṃ*
6	phrāṃ	*īśaṃ vaktravṛttena yuktaṃ sābjaṃ*
7	āṃ	*sābjaṃ vaktravṛttaṃ*
8	śāṃ	*sābjaṃ vaktravṛttena yuktaṃ asthyātmākhyaṃ*
9		*etadbījaprāntagāṃ śārikāyā ityākhyānte saṃjaped yo namo'ntāṃ*

The code words—*parā* for *hrīṃ*, *aśmarī* for *namaḥ* etc.—are explained in the edition of the *Devīrahasya*.[39] Furthermore, in its second chapter the mantras are given also in plain language (*spaṣṭam*), as is the mantra of Śārikā: *oṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ hūṃ phrāṃ āṃ śāṃ śārikāyai namaḥ*.[40] We might thus conclude that all is well, and that since the wording of the mantra itself is not (and, theologically speaking, should not) be in doubt, we have a good chance to understand Sāhib Kaul's *mantroddhāra*. Since these sets of codes cannot easily be corrupted in the course of transmission, no banal error should have crept in.[41]

However, if we look at the definitions in Sāhib Kaul's *Śārikāstava*, we find that not all can be brought into accord with this form of the mantra. Table 14.1 shows the expected *bīja*s and their definitions in the verses. We may leave out verses 2, 4 and 9, because they do not use complicated codes: *tāra* usually means "*oṃ*," *lakṣmī* stands for "*śrī*," and the conclusion of the mantra (dative of the deity and *namaḥ*) is as expected.

The problem arises when we try to decode the remainder as follows: (1) the element present in all definitions is *abja* and there is only one sound common to all five *bīja*s, that is, *ṃ*. Apart from that nos. 6–8 have only one element in common, so *vaktravṛtta* stands for *ā*. Taking now elements that occur only once, it follows that in 8 *asthy-* must signify *ś*, *vāmakarṇa-* in 5 means *ū*, and *vahni*

39 Op. cit., pp. 19–21.

40 Op. cit., p. 13.

41 There is, of course, the counter-evidence of one manuscript of a *Śārikāstavarāja* (VOHD 2.2.116), which gives the mantra with the misspelling or wrong transcription of *hrūṃ* for *hūṃ*.

as expected stands for *r*. Now only *īśa* remains, which stands for *h* in 3 and 5, but—in view of our mantra—should stand for *ph* in 6.

Let us now look at another source. The mantra is also given in the *Dakṣiṇamūrtyuddhārakośa*, where we find the following definition:[42]

> *tāraṃ māyāṃ śriyaṃ kūrcaṃ sindhuraṃ śūnyam eva ca |*
> *kalyāṇaṃ śārikādevyā bījaṁ saptākṣaraṃ smṛtam ||*

According to the index of code words in the appendix and the "*prakāśam*" version (ibid., 16) this translates into the seven *bīja*s "*oṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ hūṃ hrāṃ āṃ śāṃ*." The manuscripts reported have three other options for *hrāṃ*, one being *phrāṃ*, our reading from the *Devīrahasya*.

Now, in the index of the edition of the *Dakṣiṇamūrtyuddhārakośa* the code word *sindhura* is given as *hrāṃ*, while according to the *bījākṣarapāribhāṣikasūcī* contained in the *Devīrahasya* (p. 21) it means *phrāṃ*. In other words we find two versions of the mantra in the available sources, unless the editors have misread their manuscripts. What we can say is that the evidence from Sāhib Kaul confirms the version of the *Dakṣiṇamūrtyuddhārakośa*.

Abbreviations

conj.	conjecture
em.	emendation
ms(s.)	manuscript(s)
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland

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42 *Dakṣiṇāmūrti's Uddhārakośa*, p. 15. The first line up to *sindhura* is identical with another *mantroddhāra* in *Devīrahasya*, p. 13.

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CHAPTER 15

The *Kāmasiddhistuti* of King Vatsarāja

Diwakar Acharya

This essay concerns a *pūjāstuti*[1] that guides its reciter through the mental or actual worship of the goddess Nityā. The text is composed in the first person but the author does not name himself in the text. The text is named *Vāmakeśvarīstuti* and attributed to Mahārājādhirāja Vidyādharacakravartin Vatsarāja in the colophon of the sole palm-leaf manuscript of the text available to me. However, the last verse of the text calls it *Kāmeśvarīstuti* and describes it using two adjectives, *kāmasiddhi* and *atimaṅgalakāmadhenu*. It is not unnatural, I think, to name this *stuti* using its first adjective.[2]

The manuscript containing this *stuti* text is preserved in the National Archives, Kathmandu. It bears accession number 1–1077 and can be found microfilmed under NGMPP reel number A 39/15. The same manuscript also contains a *paddhati* text called *Aśeṣakulavallarī* that dwells on the worship of the goddess Tripurā, but this text remains incomplete as the folios following the sixteenth are absent. Our text begins on the verso of the first folio and ends in the third line of the recto of the fourth, with a colophon and a decorative symbol. The other text immediately follows in the same hand with a salutation to the goddess Tripurā. The manuscript is written in a variety of North Indian script close to Newari with frequent use of *pṛṣṭhamātrā*s. It is possible that this manuscript was copied by an immigrant or pilgrim in Kathmandu valley. It measures 33 × 4.5 cm and has a binding hole to the left of the centre. It bears foliation in numerals in the left margin and in numbers in the right margin of verso folios. The text in the manuscript is dotted with scribal errors, but no *secunda manus* corrections are seen. On palaeographical grounds I place the manuscript in the late fourteenth century.

This manuscript contains 46 verses of the *stuti* and one more verse (numbered here as 38a) can be retrieved from a citation.[3] A little less than the half of the *stuti* covering the first 21 verses is in Anuṣṭubh metre and the rest in

1 A number of *pūjāstuti*s of the Tripurā traditon can be found in the appendix section of Dwivedi 1985. Aghoraśiva's *Pañcāvaraṇastava*, published from Pondicherry (see Goodall et al. 2005), is a good example of a Siddhānta Śaiva *pūjāstuti*.

2 See footnote 32 for further discussion on the name, extent and circulation of the text.

3 See foonote 32 for details.

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Vasantatilakā. Verses 31 and 32 form a *yugalaka* as the finite verb comes only in the second verse. The author plays now and again with syllabic rhyming (*anuprāsa*), and his language is beautiful, though sometimes elliptical.

The *stuti* opens with a pair of verses invoking Paramaśiva and Nityā Śakti. These verses already tell us of the poet's understanding of the nature of Nityā and inseparability of Paramaśiva and Śakti, a point highlighted in the second half of the text, particularly verses 31–32 and 42. In verse 3 the poet states that he approaches the temple of Mṛḍānī from the west gate (*paścimadvāra*).[4] The next two verses invoke Gaṇeśa and Kṣetreśa. The latter, who has the form of Bhairava, can be identified as Baṭuka. Gaṇeśa and Baṭuka together are identified as the goddess's sons in Śākta systems and serve as her doorkeepers.[5] To our surprise, verse 6 invokes the Vaiṣṇava doorkeepers Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi, who bear the Vaiṣṇava emblems of the conch and lotus on their heads.[6] Verses 7–9 invoke respectively three goddesses: Padmā, a Vaiṣṇava version of Durgā carrying a conch and discus, and Bhāratī. Verses 10 and 11 invoke Manobhava, namely, the Indian love-god Kāmadeva, and describe him as the

4 This should be the intended meaning, because one is supposed to enter a temple from the western or southern gate facing east or north. Therefore, many of the early Śaiva-Śākta temples, even though they face east, have an older western or southern entry. For more discussions, see Goodall et al. 2005, 103–107 and Goodall et al. 2015, 366 (*Niśvāsa, Uttarasūtra* 3:8 and annotation thereon). Another possible interpretation of *paścimadvāra* is "the last door to resort to." Perhaps, the poet is punning.

5 For Gaṇeśa and Baṭuka as the Goddess' sons, See, e.g., Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 1.6b.

6 Śaṃkhanidhi and Padmanidhi have strong associations with the cult of Yakṣas. In the *Meghadūta*, Kālidāsa's Yakṣa tells the cloud-messenger that the marks of conch (*śaṃkha*) and lotus (*padma*) are painted on the sides of the gate of his house in the city of Alakā, as he provides a number of clues for the identification of his house. In the form of emblems as well as human forms, Śaṃkhanidhi and Padmanidhi are depicted in the Ajaṇṭā caves and are associated with Yakṣa deities (cf. Bautze-Picron 2002, 225–231). Besides, the Buddhist *Vasudhārā Dhāraṇī* enjoins worship Śaṅkhanidhāna and Padmanidhāna with the goddess Vasudhārā encircled by a group of eight unspecified Yakṣiṇīs. Some other texts name Śaṃkhanidhi and Padmanidhi as male consorts of Vasudhārā and Vasumatī, respectively. Anyway, these two are adopted by the Vaiṣṇavas as doorkeepers or attendants of Viṣṇu along with the other pairs of Jaya and Vijaya, Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa, Nanda and Sunanda. They also feature in some comparatively late Tantric texts of other traditions, particularly those from the south. They are listed also among the twelve Vaiṣṇava *nidhi*s found in some Puranic and Vaiṣṇava texts. Professor Dominic Goodall kindly informs me (personal communication of November 20, 2019) that what is now called the Kailāsanātha temple in Kancheepuram seems to have Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi framing the doorway. According to him, that temple now has an eastern entrance to the enclosure, but there is an older western entry, now blocked up.

For an example of images of Śaṃkhanidhi and Padmanidhi from Anurādhapur, Sri Lanka, See Paranavitana 1955.

beloved husband of Rati and Prīti.[7] Here we are told that the love-god forms the circular base of the Śrīcakra, the maṇḍala of the goddess Nityā Sundarī. With these verses the text enters the process of installation of various deities in the Śrīcakra. It does not specify where these deities are installed, but from the order of verses we know that we are starting from the periphery and moving towards the centre. Verses 12–14 respectively praise eight *siddhi*s, beginning with Aṇimā (in personified forms), eight mother-goddesses, and the deities of ten gestures of the goddess.[8] Verses 15 and 16 venerate sixteen goddesses of attraction (*ākarṣaṇa*) and eight powers of the bodiless love-god (*anaṅgaśakti*), respectively, all in personified forms.[9] We know from the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* and other Tripurā texts that these are installed on the petals of the sixteen- and eight-petalled lotuses. The next four verses, 17–20, respectively praise the set of fourteen goddesses/powers (*śakti*s) headed by Sarvasaṃkṣobhaṇī,[10] ten Kula

7 For Rati and Prīti as Kāmadeva's wives, see, e.g. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* III.44.33. A Śuṅga period teracotta plaque of Kāmadeva with Rati and Prīti is also preserved in the Mathura Musuem (accession no. 34–2552).

8 It is possible that these three sets of deities are installed on the three lines forming the outermost retinue of the rectangular boundary. The *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, also known as *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, enjoins installing the eight mother-goddesses as well as the eight *siddhis* in the four directions and four sub-directions, and does not instruct one to worship the goddesses of the gestures. Bhāskararāya (p. 99), however, mentions that according to some other system the outermost boundary is made of three lines and these three sets of goddesses are installed there. According to its commentators, the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* teaches that one should build the boundary with only two lines. Although the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* does not assign a place for the gestures (*mudrā*) in the maṇḍala, it does describe them and asks the worshipper to use them during the worship. As found in the third chapter of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, these ten gestures are *trikhaṇḍā, kṣobhiṇī, vidrāviṇī, ākarṣiṇī, āveśakarī, unmādinī, mahāṅkuśā, khecarī, bīja*, and *yoni*.

As listed in many texts, including the *Niśvāsaguhya* (7.204–205), the eight siddhis are *aṇimā, laghimā, mahimā, īśitva, vaśitva, prāpti, prākāmya*, and *yatrakāmāvasāyitā*. The *Vāmakeśvaratantra* (1.153–155) makes them ten by adding two more, *bhukti* and *icchā*, and prescribes worshipping them in ten directions. According to the latter (1.156–157), the eight mother-goddesses are Brahmāṇī, Māheśī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahālakṣmī.

9 These are not individually named in this text, but, as listed in the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, the first set is made of Kāmākarṣiṇī, Budhyākarṣiṇī, Ahaṃkārākarṣiṇī, Śabdākarṣiṇī, Sparśākarṣiṇī, Rūpākarṣiṇī, Rasākarṣiṇī, Gandhākarṣiṇī, Cittākarṣiṇī, Dhairyākarṣiṇī, Smṛtyākarṣiṇī, Nāmākarṣiṇī, Bījākarṣiṇī, Ātmākarṣiṇī, Amṛtākarṣiṇī, and Śarīrākarṣiṇī (cf. 1.158–161), and the second set is made of Anaṅgakusumā, Anaṅgamekhalā, Anaṅgamadanā, Madanāturā, Anaṅgarekhā, Anaṅgaveginī, Anaṅgāṅkuśā, and Anaṅgamālinī (cf. 1.163–164).

10 We know only the name of the first from this text but the rest can be known from the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* (1.165–168). They are: Sarvavidrāviṇī, Sarvākarṣiṇī, Sarvāhlādinī, Sarvasaṃmohinī, Sarvastambhanī, Sarvajambhanī, Sarvatovaśinī, Sarvarañjanī, Sarvon-

goddesses (*kuleśvarī*) headed by Sarvasiddhipradā,[11] ten goddesses headed by Sarvajñā,[12] and eight goddesses of speech, headed by Vaśinī.[13] They are stationed in the four consecutive retinues of fourteen, ten, another ten, and eight triangles. All deities in a group (see verses 12–20) are visualised in the same way; for example, all mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*) have the same appearance.[14] Verse 21 invokes and asks the deities of four weapons of the goddess for their permission. It is known from other sources that they are placed around the central triangle (cf., e.g., *Vāmakeśvaratantra* 1.179–180). The next three verses, 22–24, praise Kāmeśvarī, Vajreśvarī, and Bhagamālinī, and urge them to fulfill the reciter's desires. Unlike previous ones, these verses also name the three corners of the central triangle as the homes of these goddesses. Verse 25 is in praise of Nityā Sundarī, the goddess in the centre. From here onward, until the second to last verse (45), the poet praises Nityā in various ways. He first invokes the goddess as Nityā (verse 25) and later as Śrīsundarī (verse 30), and describes her as "the felicitous banner of the Love-god." Verses 25–28 describe the beauty of the goddess, and verses 29–45, with the exception of verse 33 (which describes the Śrīcakra made of 43 triangles as her abode), exalt her in various ways, identifying her as the ultimate reality of the external as well as internal worlds. She is described as the primordial light (*ādyamahas*) and *paramārthavidyā*, which can be interpreted as the highest mantra, the mantra leading to the highest, or the ultimate gnosis. The last verse is a fine eulogy of the *stuti* itself, describing its reward and thus encouraging people to recite it.

It has been already pointed out by Sanderson and also Golovkova that the mature cult of Tripurasundarī developed against the backdrop of the *nityā* cult, evidence for which is available in the *Nityākaulatantra* and the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*. In those texts Tripurasundarī is accompa-

mādinī, Sarvārthasādhanī, Sarvasampattipūraṇī, Sarvamantramayī, and Sarvadvandvakṣayaṃkarī.

11 Again, the list can be completed with the help of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, but these goddesses are here simply called *śakti*s. The other nine following Sarvasiddhipradā are: Sarvasampatpradā, Sarvapriyaṃkarī, Sarvamaṅgalakāriṇī, Sarvakāmapradā, Sarvaduḥkhavimocinī, Sarvamṛtyupraśamanī, Sarvavighnanivāriṇī, Sarvāṅgasundarī, and Sarvasaubhāgyadāyinī (cf. 1.169–171).

12 Sarvajñā is followed by Sarvaśakti, Sarvaiśvaryapradāyinī, Sarvajñānamayī, Sarvavyādhivināśinī, Sarvādhārasvarūpā, Sarvapāpaharā, Sarvānandamayī, Sarvarakṣāsvarūpiṇī, and Sarvepsitaphalapradā (cf. *Vāmakeśvaratantra* 1.173–175).

13 The names of these eight can be retrieved from the *mantroddhāra* section of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* (cf. 1.77–80). They are Vaśinī, Kāmeśvarī, Modinī, Vimalā, Aruṇā, Jayinī, Sarveśvarī, and Kaulinī.

14 Neither the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* nor any of the *paddhati*s of that tradition give visualisations of these deities.

nied by a retinue of eleven and nine *nityā*s, respectively, and worshipped with Kāmadeva.[15] Our text identifies Kāmadeva as the husband of Rati and Prīti, places him on the base of the Śrīcakra (cf. verses 10–11), and installs Nityā Sundarī at the altar of worship in the centre of the maṇḍala without a consort, independent and supreme. However, in verses 31–32 she is described as *devamahiṣī*, although it is said that their body is one and undifferentiated. In verse 2 the poet names the goddess Nityā and invokes her as the Śakti of Paramaśiva possessing all powers and carrying out the five tasks (*pañcakṛtya*) for him. In verse 34 the poet invokes her as Maheśvarī but states that some royal people in this world call her Lakṣmī and Parā Prakṛti. In verse 40 she is described as Atibhavā, highlighting her transcendent nature, and in verse 42 she is invoked again as Gaurī. It is thus clear that the poet of our text is a Śaiva devotee of goddess Nityā. It is important to note that in the system known to our poet there is only one Nityā, simply called Sundarī, and that the Śrīcakra is also already known. Our poet appears unaware of the sixteen *nityā*s, who are worshipped in the tradition of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*. It thus appears that the tradition this *stuti* text represents is different from both the cult of *nityā*s and that of Tripurā.

The inclusion of Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi (verse 6), Padmā (verse 7), and the Vaiṣṇava Durgā (verse 8) suggests that the goddess Nityā is somehow linked to the Vaiṣṇava tradition as well. In fact, in verse 34 the poet mentions that some people call her Lakṣmī and Parā Prakṛti, but we are not aware of survival of any Vaiṣṇava *paddhati* of Nityā.

Now I come to the issue of the poet's identity. The fact that he is a king and was perhaps somewhat distressed at the time of composition of the *stuti* can be known from the text itself (cf. verse 40). Furthermore, in the colophon the text is attributed to Mahārājādhirāja Vidyādharacakravarti Vatsarāja.[16] Apparently, the first epithet is royal—he is the king of great kings—while the second is mantric: he is sovereign among the *vidyādhara*s, who are supposed to possess esoteric mantric knowledge and due to this have supernatural powers. Vatsarāja is his personal name. The most famous Vatsarāja, the mythical king of Ujjayinī, does not fit the context. Another is King Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty (c. 775–805 CE), the father of Mahārājādhirāja Nāgabhaṭa II (805–833 CE). Vatsarāja is always called *paramamāheśvara*, but in the Pratāpagaḍh Stone Inscription of Mahendrapāla II (dated Year 1003 = 946 CE),

15 cf. Sanderson 2009, 47–49; Golovkova 2012, 816–817.

16 It is interesting to note that a fifteenth-century inscription from Vijayanagara remembers a king called Vatsarāja blessed by Tripurāmbā. As Sinopoli (2010, 22) cites, "'As Vani blesses king Bhoka, Tripuramba king Vatsaraja, and Kali king Vikramarka, so does Pampa now bless Devaraya' (trans. Rajasekhara 1992: 27)."

Nāgabhaṭa II is called *paramabhagavatībhakta*.[17] It may be a coincidence, but the latter's mother is named Sundarī. In any case, this Vatsarāja could be our poet.[18] Our text represents an archaic tradition that does not even know the name Tripurasundarī, and thus this date in the early-ninth century CE fits it well.

1 Text and Translation

[19]*niḥsīmānandayā devyā nityaṃ samarasātmanaḥ* |
paramasya śivasyāhaṃ śraye śrīpādukādvayam ||1||

a. niḥsīmā°] *em.*; niḥśāmā° Ms. **b**. °rasātmanaḥ] *em.*; °rasānmanaḥ Ms.

I resort to the glorious sandals of Paramaśiva (Śiva in the Ultimate state), who is eternally in equilibrial union with the Goddess characterised by boundless bliss (*niḥsīmānanda*).[20]

sarvānugrāhiṇīṃ nityāṃ sarvamaṅgalamātaram |
sarvaśaktiṃ bhaje śaktiṃ pañcakṛtyakarīṃ prabhoḥ ||2||

a. sarvānugrāhiṇīṃ] *em.*; sarvān grāhiṇī Ms. **d**. °karīṃ] *em.*; °karī Ms.

I revere the Nityā Śakti of the Lord, i.e. Paramaśiva. She possesses all powers and carries out the five tasks [for him].[21] She bestows grace upon all, is eternal, and is the motherly origin of all good.

17 cf. Sircar 1983, 251.

18 There is another poet of the same name who flourished in the second half of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth century CE (cf. Dalal 1918, vi–vii), but he is a minister, not a king. He served the Kālañjara King Paramardideva and wrote some dramatic pieces. Six of such pieces have been published in one volume under the title *Rūpakaṣaṭkam* (see Dalal 1918). He does not mention Nityā, Sundarī, or Tripurasundarī in his dramas.

19 The manuscript begins with an invocation, ||*oṃ namo gaṇapataye*||, preceded by a *siddhi* sign. I do not think that this invocation is part of the text.

20 The manuscript reads *niḥśāmānanda-* and I have emended it to *niḥsīmānanda*. I have found this compound used at least in one more text, the *Adhikaraṇasārāvalī* of Vedāntadeśika.

21 The five tasks of Śiva include punishment (*nigraha*) and grace (*anugraha*), besides creation, maintenance, and destruction.

pālitaṃ bahir indrādyaiḥ paramaiśvaryaśobhitam |
prapadye paścimadvāraṃ mṛḍānyā mandiraṃ mahat ||3||

b. paramaiśvarya°[22]] *em.*; parameśvarya° Ms.

I approach the great temple of goddess Mṛḍānī that opens to the west. It is guarded outside by Indra and the other [gods who guard the directions], and shines beautifully with utmost richness.

pāśāṅkuśaphalāmbhojaiḥ pāṇipadmaṃ tu maṇḍitam |
bālaṃ vighnacchidaṃ vande gajavaktraṃ gaṇeśvaram ||4||

a. °phalāṃbhojaiḥ] *conj.*; °phalāṃbhoja Ms. **b**. pāṇipadmaṃ tu maṇḍitam] *conj.*; pāṇipādan tu nanditam Ms. **c**. bālaṃ] *conj.*; bāraṃ Ms.

I venerate the young elephant-faced master of Śiva's gaṇas, the destroyer of obstacles. His lotus-hands[23] are decorated with a noose, goad, fruit, and lotus.

kapālaśūlau bibhrāṇaṃ kṛpāluṃ kṛṣṇavigraham |
trīkṣaṇaṃ tīkṣṇam arcāmi kṣetreśaṃ kṣatavidviṣam ||5||

a. °śūlau bibhrāṇaṃ] *em.*; °śūlo bibhrāṇa Ms. **b**. kṛpāluṃ] *em.*; kṛpālu Ms. **b**. kṣetreśaṃ kṣata°] *em.*; hyetreśaṃ hyata° Ms.

I worship the three-eyed sharp-natured Kṣetreśa. His body is black, he has destroyed his adversaries, he carries a skull-bowl and a spear, [but] he is compassionate.[24]

varābhayadharau dhīrau viśvasaṃkalpakalpakau |
śaṅkhapadmāsanagatau śaṃkhapadmanidhī śraye ||6||

I resort to Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi, who who sit upon a conch and lotus [respectively] as their seats. They are patient, bear the gestures of generosity and protection in their hands, and bring about everyone's dreams.

22 *pāramaiśvarya*° is equally possible.

23 Finding the manuscript reading *pāṇipādan tu nanditam* problematic, I have conjectured *pāṇipadmaṃ tu maṇḍitam*.

24 This description reveals that Kṣetreśa has the form of Bhairava. I assume that he is Baṭuka-bhairava on the basis of his Bhairava-like appearance and companionship with Gaṇeśa.

padmadvayavarābhītibhāsvatpāṇicatuṣṭayam |
padmavallīṃ bhaje padmāṃ padmākṣīṃ padmavāsinīm ||7||

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c. °vallīṃ bhaje padmāṃ] *em.*; °vallī bhaje padmā Ms. **d**. padmākṣīṃ[25]] *em.*; padmāhyā Ms.

I honour Padmā, [beautiful and tender like] a lotus plant. Her eyes are lotus-like and she dwells in a bed of lotuses. Her four arms look splendid with two lotuses [in two hands] and the gestures of grace and safety [in two others].

śaṅkhacakrāṅkitakarā kumārī kuṭilālakā |
mṛgendravāhanā devī durgā durgāṇi hantu me ||8||

---

b. kuṭilā°] *em.*; kuḍhilā° Ms.

May the virgin goddess Durgā annihilate my hardships (*durgāṇi*), I pray. Her hands are marked by the conch and discus. She has curly locks and rides [a lion,] the king of wild animals.

akṣasrakpustakadharā pūrṇacandrāmaladyutiḥ |
viśvavidyāmayī devī bhāratī bhāsatāṃ mayi ||9||

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a. akṣa°] *em.*; ahya° Ms. **d**. bhāratī] *em.*; bhāratā Ms.

May goddess Bhāratī shine upon me, I pray. She carries a rosary and a book in her hands, she has the stainless complexion of the full moon, and she embodies the entirety of knowledge.

palāśapaṭalacchāyaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ ratipriyam |
puṣpeṣucāpaṃ puṣpeṣumantaṃ vande manobhavam ||10||
prapadye prītidayitaṃ pūrṇendum iva veṣṭitam |
āśrayaṃ śakticakrasya śrīcakrāñcitaye śriye ||11||

10c. puṣpeṣu°] *conj.*; puṇḍeṣu° Ms. • °mantaṃ] *em.*; °mattaṃ Ms. **11b**. pūrṇendum iva veṣṭitam] *em.*; pūṇṇendur i veṣṭitam Ms.

25 *padmākṣāṃ* is possible, but as I have observed confusion between the *mātrā*s of *ā* and *ī* in this manuscript, I opt for *padmākṣīṃ*.

I venerate the beloved husband of Rati, the beautiful Mind-born [God Kāmadeva]. He carries a bow and arrows of flowers and his complexion resembles the petals of Dhak. [Again,] I approach the beloved husband of Prīti, bent round (*veṣṭitam*) like the full moon,[26] [serving as] the base for the ring of goddesses, in order to draw the Śrīcakra for the sake of prosperity.

cintāratnobhayakarāś candrottaṃsās trilocanāḥ |
aṇimādimahāsiddhīr aruṇāḥ siddhaye śraye ||12||

a. °karāś] *em.*; °karā Ms. **c.** aṇimā°] *em.*; animā° Ms.

I take refuge with the goddesses of becoming minute (*aṇimā*) and other great accomplishments (*mahāsiddhi*s) for the sake of success. They hold wish-fulfilling jewels in both hands. They are moon-crested, three-eyed, and red in complexion.

vaṃśīdalaśyāmalāṅgīḥ kapālotpaladhāriṇīḥ |
brahmāṇyādīr bhaje mātṝr bandhūkarucirāmbarāḥ ||13||

c. °ṇyādīr bhaje mātṝr] *em.*; °ṇyādir bhaje māntar Ms.

I revere Brahmāṇī and the other mother-goddesses. They carry a skull-bowl and red lily in their hands, their bodies are dark-colored like the leaves of bamboo, and they are clad in lovely [red] clothes resembling *bandhūka* flowers.

dāntāḥ pāśāṅkuśadharāḥ svasvamudrāvaśoditāḥ |
anugṛhṇantu me 'bhīṣṭaṃ mudrādaśakadevatāḥ ||14||

a. dāntāḥ] *em.*; dantāḥ Ms. **b.** °vaśoditāḥ] *em.*; °vadhoditaḥ Ms. **c.** °gṛhṇantu] *em.*; °gṛhṇaṃnta Ms.

May the deities of the ten gestures (*mudrā*s), who [have forms that] are in accordance with the powers of their respective gestures, are mild, and carry a snare and goad, endow me with the object of my desire.

26 It appears that Kāmadeva is bent round in the shape of the moon inside the sixteen-petalled and eight-petalled lotuses, and forms the base for the Śrīcakra in the form of nested triangles.

raktāḥ pāśāṅkuśadharāḥ kalā nityāḥ kalānidheḥ |
ākarṣantu mamābhīṣṭaṃ ṣoḍaśākṛṣṭiśaktayaḥ ||15||

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b. °nidheḥ] *em.*; °nidhiḥ Ms. **c**. ākarṣantu] *em.*; ākarṣanta Ms.

May the sixteen goddesses of attraction, [representing] the perennial constitutive digits (*kalā nityāḥ*) of Kalānidhi [i.e. the Moon], draw towards me the object of my desire.

aruṇāḥ karuṇāvṛttīr devyāś chāyā ivoditāḥ |
anaṅgaśaktīr aṣṭau tāḥ pūjayāmi sudurjayāḥ ||16||

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a. aruṇāḥ] *em.*; aruṇā Ms. **ab**. °vṛttīr devyāś chāyā] *em.*; °vṛtti ddaivyā cchāyā Ms. **c**. aṣṭau tāḥ] *em.*; aṣṭaustā Ms.

I worship those compassionately-disposed goddesses of red-complexion, the eight powers of the bodiless [love-god Kāmadeva], who have arisen like shadows of the goddess [Nityā Sundarī] and are very difficult to conquer.

sarvasaṃkṣobhaṇīpūrvāḥ śoṇabāṇadhanurdharāḥ |
caturdaśa bhaje śaktīś caturdaśajagannutāḥ ||17||

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a. sarvasaṃ°] *em.*; sarvasa Ms. **b**. śoṇa°] *em.*; śoṇo° Ms. • °rdharāḥ] *em.*; °dharāḥ Ms. **c**. caturdaśa] *em.*; vantadaśa Ms. • śaktīś°] *em.*; śakti Ms. **d**. jagannutāḥ] *em.*; jagantutāḥ Ms.

I venerate those fourteen goddesses, with Sarvasaṃkṣobhaṇī at the fore, to whom [all] fourteen worlds bow. They carry a bow and arrows made of sugarcane.

śubhā varābhayabhṛto vande viśvakuleśvarīḥ |
sarvasiddhipradādyās tā bahirdaśakadevatāḥ ||18 ||

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a. śubhā] *em.*; śucā Ms. • °bhṛto] *em.*; °bhūto Ms. (*unmetrical*) **c**. °pradādyās] *em.*; °pradadyās Ms.

I venerate all [ten] Kuleśvarīs, starting with Sarvasampatpradā, the goddesses of the external ring of ten. They are auspicious and display the gestures of boon-giving and safety.

akṣasrakpustakadharāḥ karpūrarucirākṛtīḥ |
antardaśakadevīs tāḥ sarvajñādyāḥ samāśraye ||19||

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b. karpūra°] *em*.; kappūra° Ms. **c**. antardaśaka°] *em*.; antarddhaśaka° Ms.

I resort to Sarvajñā and other goddesses situated in the internal ring of ten. They carry a rosary and a book [in their hands], and their appearance is charming like camphor.

cāpeṣupustakākṣasrakcārupāṇicatuṣṭayāḥ |
raktā vāgīśvarīr vande vaśinyādyaṣṭadevatāḥ ||20||

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a. °srak°] *em*.; °srakta° Ms. (*unmetrical*) **b**. °catuṣṭayāḥ] *em*.; °cantaṣṭayāḥ Ms. **c**. °vāgīśva°] *em*.; °vāgeśva° Ms.

I worship those eight goddesses of speech, Vaśinī and others, whose complexion is red. They carry in their four lovely hands a bow, arrows, a book, and a rosary.

raktā varābhayabhṛtaḥ svarūpāṅkitamastakāḥ |
catasro me diśantv ājñām iṣvādyāyudhadevatāḥ ||21||

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a. °bhṛtaḥ] *em*.; °bhūtaḥ Ms. (*unmetrical*) **b**. svarūpā°] *em*.; surūpā° Ms. **c**. catasro] *em*.; cartasro Ms. **d**. iṣvādyā°] *em*.; iṣṭādyā° Ms.

May the four deities of the weapons [of the Goddess]—the arrows and others—red in complexion, displaying the gestures of generosity and protection, marked on the head by their own respective weapon-forms, grant me permission [for worship of the Goddess].

pāśāṅkuśāmṛtakapālavarābhayāṅkair
hastaiś caturbhir abhirāmadṛśāruṇāṅgī |
koṇāgragā trinayanā taruṇenducūḍā
kāmeśvarī mama dadātu samastakāmān ||22||

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ab. °yāṅkair hastaiś] *em*.; °yāṅke haste Ms. **b**. °dṛśā°] *conj*.; °bhṛśī° Ms. **d**. kāmeśvarī mama dadātu] *em*.; kāmaśvarī mama dadānta Ms.

May the goddess Kāmeśvarī, who dwells at the front angle [of the central triangle], give me all objects of my desire. She is three-eyed, her eyes are beautiful and her limbs are ruddy. She has the crescent moon on her crest.

She looks beautiful with her four hands marked with a snare together with a goad, a plate with the nectar of immortality, the gesture of boon-giving, and the gesture of safety.

bālaprabālarucirā karaṣaṭkasakta-
cāpeṣupāśaśṛṇipālakamātuluṅgā |
vajreśvarī prathitadakṣiṇakoṇavāsā
vajrojjvalā vidiśatāṃ mama vāñchitāni ||23||

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a. °sakta°] *conj.*; °saddhi° Ms. **b.** °mātuluṅgā] *em.*; °māntaluṅgā Ms. **d.** dadātu] *em.*; dadānta Ms.

May the goddess Vajreśvarī give me all objects of my desire. She is known to have her abode at the right corner [of the central triangle]. She is resplendent like a thunderbolt, beautiful like fresh coral, and has a bow, arrows, a snare, a hook, a shield, and a *mātuluṅga* fruit attached to her six arms.

tryakṣā śaśāṅkarucirā śritavāmakoṇā
pāśāṅkuśekṣuguṇapustakaśastrahastā |
udbhāvayatv aniśam adbhutabhūriśaktir
bhāgyaśriyaṃ bhagavatī bhagamālinī me ||24||

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a. °vāmakoṇā] *em.*; °vāmako Ms. (*unmetrical*) **c.** °adbhutabhūriśaktir] *em.*; °adbhṛta-bhūriśakti Ms. **c.** bhagavatī] *em.*; bhagavatā Ms.

May the three-eyed goddess Bhagamālinī give the glory of good fortune. She possesses abundant miraculous power and is as lovely as the moon. She is stationed in the left corner [of the central triangle] and holds in the row of her arms a snare, a goad, a sugarcane, ropes, a book, and a sword.

sūryenduvahnimayabhāsurapīṭharohāṃ
svacchāṃ gṛhītaśṛṇipāśaśareṣucāpām |
bālendumaulim alakāgralalāmanetrāṃ
nityāṃ namāmi satataṃ mahanīyamūrtim ||25||

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a. °rohāṃ] *em.*; °rohaṃ Ms. **b.** svacchāṃ] *em.*; svacchā Ms. °cāpām] *em.*; °cāpaṃ Ms. **cd.** satataṃ mahanīya°] *conj.*; mahanīya° Ms. (*unmetrical*)

I uninterruptedly bow to Nityā who has a form worthy of worship. She has ascended the shining throne made of the sun, moon, and fire. She holds

in her hands a hook, a snare, arrows, and a bow, and carries the crescent moon on her crest. She is pure and clean, and her eyes, adorned with the tips of the locks of hair, are very beautiful.

sindūrasundaratanuṃ tanumadhyabhāgāṃ
kāntyāśrayāṃ kalabhavatkucakumbhanamrām |
candrānanāṃ calakuraṅganibhāyatākṣāṃ
mandasmitāṃ madanamaṅgalavaijayantīm ||26||

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a. °tanuṃ] *em.*; °tanu Ms. **b.** kāntyāśrayāṃ kalabhavatkuca°] *conj.*; kāntiśrayaḥ kulabhavatkaca° Ms. **d.** °vaijayantīm] *em.*; °vejayantīṃ Ms.

Her body is beautiful and bears the hue of vermillion. Its middle part is slim, [and] she is the repository of beauty. She is slightly bent like a young elephant because of her pitcher-like breasts, resembling the temples of a young elephant. Her eyes are moving and wide like those of a deer. She is moon-faced, her smiles are gentle, and she serves as the felicitous banner of the Love-god.

koṭīriṇīṃ kaṭakakuṇḍalahāravallī-
kāñcīkalāpamaṇinūpuramaṇḍitāṅgīm |
bandhūkabandhuvasanāṃ bahalānurāgāṃ
kāśmīracandanasamullasitāṅgarāgām ||27||

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a. °riṇīṃ kaṭaka°] *conj.*; °riṇī kaṭa° Ms. (*unmetrical*) • °vallī°] *conj.*; °vallīṃ Ms. **b.** °kalāpa°] *em.*; °kālāpa° Ms. **c.** °nurāgāṃ] *em.*; °nurāgā Ms.

She has braided hair. Her limbs are adorned with bracelets, earrings, necklaces, twining laces, girdles, jewels, and anklets. Her clothes resemble Bandhūka flowers. She is full of affection, and the hue of her body is brightened up with saffron and sandal paste.

muktāvitānamahite maṇiviṣṭarāgre
paryaṅkaparṣarucire surasopaviṣṭām |
paryaṅkapaṅkajamukhīṃ dhutacāmarālāṃ
hāse vilaṅghitalasadvadanāravindīm ||28||

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b. paryaṅkaparṣa°] *em.*; paryaṅkaparya° Ms. • suraso] *em.*; suvaso ° Ms. **c.** °mukhīṃ dhutacāmarālīṃ] *em.*; °mukhī dhutacāmarālā Ms. **d.** hāse] *em.*; hasi Ms. (*unmetrical*)

She is elegantly seated on a lofty couch studded with jewels, furnished with seats (*paryaṅka*) and pillows (*parṣa*), and decorated with a canopy of pearls. Her face is a fully developed lotus. She has a row of chowries being shaken around her, and her beaming lotus-face surpasses beautiful lotuses.

ārādhanamravibudhendrabudheśavṛnda-
sīmantaratnarucirañjitapādapīṭhām |
loladviśālanayanāṃ calakelikḷpta-
svārājyavaiśravaṇatādivarapradānām ||29||

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a. °budheśavṛnda°] *em.*; °buddhasamuda° Ms. (*unmetrical*) **d.** °kḷpta°] *em.*; °klupta° Ms. • °vaiśravaṇa°] *em.*; °vaiśramaṇa° Ms. • °pradānām] MS^{pc}, °pradānaṃ MS^{ac}

Her foot-rest is illuminated by the rays of jewels on the forehead of the king of gods and other gods as they bow in devotion [to her feet]. She has roving, wide eyes, and she bestows as boons the sovereignty [of Indra] and status [equal to] Vaiśravaṇa, lord of riches, and still more, which she creates in fleeting acts of amusement.

ānandasāndraparamodyamadīpyamāna-
svacchandasaṃsphuradamandataraprakāśām |
devīṃ dayārdrahṛdayāṃ hṛdayaṃ rahasyaṃ
śrīsundarīṃ śivakarīṃ śaraṇaṃ śrayāmi ||30||

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a. °paramodyama°] *em.*; °paramedyama° Ms. **b.** °saṃsphura°] *em.*; °sasphura° Ms. **c.** devīṃ] *em.*; devī Ms. • hṛdayaṃ rahasyaṃ] *em.*; hṛdaya rahasya Ms.

I seek refuge with the glorious goddess Sundarī, the benefactress of prosperity, the secret heart, whose heart is soaked with compassion. She is blazing with an utmost tenacity steeped in joy, and consequently beaming with plenteous light that shimmers spontaneously.

tvāṃ devi devamahiṣīm avibhāgabhogāṃ
bhogāpavargaphaladāṃ bhuvaneśi dhārām |
śaivādhibhūmyavadhiṣaḍguṇitātmaṣaṭka-
vaicitryacitraracanodbhavabhāvamārgām ||31||

ādhāravāriruhaṣaṭkavilāsasaumye
sauṣumṇavartmani sudhāṃśurasān śravantīm |

ānanditatribhuvanām aruṇāruṇāṅgīṃ
vande 'ham ādyamahasaṃ manasāpi vācā ||32||

31b. dhārām] *conj.*; dhārāḥ Ms. **31c**. śaivādhibhū°] *conj.*; śivādhibhū° Ms. **31d**. vaicitrya°] *em.*; vecitra° Ms. • °bhāvamārgām] *conj.*; °bhivamārggaḥ Ms. **32b**. sauṣumṇa°] *em.*; sauṣyamna° Ms. **32c**. ānanditatri°] *em.*; ānanditastri° Ms. • °ruṇāṅgīṃ] *em.*; °ruṇāṅgī Ms. **32d**. vande 'ham ādya°] *conj.*; m ādya° Ms. (*unmetrical*) • vācā] *em.*; vāpi Ms.

O goddess, I praise you with mind and speech. Your greatness is primordial. Your limbs are slightly ruddy like the morning sun, and you have made the triple world happy. You are the bride of the god [i.e., Śiva], and possess a body inseparable [from his]. You bestow worldly enjoyment and also liberation from [the world]. You are the stream [of consciousness or immortality] (*dhārā*),[27] O ruler of worlds. Dwelling originally in the abode of Śiva, you multiply yourself sixfold and prepare the path of existence where you nurture wonderful and manifold creation with your own six forms. You shed moonlight on the path of Suṣumṇā that is charming due to the beautiful appearance of the six lotuses serving as [your] bases.

ekaikavaty api navāsi daśāsi devi
bhūyo daśāsi punar eva caturdaśāsi |
itthaṃ trikādhikadaśadvitayadvayāṅke
śaktyarṇave vasasi śarmakarī kavīnām ||33||

---

a. ekaikavaty api] *conj.*; ekekavaty asi Ms. **c**. itthaṃ trikā°] *conj.*; itthan nrikā° Ms. • °dvayāṅke] *em.*; °dvayāke Ms. **d**. śaktya°] *conj.*; śaktyā° Ms. • kavīnāṃ] *em.*; kavānāṃś Ms.

O goddess, though you are one and simple,[28] you are [also] nine,[29] you are ten, you are again ten, and again you are fourteen. Thus you, the benefactor of poets, dwell in the sea of Śaktis marked with forty-three triangles.

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27 These two verses depict the goddess as the stream of consciousness or immortality in the human body, known widely as Kuṇḍalinī, originating from the *brahmarandhra*, the abode of Śiva, flowing through various channels and reaching to the six bases. It is in this light that these verses should be read.

28 I have conjectured *api* in place of *asi* to provide a concessive tone. Perhaps this is not even necessary. In any case, on her own the goddess is singular and unembellished, but the poet appears to imply that all goddesses in different retinues of the Śrīcakra are her projections.

29 The central triangle and the immediately following retinue of eight triangles are obviously counted together as nine.

lakṣmīṃ parāṃ prakṛtim atra jagaty aśeṣam
ekātapatradharacāmaracārucihnām |
mātar maheśvari yaśaskṛtam ādyaśaktiṃ
prāhuḥ parāparadṛśaṃ parameśvari tvām ||34||

---

a. lakṣmīṃ] *em*.; lakṣmīḥ Ms. • °aśeṣam] *conj*.; aśiṣam Ms. **a**. °cihnām] *em*.; °cihnāḥ Ms. **c**. mātar mahe°] *em*.; māta'rmmahe° Ms.

O Mother! Great Goddess! Supreme Goddess! People proclaim you Lakṣmī, Parā Prakṛti,[30] who has chowries as lovely distinctive marks and who bears a sole [royal] parasol covering the entire world. They proclaim you as the conferer of fame, the primordial power, and the supervisor of both higher and lower realms.

śrīs tvaṃ śriyas tvayi giras tvayi gīs tvam ājñā
dhīs tvaṃ dhiyas tvayi puras tvayi pūs tvam ādyā |
śaktiḥ parā tvam asi śaktiguṇās tavaite
kiṃ vistareṇa nanu sarvam idaṃ tvam eva ||35||

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a. ājñā] *em*.; ājnā Ms. **b**. pūs tvam] *conj*.; pus tam Ms. **c**. tavaite] *em*.; tavete Ms.

You are the goddess of prosperity, and prosperities depend on you. You are the goddess of speech, and authority and words depend on you. You are the goddess of wisdom, and wise ideas depend on you. You are the foremost fortress, and towns depend on you. You are the primordial power, and yours are all the properties of power. What is the use of any further explanation: this entire world is nothing but you.

tvām āvadanti munayas tamaso nihantrīm
āhlādinīṃ smṛtimatām amṛtaṃ duhānāṃ |
nityoditām anuditāstamayaprasaṅgām
antaścarīṃ śaśikalām akalaṅkaśaṅkām ||36||

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a. tamaso nihantrīm] *em*.; tamasā nihandrīm Ms. **d**. antaścarīṃ] *conj*.; mantaścarī Ms.

30 A number of older texts, including the *Śāṃkarabhāṣya* (on *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.42), state that the Pāñcarātrikas identify Vāsudeva as Parā Prakṛti, the supreme cause (for a discussion on Vāsudeva as Parā Prakṛti, see Watson, Goodall and Sharma 2013, 30–31, 241–246). However, according to a verse attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa* and cited in the *Bhagavatsandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, Śrī is Parā Prakṛti, the consciousness associated with Viṣṇu (*śrīḥ parā prakṛtiḥ proktā cetanā viṣṇusaṃśrayā |*; *Bhagavatsandarbha*, p. 278). It is possible that our

Sages address you as the destroyer of darkness, the bestower of delight, yielding the immortal nectar to all those who remember you. They address you as the ever-risen one with no possibility of rising and setting, as the underlying digit of the moon[31] never suspected to have a stain.

tvattejasā tapati devi patir dinānām
āpyāyayaty api karair amṛtaṃ himāṃśuḥ |
prāṇās tapanta iha vāyuvaśāc charīre
tvām antareṇa na hi kasya cana pravṛttiḥ ||37||

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a. tvattejasā] *em.*; tvattojasā Ms. • patir di°] *em.*; pati ddi° Ms. **b.** āpyāyayaty] *em.*; āpyāpayaty Ms^{pc}, āpyādapayaty Ms^{ac} (*unmetrical*) **c.** prāṇās tapanta iha] *conj.*; prāṇā tapan nta iti Ms. • charīre] *em.*; charāre Ms. **d.** cana pravṛttiḥ] *em.*; jana pravṛttiḥ Ms.

O Goddess! With your energy the sun burns, the moon expands the immortal essence with his beams, and here in our body the vital functions glimmer under the control of the vital air. For, without you none can function at all.

[*lokāś caturdaśa mahendramukhāś ca devāḥ*
mūrtitrayaṃ munigaṇāś ca vasiṣṭhamukhyāḥ |
sadyo bhavanti na bhavanti samastamūrter
unmīlanena tava devi nimīlanena|| 37a ||][32]

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poet is telling us about two different identifications: Nityā as Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, and Nityā as Parā Prakṛti Vāsudeva, the supreme cause of both sentient and insentient beings.

31 The underlying digit of the moon (*antaścarī śaśikalā*) in all likelihood is the sixteen innermost digit beyond the waning and waxing process.

32 The late Pundit Vraja Vallabha Dwivedi (1985, 45) presents this verse in his preface (originally written in 1968) to the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* as cited in the *Aruṇāmodinī* commentary of the *Saundaryalaharī* and attributed to the *Kāmasiddhistotra* of Vatsarāja (cf. Śāstrī 1957, 221), and suggests that it should be located in the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of the text (the same manuscript I am editing now). However, in 1983 in the *Luptāgamasaṃgraha*, a collection of citations from lost Āgamic texts he prepared, he writes that the verse is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript and so must come from a different text (cf. Dwivedi 1983, 25). I think Dwivedi arrived at this conclusion without reading the implied name of the *stuti*. The author of the *Aruṇāmodinī* writes that it is a verse from the *Kāmasiddhistotra* of Vatsarāja, and the same name is alluded to in the last verse of our text. I conclude that the verse therefore belongs to this text even though it is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript. I assume that it was dropped in the process of transmission. It is thus just possible that there are still a few more verses missing from the latter part of the *stuti*.

The fourteen worlds, all gods headed by Mahendra, the three embodiments [of the ultimate reality], and also the groups of sages headed by Vasiṣṭha, come into existence or cease to exist, O goddess, by the opening and closing of your eyes, because you embody all.

vedā vibhinnagatayo viduṣaḥ svatantrās
tantrāṇi mantranivahā mahitaprabhāvāḥ |
bhāvā vibhaktiviṣayāḥ kavigumphanāś ca
mātaḥ paraṃ pariṇamanti tavāyutāṃśāt ||38||

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b. prabhāvāḥ] *em.*; prabhāvoḥ Ms. **c**. ca] *em.*; va Ms. **d**. °ṇamanti] *em.*; °namanti Ms.

The Vedas, independent scholars of different capabilities, the Tantras, the collection of mantras with celebrated powers, and thoughts and feelings concerning syntax and grammar (*vibhaktiviṣaya*) and poetic compositions, all these, O mother, evolve to excellence from a millionth part of you.

yas te vibhūni paramapravilambitātmā
buddhyā pramitsati pumān puruṣaḥ pramāyāḥ |
saṃspṛśyati[33] *sphuṭam asau bhuvane paṭīyān*
cchāyāṃ svakīyaśirasaḥ svapadakrameṇa ||39||

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b. pramitsati pumān] *em.*; pramicchati pumāna Ms. (*unmetrical*) **b**. svapadakrameṇa] *em.*; svayadakramena Ms.

Any person who is hanging on to the ultimate [reality of yours] (*paramapravilambitātmā*) and wishes to perceive and measure your proportions (*vibhūni*)[34] with his [limited] mind, that man of perception (*pramāyāḥ puruṣaḥ*) smarter [than everyone] in this world evidently touches the shadow of his own head in a series of his own footsteps.[35]

abhyarcya devi bhavatīṃ vibhavāmi bhūmim
āmnāyadarśitapathena yathā-kathañcit |

---

33 Our poet is using the root *spṛś* as if it belongs to the fourth class. We cannot emend it to *saṃspṛśati*, because that would be unmetrical.

34 The word *vibhu* is treated here clearly as a noun.

35 This reminds me of a verse attributed to the now lost *Trikahṛdaya* and cited by Kṣemarāja in his commentaries (e.g., *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 9): *svapadā svaśiraśchāyāṃ yadval laṅghitum īhate | pādoddeśe śiro na syāt tatheyam baindavī kalā* ||.

vācoratair atibhavābhidhakanyakāyā
vāllabhyavartmani janair na vigaṇyate kaḥ ||40||

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c. atibhavābhidha°] *conj*.; adhibhavāvidha° Ms. **d**. °vartmani janair na] *em*.; °vatmani janai nna Ms.

O goddess! Having worshipped you I somehow manage to govern [my] land following the path dictated by the scriptures. [But] who among the people on the path of winning the love of the young lady called Atibhavā—the one who has transcended the world—is not disrepected by those people who are engaged in gossip?

sā tvaṃ samāhitadhiyo hṛdayaṅgamāsi
gāyanti gauri madhurās tava kīrtigāthāḥ |
hālāsugandiharicandanavāṭikāsu
vidyādharā vibudhasindhutaṭasthalīṣu ||41||

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a. sā tvaṃ samāhitadhiyā] *conj*.; sā ddhaṃ samāhitadhiyo Ms.

O goddess! You enter the heart of a man whose mind is composed. Sweet ballads of your renown, O Gaurī, the *vidyādhara*s sing in the groves of Haricandana trees that emit the sweet fragrance of liquor on the banks of the heavenly river.

devi tvadīyamahasā mahitā mahānto
bhālekṣaṇāḥ śaśibhṛto bhujagendrabhūṣāḥ |
siddhāntasiddhiparamārthavidhiprasiddhāḥ
siddhāḥ sudhāṃśuvadane śivatāṃ vrajanti ||42||

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a. tvadīya°] *em*.; tadīya° Ms. • mahānto] *em*.; mahāmbho Ms. **b**. bhāle°] *em*.; bhālo° Ms. • °bhūṣāḥ] *em*.; °bhūṣaḥ Ms. **d**. sudhāṃśuvadane śivatāṃ] *em*.; sudhāśuvadane śivantā Ms. (*unmetrical*)

O goddess, those great people who are honoured with your greatness achieve Śivahood as they attain perfection. They are the people who have attained perfection following the regimen prescribed in the [system of] Siddhānta for the purpose of supernatural powers as well the ultimate goal [of liberation]. O moon-faced [goddess, they] bear [the characteristics of Śiva]: the third-eye on the forehead, the moon on the head, and the ornaments of serpents.

dṛṣṭiprasādalavalābhavatāṃ tavāmba
pādau namaty amararājagaṇo 'pi puṃsām |
prottālamaulimaṇimaṇḍitapādapīṭhāḥ
sarve kim aṅga caturabdhivasundharendrāḥ ||43||

a. °lavalābhavatāṃ] *em.*; °lavālābhavatāṃ Ms. (*unmetrical*) **c.** prottālamauli°] *em.*; prottvālamoli° Ms.

O mother! Even the kings of gods bow to the feet of those men who have acquired a drop of the grace of seeing you. Kings of all the rich lands extending to the four oceans [bow to them] all the more, illuminating their footrests with the studded jewels of their elevated crowns.

tvāṃ kledanīti kulakuṇḍalinīti keti
nityeti nītir iti naur iti nāviketi |
vidyeti saṃvid iti viśvamayīty umeti
kāmeśvarīti kamaleti vadanti santaḥ ||44||

a. tvāṃ] *em.*; tvā Ms. **b.** nītir iti] *conj.*; nityar iti Ms. • naur iti] *conj.*; gaurīti MS^{pc} (*unmetrical*), gaur iti MS^{ac} **d.** vadanti] *em.*; vadānta Ms. • santaḥ] *bottoms damaged*

Mindful men call you Kledanī, Kulakuṇḍalinī, Kā, Nityā, Nīti, Nau,[36] Nāvikā, Vidyā, Saṃvid, Vīśvamayī, Umā, Kāmeśvarī,[37] and Kamalā.

ekām anuttarakalāṃ kulanāthakāntāṃ
bālām atulyamahasaṃ bahumaṅgalāḍhyām |
ānandamūrtim akhilārthavilāsahetum
ādyāṃ smarāmy aviratam paramārthavidyām ||45||

a. °kalāṃ] *em.*; °kalā Ms. **b.** bālām atulya°] *em.*; bālātulya° Ms. (*unmetrical*) • °bahumaṅgalāḍhyām] *conj.*; °bahu[pa]lāḍhyā MS^{pc}, °bahulāḍhyā MS^{ac} (*both unmetrical*) **cd.** °hetum ādyāṃ°] *em.*; °hetuṃm ādyāṃ Ms.

36 The original reading of the manuscript *gaurīti* is unmetrical. The scribe has corrected it to *gaur iti* which is just possible, but I conjecture *naur iti* because of the following word *nāviketi*. Thus, also, the syllabic rhyme of the line is restored.

37 Thus, there are three deities in this tradition who can be called by this name: the chief goddess Nityā, one of the goddesses in the central triangle, and one of the goddesses of speech in the retinue of eight triangles.

I uninterruptedly remember [you], the Vidyā leading to the ultimate well-being, embodiment of bliss, the cause of the extension of all prosperities. [You are] the primordial one, the insurpassable Kalā. You are Bālā, the beloved of Kulanātha (namely, Śiva). [Your] glory is incomparable, and you are filled with many felicities.

yaḥ kāmasiddhim atimaṅgalakāmadhenuṃ
kāmeśvarīstutim imāṃ paṭhati pratītaḥ |
kāntyā śriyā kavitayā guṇasampadā ca
so 'yaṃ svayaṃ vivṛta eva kimu priyābhiḥ ||46||

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a. kāmasiddhim ati°] *em.*; kāmasiddhir iti MS^{pc}, kāmaḥsiddhir iti MS^{ac} (*unmetrical*)

One who recites this eulogy of Kāmeśvarī called *Kāmasiddhi*, which serves as a very auspicious wish-fullfilling cow, placing trust [in her], is specially chosen (*vivṛta*) by [the goddesses of] Beauty, Prosperity, Eloquence, and Treasury of Qualities. So, what would he do with any [other] lovers?

iti śrīmahārājādhirājavidyādharacakravartivatsarājaviracitā śrīvāmakeśvarīstutiḥ samāptā ||⊗||

Here ends the *Vāmakeśvarīstuti* composed by Vatsarāja, the king of great kings, the sovereign among the *vidyādhara*s.

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CHAPTER 16

The Lotus Garland (*padmamālā*) and Cord of Power (*śaktitantu*): The *Brahmayāmala*'s Integration of Inner and Outer Ritual

Shaman Hatley

The significance of the *Brahmayāmala* to the history of Śaivism was first identified by Alexis Sanderson (1988), who was gracious enough to read a section of this voluminous text with me at Oxford, in 2004, at an early stage of my doctoral research. This was a formative professional experience, and I remain touched by his generous hospitality towards me as an unknown visiting student. In the present essay, I revisit a particular thread which emerged from these reading sessions: the *śaktitantu* or *śaktisūtra*, the "thread" (*tantu*) or "cord" (*sūtra*) of divine power (*śakti*). This is a technical term of ritual distinctive to the *Brahmayāmala* to which Professor Sanderson first drew my attention. Inquiry into the Cord of Power leads me to examine the ways in which the *Brahmayāmala* (hereafter *BraYā*) integrates meditational discipline with the somatic performance of ritual, and to query its understanding of the category *yoga*.

In chapter 15 of the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta invokes the authority of the *BraYā* concerning the inseparability of "external" (*bāhya*) and "inner" or "internal" (*adhyātma*) worship. The passage (15.43cd–44) reads as follows in the printed (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies) edition:

> *nādhyātmena vinā bāhyaṃ nādhyātmaṃ bāhyavarjitam* ||43||
> *siddhyej jñānakriyābhyāṃ tad dvitīyaṃ saṃprakāśate* |
> *śrībrahmayāmale deva iti tena nyarūpayat* ||44||

The fourth verse-quarter (44b) is problematic; following the commentator Jayaratha,[1] the passage might be interpreted as meaning,

> "Not without the inner (*adhyātma*) would the outer succeed, nor the inner devoid of the outer. The second [i.e. the inner] manifests through

1 *Tantrālokaviveka* ad 15.43c–44: *tad dvitīyam iti adhyātmalakṣaṇam*, "'the second one' means 'characterized by being inner (*adhyātma*)'."

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> both gnosis and ritual action"—the Lord has explained accordingly in the revered *Brahmayāmala*.

Both the sense and syntax appear doubtful, however. On the grounds of coherence, it seems significantly better in 44b to read *tad dvitayaṃ* ("that pair [of inner and outer]") for *tad dvitīyaṃ* ("the second one"), an emendation suggested by Harunaga Isaacson.[2] In this case the passage might be interpreted as follows:

> "Not without the inner (*adhyātma*) would the outer succeed, nor the inner devoid of the outer. That pair [of inner and outer] manifests through gnosis and ritual action, [respectively]"—the Lord has explained accordingly in the revered *Brahmayāmala*.

Thus it seems that Abhinavagupta places the dichotomy of outer (*bāhya*) and inner (*adhyātma*) worship in correlation with that of *kriyā* and *jñāna*: ritual action and gnosis, respectively. This accords with his remarks prefacing citation of the *BraYā*, which clarify that the performative acts of ritual are valuable only as ancillaries to *śivābhimānatā*, conviction of one's identity with Śiva. This inner conviction alone, a form of knowledge, is the real means of liberation.[3]

One need not follow Abhinavagupta entirely in reading the *BraYā*'s dichotomy between 'inner' and 'outer' processes in terms of gnosis and ritual: his source scripture draws no such distinction overtly. Nonetheless, Abhinavagupta's selection of the *Brahmāyamala* is by no means contrived, for in invoking the text thus he highlights a premise central to its systems of practice: the integration of internal and external ritual processes, which mirror each other closely.

Although many of Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā* may be identified precisely,[4] in this case the passage he had in mind remains uncertain. *BraYā* 87.140 is perhaps the strongest candidate:

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2 Personal communication, 2003.

3 *Tantrāloka* 15.42–43b: *śivābhimānitopāyo bāhyo hetur na mokṣadaḥ | śivo 'yaṃ śiva evāsmīty evam ācāryaśiṣyayoḥ || hetutadvattayā dārḍhyābhimāno mocako hy aṇoḥ |* ("Conviction of one's identity with Śiva is the means; no external cause bestows liberation. 'He is Śiva, and I am nothing but Śiva': [in the rite of initiation,] this firm conviction of the guru and disciple is indeed what liberates a soul, by way of [the guru's conviction] being the cause and [the disciple's] the effect (? *hetutadvattayā*)").

4 See Hatley 2018, Appendix B.

> *ādhyātmañ cintayed bāhyaṃ bāhyam adhyātmikāṃ tathā* |
> *cakre samānabhāvena tato vinyāsam ārabhet* ||140||
>
> One should meditate upon the internal [wheel/*cakra*] as external, and the external likewise as internal. Considering [these] to be identical, one should then commence installation [of the mantra-deities] on the *cakra*.

The degree of correspondence is merely suggestive, and Abhinavagupta might have had in mind other *BraYā* passages. His language is actually somewhat closer to a verse from the *Tantrasadbhāva*, however, another early scripture of the Vidyāpīṭha division of *Bhairavatantra*s. This is highly likely to postdate the *BraYā* and to reflect a degree of historical development vis-à-vis the latter.[5] *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.218 may read as follows:

> *adhyātmaṃ bāhyato dṛṣṭvā bāhyam adhyātmasaṃsthitam* |
> *yo jānāti sa siddhyeta tadbhāvabhāvabhāvitaḥ*[6] ||218||
>
> After viewing the inner (*adhyātma*) externally, one who [also] knows the outer to be located internally will attain success, purified by contemplation of their identity (?).[7]

It is conceivable that Abhinavagupta has conflated these two sources, though he may instead have had in mind a verse of the *Brahmayāmala* not preserved in its oldest manuscript. More probably, he simply paraphrases his source with unusual freedom.

Regardless of which passage Abhinavagupta had in mind, a point of significant interest emerges from considering this question, namely that the *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, and *Brahmayāmala* all appear to mean something different by the distinction between *adhyātma*, "inner/directed towards the self," and *bāhya*, "external." For the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the performative acts and paraphernalia of ritual have superior, inner (*adhyātma*) equivalents: the outer (*bāhya*) finds its true meaning in the inner processes of yoga. Thus, for instance, in the section of *Tantrasadbhāva* 6 quoted above in excerpt, the external rosary made

5 See the discussion in Hatley 2018, 100–104.

6 For the full passage with critical apparatus, see note 8 below.

7 *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.218d—*tadbhāvabhāvabhāvitaḥ* (or *tadbhava*°)—is unmetrical and problematic; I have understood *tad* as *tayoḥ*, referring to the pair of *adhyātma* and *bāhya* (inner and outer).

of conch (*śaṃkha*) has as its inner form the subtle *śaṃkhā* or *śaṃkhiṇī* channel (*nāḍī*) of the yogic anatomy, which extends into the crown of the head.[8] The 'outer' thus finds true purpose in the 'inner' realities of yoga, which supersede the outer entirely. This principle applies to sacred geography as well, for the *Tantrasadbhāva* transposes into the yogic body a series of cremation grounds closely related to those of the *BraYā*.[9] Access to these inner levels of meaning is a form of knowledge: the inner sacred geography is *understood* (*jñātavyaṃ*) by those who *know* the self (*viditātmanāṃ*), while only "one who knows [the identity of inner and outer] attains success" (*yo jānāti sa siddhyeta*). Knowledge (*jñāna*) thus transforms ritual into an inner process through which it

8 *Tantrasadbhāva* 6.217–220b (based on the draft edition of Marc Dyczkowski, which reports the readings of three manuscripts, k, kh, and g):

ete cāṣṭādaśa proktā akṣasūtrā bahisthitāḥ |
adhyātme ca gatās tv ete sāṃprataṃ tān nibodha me ||217||
adhyātmaṃ bāhyato dṛṣṭvā bāhyam adhyātmasaṃsthitam |
yo jānāti sa siddhyeta tadbhāvabhāvabhāvitaḥ ||218||
ekaivādhyātmagaṃ sūtraṃ prāg eva kathitaṃ mayā |
śaṃkhāvartā tu yā nāḍī śikhānte tu vyavasthitā ||219||
tena śaṃkhamayī proktā akṣasūtraṃ varānane |

217b *bahisthitāḥ*] em.; *vahisthitā* k, kh, g **217c** *tv ete*] k, g; *tvate* kh **218a** *adhyātmaṃ*] corr.; *adhyātma* mss. **218b** °*saṃsthitam*] em. (Dcyzkowski); *saṃsthitā* mss. **218d** *tadbhāva*°] k; *tadbhava*° kh, g **219b** *prāg eva*] kh; *prog eva* k, g **219c** *śaṃkhāvartā*] kh; *saṃkhyāvartā* k, g **219d** *śikhānte tu*] k, g; *śikhāntera* kh **220a** *śaṃkhamayī*] k, g; *śaṃkhamayaṃ* kh **220b** *akṣasūtraṃ*] em. (Dyczkowski); *makṣasūtraṃ* mss.

On *śaṃkhāvartā* as a *nāḍī*, see *Amaraughaśāsana* 60, which describes it as "having the measure of a lotus fibre" (*mṛṇālasūtraparimāṇā*). The more commonly attested name is *śaṃkhiṇī*.

9 See especially *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.62–67:

prayāgā nābhisaṃsthā tu varuṇā hṛtpradeśata[*ḥ*] |
kolagiryāṃ tu kaṇṭhasthaṃ bhīmanādaṃ tu tāluke ||65||
bindusthāne jayantyāṃ tu nādākhye tu caritrakam |
ekāmrakaṃ śaktimadhye jñātavyaṃ viditātmanām ||66||
guruvaktragataṃ proktaṃ koṭivarṣaṃ tathāṣṭamam |
ete sthānā mayā proktā adhyātme pudgalāśrayāḥ ||67||

For those who know the Self, Prayāga should be understood as located in the [cakra of the] navel, Varuṇā [i.e. Vārāṇasī] in the heart region, Kolagiri in the throat, Bhīmanāda in the palate, Jayantī in the place of Bindu, Caritra in [the plexus] called Nāda, and Ekāmraka in [the plexus of] Śakti. The eighth, Koṭivarṣa, is likewise said to be in the Mouth of the Guru.

These are the places I have declared to be present in the person internally (*adhyātme*).

This list of eight *pīṭha*s overlaps with the nine *śmaśāna*s or *pīṭha*s of the *BraYā*'s principal maṇḍala (as outlined in chapter 3; see Kiss 2015, 24); however, it corresponds more precisely to the eight delineated in *BraYā* 87 (see Hatley 2018, 134, table 1.16). Cf., also, *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.70: *kulūttamoḍḍiyānaṃ ca eruḍī pulivallabham* | *tāny eva tu samastāni* [em.; *saman tāni* mss.] *svadehe saṃsthitāni tu* ||.

ultimately achieves fruition—an orientation consonant with the Kaula turn towards interiority, which may presage aspects of Abhinavagupta's gnostic nondualism. Yet in contrast to the latter, for the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the inner is nonetheless conceived of in terms of 'doing' (*kṛiyā*) rather than 'knowing' (*jñāna*). The inner and outer, respectively, represent higher and lower arenas of activity, for the mental processes of meditation are also forms of action (*kṛiyā*). Chapter 26 of the *Tantrasadbhāva* colourfully proclaims this principle:

> *kṛiyā tu phaladā*[10] *puṃsāṃ na vijñānaṃ phalapradam*[11] ||19||
> *yathā strībhakṣyabhogajño na sukhī kṛiyayā vinā* |
> *kṛiyā tu dvividhā jñeyā bāhyā adhyātmikā smṛtā*[12] ||20||
> *adhyātmā dhyānayogena bāhyā*[13] *pūjāvratādibhiḥ*[14] |
>
> Doing (*kṛiyā*) is what gives people results; knowledge does not produce results, just as a man knowledgable in the sexual enjoyment of women is not happy without doing it (*kṛiyā*). But doing should be understood as twofold: it is held to be outer and inner. Inner action (*kṛiyā*) is through yogic meditation, while outer action is through worship, ascetic observances, etc. …

Knowledge is here conceptualized neither in processual nor gnostic terms: *jñāna* and *kṛiyā* represent a dichotomy along the lines of "theory" and "practice."

The *BraYā* likewise embraces the twofold division of *kṛiyā* into inner and outer—*adhyātma* and *bāhya*—which refer in its usage to subjective processes performed mentally and to the somatic performance of ritual, respectively. In contrast to the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *BraYā* draws no overt hierarchy between the two. The inner does not represent a higher meaning or reality; the inner and outer rather represent complemetary arenas for the performance of ritual whose integration is essential. The inner and outer find their fullest integration in the performance of *yāga* or *yajana*, "pantheon worship," the paradigmatic mode of ritual whose limitless possibilities for inflection account for much of the *BraYā*'s bulk. Yet the principle of their unity applies widely, extending to all

10 *phaladā*] em.; *phaladāḥ* mss.
11 Cf. Śrīkaṇṭha's *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, 129ab: *kṛiyā hi phaladā puṃsāṃ na jñānaṃ syāt phalapradam*.
12 *smṛtā*] em.; *smṛtāḥ* mss.
13 *bāhyā*] em.; *bāhya* mss.
14 °*vratādibhiḥ*] k, kh; *vratedibhiḥ* g.

of the various practices encompassed by the terms *kṛiyā* and *karman*, including fire ritual (*homa*), rites of installation (*pratiṣṭhā*), initiation (*dīkṣā*), durational observances (*vrata*), rites using deity images (*pratimākarman*) or two-dimensional diagrams (*yantrakarman*), and so forth.[15] This integration of inner and outer practice makes a rigid distinction between "ritual" and "meditation" artificial: in the context of the *BraYā*, ritual—*kṛiyā* or *karman*—encompasses both outer and inner forms of action. These are remarkably parallel in structure and process, and aim at the unification of subjectivity, body, ritual space, paraphernalia, and the hierarchy of ontic principles (*tattva*) which comprise the cosmos (*adhvan*). In this respect, despite its cultic affinity to later Kaula systems, the *BraYā*'s harmonious integration of the inner and outer seems largely congruent with classical Śaivasiddhānta ritualism. Arguably, such integration of inner and outer processes is characteristic of tantric ritual, broadly conceived, as reflected in the ubiquitous dichotomy of *antaryāga* ("inner worship") and *bahiryāga* ("external worship"). What is most distinctive to the *BraYā* is its unique manner of their integration: the "method of the lotus garlands" (*padmamālāvidhi*).

1 Method of the Lotus Garlands (*padmamālāvidhi*)

Patterning the processes of inner and outer ritual is the *BraYā*'s pantheon of mantra-deities, whose core comprises the Four Goddesses (*devī*) or Guhyakās, Four Consorts (*dūtī*s) or Handmaidens (*kiṅkarī*), and their lord, Kapālīśa-bhairava. Secondary members of the pantheon are a sextet of Yoginīs and an octad of Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*). These (see table 16.1) are the mantra-elements manipulated in all practice, both inner and outer, and their permutations are the principal ritual variables. Collectively, the deities comprise the Nine-Syllable Vidyā (*navākṣarā vidyā*), mantra of the supreme goddess, Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, as first identified by Sanderson (1988, 672) in his pioneering remarks on the *BraYā*. In syllabic terms, the *vidyā* is [OṂ] HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ.

15 Cf. *BraYā* 90.101: *anena vidhinā devi japahomādikarmasu* [corr.; *karmaṣu* ms.] | *bāhyādhyātmeva mantrajñaḥ pūjāṃ* [em.; *pūjyāṃ* ms.] *kurvan prasidhyati* ||101|| ("Through this procedure, O goddess, in mantra incantation, fire sacrifice, and other rites, the knower of mantras achieves *siddhi*, practicing both external and internal worship"). In 101c, *bāhyādhyātmeva* should be understood in the sense of *bāhyādhyātmām eva*—nominative for accusative, metri causa.

TABLE 16.1 Deities of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā

Kapālīśabhairava (HŪṂ)	
FOUR DEVĪS	FOUR DŪTĪS
Raktā (CAṂ)	Karālā (LI)
Karālī (ṆE)	Danturā (NI)
Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)	Mahābalā (HĀ)
SIX YOGINĪS	EIGHT MĀTṚS
Kroṣṭukī (OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI NAMAḤ)	Maheśvarī (AṂ)
Vijayā (OṂ … SVĀHĀ)	Brāhmī (E)
Gajakarṇā (OṂ … HŪṂ)	Vaiṣṇavī (Ā)
Mahāmukhī (OṂ … VAUṢAṬ)	Kaumārī (A)
Cakravegā (OṂ … VAṢAṬ)	Vaivasvatī (Ī)
Mahānāsā (OṂ … PHAṬ)	Indrāṇī (I)
	Caṇḍikā (SVĀ)
	Paramā/Aghorī (HĀ)

Virtually all ritual begins with the instruction to enter into a state of meditative concentration, called *nirācāra*, and to take on a body of *śakti*, called the *avadhūtatanu*.[16] Śiva is the *nirācārapada*, "the state beyond regulated conduct," while the Goddess is *avadhūtā*, "the stainless/unblemished one."[17] The *avadhūta*-body, the body of *śakti*, is a body of mantra (*mantravigraha*) engendered by the placement of mantra-syllables in a series of bodily lotuses. The process of taking on the *avadhūta*-body culminates in assumption of one's inner identity as Kapālīśabhairava at the heart of a maṇḍala of goddesses, all of whom collectively comprise the Nine-Syllable Vidyā. Although framed as a

16 Note, for example, *BraYā* 3.187c–189b: *ekākī vijane tasmiṃ dakṣiṇābhimukhasthitaḥ* ||187|| *muktakeśaś ca digvāsaḥ kṛtanyāso vidhānavit | avadhūtanur bhūtvā nirācāras tu sādhakaḥ* ||188|| *prathamaṃ pūjayed devaṃ karṇṇikāyāṃ paraṃ śivaṃ |*. Cf., e.g., 8.3–4b: *tato hy ekamanā bhūtvā avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ | nirācāreṇa bhāvena yadā paśyati sarvvataḥ* ||3|| *tadā karoti karmāṇi vicitrāṇi mahītale |*; cf. also 47.17c–18b: *tataḥ ekāgracittas tu avadhūtatanusthitaḥ* ||17|| *nirācāreṇa bhāvena smared vidyāṃ suyantritaḥ |*.

17 *BraYā* 2.2cd: *avadhūtā tu sā śakti nirācārapadaḥ śivaḥ* (= 62.98ab).

preliminary to ritual action, this process of mantra-installation (*nyāsa*) is in fact the very template of ritual, both inner and outer; it has both elaborate and abbreviated forms, with numerous inflections. I here summarize one of several long descriptions of this process, the *padmamālāvidhi* ("method/procedure of the lotus garlands") of *BraYā*, chapter 4 (vv. 497 ff.):

> First one visualizes the *avadhūtaṃ* (i.e. the *avadhūtā śakti*), whose function in this application is analagous to the *ādhāraśakti* ("basal power") of most Śaiva systems.[18] This begins preparation of the practitioner's body as locus for installation of the deities, from the crest (*śikhā*) of the head to the feet. A series of nine lotuses is visualized situated at points in the body called *granthi*s (knots or joints). These are located at the crown of the head (*śikhā*), the forehead (*lalāṭa*), throat (*kaṇṭha*), navel (*nābhi*), knees (*jānu*), mouth (*vaktra*), heart (*hṛd*), genitals (*guhya*), and feet (*pāda*), following the order of their sequence in *nyāsa*. The eight-petalled lotuses situated therein are loci for installation of the principal nine deities: Kapālīśabhairava, who is installed in the crown lotus, and two sets of four goddesses, the Devīs and the Dūtīs. In each lotus one prepares a mantric seat for the deity, whose complete mantra-forms are then installed, inclusive of their ancillary mantras (*aṅga*).[19] Each of the eight goddesses is installed in a lotus along with the mantra-body of Kapālīśabhairava, who is thus coupled with each goddess.[20] This series of nine forms the *Brahmayāmala*'s principal *padmamālā*, the garland of Devīs and Dūtīs, which is illustrated in figure 16.1. While one might associate bodily lotuses with the body seated in yogic meditation, here a standing position with the legs together is implied, for a single lotus presides over the two knees and likewise feet.
>
> Next is installed a second series of seven lotuses, the garland of Yoginīs (figure 16.2b).[21] In contrast to the first lotus garland, these do not lie in a vertical axis. Three form a kind of girdle: one lotus is placed in the center

18 Concerning the *ādhāraśakti*, see the article on this term in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I.

19 *BraYā* 4.497c–501b: *adhunā* [em.; *adhuna* ms.] *sampravakṣyāmi padmamālāvidhikramaṃ* [em.; °*vidhiḥ kramaṃ* ms.] ||497|| *śikhādipādayor antaṃ* [em.; *antā* ms.] *avadhūtaṃ vicintayet | navagranthivibhāgena tayā* [?] *proktā punaḥ kramāt* ||498|| *navapadmāni saṃcintya aṣṭapatrāṇi sādhakaḥ | yuktāni keśaraiś caiva caturvvinsatibhiḥ kramāt* ||499|| *karṇṇikāyāṃ yutānīha cintanīyāni mantriṇā | śikhāpadmaṃ* [em.; °*padma* ms.] *samārabhya āsanāni prakalpayet* ||500|| *vakṣyamānena nyāyena padme padme na saṃśayaḥ |*.

20 *BraYā* 4.516–517b: *vāmapārśve tatas tasyā kapālīśasya vinyaset | bījamātraṃ mahāprājña vaktranetrāṅgavarjitam* ||516|| *tasyopari nyased devi bhairavaṃ mantravigraham |*.

21 *BraYā* 4.523c–529.

of the waist, on the back (*kaṭiprṣṭhe*), while the other two lie on either side of the waist. The remaining four lotuses are situated on the sides of the knees and feet. Installed upon these lotuses are goddesses known as the Six Yoginīs, led by a male deity, Ādivīra ("Primordial Hero"), positioned in the lotus on the back of the waist (see figure 16.2b).

A third series of lotuses serves as the locus for installation of the Eight Mother-goddesses (*aṣṭa mātaraḥ*), accompanied by the male deity Mātṛvīra (figure 16.2a).[22] In this case as well the lotuses do not form a vertical axis, lying at various positions on the head and torso: the points between the eyebrows (*bhrūmadhya*) and between the eyes, the tip of the nose, and each ear. Next are a point between the throat and heart, another between the heart and navel, and an unspecified place on the back or spine,[23] locus of the goddess Carcikā or Cāmuṇḍā. The eighth *mātṛ*, the supreme *śakti*, Paramā, also called Aghorī or Yogeśī, pervades the entire body, lacking a lotus base and being devoid of ancillary mantras.[24]

In figure 16.2, the second and third lotus garlands are shown together, thus illustrating the empowerment of the upper and lower bodies by mantra.

2 The Cord of Power (*śaktitantu, śaktisūtra*)

What renders the lotuses into garlands (*padmamālā*) is the thread which binds them. The *BraYā* first introduces this idea in presenting the second garland (that of the Yoginīs), describing the lotuses as "bound together by the cord of *śakti*, like gems [strung] by a cord" (*śaktitantunibaddhāni sūtreṇa maṇayo yathā*, 4.526cd). The terms utilized are *śaktitantu* and *śaktisūtra*, meaning, respectively, a thread or a cord of *śakti*. This divine power binding the lotuses together is consubstantial with the supreme Goddess herself, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā whose being encompasses the deities of the maṇḍala.

A concept seemingly unique to the *BraYā*, the *śaktitantu* or *śaktisūtra* receives minimal explication. References to it occur almost entirely in the context of the "method of the lotus garlands" (*padmamālāvidhi*). In what manner the cord connects the lotuses of the three garlands is somewhat ambiguous. For the first garland, whose lotuses form a vertical series, the *śaktitantu* must

22 *BraYā* 4.530–538.

23 *BraYā* 4.532cd: *aṣṭaman tu tathā prṣṭhe kalpayen mantravit kramāt.*

24 *BraYā* 4.538: *sarvvāṅge paramā śakti vaktranetrāṅgavarjitā | padmāsananvihīnā tu vinyasen mantravit kramāt ||.*

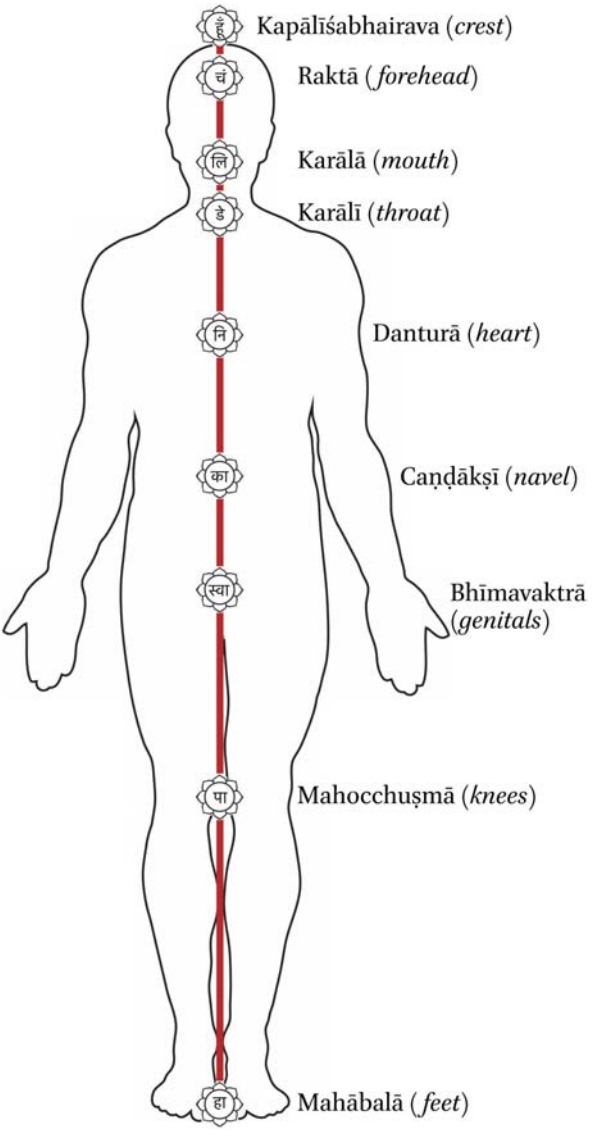

FIGURE 16.1 Garland of the Devīs and Dūtīs (*padmamālā* 1)

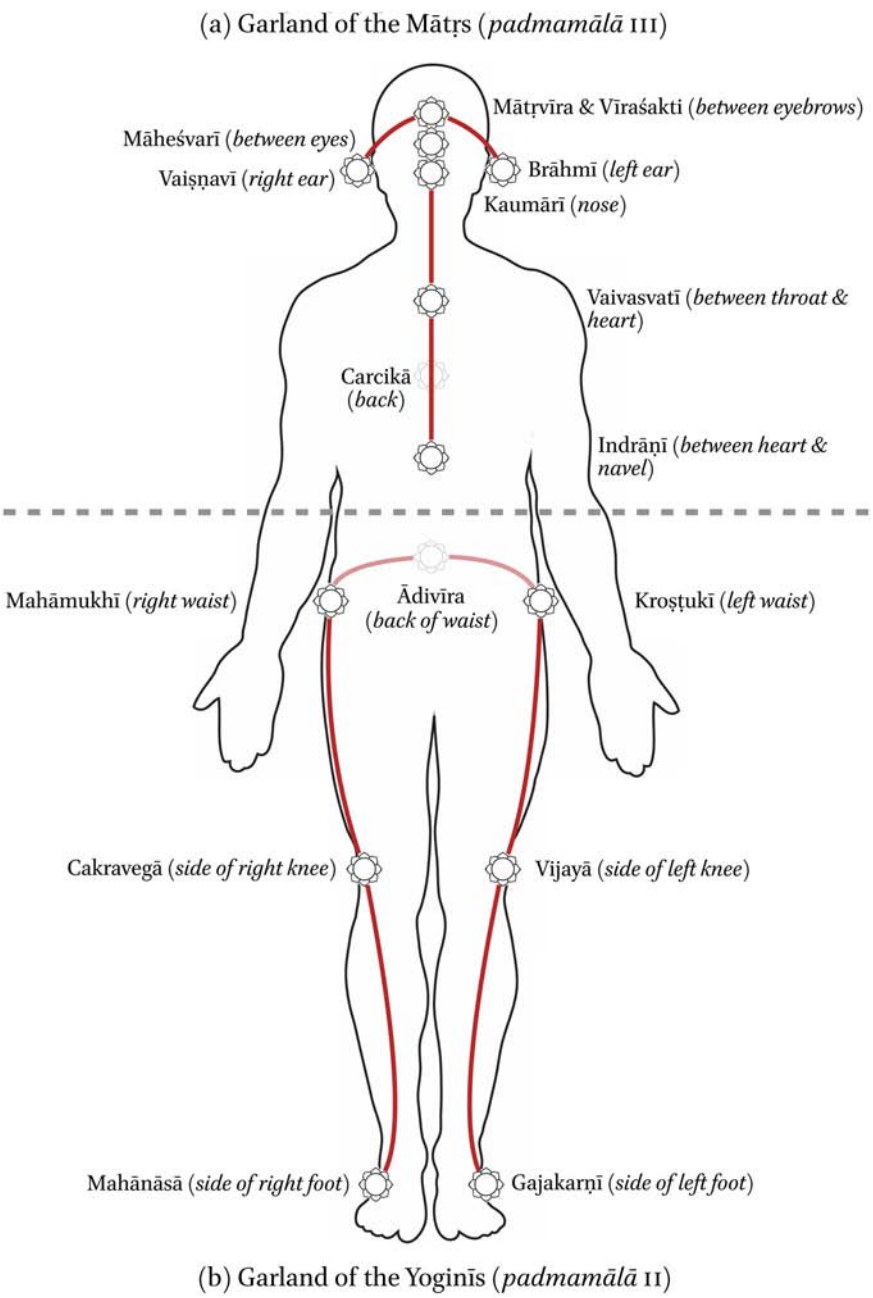

FIGURE 16.2 Garlands of the Mātṛs and Yoginīs (*padmamālā*s II–III)

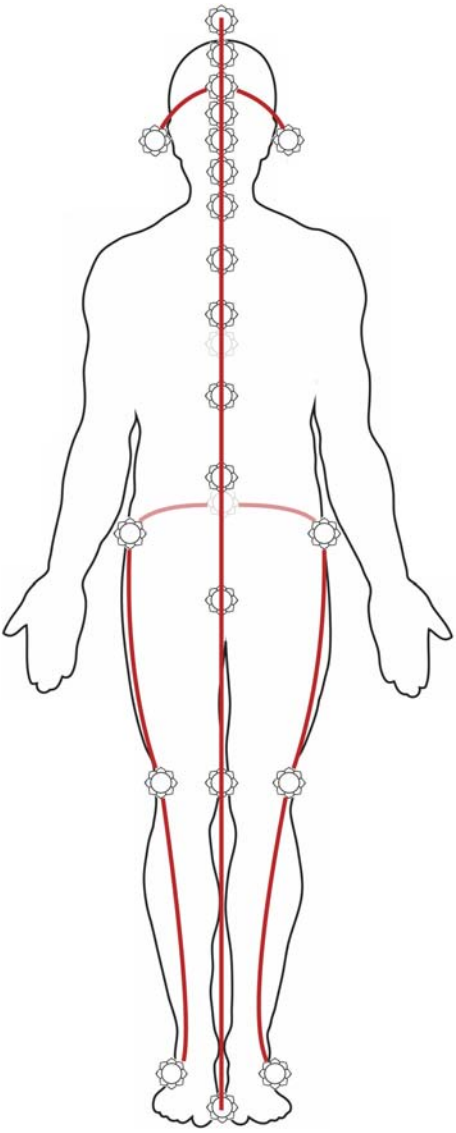

FIGURE 16.3 The pure body of power (*avadhūtatanu*)

string them together vertically from crest to feet (figure 16.1). In the case of the third *padmamālā*, the *śaktisūtra* likely begins from the lotus between the eyebrows (*bhrūmadhya*), the uppermost of this series and locus of the male deity Mātṛvīra, lord of the Mother-goddesses (*mātṛ*). The cord pierces (*bhid-*) and thus strings together eight lotuses (figure 16.2a).[25] Unlike those of the first garland, these do not form a vertical axis in the body, and it is unclear precisely how and in what sequence the *śaktitantu* links them together: does the cord form a garland-like closed circuit, or connect the lotuses like a strand? This *śaktitantu* extends through the body in three dimensions, for the seventh lotus is located on the back, forming the locus of Carcikā, i.e. Cāmuṇḍā.[26] In the case of the second *padmamālā*, that of the *yoginī*s, the manner in which the *śaktitantu* connects the lotuses seems less ambiguous (figure 16.2b). The garland is threaded from a lotus on the back of the waist,[27] extending outwards to lotuses on the sides of the waist, then downwards to lotuses on the sides of the knees and feet. Although this is not explicitly stated, the cord might connect the foot-lotuses together in a garland-like manner, so forming a closed circuit.

The principal series of nine lotuses spans the body's axis from crest (*śikhā*) to feet, linked by the *śaktitantu* and thus forming a vertical strand (figure 16.1). This vertical sequence of bodily lotuses connected by a cord of *śakti* has obvious similarities with models of the yogic body in which *suṣumnā nāḍī*, the central channel, links together an ascending series of cakras or lotuses. This ubiquitous paradigm is exemplified by the system of seven cakras common to Śrīvidyā and Haṭhayoga, identified by Sanderson (1988, 687–688) as being first attested in the *Kubjikāmata*. Like the *śaktitantu*, the *suṣumnā* is closely identified with *śakti*, especially in the form of the bodily *kuṇḍalinī*. The *suṣumnā* of yoga and the *BraYā*'s *śaktitantu* both unite a vertical series of lotuses situated at particular "knots" (*granthi*s) in the body, including such standard locations as the crest, forehead, throat, heart, navel, and genital region. While the *suṣumnā* came to be envisioned as a vertical channel extending upwards from the heart, navel region, or base of the torso,[28] there is an old precedent for the idea that it extends, like the *śaktitantu*, to the feet: the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, a comparatively early *Siddhāntatantra*, envisions the *suṣumnā* running from

25 *BraYā* 4.530: *bhruvo madhye tataḥ padmaṃ śaktiśūtreṇa pūrvvavat | bheditaḥ -m- āditaḥ (?) kṛtvā anyāny api tathaiva hi* ||530||.

26 *BraYā* 4.536cd: *pṛṣṭipadme tu devesi carccikāṃ vinyased budhaḥ.*

27 *BraYā* 4.527c–529: *vīran tu trikapadme tu kaṭipṛṣṭhe tato nyaset* ||527|| *vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyuktaṃ vīraśaktyā samanvitaṃ | bījamātraniviṣṭāyāṃ vāmapārśve tathaiva ca* ||528|| *vāmakaṭyādim ārabhya yoginyo vinyaset tathā | vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyuktāḥ padme padme na saṃśayaḥ* ||529||.

28 See *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III, entries for *piṅgalā*, *nāḍī*, *nābhi*, and *nābhikanda*.

the tips of the big toes to the crown of the head via the navel and heart.[29] This archaic model of a central channel extending to the feet, linking together various *granthi*s, may underlie the *BraYā*'s conception of the *śaktitantu*.

It should perhaps be emphasized that the *BraYā*'s series of lotuses do not in any simple sense represent "structures" of a subtle or "yogic" anatomy. The lotus-seats (*āsana*) of the mantra-deities are created through meditative visualization: one actively engenders a divine body of mantra rather than reifying a subtle reality already latent in the body. More precisely, through the *padmamālāvidhi*, one imaginatively superimposes the mantric body (*mantravigraha*) of Bhairava upon one's own corpus and psyche. That the deity-lotuses do not represent fixed structures of a subtle body is illustrated by variations in their sequence: chapter 21 provides an alternative order of the principal nine deities, placing Bhairava in the heart,[30] while an inflection of the *padmamālāvidhi* in chapter 45 inverts their typical sequence, placing Bhairava in the lotus of the feet.[31] An alternative version of the second garland has the lotuses of the Six Yoginīs encircle the waist like a girdle.[32]

Nonetheless, while the *BraYā* does not treat the lotus garlands as fixtures of a subtle body, it does posit the existence of such structures: the body's channels (*nāḍī*) and vital airs (*vāyu*, *prāṇa*), for instance, and more pertinently, points known as *granthi*s ("knots" or "joints"). A particular series of nine *granthi*s forms the locus for installing the nine lotuses of the primary *padmamālā*. That *granthi*s were considered to be anatomical realities is suggested by their treatment as points in the body rather than as objects to be placed/installed (*nyas*-) in the body or engendered through meditation (*kalp*-, *cint*-, etc.).[33] Integral to the idea of the *padmamālā* is this correlation between a vertical sequence of

29 *Matańgapārameśvara, vidyāpāda* 20.21c–22b: *pādāṅguṣṭhāgrato vyaktā nābhito hṛdayaṃ gatā* || 21|| *suṣumnā nāma sā jñeyā brahmarandhrābjanirgatā* |.

30 *BraYā* 21.125ab: *hṛdaye bhairavo nyasya vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyutaṃ* (understanding *bhairavo* as accusative in sense).

31 In *BraYā* 45.390–397, the sequence of installation (*nyāsa*) for inner worship is from feet (Bhairava) to head (Paramā Śakti). See the notes of Kiss (2015, 281–282).

32 *BraYā* 21.128–129: *nābhyām vai vīra vinyasya tato vāmādi-m-āśṛtāḥ | mekhalākṛtisaṃsthānā katyāṃ vai yoginī nyaset* || 128|| *dakṣiṇāpārśvakaṃ yāvad vāran tu varavarṇini | vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyuktā kartavyā nātra saṃśayaḥ* ||129||.

33 The *granthi*s are referred to solely by their locations in the body. Take for example *BraYā* 4.564c–565, which specifies the "knot of the throat" (*kaṇṭhagranthi*) as locus for the lotus of goddess Karālī: *anenaiva vidhānena karālīṃ* [em.; *karālī* ms.] *vinyaset punaḥ* || *kaṇṭhagranthigate* [em.; °*sate* ms.] *padme nātra kārya vicāraṇāt | nābhipadme* [em.; °*padmes* ms.] *tathaiveha caṇḍākṣīṃ* [em.; °*ākṣī* ms.] *vinyased budhaḥ* ||. (Emendation of *sate* to *gate* is trivial, given the frequent confusion of *śa* and *ga* in the old manuscript, and the interchangability of *śa* and *sa*.)

lotuses and the body's nine knots, which are repeatedly described as dividing the garland.[34] In the case of the two secondary *padmamālā*s, the lotuses' positions in the body do not on the whole correlate with *granthi*s. This supports the idea that the primary *padmamālā* is rooted in a model of the yogic body in which nine *granthi*s are united by a central channel (*nāḍī*), which the *BraYā* reconceives of as the *śaktitantu*. This cord of *śakti*, unique to the *BraYā*, appears to combine what in later traditions would be differentiated as the *suṣumnā nāḍī* and the bodily (as opposed to cosmogonic) *kuṇḍalinī*.[35]

Although archaic tantric conceptions of the yogic body may have inspired the *BraYā*'s lotus garlands and cord of power, the concept primarily describes the practitioner's assumption of a divine body of mantra. This *avadhūtatanu*, "body of pure *śakti*," is formed by lotuses of the three garlands and united by the *śaktitantu*, shown as whole in figure 16.3. This embodies the entire pantheon of deities as well as the hierarchy of ontic levels (*tattvakrama*), from the earth element to *paramaśiva*.[36] The *avadhūtatanu* taken on by the *sādhaka* mirrors, in part, the mantra-body of the deity as Sadāśiva; his divine form is composed of a garland of nine lotuses pierced by the cord of power, further augmented by a triad of cosmological powers—*vāmā*, *raudrī*, and *jeṣṭhā*.[37] To assume the

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34 Note for instance *BraYā* 21.123c–124b: *śaktitantunibaddhān tu padmamālāṃ* [em.; *mālā* ms.] *vicintayet* ||123|| *navagranthivibhāgena tato nyāsaṃ prakalpayet* | ("One should visualize the garland of lotuses as bound by the cord of *śakti*, then one should perform mantra-installation, according to the division of the nine knots [where are positioned the lotuses]").

35 Key to this issue is the question of whether and by what other names the *BraYā* conceives of a central channel (*nāḍī*). While the *BraYā* does attest the common *nāḍī* triad of *iḍā*, *piṅgalā*, and *suṣumnā*, the expression *suṣumnā* (which in most sources refers to the central channel) occurs only once (18.80) in the earlier stratum of the *BraYā*—its first fifty chapters. Its meaning in later chapters, where it does occur several times, is ambiguous. It may not (always) be the middle channel: it is never specifically designated as such, and *BraYā* 85.138cd seemingly refers to an unmamed middle channel between *iḍā* and *suṣumnā* (*iḍā-suṣumnayor madhye muktimārggānusāriṇī*). Concerning the early history of *suṣumnā*, see the preliminary remarks of Goodall et al. (2015, 33–34).

36 Note e.g. *BraYā* 45.104ab: *śaktitantu tato dhyātvā śivādyavanigocare*. Similar expressions abound in the *BraYā*.

37 *BraYā* 32.42–46:

evaṃsvarūpasaṃpannaṃ cintayīta sadāśivam |
evaṃsthito mahādevi ādidevaḥ sadāśivaḥ ||42||
svayaṃsthito sthitiṃ kuryā trailokye tu na saṃśayaḥ |
saṃhāraṃ tu sadā kuryād icchayā caiva saṃharet ||43||
dahyātmanaḥ punas sarvaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
sṛjate tu yadātmānaṃ trailokyaṃ sṛjate sadā ||44||
vāmayā sṛjate sarvaṃ raudryā caiva tu saṃharet |
jeṣṭhayā ca sthitiṃ kuryā tritattvatanusaṃsthitaḥ ||45||

avadhūtatantu is, more specifically, to take on the mantra-body (*mantravigraha*) of Kapālīśabhairava, the deities of whose largely female maṇḍala pervade the lotus garlands. Strung together by the cord of *śakti*, the lotuses of all the goddesses are also simultaneously loci of Bhairava, whose seed-syllable HŪṂ appears in each, paired with the presiding goddess.[38] Thus it is that the *BraYā*'s opening benediction invokes the *bhairavatattva* as sporting in the form of the liṅgam in the lotuses of his consorts.[39]

While the *sādhaka* seeks apotheosis as Bhairava, the divine body he takes on, the *avadhūtatanu*, in fact consists of a feminine power which ultimately transcends the male deity. The "unblemished" or "pure" (*avadhūtā*) *śakti* is present not only as the cord which unites the lotus garlands: in mantric terms, she also pervades the garlands as HĀṂ, the final syllable of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā (with the addition of anusvāra). In this form she is known as Paramā or Yogeśī, the eighth and highest Mother-goddess from whom the others emerge,[40] and as Aghorī or Bhairavī, consort of Bhairava. Her simultaneous pervasion of the body and syllabic presence in each lotus are intimated in *BraYā* 4.595–596b:

> *sarvvāṅge paramā śaktir*[41] *vaktranetrāṅgavarjitā*[42] |
> *padmāsanavihīnā tu vinyaset sādhakottamaḥ* ||595||
> *padmamālaiḥ samāyuktā padme padme vikalpayet* |
>
> The best of *sādhaka*s should install the supreme *sakti* [HĀṂ] on the entire body, without face, eye, or limb mantras, devoid of a lotus seat; one should [also] envision her in each lotus, conjoining/possessing the lotus garlands.

> *navāṃbhojakṛtāṃ mālāṃ śaktisūtreṇa bheditām* |
> *navagranthivibhāgena bibhrāṇo parameṣvaraḥ* ||46||
>
> ---
>
> **43d** *icchayā*] em.; *icchayo* ms. **44a** *sarvaṃ*] em.; *savaṃ* ms. **44c** *sṛjate*] corr.; *śṛjate* ms. **45a** *sṛjate*] corr.; *śṛjate* ms. **45c** *jeṣṭhayā ca sthitiṃ*] em.; *jeṣṭayāvasthitaṃ* ms. **46d** *bibhrāṇo*] em.; *bibhraṇau* ms.

38 E.g. *BraYā* 4.515, concerning the lotus in the forehead of goddess Raktā: *vāmapārśve tatas tasyāḥ kapālīsasya vinyaset* | *bījamātraṃ mahāprājña vaktranetrāṅgavarjjitaṃ* ||.

39 *BraYā* 1.1b: *dūtīnāṃ padmaṣaṇḍe 'samasukhavilasal liṅgarūpaṃ bibharti*; see the discussion in Hatley 2018, 383–385.

40 *BraYā* 2.17–18: *hākāreṇa parā śaktir etā yasyā vinirgatāḥ* | *mātaras te mayā proktā yāge ucchuṣmapūjite* ||17|| *yā sā eva mayā proktā mātṝṇāñ caiva pūraṇī* | *tasyedaṃ kathitaṃ sarvaṃ yaṃ jñātvā nāvasīdati* ||18||.

41 *śaktir*] em.; *śakti* ms.

42 *varjitā*] corr.; *varjitāḥ* ms.

As holds true for the deity maṇḍala in all its forms, the supreme goddess has a transcendent, subtle presence, lacking a singular locus.[43] Thus while Kapālīśabhairava reigns from the uppermost lotus, the formless, all-encompassing reality to which the *sādhaka* aspires is "a feminine power which transcends the male-female dichotomy which patterns the lower revelations" (Sanderson 1988, 672).

3 Yoga and the Integration of Inner and Outer Ritual

The "method of the lotus garlands" (*padmamālāvidhi*) has more and less elaborate forms and numerous inflections. At its simplest, one installs the seed-syllables of the principal deities in nine lotuses.[44] The procedure of the lotus garlands applies not only to the body, but to ritual involving external supports as well. Thus for the worship system (*yāga*) taught in chapter 12, one begins by laying out nine lotuses in a square maṇḍala on a substrate, then visualizing the *śaktitantu* and installing the mantra-deities.[45] After envisioning an elaborate mantric throne for installation of Bhairava in the central lotus, one engages in the somatic performance of worship. Subsequently, the procedure is replicated in full detail inwardly "by the path of yoga" (*yogamārgeṇa*), seated in the lotus posture.[46] 'Outer' ritual thus begins with meditative visualization and is followed by the rite's recapitulation internally.

While the *padmamālāvidhi* represents a basic template for ritual and the empowerment of the body, ritual may be patterned by divergent pantheons, especially the practitioner's personal pantheon (*svayāga*), a configuration of the mantra-deities established through initiation. These personalized inflections of the root pantheon (the *mūlayāga*) are nine in number, based on the predominance of each of the nine major deities in turn.[47] In the obligatory daily worship (*nityakarman*) and much other ritual, inner worship (*hṛdyāga*) of this specific pantheon forms the standard preliminary to *bahirnyāsa*, the act of

43 See the discussion of Kiss (2015, 20–22), a section fittingly titled "Where is Caṇḍā Kāpālinī?"

44 This minimal (*svalpa*) form of *nyāsa* is described in *BraYā* 18.75–79.

45 *BraYā* 12.1–3: *athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi āsanaṃ pūrvvam eva hi | yāgaṃ caiva mahādevi sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai* ||1|| *pūrvvokte maṇḍale caiva gandhamaṇḍalake pi vā | puṣpamaṇḍalake vāpi śaktitantu vicintayet* ||2|| *tasyādho praṇavaṃ dadyā kālāgnin tatra vinyaset | kṣīrodaṃ tan tu vinyasya avadhūtaṃ tato nyaset* ||3||.

46 *BraYā* 12.29 ff.

47 Concerning the nine pantheons (*navayāgāḥ*), see the brief remarks in Kiss 2015, 16–18, and the article *navayāga* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III.

installing the mantra-syllables upon the body or another substratum, whether the fire pit, ritual vessel, or icon.[48] Applications of mantra-deity pantheons not based upon the Nine-Syllable Vidyā also follow this alternating pattern of inner and outer ritual. While worship (*yāga*, *yajana*) provides the essential paradigm for the *BraYā*'s integration of inner and outer ritual, the principle and practice of their integration applies more widely. This is abundantly evident in the domain of "magic," including all manner of rites involving alphabetical wheels (*cakra*), images of the deities (*pratimā*), and two-dimensional figures (*yantra*). These processes may entail, for example, the fusion of the channels of one's own body with the spokes drawn in the lotus of a *cakra*—the term *nāḍī* refers to both—which may then be fused with the channels of the targeted victim (*sādhya*).[49]

Given the integral unity of outer and inner ritual, of somatic acts and subjective processes, the question arises as to whether and in what manner 'yoga' represents, for the *BraYā*, a domain of practice meaningfully distinct from 'ritual' (*kriyā* or *karman*). The evidence is ambiguous, at least for what seems likely to be the core, early stratum of the text (chapters 1–50, more or less).[50] Occurrences of the term *yoga* in the sense of meditational practice—often in the phrase *yogamārgeṇa*, "via the path of/by way of meditation"—generally seem synonymous with inner ritual (*adhyātmakriyā*). Chapter 12, for instance, describes the procedure of the inner *padmamālā* as "installation of the *sakti*" (*śaktinyāsa*) through "visualizing by way of yoga" (*yogamārgeṇa saṃciṃtya*, 12.35cd).[51] On the whole, meditational disciplines are so well integrated into

48 E.g. *BraYā* 4.366c–367b: *yāgasthānaṃ tato gatya hṛdyāgan tu prakalpayet* ||366|| *svayāgotthena mārgeṇa bahi nyāsaṃ tathaiva ca* |. A detailed description of inner worship (*hṛdyāga*) of one's own pantheon (*svayāga*) appears in *BraYā* 38.24c–31, in this case as a preliminary to fire ritual (*agnikārya*).

49 To give an example, I quote from my remarks on *parakāyapraveśa* ("entry into the body of another") in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III: "PBY(H) [*Picumata-Brahmayāmala*] 14.254–263ab describes a practice in which one should fuse (*yojayet*) the *nāḍī*s of the yogic body with those of a *cakra* of the *kulavidyā*-mantra of this system, inscribed on cloth, metal or wood (PBY(H) 14.240). In this case the purpose is the extraction of 'nectars': 'The *sādhaka*, thus exiting the body through the tip of the nose, should enter the body of another and perform the extraction of nectars, after fusing [his with the victim's] *nāḍī*s; about this, there is no need for deliberation' (*evaṃ dehā*[*d*] *viniṣkramya nāsikāgreṇa sādhakaḥ* || *paradeham vi*[*ś*]*et mantrī amṛtākṛṣṭiñ ca kārayet* | *nāḍīsaṃdhānakaṃ kṛtvā nātra kārya vicāraṇāt*, PBY(H) 14.259cd–260)."

50 See Hatley 2018, 64–71, concerning the *BraYā*'s likely stratification.

51 *BraYā* 12.35c–40b: *yogamārggeṇa saṃciṃtya śaktinyāsan tu kārayet* || 35|| *padmāsanopaviṣṭas tu cintayitvā tu sādhakaḥ* | *avadhūtaṃ nyasen mantrī pādayor ubhayor api* ||36|| *pañcātmikā mahādevi guhye caturgguṇan tathā* | *hṛdayaṃ tṛguṇaṃ nyasya lalāṭe dvigu-*

the *BraYā*'s ritual systems that to treat these as a distinct domain of practice—whether or not designated yoga—seems artificial. However, three brief chapters of the core text do focus on meditational practices which, exceptionally, seem virtually independent from somatic acts and external supports.[52] Moreover, a passage in chapter 25 specifies that a *sādhaka* who aspires for liberation (the *mumukṣu*), rather than supernatural experiences and powers (*bhoga*), should devote himself to a simplified pantheon worship (*yāga*), giving up all other rituals (*karman*) and "abiding by the path of yoga." While not abandoned, outer ritual here assumes a simplified form, the emphasis shifting decidedly toward inner practice.[53] Thus the degree to which meditational disciplines feature primarily as integral elements of ritual may simply reflect the *BraYā*'s emphasis on supernatural attainment (*siddhi*): the path of yoga, ultimately, is for seekers of liberation.

The *Brahmayāmala* likely has two or more distinct textual strata,[54] and yoga proves to be an area in which stark contrasts emerge between these: later chapters of the text introduce yogic practices and emphases seemingly unanticipated in the core fifty-odd chapters. These include systems of meditation focused on a series of inner voids and resonances,[55] a yoga system based on internalization of visionary encounters with the goddesses (*yoginīmelaka*),[56] yogic practices for cheating death (a system which, in contrast

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ṇaṃ nyaset|| 37|| *ekātmikā tathā caiva śikhāyāṃ sādhakottamaḥ* | *sakṛt sakṛt tathā caiva vaktrasthāneṣu vinyaset* ||38|| *netrasthāneṣu vai dadyād aṅgasthāneṣu caiva hi* | *śaktitantu tato dhyātvā nmastakāt pādayo ntikā* ||39|| *bahirbhūtaṃ śarīrasthaṃ padmamālān tu cintayet* |.

52 These are chapters 36 (*nāḍīsañcārapaṭala*), 41 (*bindupaṭala*), and 44 (*krīḍākarmapaṭala*). The latter, for instance, describes meditation upon the self in the lotus of the heart; merging with bindu, one gains the ability to traverse the universe in various forms. *BraYā* 44.2–3, 8: *hṛddeśe kamalaṃ dhyātvā vyomapaṅkajasaṃyutaṃ* | *bindumadhye nyase 'tmānaṃ* [em.; *nyasen mānaṃ* ms.] *viśvadeham ayaṃ śubhaṃ* ||2|| *śaktibhiḥ kiraṇopetaṃ tārāṣṭakavibhūṣitaṃ* | *taṃ dhyāyet paramaṃ rūpaṃ bindulīnaṃ śivātmakaṃ* ||3|| ... *antarīkṣe tathā bhūmau pātāleṣu ca dehiṣu* | *anya-m-anyeṣu rūpeṣu vicaren nātra saṃśayaḥ* ||8||. For another example of the separation of meditation and ritual, *BraYā* 24.16c–17b speaks of meditative absorption (*samādhi*) as an activity one may engage in during interludes between the daily rites: *japayukto kṣapen mantrī prāta*[*r*]*madhyāhṇikottaraṃ* ||16|| *śāstrasaṅgena vā saṃstho atha vā samādhiṣu sthitaḥ* [em.; *sthitau* ms.] |.

53 *BraYā* 25.341c–342: *kevalasya mahādevi śivasya paramātmanaḥ* || 341|| *bhairavākhyasya saṃprokto yāgo 'yaṃ muktilakṣaṇaṃ* | *etad yāgatrayaṃ proktaṃ mumukṣo sādhakasya tu* | *nānyaḥ karmanivṛttasya yogamārgasthitasya tu* ||342||. (Perhaps read *anyakarmanivṛttasya*, "desisting from other rituals"?)

54 As argued in Hatley 2018, 64–71.

55 Chapters 92 and 99, respectively.

56 Chapter 100.

to the core chapters, attests the bodily *kuṇḍalinī*),[57] and a kind of "yoga of absorption" (*layayoga*) based on the *granthi*s of the principal *padmamālā*.[58] While not embeded within critiques of outer ritual, these diverse yogas of the text's later stratum tend to eschew external supports and somatic, performative acts. Far from being disciplines limited to the liberation seeker, these yogas offer the possibility of accomplishing the *sādhaka*'s aims through inner acts alone, potentially superceding outer ritual. This is particularly evident in chapter 100, which teaches a "rite for mastery of the clans of goddesses through yoga" (*yogena kulasādhanam*). Attainment of direct, power-bestowing encounters (*melaka*) with the goddesses is one of the *BraYā*'s dominant ritual aims, as illustrated by the "rite for the mastery of *vetāla*s" (*vetālasādhana*, ch. 15), "rite of the great churning" (*mahāmanthāna*, ch. 46), "pavilion of power" (*siddhimaṇḍapikā*, ch. 47), and "worship in the pit [of power]" ([*siddhi*]*garttāyāga*, ch. 48). These virtuoso and macabre performances may culminate with the goddesses manifesting bodily before the *sādhaka* and granting boons. Belying this pattern, the yoga of chapter 100 offers the possibility of accomplishing mastery over the clans of goddesses through a process of inner realization alone.[59] Similarly, the yoga of *BraYā* 99 (called *vijñānapañcaka*, "the five knowledges") promises the ability to enter the bodies of others without recourse to external supports (*cakra* or *yantra*), through manipulation of a series of inner resonances (*rāva*).[60] Incorporation of such meditational disciplines into the text's latter strata marks a trend towards increasing differentiation between meditation and 'ritual'—between *yoga* and *kriyā*—and the subversion of outer forms of ritual. The possibility of attaining all ritual aims through yoga alone brings the vulgate *BraYā* closer to the *Tantrasadbhāva*'s hierarchical dichotomy of the inner and outer, whereby the externalities of ritual are subsumed by inner realities. It is thus possible in this literature to trace early steps in the direction of Abhinavagupta's gnostic nondualism, which further overlays the dichotomy of *jñāna* and *kriyā* upon that of inner and outer ritual.

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57 Chapter 104.

58 Chapter 53 (cf. 99.19–35).

59 *BraYā*100.2–3b, 25–26: *kulānāṃ sādhanaṃ nātha kathitan tu purā yathā | tat tathā viditaṃ sarvaṃ kulasiddhipradāyakam* ||2|| *sāmprataṃ sarahasyan tu yogena kulasādhanam | … mātṛyoginikāyāni śākinīnāṅ kulāni tu | sidhyanti sādhakendrasya yogenānena suvrate* ||25|| *yena* [conj.; – *na* ms.] *sarvagato bhūtvā yoginīsiddhim āpnuyāt | kathayanti ca sadbhāvaṃ kulajaṃ jñānam uttamam* ||26||.

60 *BraYā* 99.30cd: *kṛtābhyāsas tu vai mantrī dehād deham vrajet kṣaṇāt* ||.

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I would like to thank Alberta Ferrario, Dominic Goodall, Csaba Kiss, James Mallinson, and Alexis Sanderson for their stimulating comments on this essay. I would also like to thank Tadeusz Majewski for producing the line drawings which I have used for figures 16.1–3.

Abbreviations

BraYā	*Brahmayāmala*
conj.	conjecture
corr.	correction
em.	emendation
ms(s).	manuscript(s)

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CHAPTER 17

The *Amṛtasiddhi*: *Haṭhayoga*'s Tantric Buddhist Source Text

James Mallinson

Like many of the contributors to this volume, I had the great fortune to have Professor Sanderson as the supervisor of my doctoral thesis, which was a critical edition of an early text on *haṭhayoga* called the *Khecarīvidyā*. At the outset of my work on the text, and for several subsequent years, I expected that Sanderson's encyclopedic knowledge of the Śaiva corpus would enable us to find within it forerunners of *khecarīmudrā*, the haṭhayogic practice central to the *Khecarīvidyā*. However, notwithstanding a handful of instances of teachings on similar techniques, the fully-fledged practice does not appear to be taught in earlier Śaiva works. In subsequent years, as I read more broadly in the corpus of early texts on *haṭhayoga* (which, in comparison to the vast Śaiva corpus, is relatively small and thus may easily be read by one individual), I came to the realisation that almost all of the practices which distinguish *haṭhayoga* from other methods of yoga were unique to it at the time of their codification and are not to be found in the corpus of earlier Śaiva texts, despite repeated assertions in secondary literature that *haṭhayoga* was a development from Śaivism (or "tantra" more broadly conceived).

The texts of the *haṭhayoga* corpus do, however, couch their teachings in tantric language. The name of the haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā*, for example, is also that of an earlier but different Śaiva practice. When I was invited to speak at the symposium in Professor Sanderson's honour held in Toronto in 2015, I decided to try to articulate my rather inchoate thoughts on this subject by presenting a paper entitled "*Haṭhayoga*'s Śaiva Idiom." The inadequacy of my theories was brought home to me some months after the symposium when I started to read, together with two other former students of Sanderson, Péter-Dániel Szántó and Jason Birch,[1] a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Amṛtasiddhi* (*AS*), the earliest text to teach many of the key principles and practices of

1 We were joined at our reading sessions by Sam Grimes, Diwakar Acharya, Camillo Formigatti, Anand Venkatkrishnan and Paul Gerstmayr, whom I thank for their valuable comments.

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haṭhayoga.[2] I had already read much of the text with Sanderson and others, but only from later manuscript sources. As we read the older manuscript it gradually became clear that the *Amṛtasiddhi* was composed in a Vajrayāna (tantric Buddhist) milieu.

Thus my notion of *haṭhayoga* having a Śaiva idiom needed readdressing. One might perhaps talk instead of its "tantric idiom." But I shall leave reflections on that topic for a later date and in this short paper focus on the *Amṛtasiddhi* and, in particular, the features of it which make it clear that it was composed in a Vajrayāna milieu. I am currently preparing a critical edition and annotated translation of the text with Dr Szántó; what follows here results from our work in progress. Despite our edition being incomplete, I am confident that the conclusion drawn here about the origins of the text is sound (and that further work on the text will provide additional and complementary evidence) and I think it important enough to warrant preliminary publication. Subsequent publications will address this unique text's many other remarkable features.

1 The *Amṛtasiddhi*

The importance of the *Amṛtasiddhi* was first brought to scholarly attention by Kurtis Schaeffer in an article published in 2002.[3] Here I shall reprise as little of his rich and dense article as is necessary to provide the background to what follows. Schaeffer focuses on the twelfth-century[4] manuscript of the text, pho-

2 I thank Professors Kurtis Schaeffer and Leonard van der Kuijp for sharing with me photographs of printouts from a microfilm copy of this manuscript. Schaeffer also kindly shared his draft edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Amṛtasiddhi* given in this witness. We read the manuscript together with a collation of other witnesses, including a transcription of the Grantha manuscript M_2 prepared by Viswanath Gupta, whom I thank for his assistance. Concerning manuscript sigla for the *Amṛtasiddhi*, please refer below to the section "Witnesses of the *Amṛtasiddhi*."

3 Prior to Schaeffer's article, the only mention of the text of which I am aware (other than in manuscript catalogues) is Gode 1954, 22, in which its citations in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* are noted.

4 Schaeffer (2002, 517) says that the manuscript's colophon gives a date which "may read 1159 C.E." The reading is clear: *ekāśītijute* [°*jute* is Newar scribal dialect for Sanskrit °*yute*] *śāke sahāsraike tu phālgune | kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ samāpto 'yaṃ kṛtvāmṛtasiddhir mayā* || (f.37v). The eighth day of the dark fortnight of the lunar month of Phālguna in Śāka 1081 corresponds to March 2nd 1160 CE (according to the calculator at http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/yanom/pancanga/). It is possible that the colophon has been copied from an examplar and that the manuscript itself does not date to 1160. The mansucript's Tibetan colophon says that the Tibetan translation is that of the "monk of the Bya [clan]" (*Bya ban de*) Pad ma 'od zer, who

tographs of printouts from a microfilm of which he and Leonard van der Kuijp have kindly shared with me. At the time that the microfilm was made, the manuscript was in Beijing, although Schaeffer believes that it has since been returned to Tibet. The manuscript is unique in that it is bilingual, with three registers: the Sanskrit text in a Nepali or east Indian script, a transliteration of the Sanskrit in Tibetan hand-printing script and a translation[5] into Tibetan in the Tibetan cursive script.

This manuscript is referred to in what follows by the siglum C. The other witnesses of the text which have been collated are considerably later than C (the oldest is perhaps the c. 17th-century K_1). They present versions of the text in which redaction has removed or obscured some of the Buddhist features evident in C. These witnesses may be divided into two groups. The first is a single Grantha manuscript from the Mysore Government Oriental Library (M_2), the second seven north Indian and Nepali manuscripts, two from Jodhpur's Maharaja Man Singh Pustak Prakash (J_1 and J_2 = J) and four from the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (K_1–K_4 = K).[6]

The text of the *Amṛtasiddhi* consists of 303 verses divided into 35 short *viveka*s.[7] The first ten *viveka*s teach the constituents of the yogic body. *Viveka*s 11–13 teach three methods of manipulating those constituents (*mahāmudrā, mahābandha* and *mahāvedha*) and *viveka* 14 teaches the practice (*abhyāsa*), i.e. how the three methods are to be used together. *Viveka*s 15–18 teach the four grades of aspirant, 19–33 the four states (*avasthā*s) of yoga, and 34–35 the final transformation of the body leading up to *nirvāṇa*.[8]

worked towards the end of the eleventh century, which provides us with an earlier *terminus ante quem* for the text than the date of the manuscript itself.

5 As noted in the manuscript's Tibetan colophon, the translation is of a different recension of the Sanskrit text from that given in the manuscript. At some places, e.g. 7.10 and 7.26, the translation corresponds to the text as found in the other witnesses, but not that in C.

6 Full details of these witnesses are given at the end of this article.

7 There are 35 *viveka*s in the Beijing ms and 38 in the others. All verse numbering given here corresponds to the order of verses in C (which does not itself give verse numbers).

8 *Viveka*s 19–35 are interspersed with very short chapters on a variety of topics. In the first *viveka* (vv. 10–13) there is a list of the topics to be taught in the text. The list corresponds exactly to the *viveka*s up to *viveka* 19, but then goes awry. More analysis is needed to be sure, but it seems likely that at least some of the *viveka* divisions after 19 are later additions to the text.

2 The *Amṛtasiddhi* in the *Haṭhayoga* Tradition

2.1 *Citations and Borrowings*

The *Amṛtasiddhi* is a seminal work in the *haṭhayoga* textual tradition.[9] Schaeffer (2002, 518–519) mentions its citations in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (c. 1600 CE)[10] and *Haṭhapradīpikājyotsnā* (1837 CE).[11] In addition, several *haṭhayoga* texts borrow directly from the *Amṛtasiddhi* without attribution. The c. 13th-century *Gorakṣaśataka* shares three half-verses with it.[12] The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, which is also likely to date to the 13th century redacts four of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s verses into three.[13] The c. 14th-century *Amaraughaprabodha* shares six verses with the *Amṛtasiddhi* and paraphrases it extensively elsewhere.[14] The *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* (15th century or earlier) borrows two and a half verses[15] and extensively paraphrases other parts of the text. The c. 15th-century *Śivasaṃhitā* is much the biggest borrower from the *Amṛtasiddhi*, sharing 34 verses with it.[16] The *Haṭhapradīpikā* shares five half-verses with the *Amṛtasiddhi*, but these may be borrowed from the *Amaraughaprabodha* since all the shared passages are also in that text.[17]

2.2 *Doctrinal Innovations*

Several of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s teachings have no prior attestation and are central to teachings on *haṭhayoga* in later texts, where they are either reproduced ver-

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9 Despite the compound *haṭhayoga* being found in earlier Vajrayāna works (Birch 2011, 535–536) and its teachings being central to later haṭhayogic texts, the *Amṛtasiddhi* does not call its yoga method *haṭha*. This paradox will be addressed in subsequent publications.

10 *Yogacintāmaṇi* p. 13 [*AS* 6.11, 6.13], p. 26 [14.4, 14.8–12, 14.16c–19d], p. 34 [7.25, 7.15, 7.18, 7.8–9, 7.12, 7.5, 7.2cd, 7.3cd, 7.6–7, 7.16c–17d, 7.19ab, 7.17cd, 7.20–24], p. 39 [32.3–4], p. 40 [33.1, 34.1] p. 101 [6.10], 107 [3.1–4, 4.1a–4.2b, 4.4c–4.12d], p. 112 [5.1, 5.3–4], p. 213 [25.3c–4d, 26.1–2, 27.1, 28.1, 29.1, 31.3c–4b, 31.5ab, 31.5c–7b (with significant differences), 31.8c–9b, 3.10, 3.12], p. 218 [15.3a–4b, 16.1ab, 16.2a–3b, 17.1, 17.2ac (with differences), 17.3, 18.1–5, 19.1ab].

11 *Haṭhapradīpikājyotsnā ad* 3.100 [*AS* 7.8c–9d, 7.12, 7.5a–, 7.2cd] and 4.1 [*AS* 33.1, 32.3–4, 7.23, 34.1, 7.17, 7.20, 7.6c–7d, 7.16cd].

12 *AS* 6.7a–6.8b = *Gorakṣaśataka* 34a–35b. This verse is also found at *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* 5.62.

13 *AS* 7.16–20 ≈ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 90–92.

14 *AS* 16.1c–2b, 11.3, 11.9cd, 11.3cd, 14.6, 13.5cd, 13.7cd, 19.2 = *Amaraughaprabodha* 20, 29, 32cd, 37ab, 38, 39cd, 40ab, 45.

15 *AS* 3.1, 6.11ab, 11.4 = *Gorakṣayogaśāstra* 5, 13ab, 17.

16 *AS* 1.15b–1.16d, 1.17c–1.18b, 1.19ab, 3.1–4, 4.3–4, 11.1ab, 11.3cd, 11.4bc, 11.5ab, 11.6, 11.7cd, 12.6, 15.1, 16.1–3, 19.2 = ß 2.1b–2.2d, 2.3, 2.4ab, 2.6c–9, 2.11–12, 4.28cd, 4.27ab, 4.27dc, 4.28ab, 4.31, 4.34cb, 4.38, 5.13, 5.17c–5.20b, 3.31.

17 *AS* 11.3, 11.9cd, 19.2 = *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.9, 3.13cd, 4.69.

batim, as noted above, or incorporated into new compositions. These may be summarised as follows.

1. The Yogic Body
   a. The *Amṛtasiddhi* is the first text to relocate to the body the old tantric triad of sun, moon and fire.[18] The idea of a moon in the skull dripping *amṛta* is found in many earlier tantric works, but that of the sun in the stomach consuming it is new, as is the conflation of the sun and fire.
      i. The Moon

         meruśṛṅge sthitaś candro dviraṣṭakalayā yutaḥ |
         aharniśaṃ tuṣārābhāṃ sudhāṃ varṣaty adhomukhaḥ ||3.1||

         The moon is on the peak of Meru and has sixteen digits. Facing downwards, it rains dewy nectar day and night.

      ii. The Sun

         madhyamāmūlasaṃsthāne tiṣṭhati sūryamaṇḍalaḥ |
         kalādvādaśasaṃpūrṇo dīpyamānaḥ svaraśmibhiḥ ||4.1||
         ūrdhvaṃ vahati dakṣeṇa tīkṣṇamūrtiḥ prajāpatiḥ |
         vyāpnoti sakalaṃ dehaṃ nāḍyākāśapathāśritaḥ ||4.2||
         grasati candraniryāsaṃ bhramati vāyumaṇḍale |
         dahati sarvadhātūṃś ca sūryaḥ sarvaśarīrake ||4.3||

         2d °pathāśritaḥ] CK_4; yathāśritaṃ K_3, yathāśritaḥ *cett.*
         3b °maṇḍale] M_2; °maṇḍalaiḥ C, °maṇḍalaṃ *cett.*

         (1) The sphere of the sun is at the base of the Central Channel, complete with twelve digits, shining with its rays. (2) The lord of creatures (Prajāpati), of intense appearance, travels upwards on the right. Staying in the pathways in the spaces (*ākāśapatha*)[19] in the channels it pervades the entire body. (3) The sun consumes the lunar secretion, wanders in the sphere of the wind and burns up all the bodily constituents in all bodies.

      iii. Fire

         kalābhir daśabhir yuktaḥ sūryamaṇḍalamadhyataḥ |
         vasati vastideśe ca vahnir annavipācakaḥ ||5.1||

18 This triad is mentioned at *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā Nayasūtra* 4.147 and in many subsequent tantric works.

19 This is a *śleṣa*: *ākāśapatha* can also mean the sun's orbit in the sky.

yo vai vahniḥ sa vai sūryo yaḥ sūryaḥ sa hutāśanaḥ |
etāv ekatarau dṛṣṭau sūkṣmabhedena bheditau ||5.2||

1b °madhyataḥ] CJK; °madhyagaḥ M_2Y
1c vasati vastideśe] *conj.*; vasati vatideśe C, vasate vastideśe M_2Y, vasatir asthideśe *cett.*
2d sūkṣmabhedena bheditau] C; sūkṣmāt sūkṣmatarau nṛbhiḥ M_2, sūkṣmabhedena bhedinau *cett.*

(1) Endowed with ten digits, in the middle of the sphere of the sun in the region of the stomach dwells fire, which digests food. (2) Fire is the sun; the sun is fire. The two look almost the same [but] differ subtly.

b. The use of the word *bindu* for semen, *bindu*'s identification with the *amṛta* dripping from the moon, its preservation being essential for life and its division into male and female are all innovations of the *Amṛtasiddhi* which are widely adopted in later *haṭhayoga* texts.

i. *adhaś candrāmṛtaṃ yāti tadā mṛtyur nṛṇāṃ bhavet* ||4.11||

11a yāti] M_2K; yati C, °mṛtaṃ yasya J

The nectar of immortality in the moon goes downwards; as a result men die.

ii. *bindupātena vṛddhatvaṃ mṛtyur bhavati dehinām* ||21.3||
The fall of *bindu* makes men grow old [and] die.

iii. *sa bindur dvividho jñeyaḥ pauruṣo vanitābhavaḥ |*
bījaṃ ca pauruṣaṃ proktaṃ rajaś ca strīsamudbhavam ||7.8||
anayor bāhyayogena sṛṣṭiḥ saṃjāyate nṛṇām |
yadābhyantarato yogas tadā yogīti gīyate ||7.9||
kāmarūpe vased binduḥ kūṭāgārasya koṭare |
pūrṇagirimudāsparśād vrajati madhyamāpathe ||7.10||
yonimadhye mahākṣetre javāsindūrasannibham |
rajo vasati jantūnāṃ devītattvasamādhṛtam ||7.11||
binduś candramayo jñeyo rajaḥ sūryamayas tathā |
anayoḥ saṃgamaḥ sādhyaḥ kūṭāgāre 'tidurghaṭe ||7.12||

9cd yadābhyantarato yogas tadā yogīti gīyate] CH_J; yadābhyantarato yogas tadā yogī sa gīyate M_2, yadā tv abhyantare yogas tadā yogo hi bhaṇyate *cett.*
10a kāmarūpe] CM_2; kāmarūpo *cett.*
10b kūṭāgārasya°] CM_2; kūṭādhāraṇya J, kūṭādhārasya K
10d °mudā°] C; °sadā° J, °guhā° *cett.*
10d vrajati] C; vrajate M_2, rājanti *cett.*
11d °samādhṛtam] C; °samāvṛtaṃ M_2, °samāvṛta K_1, samāvṛtaḥ *cett.*

(8) Know *bindu* to be of two kinds, male and female. Semen (*bīja*) is said to be the male [*bindu*] and *rajas* (female generative fluid) is female. (9) As a result of their external union people are created. When they are united internally, then one is declared a yogi. (10) *Bindu* resides in Kāmarūpa in the hollow of the multi-storied palace (*kūṭāgārasya*).[20] Through pleasurable contact at Pūrṇagiri it travels along the Central Channel. (11) *Rajas* resides in the great sacred field in the perineal region (*yonimadhye*). It is as red as a *javā* flower[21] and is supported by the Goddess element (*devītattvasamādhṛtam*). (12) Know *bindu* to be made of the moon and *rajas* to be made of the sun. Their union is to be brought about in the very inaccessible multi-storeyed palace.

c. A connection between the mind and breath is taught as early as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (6.8.2). The *Amṛtasiddhi* is the first text to teach that mind, breath and *bindu* are connected, a notion found in many subsequent *haṭhayoga* texts.

calaty ayaṃ yadā vāyus tadā binduś calaḥ smṛtaḥ |
binduś calati yasyāyaṃ cittaṃ tasyaiva cañcalam ||7.17||

17a calaty ayaṃ yadā] C; yadāyaṃ calate M_2, yadā caṃcalate JK, calaty eṣa yadā YH_J
17b calaḥ smṛtaḥ] JKYH_J; calaḥ smṛᶜtaᵓḥ C, ca cañcalaḥ M_2
17c binduś calati yasyāyaṃ] C; yasyāyaṃ calate binduḥ M_2, yasyāyaṃ calate binduś JK, binduś calati yasyāṅge YH_J
17d tasyaiva] CKYH_J; tasthyai∗ M_2, tathaiva J

It is taught that when the breath moves *bindu* moves; the mind of he whose *bindu* is moving is restless.

d. The three *granthi*s.

The *Amṛtasiddhi*'s system of three *granthi*s, *brahma°, viṣṇu°* and *rudra°*, which are situated along the central channel of the body and are to be pierced by the *mahāvedha* (13.10–11), is very common in subsequent *haṭhayoga* texts.[22]

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20 On the *kūṭāgāra*, see below, p. 418.

21 The bright red *javā* flower (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis L.), popularly known as the China Rose, is common throughout south, southeast and east Asia.

22 *Granthi*s are mentioned in many earlier Śaiva texts, some of whose lists include *brahma, viṣṇu* and *rudra granthi*s but not in the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s configuration. See e.g. *Kubjikā-*

2. The three practices, *mahāmudrā, mahābandha, mahāvedha* (*viveka*s 11–13).
   These practices, which involve bodily postures and breath control, are used to make the breath enter the central channel and rise upwards. They are an innovation of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and are taught in all subsequent *haṭhayoga* texts, albeit sometimes with different names.
3. The four *avasthā*s
   The four *avasthā*s, "states" or "stages" of yoga practice (*ārambha, ghaṭa, paricaya, niṣpanna/niṣpatti*) introduced in the *Amṛtasiddhi* (*viveka*s 19–33), are taught in many Sanskrit *haṭhayoga* texts; they are also mentioned in the old Hindi *Gorakhbāṇī* (*śabd*s 136–139).

In addition to these innovations, in *viveka* 14 (*abhyāsa*, "practice") the *Amṛtasiddhi* describes, at a level of detail unparalleled in other texts, the internal processes brought about by its methods, in particular the movement of the breaths.

3 Buddhist Features of the *Amṛtasiddhi*

In Schaeffer's analysis of the *Amṛtasiddhi* (2002, 521–524), he notes how it is unique amongst Tibetan Buddhist works because its teachings are said to bestow *jīvanmukti*, "liberation while living," and make the yogi identical with Śiva. Despite these Śaiva features, however, close reading of manuscript C, the twelfth-century bilingual witness of the text, shows that the text was composed within a Vajrayāna milieu. Furthermore, it pits its teachings against those of other Vajrayāna schools, not Śaiva ones.

As can be seen in the examples given below, manuscript C generally has the best readings of the text and presents its Buddhist teachings intact. In the other manuscripts the specifically Buddhist doctrines found in C are either unwittingly included, misunderstood (and sometimes presented in corrupt forms as a result) or deliberately changed or omitted.

Some of the text's Buddhist features are ambiguous or obscure enough for them to have been preserved by the redactors of the text as presented in the later witnesses. Thus we find multiple examples of Vajrayāna (or more broadly Buddhist) terminology such as *mahāmudrā* (*viveka* 11 and 31), *vajrapañjara* (7.26d), *jñānasaṃbhāra* (6.9c, 20.2bc), *śūnya* (8.2a, 8.8d, 8.10d, 19.15a, 20.7b,

matatantra 17.61–84, in which there are sixteen *granthi*s and *Netratantra* 7.22–25, in which there are twelve.

25.1c), *niṣpanna* (19.2c, 31.1c) and *abhiṣeka* (13.15a). Similarly, *Amṛtasiddhi* 7.4 mentions the very specifically Vajrayāna notion of the four blisses:[23]

> *ānandā ye prakathyante viramāntāḥ śarīrataḥ |*
> *te 'pi bindūdbhavāḥ sarve jyotsnā candrabhavā yathā* ||7.4||
>
> **4c** °viramāntāḥ] C; ciram antaś M_2, viramāṃtā JK
>
> The [four] bodily blisses whose last is [the bliss of] cessation all arise from *bindu*, just as moonlight arises from the moon.

Other Buddhist features of the text as found in C are deliberately omitted or altered in the later witnesses. Examples of these are listed below. This list is not exhaustive; further close reading of the text is likely to reveal more examples.

1. Chinnamastā

   Manuscript C opens with a *sragdharā maṅgala* verse in praise of the goddess Chinnamastā:

   > *nābhau śubhrāravindaṃ tadupari vimalaṃ maṇḍalaṃ caṇḍaraśmeḥ*
   > *saṃsārasyaikasārā tribhuvanajananī dharmavartmodayā yā |*
   > *tasmin madhye trimārge tritayatanudharā chinnamastā praśastā*
   > *tāṃ vande jñānarūpāṃ maraṇabhayaharāṃ yoginīṃ yogamudrām* ||
   >
   > **a** śubhrā°] C; candrā° M_2 • vimalaṃ] C; vivaraṃ M_2
   > **c** tasmin] C; tasyāṃ M_2 • tri°] M_2; tre° C • chinnamastā praśastā] C; cittahasthāṃ praśastāṃ M_2
   > **d** tāṃ vande jñānarūpāṃ] C; vande jñānasvarūpāṃ M_2
   >
   > At the navel is a white lotus. On top of that is the spotless orb of the sun. In the middle of that, at the triple pathway, is she who is the sole essence of samsara [and] the creator of the three worlds, who arises on the path of dharma, who has three bodies [and] who is lauded as Chinnamastā, "she whose head is cut." I worship her, she who has the form of knowledge, who removes the danger of death, the yoginī, the seal of yoga.

   Until the 16th century, Chinnamastā is not mentioned in non-Buddhist texts (Bühnemann 2000, 37). Her Vajrayāna origins have been demonstrated by Sanderson (2009, 240–241), who notes how the epithet *dharmodayā*, found in the *Amṛtasiddhi* as *dharmavartmodayā*, is "strictly Bud-

23 On the four blisses see Isaacson and Sferra 2014, *passim*.

dhist." One might argue that this *maṅgala* verse could be an addition to the text when it was redacted by a Vajrayāna tradition, but the verse is also found in the Grantha manuscript M_2 in a corrupt form. Chinnamastā's name is given therein as Cittahasthā, but the epithets *dharmavartmodayā* and *tritayatanudharā* are preserved. The Rajasthani and Nepali manuscripts omit the verse.

2. *chandoha*

At *Amṛtasiddhi* 1.16, manuscript C uses the specifically Buddhist term *chandoha*:[24]

sāgarāḥ saritas tatra kṣetrāṇi kṣetrapālakāḥ |
chandohāḥ puṇyatīrthāni pīṭhāni pīṭhadevatāḥ ||1.16||

16c chandohāḥ] *em.*; chandohā C, saṃbhedāḥ M_2JK

There are oceans, rivers, regions [and] guardians of the regions; gathering places (*chandohāḥ*), sacred sites, seats [of deities and] the deities of the seats

In Śaiva texts *chandoha* is found as *saṃdoha*.[25] That the manuscripts other than C read *saṃbhedāḥ*, which makes no sense, suggests that they may derive from an archetype that had *saṃdohāḥ*, which subsequent copyists did not understand.

3. The four elements

Amṛtasiddhi 6.2 refers to four physical elements:

pṛthivyādīni catvāri vidhṛtāni pṛthak pṛthak ||6.2||

2a catvāri] C; tattvāni *cett.*

The four [elements] earth etc. are kept separate [by the breath].

In Śaiva and other Hindu traditions there are five primary physical elements. The later manuscripts therefore change *catvāri*, "four," to *tattvāni*, "elements."

4. *kūṭāgāra*

This is a common term in the Pali Canon, meaning "a building with a peaked roof or pinnacles, possibly gabled; or with an upper storey" (Rhys Davis and Stede 1921–1925, s.v. *kūṭāgāra*). It is also found in several Vajrayāna texts, where it refers to a "multi-storeyed palace" in the middle of a *maṇḍala* (Reigle 2012, 442). It is not found in Śaiva texts

24 Sanderson 2009, 180 note 436.

25 Sanderson loc. cit.: "This substitution of initial ch- for s-/ś- is probably an east-Indianism."

and is not recognised by the later north Indian and Nepali witnesses of the *Amṛtasiddhi*.

7.10ab *kāmarūpe vased binduḥ kūṭāgārasya koṭare* |

10a °rūpe] CM_2; °rūpo JK
10b kūṭāgārasya] C, ∗ūṭāgārasya M_2, kūṭādhāraṇya° J, kūṭādhārasya K

Bindu resides at Kāmarūpa,[26] in the hollow of the multi-storeyed palace.

5. *trivajra*

8.21 in C mentions the three *vajra*s, i.e. the common Vajrayāna triad of *kāya, vāk* and *citta*. In the other witnesses *trivajrāṇāṃ* is found as *trivargāṇāṃ*.

trivajrāṇāṃ samāveśas tadā vai jāyate dhruvam ||8.21||

21c trivajrāṇāṃ] C; trivargāṇāṃ M_2JK

Then absorption into the three *vajra*s is sure to arise.

6. *trikāya*

A reference to the Buddhist notion of the triple body is expunged in the later witnesses:

sarvajñatvaṃ trikāyasya sarvajñānāvabodhakam |
lakṣaṇaṃ siddhacittasya jñātavyaṃ jñānaśālibhiḥ ||29.2||

2a °kāyasya] C; °kālasya M_2, °kāryasya JK
2b °bodhakam] CM_2; °bodhanam JK **2c** siddhacittasya] C; siddhivit tasya JK

Omniscience, which brings about complete understanding of the triple body, should be known by the knowledgable to be the mark of he whose mind has been mastered.

7. *buddha*

Verses in which C has (or its archetype is likely to have had) *buddha* are reworked in the later witnesses.

bindur buddhaḥ śivo bindur bindur viṣṇuḥ prajāpatiḥ |
binduḥ sarvagato devo bindus trailokyadarpaṇaḥ ||7.15||

15a buddhaḥ] *em.*; vṛddhaḥ C, ūrdhvaḥ *cett.*

26 The *Mahāmudrātilaka* (draft edition of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preuss. Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung Hs. or. 8711, folio 17 verso) locates the bodily Kāmarūpa between the eyebrows.

Bindu is Buddha, *bindu* is Śiva, *bindu* is Viṣṇu, the lord of creatures, *bindu* is the omnipresent god, *bindu* is the mirror of the three worlds.

tāvad buddho 'py asiddho 'sau naraḥ sāṃsāriko mataḥ | 32.3ab

3a buddho] C; ∗ddho M_2, ⊔dvo J_1, siddho J_2, vaddho K

Even a Buddha, as long as [he remains] unperfected [by means of the practice taught in the *Amṛtasiddhi*], is considered a worldly man.

8. *svādhiṣṭhāna yoga*

In two places the *Amṛtasiddhi* mentions *svādhiṣṭhāna yoga*. This is a method of visualising oneself as a deity which is central to the teachings of a wide variety of Vajrayāna texts (e.g. *Guhyasamāja* 7.2, where it is called *svādhidaivatayoga*, and the *Pañcakrama*, whose third *krama* is called the *svādhiṣṭhānakrama*). In the two verses from the *Amṛtasiddhi* given below, the methods of *svādhiṣṭhāna yoga* are said to be ineffective; to achieve the goals of yoga one must use the practice taught in the *Amṛtasiddhi*. The later witnesses of the text do not understand the phrase *svādhiṣṭhānena yogena* and, presumably surmising *svādhiṣṭhāna* to refer to the second of the six *cakra*s in a system taught in many *haṭhayoga* texts (but not in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, which makes no mention of *cakra*s), they change *yogena* to *mārgeṇa* in an attempt to make the phrase refer to a pathway in the yogic body.

svādhiṣṭhānena yogena yasya cittaṃ prasādhyate |
śilāṃ carvati mohena tṛṣitaḥ khaṃ pibaty api ||8.9||

9a yogena] C; mārgeṇa M_2JK **9b** yasya] JK; yastuś C, yatna M_2 • prasādhyate] M_2JK; prasādhyati C

He who tries to master his mind by means of self-established yoga deludedly chews a rock and, thirsty, drinks the sky.

svādhiṣṭhānena yogena na kṣīyete guṇau nṛṇām |
asti mudrā viśeṣeṇa gurumukhābjasaṃbhavā ||10.11||

11a yogena] C; mārgeṇa M_2JK **11b** na kṣīyete] *em.*; na kṣīyate C, prakṣīyante M_2, nākṣipeti JK • guṇau] C; guṇā M_2, guṇo JK **11c** viśeṣeṇa] CJK; viśeṣād vā M_2 **11d** guru°] CJK; guror M_2 • °mukhābja°] C; °vaktrābja° M_2, °mukhāt tu JK • °saṃbhavā] JK; °saṃbhavāṃ C, °saṃbhavāt M_2

> The two [unwanted] *guṇa*s [*rajas* and *tamas*] in men are not destroyed by self-established yoga. There is a *mudrā* especially [for that], born from the lotus-mouth of the guru.

4 Conclusion

The *Amṛtasiddhi* was composed in a Vajrayāna Buddhist milieu and its intended audience was other Vajrayāna Buddhists. Its teachings are subsequently found in *haṭhayoga* texts from a wide range of non-Buddhist traditions. This does not mean, however, that *haṭhayoga* itself was a product of Vajrayāna Buddhists. I have argued elsewhere (e.g. Mallinson 2015) that some *haṭhayoga* techniques were current among ascetics long before their codification. The *Amṛtasiddhi* was the first text to codify many of *haṭhayoga*'s distinctive principles and practices and was thus the first to assign names to them. As a result the *Amaraughaprabodha*, the first text to teach physical yoga methods under the name *haṭha*, includes among its techniques the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s *mahāmudrā, mahābandha* and *mahāvedha* (with slight variations in their methods). In addition to these physical techniques, the *Amaraughaprabodha* also adopts from the *Amṛtasiddhi* the more theoretical doctrine of the four *avasthā*s or stages of yoga, showing that the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s influence was more than simply terminological.

Because they share traditions of 84 *siddha*s, several scholars have posited connections between Vajrayāna Buddhists and Nāth yogis,[27] with whom the practice of *haṭhayoga* has long been associated. The *Amṛtasiddhi*'s Vajrayāna origins and its borrowings in subsequent *haṭhayoga* texts, some of which are products of Nāth traditions, provide the first known doctrinal basis for this connection and a stimulus for its further investigation.[28]

27 Although such usage is not found in pre-modern texts, to avoid confusion I use the word "Nāth" to refer to ascetics usually called *yogī*s or *jogī*s in texts and travellers' reports and whose traditions, with some exceptions such as those which trace their lineages to Kānhapa or Kṛṣṇācārya, came, by the sixteenth century at the latest, to be grouped together in twelve *panth*s or lineages. On the Nāth Saṃpradāya, see Mallinson 2011.

28 The historical context of this connection is explored in Mallinson 2019, in which the Konkan site of Kadri (in present-day Mangalore) is proposed as the location of the transition from Vajrayāna Buddhism to Nāth Śaivism evinced by the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s reworking of the teachings of the *Amṛtasiddhi*.

5 Witnesses of the Amṛtasiddhi

5.1 *Manuscripts Collated*

– **(C)** China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities Ms. No. 005125 (21). Paper. Sanskrit text in both Nepali (or perhaps East Indian) and Tibetan hand-print scripts, Tibetan translation in Tibetan cursive script.
– Maharaja Man Singh Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur
  1. **(J_1)** 1242. Paper. Devanagari.
  2. **(J_2)** 1243. Paper. Devanagari.
– Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. All entitled *Amṛtasiddhi*.
  1. **(K_1)** E655/39. Paper. Devanagari.
  2. **(K_2)** E1501/11. Paper. Devanagari.
  3. **(K_3)** H232/37. Paper. Newari.
  4. **(K_4)** E68/7. Paper. Devanagari.
– **(M_2)** Mysore Government Oriental Manuscripts Library D-4342 (ff. 21v–40v). Palm leaf. Grantha.

5.2 *Other Collated Witnesses*

These two texts are mentioned in the apparatus only in the small number of instances that they provide readings.

– **(Y)** *Yogacintāmaṇi* ed. Haridās Śarmā, Calcutta Oriental Press, n.d.
– **(H_J)** *Haṭhapradīpikājyotsnā* of Brahmānanda. Svāmī Maheśānand, Dr. Bāburām Śarmā, Jñānaśaṃkar Sahāy, and Ravindranāth Bodhe, eds. *Brahmānandakṛtā Haṭhapradīpikā Jyotsnā: Locanātmaka Saṃskaraṇa* (*Hindī*). Lonavla: Kaivalyadhām S.M.Y.M. Samiti. 2002.

5.3 *Manuscripts Not Yet Collated*

1. Mysore Government Oriental Library D-4341. Paper. Grantha.
2. Mysore Government Oriental Library R-2881(n). Palm leaf. Grantha. Incomplete.
3. Adyar Library 75278. Palm leaf. Grantha.
4. Baroda Oriental Institute 7970(b). Palm leaf. Grantha.

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29 This edition was read with Professor Alexis Sanderson, Jason Birch, Péter-Dániel Szántó and Andrea Acri in Oxford in early 2012, all of whom I thank for their valuable emendations and suggestions.

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CHAPTER 18

A Sexual Ritual with Māyā in *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 40

Csaba Kiss

1 Introduction

In this short article I revisit the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* (hereafter MaSaṃ), a Kubjikā-Tripurā oriented tantric yoga text of the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava tradition, probably from thirteenth-century South India, core chapters of which I edited and translated for my PhD studies under the supervision of Professor Alexis Sanderson. My purpose there was to demonstrate that this text provides evidence for a transitional phase in the history of Śaiva Tantra, revealing aspects of a transition from Kaula practices to early Haṭhayoga. In the present essay I analyse, and partly edit, MaSaṃ chapter 40, in which a unique and somewhat ambiguous variant of a Śrīvidyā-type sexual ritual is described, and which Professor Sanderson was kind enough to read with me in Oxford in 2005. I would like to dedicate this paper to him, offering new interpretations of some key elements, and thus updating my previous analysis (Kiss 2009, 66).[1]

My approach is based on textual criticism: by restoring the text using four available manuscripts, I aim at giving an accurate translation and interpretation, which then enables me to draw some modest conclusions regarding the history of Śaivism around the thirteenth century.[2] I would like to contribute to the contemporary research on Śaiva sexual rituals which focuses on their religio-historical importance. For although it is now generally acknowledged that sexual rituals are a distinctive feature of some of the Śaiva tantric tradi-

1 On the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava tradition, see Sanderson 1988, 687; 2002, 2–3; 2014, 72–73, 76–77, 80. On details concerning the MaSaṃ, see Sanderson 2014, 80, Kiss 2007, 2009, 2011, and 2020 (forthcoming). All quotations from the MaSaṃ are either from Kiss 2020 (forthcoming) or from my draft edition of the text.

2 I would definitely like to steer clear of some of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century, and contemporary approaches to the topic of tantric sexual rituals, which include, as White observes (2000, 4–5): (1) denial, (2) emphasis on the philosophical reinterpretation of these rites, "while generally denying the foundational importance of transgressivity or sexuality to the traditions themselves," and (3) the commodification of New Age "Tantric Sex" as a commercial product.

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tions, much work remains to be done on this topic.[3] Alongside Sanderson's findings in many of his publications,[4] as well as publications by Dupuche (2003), White (2003) and Biernacki (2007), Hatley's work, especially on the *asidhārāvrata* (Hatley 2018, 195–215), a sexual ritual attested in the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* (BraYā), chapter 40, as well as in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, is fundamental and is a source of inspiration and in many respects a model for this essay. Mallinson's exploration of the haṭhayogic techniques of *khecarīmudrā*, *vajroli* and *amarolī* is closely related to this field of research (Mallinson 2007, 221–223, notes 333–334 and 336–337). My own contribution so far (Kiss 2015) comprises an analysis of the BraYā's relevant teachings in BraYā 45 on sexual encounters that involve the gathering and magical use of sexual fluids.

A detailed overview of the types of sexual ritual found in tantric and haṭhayogic texts is beyond the scope of this short essay,[5] but a number of their distinctive features can be listed here. This list mainly concerns the variable nature of the female and male partners, and the nature of the sexual act. Note that categorisation of a phenomenon like this is greatly complicated by that fact that many features overlap:

(1) sexual rituals involving restraint or celibacy;[6]
(2) a sexual act at the end of which the practitioner applies the *vajrolimudrā*, "the practice of urethral suction […] to draw up the combined sexual fluids";[7]
(3) sexual rituals producing male and female sexual fluids, which are then used and consumed for magical purposes;[8]
(4) sexual rituals with one's own wife/partner vs. other partners;[9]

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3 As Shaman Hatley also remarks (2018, 195–196).

4 E.g. Sanderson 2005a, 110–114, note 63; 2007, 284–287; 2009, 132 ff., 294, note 699; and 2014, 57.

5 See a similarly non-comprehensive but more detailed list of types of tantric sexual rituals in Hatley 2018, 196–199.

6 E.g. the *asidhāravrata*, "Razor's Edge Observance," as taught in BraYā 40, which involves sexual contact with a beautiful woman without the *sādhaka*'s engaging in orgasm. (See Hatley 2018, 195–215.) See also BraYā 45.270–296ab, in which a sexual ritual involving "restraint" (*avagraha*) is taught (Kiss 2015, 49).

7 See Mallinson (2007, 189 note 149). *Vajroli* is described e.g. in the Vaiṣṇava *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, vv. 299–314.

8 E.g. BraYā 45, where several variants of a basic type of sexual ritual are described (see Kiss 2015).

9 See for example BraYā 24.32cd, where one's mother, sister, daughter and wife are listed as possible partners (figuratively or otherwise): *mātā ca bhaginī putrī bhāryā vai dūtayaḥ smṛtā*[*ḥ*]. See also Jayaratha ad *Tantrāloka* 29.102 addressing the question after citing the line *svapatnī bhaginī mātā duhitā vā śubhā sakhī*: *ityādyuktyā svapatny api atra kasmāt na parigaṇitā* … ("In

(5) sexual rituals with one partner vs. several partners;[10]
(6) sexual encounters with human or visionary Yoginīs, or other divine beings;[11]
(7) highly æstheticized, philosophic descriptions of Śaiva sexual rituals;[12]
(8) sexual rituals involving the visualisation of a goddess or the mental projection of the image of a goddess onto the female partner,[13] and so forth.[14]

The passages from MaSaṃ 40 analyzed and presented below seem to represent a variety of the last type listed above, but they are somewhat ambivalent: after mentioning sexual encounters with (human) Yoginīs (verses 38 and 40–41), the text focuses on a somewhat ambiguous sexual ritual which could be read either as involving an exclusively visualised goddess as partner or as prescribing the projection of an image of the goddess onto a human sexual partner. It also teaches the magical use of male sexual fluid (real or imaginary). MaSaṃ 40 is somewhat ambiguous in other aspects as well, and it seems that it is through the analysis of this ambiguity that we may gather clues concerning the history of late Śaiva traditions and the transition between Śaiva Tantra and early Haṭhayoga.

2 Details and Ambiguities

The beginning of the chapter in question, MaSaṃ 40.1–28, stands somewhat apart from the rest of the chapter and does not discuss sexual rituals. Nevertheless, a short analysis of it may be useful here. The text starts (1–6ab) with the proclamation of its topic: the rituals of Kula/Kaula conduct (*kulācāravidhi*) characterised by "the great non-dualist practice" (*mahādvaita*) and "freedom

these kind of statements, why is one's own wife not enumerated?") See also Dupuche 2003, 249 ff.

10 E.g. BraYā 45.574cd–557ab, where sexual rituals with four to eight women are taught. See also *Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 4, National Archives, Kathmandu, MS 1–1468, ff. 206v3–207v5 and Kṣemarāja's *Daśāvatāracarita* 10.26. For these references, see Sanderson 2007, 284–287; and 2009, 294 note 699.

11 E.g. the *sādhaka* engages in "great amusement" with Nāga girls and Āsurīs (demonesses) in BraYā 59.107cd (f. 254r): *nāgakanyais mahākrīḍā āsurībhiś ca jāyate*.

12 E.g. *Tantrāloka* 29 (see Dupuche 2003).

13 E.g. *Nityotsava*, p. 60: *atha tāṃ devarūpāṃ vibhāvya* … ("And visualising her [the sexual partner] in a godly form …").

14 This list could easily be expanded by using more variables, as Shaman Hatley has suggested (personal communication): partners; place/space/circumstances; roles of mantra, visualization, accoutrements; kinds of meaning given to the practice; aims/goals; fluids; etc.

from conventional practices" (*nirācāra*), both familiar terms from earlier Śaiva *tantra*s such as the BraYā.[15] Verses 6cd–16 praise and recommend ritual bathing at a special *śivatīrtha*, in "Śiva's water" or "water embodying Śiva" (*śivamaye jale*). In the context of the MaSaṃ, it is very probable that what is meant here is bathing in or with, and consuming, urine or other bodily fluids. Mallinson (2007, 221–223, notes 333–334, 336–337) has shown convincingly that the practice of bathing with urine was not unknown in Kāpālika and haṭhayogic traditions.[16] On the other hand, in light of the second half of the chapter, it is not inconceivable that semen is what is hinted at here. In either case, the application of this magical fluid involves transgression and thus should be carried out in a secret place (16cd). Verse 18 names the miraculous fluid as *amarī*, a term echoed in MaSaṃ 27.5 as *amarīrasa*. That chapter, MaSaṃ 27, teaches concoctions of herbs and physical secrations such as fæces, urine, menstrual blood, phlegm (?) and semen (?) (*viṅ-mūtra-rajo-recaka-sārakāḥ*) associated with Lokeśa, Keśava, Rudra, Īśa and Sadeśvara, respectively (27.2, see Mallinson [2007, 220 note 328]). In MaSaṃ 27.5a Sadāśiva (i.e. probably Sadeśvara, or rather the substance associated with him, probably semen) is said to be the best among them (*sadāśivo varo jñeyas*). This may indicate that the meaning of *amarī* (and *sudhā, amṛta* etc.) is flexible; it may refer not only to urine, but to other bodily fluids as well. *Amarī* should be drunk after reciting the appropriate mantra and should be massaged on one's body (27.21–26ab), similarly to what is taught in MaSaṃ 40.64–65, where it is clearly semen.

The second part of our chapter, MaSaṃ 40.29ff., commences to further describe *kulācāra*, and claims that sexual rituals should be performed either with Yoginīs or with Māyā-type women (verse 38). Here follows an edition and translation of verses 29–38:

[kulācāranirṇayam][17]

ataḥ paraṃ śṛṇu śive kulācārasya nirṇayam |
samprāpya siddhasaṃtānaṃ guruṃ daivaṃ sadā yajet ||40.29||

15 E.g. BraYā 3.227, 45.159 and *Kubjikāmatatantra* 2.107 etc.

16 In a similar fashion, the BraYā (e.g. in 45.427 and 45.456) prescribes the praise of urine to be performed by the *sādhaka*.

17 This edition of MaSaṃ 40.1–69 is based on four manuscripts: Ja, Jb, Jc, Well (see the bibliography; Jd is not available for chapter 40). The transcription of the text of the MaSaṃ both in the textus acceptus and in reporting variants involves some inevitable falsification, of which the most important are the following: I have not always attempted to report differences in readings between *akṣara*s that are usually interchangable in MSS (b-v,

gurupūjārato yogī parāṃ siddhim avāpnuyāt |
guroḥ khaṭvāṃ tathā śayyāṃ vastram ābharaṇāni ca ||40.30||
pādukāṃ chattram ajinaṃ pātram anyad athāpi vā |
pādena spṛśate yas tu śire dhṛtvāṣṭakaṃ japet ||40.31||
gurunindāparaṃ dṛṣṭvā ghātayed athavā śapet |
sthānaṃ vā tat parityajya gacched yady akṣamo bhavet ||40.32||
kulapūjāṃ na nindeta yoginaṃ yoginīm api |
unmattāṃ puṣṭitāṃ nārīṃ surākumbhaṃ śivaṃ gurum ||40.33||
nindanād bhraśyate sadyaḥ paratreha ca pārvati |
paśumārgaṃ na seveta paśūcchiṣṭaṃ na kāmayet ||40.34||
yoginīmelanaṃ kāryaṃ na seveta paśustriyam |
nocchiṣṭaṃ paśave dadyāt na nārīṃ nindayet kvacit ||40.35||
ekībhāvaṃ prakurvīta pṛthagbhāvaṃ na kārayet |
vṛthā pānaṃ na kurvīta na vṛthā māṃsabhakṣaṇam ||40.36||
asaṃskṛtaṃ na piben madyaṃ tatpūtaṃ māṃsam āgraset |
na kuryān mantragoṣṭhīṣu śaucam ācamanādikam |
yadi kuryāt pramādena yoginīśāpa āpatet ||40.37||
bhuñjīyād yat striyaṃ devi śivaśaktyātmabhāvayā |
yoginīṃ sevayen nityaṃ māyāṃ vā pāśavīṃ na ca ||40.38||

Witnesses for MaSaṃ chapter 40: MS Ja: ff. 62r–64r, MS Jb: ff. 126v–130v, MS Jc: ff. 132r–136r, MS Well: ff. 89v–91v.

29a śive] J; śide Well (*pāda a is a na-vipulā*) **29b** nirṇayam] JaJcWell; nirṇayaḥ Jb **29c** siddha°] J; siddhi° Well; cf. *Kubjikāmata* 3.98ab: atraiva siddhasantāne pratyakṣo 'haṃ vyavasthitaḥ **29d** guruṃ] JaJcWell; guru Jb • yajet] J; yatet Well **30c** khaṭvāṃ] J; khadvāṃ Well **31b** pātram anyad] J; pātramadhyam Well **31a** *na-vipulā* **31d** tu śire dhṛtvāṣṭakaṃ] *conj.*; tu śirasi ghṛtvāṣṭakaṃ J, u śira ghṛtvāṣṭaka Well; cf. *Kubjikāmata* 3.133cd–134ab [*Manthānabhedapracāraratisaṅgama* chapter]: pādukopānahau chattraṃ śayyāpaṭṭo 'tha bhājanam | pādena saṃspṛśed yas tu śire dhṛtvāṣṭakaṃ japet || **32a** °nindā°] J; °nidā° Well (Well's reading would result in two laghu syllables) • dṛṣṭvā] J;

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v-c, t-n, y-p), but I always report them when both readings are theoretically possible (e.g. *candana-vandana*, *jaya-japa*); I have ignored most instances of gemination of consonants in ligature with semivowels (e.g. *dharmma*); I have treated *anusvāra*s and homorganic nasals as interchangeable; I have altered them, as well as word-final *anusvāra*s and *m*-s, silently as required by standard orthography; instances of confusion between *ś* and *s* are reported only in the non-accepted variants; *avagraha*s are mostly missing in the MSS and I have always silently supplied them in the textus criticus and in the lemmata, but not when reporting variants; in the apparatus: *em.* = emendation; *conj.* = conjecture; *corr.* = correction; ^{ac} = before correction (*ante correctionem*); ^{pc} = after correction (*post correctionem*); †...† enclose corrupted text which I have not been able to improve upon; ° indicates that the word is part of a compound or phrase; × stands for an illegible *akṣara*; Jab = MSS Ja and Jb; Jall = all available Jodhpur MSS (= Ja, Jb, Jc).

dṛṣṭā Well **32d** akṣamo] JaJcWell; amo Jb **33ab** nindeta yo°] JWell^{pc}; nindeta yoginīmelanaṃ kāryam na seveta paśus trayaṃ nocchiṣṭaṃ pasavo dadyāte Well^{ac} (*eyeskip to verse* 35) **33b** yoginīm] Jab; yogibhīm JcWell **33c** unmattāṃ] J; unmatāṃ Well • puṣṭitāṃ] JaJcWell; puṣṭito Jb • nārīṃ] Jab; nārī JcWell **33d** surākumbhaṃ] Jab; sur×kumbhaṃ Jc, surīkumbhaṃ Well **34a** nindanād] JaJcWell; nindanāt Jb • bhraśyate] JaJcWell; praśyate[?] Jb **34d** paratreha] J; paratredva Well **34d** paśūcchiṣṭaṃ] J; paścacchiṣṭaṃ Well **35b** °striyam] *corr.*; °striyām J, °strayam Well **35c** paśave] J; pasavo Well **35cd** *note the absence of sandhi between the two pādas.* **36a** ekī°] J; ekvī° Well **37a** asaṃskṛtaṃ] J; aṃskṛtam Well • *pāda a is hypermetrical.* Cf. *Kulapradīpa* 3.48: asaṃskṛtaṃ piven madyaṃ balātkāreṇa maithunam | svapriyeṇa hataṃ māṃsaṃ rauravaṃ narakaṃ vrajet **37c** kuryān] Jab; kuryon JcWell • °goṣṭhīṣu] Jab; goṣṭhīvu Well **37 f.** yoginīśāpa āpatet] Jab; yoginī śāyatet Jc^{pc}Well, yogānī śāyatet Jc^{ac} **38a** bhuñjīyād] J; bhujīyād Well • yat] Jab; ya JcWell **38b** °bhāvayā] *conj.*; °bhāvaya JaJc, °bhāvaye Jb, °bhāvayaṃ Well **38c** yoginīṃ] Jab; yoginī Well • sevayen] Jab; sevayon Well **38d** māyāṃ vā] Jab; māyāṃ cā Jc, māyāṃ ca Well • pāśavīṃ] Ja^{pc}JbJcWell; pośavīṃ Ja^{ac} • na ca] J; na ce Well

[The exposition of Kula Conduct]

After this, O Śivā, hear the exposition of the Kula Conduct (*kulācāra*). After he has joined the tradition of the Siddhas, he should worship his guru as divine. (40.29)

The yogin who is engaged in the worship of his guru can obtain the highest Power (*siddhi*). The guru's bedstead, his bedding, clothes, ornaments, sandals, parasol, antilope-skin, bowl or anything else: if he touches any of these with his feet, he should place them on his head and recite [mantras] eight times. (40.30–31)

If he sees anybody who is abusing the guru, he should beat him or [at least] curse him. Or, if he is unable [to do so], he should leave the place. (40.32)

He should not ridicule the worship of the [Yoginī] clans (*kulapūjā*), or despise yogins or yoginīs, women when they are intoxicated, or nourished,[18] or the wine-pot, or Śiva, or the guru. (40.33)

Contempt [for these] will make him fall immediately here in this world and in the other world, O Pārvatī. He should not follow the path of the *paśu*s [i.e. that of the uninitiated] and he should not long for the leftover of *paśu*s. (40.34)

He should strive for an encounter (*melana*) with the Yoginīs. He should not have sex (*na seveta*) with uninitiated women (*paśustrī*).[19] He

18 Perhaps: "pregnant." Alternatively, some kind of sexual interpretation is needed here.

19 See 40.38.

should not give leftovers to the uninitiated (*paśu*). He should never abuse women. (40.35)

He should treat [all phenomena] as one, not as separate.[20] He should not drink [alcohol] or eat meat idly [with no ritual purpose]. (40.36)

He should not drink wine without first purifying it [with mantras], and he should consume meat after he has purified it with that [wine]. He should not answer the call of nature, should not sip water, etc., while reciting mantras or in an assembly.[21] If he does so out of folly, the curse of the Yoginīs will fall on him. (40.37)

When (*yat*) [the yogin] wants to enjoy (*bhuñjīyāt*) a woman, O Goddess, visualising himself as Śiva [and her as] Śakti,[22] he should always have sex with a Yoginī or with a Māyā [type of woman], and never with a Pāśavī [i.e. a *paśu*-natured woman, or more precisely someone who has not been initiated]. (40.38)

Noteworthy among the above are verse 31, which is more or less parallel with *Kubjikāmatatantra* 3.133cd–134ab, reconfirming that the cult of the MaSaṃ draws heavily on the Paścimāmnāya;[23] verse 33, which warns against the abuse of women; and verse 35, which seems to mention only Yoginīs (recommended for sexual encounters) and uninitiated women (not recommended), and seems to be silent on any other category, in contrast to verse 38, in which the third type, Māyā, first appears.

The subsequent verses, 40 and 41, define a Yoginī: she follows the Kula path, is initiated, uses alcohol in her rituals, and generally gives the impression of being a human female practitioner. Rather awkwardly, the text does not give any other detail, but goes on defining her antithesis, the Pāśavī: an uninitiated woman, who is hostile to Śaivism and who should be avoided (41cd–42).

A sexual ritual with the third type, Māyā, is what the rest of the text focuses on. It is here that major ambiguities come into the picture. The key aspects mentioned in the description of the Māyā-type woman are: she has all the

20 I suspect that here the principles of non-hesitation (*nirvikalpa*) and freedom from conventional practices (*nirācāra*) are being reaffirmed: the practitioner should not distinguish between right and wrong, pure and impure etc. See 40.1–28.

21 The interpretation of *mantragoṣṭhīṣu* is highly tentative.

22 The compound *śivaśaktyātmabhāvayā* (*conj.*; °bhāvaya JaJc, °bhāvaye Jb, °bhāvayaṃ Well) is rather unusual, and my conjecture is insecure. Perhaps °*bhāvayā* stands for *bhāvanayā* metri causa. The intended meaning seems to be clear, though.

23 See Kiss 2009, 25 ff.

auspicious characteristics required (*sarvalakṣaṇasampannā*), has neither *rūpa* nor *kula* (*kularūpavivarjitā*),[24] and is to be approached by *bhāva* (*bhāvagamyā*, 40.43).[25] All of these terms remain rather ambiguous without the help of clarification based upon other passages. Here follows the text and translation of this section:

[yoginī māyā pāśavī ca]

devy uvāca |
kā nārī yoginī deva kā māyā kā ca pāśavī |
etāsāṃ saṃgame doṣaṃ guṇaṃ ca vada bhairava ||40.39||

[yoginī]

bhairava uvāca |
kulamārgagatā nārī paśumārgavivarjitā |
mādhvīmadasamādhmātā paśupāśavivarjitā ||40.40||
madirānandacetaskā yoginī śivaśāsane |

[pāśavī]

vikalpakuṭilā pāpā kulācāraparāṅmukhī ||40.41||
śivanindāparā devi tatsaparyāvirodhinī |
pāśavī sā mayākhyātā māyākhyāṃ śṛṇu suvrate ||40.42||

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24 That *kula* and *rūpa* are to be understood as a *dvandva* compound is confirmed in 40.44ab: *yā māyā rūparahitā kulahīnā maheśvara*.

25 Elsewhere I have argued (Kiss 2009, 57–60) that while *bhāva* in the MaSaṃ is mostly to be interpreted as "visualisation," which is a rather common meaning for this word, an additional specification may be required: *bhāva* refers to a particularly emotive process of creating mental images. I suspect that *bhāva* is preferred in the MaSaṃ to *dhyāna* (although *dhyāna, dhyāyet* etc. also abound) for its extremely wide range of meanings. One of the basic meanings of *bhāva* is "being, becoming." Another is "emotion, sentiment" or even "passion, love." I think that all these rather different senses of the word are condensed in the yogic key term of *bhāva* in the MaSaṃ. It is a creation of something in the mind by the yogin, towards which he should also create a feeling, an empathic attitude, perhaps passionate devotion, which will result in the ultimate condition, the desired state of mind: the union with the object, with the deity, with Śiva, or in our case, with a visualised goddess.

[māyā]

sarvalakṣaṇasampannā kularūpavivarjitā |
bhāvagamyā maheśāni yā sā māyā nigadyate ||40.43||

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39 devy] JaJcWell; śrīdevy Jb **39a** yoginī] Ja^{pc}JbJcWell; yogi Ja^{ac} **39b** kā ca pāśavī] JaJc; kāśavī Jb, kā ca pāśavīḥ Well **39d** bhairava] J; bhairavaḥ Well **40a** nārī] JbJcWell; ttārī Ja **40b** °vivarjitā] J; °vivarjitāḥ Well **40cd** mādhvīmadasamādhmātā paśupāśavivarjitā] *em.*; mādhvīmadasamādhyātā paśupāśavivarjitā Jab, JcWell *omit this line* **41b** °śāsane] JaJcWell; °śāsanāt Jb **41c** °kuṭilā] J; °kuṭikā Well **41d** °parāṅmukhī] Ja^{pc}JbJcWell; °pa×ṅmukhī Ja^{ac} **42a** °parā] J; °paro Well • devi] JaJcWell; devī Jb **42b** °virodhinī] *corr.*; °virodhitī J, °virodhinīm Well **42c** pāśavī] J; pāśavīḥ Well • sā] J; sa Well **42d** °ākhyāḥ] *corr.*; °ākhyaḥ JWell **43b** °vivarjitā] J; °vivarjitāḥ Well

[Yoginī, Māyā and Pāśavī]

Devī spoke:

O God, what kind of a woman is a Yoginī? Who is Māyā and who is Pāśavī? Tell me, O Bhairava, the pros and cons of having sex with them. (40.39)

Bhairava spoke:

A woman who is on the Kula Path [of the Yoginī clans] (*kulamārga*), who avoids the path of bound souls (*paśumārga*) [i.e. the path of the uninitiated], who is elevated by intoxication induced by liquor, and is free of the bonds that fetter the soul (*paśupāśa*), and whose mind is filled with the bliss of wine (*madirā*), is [called] a Yoginī in Śiva's teaching. (40.40–41ab)

[Pāśavī:] her mental attitude is dishonest, she is wicked, hostile to Kaula Practice (*kulācāra*). She tends to abuse Śiva, O Goddess, and to obstruct his worship. This [type], the Pāśavī, has been [now] taught by me. O Suvratā, hear the one that is called Māyā. (40.41cd–42)

A woman who possesses all favourable characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) [but] has neither a [Yoginī] Clan/noble family (*kula*) nor a [human/material] form/beauty (*rūpa*), and who is to be approached by empathic imagination (*bhāva*), O Maheśānī, is called Māyā. (40.43)

The term *rūpa* in 43b may refer to "material form" and a lack of *rūpa* would then indicate that Māyā, the preferred sexual partner, is solely imaginary. In this case *sarvalakṣaṇasampannā* indicates that she is to be visualised as a divine being with great beauty. But how to interpret "devoid of *kula*" then? The term *kula* is

often used in the sense of "a clan of Yoginīs."[26] Is she then not a member of any Yoginī clan? Does she transcend the clans of Yoginīs, being the supreme Goddess?[27] This interpretation is supported and at the same time refuted by MaSaṃ 22.24 (which in fact is a citation of *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, alias *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, 4.14):

> *kulayoṣit kulaṃ tyaktvā paraṃ puruṣam eti sā |*
> *nirlakṣyaṃ*[28] *nirguṇaṃ caiva kularūpavivarjitam* ||22.24||[29]
>
> That noble lady abandons her family (*kula*) and goes to the highest man, who is invisible, who lacks qualities, and is devoid of *kula* and form.

Here, in the MaSaṃ as well as the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, the supreme soul (*paraṃ puruṣam*) is described as having neither *kula* nor *rūpa*: as being immaterial and formless.[30] But the word *kula* is used in a double sense in the case of the female subject of the sentence (*kuṇḍalinī* in fact): she leaves her/the body to unite with the Supreme Soul as a noble lady (*kulayoṣit*) leaves her family (*kulaṃ tyaktvā*) to unite with her husband. This does not make it easier to interpret MaSaṃ 40.43b (*kularūpavivarjitā*): the sexual partner might be a woman who was not born in an eminent family, i.e. is of low birth (*kulavivarjitā*), and who lacks beauty (*rūpavivarjitā*), "beauty" being a natural way

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26 See e.g. Sanderson (1988, 671–672): "All Yoginīs belong to the family (*kula*) or lineage (*gotra*) of one or other of a number of 'higher' maternal powers, and in any instance this parentage is ascribed on the evidence of certain physical and behavioural characteristics. An adept in the cult of Yoginīs can identify members of as many as sixty-three of these occult sisterhoods, but is most vitally concerned with the eight major families of the Mothers (*mātṛ*) Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmī." See also Hatley (2007, 13–23, 33, 392, etc.).

27 Cf. *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, sv. *akula*: "Dans les traditions (*āmnāya**) du Kula, c'est la Réalité lumineuse suprême, l'absolu inconditionné: *anuttaraṃ paraṃ dhāma tad evākulam ucyate* (*Tantrāloka* 3.143ab)," etc.

28 em.; *nirlajjaṃ* Cod.

29 Cf. *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 4.14: *kulayoṣit kulaṃ tyaktvā paraṃ puruṣam eti sā | nirlakṣaṇaṃ nirguṇaṃ ca kularūpavivarjitam* ||.

30 Cf. Jayaratha ad *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 4.14: *tadā kulaṃ śarīram apahāya akulapadāvasthitaṃ paraṃ pūrṇam* […] *kulena śarīreṇa taddharmeṇa rūpeṇa ca vivarjitaṃ nirāvaraṇasvabhāvam, ata eva nirguṇam puruṣaṃ, paraṃ pramātāram, eti tadaikātmyam āsādayatīty arthaḥ* ("Then leaving behind the *kula*, i.e. the body, she goes to the one who is in the realm of *akula*, the supreme, i.e. full […] Person, the highest authority, who is without a body and without bodily form, with his innate nature manifest and therefore lacking qualities, i.e. she reaches oneness with Him. This is the meaning [of this verse].")

of translating *rūpa*. In this case, *sarvalakṣaṇasampannā* (40.43a) refers to the form she assumes during the yogin's visualisation, and *bhāvagamyā* (40.43) may suggest that a sexual ritual with her requires this visualisation. Alternatively, the ideal sexual partner might be one who is immaterial and formless (*kularūpavivarjitā*): a visualised goddess, or, as a matter of fact, *kuṇḍalinī*. As we have seen, in the context of the yogin's sexual rituals, first two, then three types of partners are enumerated: one, who is hostile to Śaivism, is to be avoided; initiated human Yoginīs are ideal, but are not dwelt upon in the text, perhaps because they were less and less available at the time of the composition of the MaSaṃ; and as a third alternative, the text either suggests pure visualisation or an uninitiated woman of low birth, without any particular charm, as the locus of visualisation of the Goddess.

The text goes on to give instructions on visualisation needed for the sexual ritual. The yogin should visualise himself as Śiva in the form of Kāmeśvara, and his partner as a goddess:

[māyayā saṃgaḥ]

devy uvāca |
yā māyā rūparahitā kulahīnā maheśvara |
yoginaḥ saṃgamas tasyāḥ kathaṃ bhavati tad vada ||40.44||
bhairava uvāca |
śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi māyayā saṃgam adbhutam |
yad amoghaṃ maheśāni durvijñeyam utāparaiḥ ||40.45||
yogasiddhivihīnaiś ca yogibhiḥ suranāyaki |

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44 uvāca] JaJc; u- Jb, uvā- Well **44a** yā] J; *omitted in* Well (*pāda a is a na-vipulā*) **44b** maheśvara] Well; maheśvaraḥ J **44c** yoginaḥ] JaJc; yogina Jb, *omitted in* Well **44d** kathaḥ] *conj.*; vāthaḥ J, cāthaḥ Well • vada] Jab; vadaḥ JcWell **45** uvāca] JaJcWell; u- Jb **46a** °vihīnaiś] JaJc; vihītaiś Jb, vihīnaiḥś Well **46b** yogibhiḥ] J; yogibhīḥ Well • suranāyaki] JaJcWell; suranāyakiḥ Jb

[Sexual ritual with Māyā]

The Goddess spoke:
Tell me, O Maheśvara, how should the yogin sexually approach the one who is called Māyā, who has neither form/beauty (*rūpa*) nor a clan/noble family/body (*kula*)? (40.44)
Bhairava spoke:
Listen to me, O Goddess, I shall teach you the extraordinary intercourse (*saṃga*) with Māyā. It is fruitful, O Maheśānī, and difficult to learn

by others and yogins without yogic Powers (*siddhi*), O Suranāyakī. (40.45–46ab)

[parameśvaradhyānam]

sugupte mandire mantrī mṛdvāsanaparigrahaḥ ||40.46||
bhāvayec ca svam ātmānaṃ parameśvaravigraham |
kāmeśvaram ivādyantaṃ sūryāyutasamaprabham ||40.47||
cārumañjīrakeyūrakuṇḍalāṅgadabhūṣitam |
mudrikāchannahīrādikirīṭamukuṭojjvalam ||40.48||
prasannavadanaṃ kāntaṃ tāmbūlāpūritādharam |
madirānandacetaskaṃ paramānandavigraham ||40.49||
navayauvanasampannaṃ sarvalakṣaṇabhūṣitam |
svavāmabhāgavinyastamahājagavakārmukam ||40.50||
dakṣabhāgojjvalatpañcaśaram indīvaradyutim |
nīlotpalalasanmālābhūṣitoraskam īśvaram ||40.51||
madena kṣubdhahṛdayam īṣāsmitamukhāmbujam |
evaṃ dhyāyec ciraṃ yogī svaśarīraṃ śivātmakam ||40.52||
candanāgarukarpūrakuraṅgajayakuṅkumaiḥ |
adhivāsitasarvāṅgaṃ cāruvaktravirājitam ||40.53||
ratnadvīpāyutayutaṃ gehe sattalpamadhyagam |

46c sugupte mandire] J; sugupto māḥdere Well **46d** mṛdvāsana°] J; mṛddhāsana° Well **47b** °eśvara°] JaJb^{pc}JcWell; °eśva° Jb^{ac} **47d** °sama°] J; omitted in Well **48b** °kuṇḍalāṅ-gadabhūṣaṇam] Jab; °kuṇḍalāṅgadabhūṣitam Jc, °kumbhalāṅgadabhūṣitam Well **48d** °ojjvalam] Jc; °ojvalam JabWell **49a** prasannavadanaḥ] JaJc; prasaḥnaḥ vadanaḥ Jb, prasannavadanāḥ Well **49b** tāmbūlāpūritādharam] JabWell; tā×būlāpūridharam Jc^{ac}, tā×būlāpūritādharam Jc^{pc} **50d** °mahājagava°] *conj.*; °mahadaikṣava J, °mahavaivakṣa° Well **51a** dakṣa°] J; rakṣa° Well • °ojjvalat°] *corr.*; °ojvalat° JWell **51c** nīlotpala°] JbJcWell; nīlo×la° Ja • °lasan°] J; °lasam° Well **52a** kṣubdha°] JaJc; kṣucca° Jb, kuṣu[?]° Well **52b** īṣāsmita°] J; īsmita° Well • mukhāmbujam] JaJcWell; mukhāḥ Jb **52a** *na-vipulā* **52c** ciraḥ] J; cīraḥ Well **53a** °āgaru°] J; °āgara° Well • °karpūra°] JaJcWell; °karpūraḥ Jb **53d** cāru°] J; cāruḥ Well • °virājitam] J; °virājitaḥḥ Well **54a** *na-vipulā* **54b** gehe sattalpa°] Ja; gehe satralpa° JbJcWell

[Visualisation of Parameśvara]

In a hidden sanctuary, the mantra master should sit on a soft cushion[31] and should visualise himself as having the body of Parameśvara, as if

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31 The element °*parigrahaḥ* in the compund *mṛdvāsanaparigrahaḥ* is suspicious. A word meaning "seated" would fit the context better.

[he were transformed into] Kāmeśvara,[32] having no beginning and no end, shining like millions of suns. (40.46cd–47)

He is adorned with nice anklets, armlets, rings and bracelets, and he shines with small toe rings (*mudrikā*),[33] *channahīras*,[34] etc., and diadems and a crown. (40.48)

His face is gracious, beautiful, his lips are smeared with betel leaves. His mind is filled with the joy of wine,[35] and his body is supreme bliss [itself]. (40.49)

He is in the prime of his youth and has all the auspicious characteristics. He has the great Ajagava[36] bow placed on his left side. (40.50)

On his right, he has five glowing arrows. He is shining like a blue lotus. On his chest there is a glittering garland of blue lotuses. He is the Lord. (40.51)

His heart is agitated with sexual desire. His lotus face displays a faint smile.[37] This is how the yogin should visualise his body for a long time, as transformed into Śiva. (40.52)

All his limbs are perfumed with sandal, aloe, camphor, musk[38] and saffron. He has a beautiful face. (40.53)

He is surrounded by millions of gem islands, in a chamber on a fine bed.[39] (40.54ab)

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32 Note that Kāmeśvara features as Śiva or the central deity in the pre-Śrīvidyā Dakṣiṇāmnāya tradition, with which the MaSaṃ is clearly affiliated. See Sanderson (1988, 688), and Kiss (2009, 18 and 42–43).

33 This is somewhat tentative. See *mudrikā* as an ornament in *Brahmayāmala* 21.63cd: *mudrikām aṅguliś caiva pādau laktakarañjitau* (Kiss 2015, 219).

34 A *channahīra*, or rather a *channavīra*, is made up of two sacred threads (*yajñopavīta*) worn over the two shoulders and across the chest. Bunce (1997) provides two definitions: "Channavira–(Ind.: channa-vīra) A Hindu iconographic object for bodily adornment. The term channavira refers to a chain worn by both male and female deities. It is made up of two chains crossed over the chest, a disc covers the front crossing" (Bunce 1997, 58). "The term chhannavira refers to two sacred cords similar to yajñopavita. One is placed over each shoulder, crossing on the chest and back and looping as low as the hips" (Bunce 1997, 63). See also Rao 1914, vol. 1.2, xxxi (Addenda), where it is defined as a double *yajñopavīta*. See *channavīra* mentioned in e.g. *Rauravāgama, Kriyāpāda* 10.52d.

35 Note that here intoxication is something only to be visualised.

36 Note that *mahājagava* is a rather insecure conjecture for *mahadaikṣava* and *mahavaivakṣa*. Other variants of the name of Śiva's bow are *ajakava* and *ajīkava*.

37 Note the slightly odd form *īṣāsmita*° metri causa for the standard *īṣadasmita*°.

38 I take *kuraṅgajaya* in the sense of "musk," although I have not found any evidence for this compound being used instead of the well-known *kuraṅganābhi*.

39 I am grateful to Harunaga Isaacson for his assistance with this passage.

[śaktidhyānam]

tatra svavāmabhāgasthāṃ śaktiṃ bhuvanamohinīm ||40.54||
sarvalakṣaṇasampannāṃ navayauvanagocarām |
nīlālakasamābaddhamālālolupaṣaṭpadām ||40.55||
kastūrīsāndrakarpūratilakāṃ kamalekṣaṇām |
kuṇḍalāṅgadakeyūragraiveyādivibhūṣitām ||40.56||
akalaṅkaniśānāthasadṛśaśrīmukhāmbujām |
tāmbūlāpūrṇavadanāṃ svarṇakumbhopamastanīm ||40.57||
divyānulepavastrāḍhyāṃ vistīrṇajaghanāntarām |
cārūrujaṅghāṃ saundaryasārasarvasvavigrahām ||40.58||
sarvalāvaṇyasaundaryasārasarvasvavigrahām |
mañjīrāñcitapādāḍhyāṃ divyamālyānulepanām |
madirāsvādamuditāṃ madanāviṣṭavigrahām ||40.59||
vilāsavibhramāṃ kāntāṃ dhyāyet śaktiṃ maheśvari |

54c sva°] JaJcWell; *omitted in* Jb **55b** °gocarām] J; °gaucarām Well **55c** nīlā°] *conj.*; līlā° JWell • °baddha°] J; °baddhaḥ Well **55d** °mālā°] J; °māla° Well • °lolupa°] *conj.*; °lotuya° JWell **55d**°padām] *em.*; °padam JWell; **56a** kastūrī°] JaJc; kastū° Jb, kastūra° Well **56b** °tilakāḥ] J; °tilaḥkāḥ Well • °ekṣaṇām] Jab; °ekṣaṇam JcWell **56c** °keyūra°] J; °keyūraḥ Well **57a** °nātha°] J; °nāthā° Well **57b** °mukhāmbujām] JcWell; °yukhāmbujāḥ Ja, °yukhāmbujaḥ Jb **57d** °opamastanīm] Ja; °opastanīm Jb, °opamastakīm JcWell **58a** °āḍhyāḥ] *conj.*; °ādyāḥ JabcWell **58b** °jaghanā°] *em.*; °jayanā° JWell; *see Kauṇḍinya's commentary on* Pāśupatasūtra 1.9: adhomukhenādaṃṣṭreṇa jaghanāntaracāriṇā **58b** °ntarām] JaJcWell; °ntaram Jb **58c** saundarya°] J; soṃdaryaṃ° Well **58d** °vigrahām] Jab; °vigraham JcWell **58c** *ma-vipulā* **59a** °pādāḍhyāṃ] Ja; °pādādyāṃ JbJc^{pc}, °pādyādāṃ Jc^{ac}, °pādāyāṃ Well **59b** °mālyānulepanām] Ja^{pc}Jb; °mālyānulepanam Ja^{ac}, °mālānulepanām JcWell **59d** madanāviṣṭa°] Jab; madanā° JcWell **59a** *na-vipulā* **60b** dhyāyet] Ja^{pc}Jc; dhyā Ja^{ac}, dhyāye Jb, madhyāt Well • śaktiṃ] J; sakti Well

[Visualisation of Śakti]

On his left side, [he should visualise] Śakti, who infatuates the world. (40.54cd)

She has all the auspicious characteristics. She is in the prime of her youth. She has bees longing for the garland tied in her black locks. (40.55)

The tilaka-mark on her forehead is made with musk thickened with camphor. She has lotus-eyes. She is adorned with rings, armlets, anklets, necklaces etc. (40.56)

Her beautiful lotus face resembles the spotless moon. Her mouth is filled with betel. Her breasts are like golden jars. (40.57)

She is anointed with divine ointments and she is dressed in divine clothes, with her loins exposed.[40] Her thighs and shanks are beautiful. Her body is the ultimate essence of gracefulness. (40.58)

Her feet are embellished[41] with anklets. She wears divine garlands and [has been anointed] with divine ointments. She is delighted by the wine she is enjoying. Her body is filled with passion. She is restless with wantonness. [This is how the yogin] should visualise his lover (*kāntā*) as Śakti, O Maheśvarī. (40.59–60ab)

The appearance of Kāmeśvara and the mention of a gem-island (*ratnadvīpa*) in the above verses suggest an affiliation with the Śrīvidyā tradition and with love magic, perhaps with that of the pre-Śrīvidyā Dakṣiṇāmnāya tradition.[42] Verse 46cd ("in a hidden sanctuary") may also be revealing: if the whole ritual were purely imaginary, it would be less important to perform it in a secret place.

Going further in our text, MaSaṃ 40.60cd–68 may also suggest that a real sexual encounter is being described by using words such as *āśliṣya* ("embracing"), *samācaret* ("he should perform"), *bahiḥ* ("outwardly"), *kṣipet* ("place [his hand]"), *vimuñcati* ("ejaculates"), by giving instructions in 40.61 to stimulate the partner, and also by avoiding words that would refer to visualisation, except *dhyāne*, probably hinting at the fact that the whole process is accompanied by a projection of the image of the Goddess onto the female partner. On the other hand, the formulation of verse 40.65 may cast some doubt upon the real-life presence of the female partner: the yogin should rub his semen on his body, and there is no mention of the female partner's sexual fluids or her receiving or consuming any of the magical mixture, a common practice in Śaiva sexual rituals.[43] Here follows the end of the chapter, describing the sexual ritual:

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40 Ex em. Compare Kauṇḍinya's commentary ad *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.9 (p. 14): *adhomukhenādaṃṣṭreṇa jaghanāntaracāriṇā | sarvaśāstrācikitsyena jagad daṣṭaṃ bhagāhinā* ||, which is translated by Hara (1966, 196) as "The world is bitten by a snake whose mouth is below, toothless, who has crawled between the loins and whose poison can be cured by no science. Its name is the vulva." The passage can also interpreted as "The world is bitten by the snake of the vagina whose toothless mouth points downward, and who moves in the genital area, and for which there is no antidote."

41 I have translated *añcita* as "embellished," suspecting that the word may need some emendation (*aṅkita/rañjita*?).

42 See Sanderson 1988, 688–689 and 2009, 47 ff.

43 See e.g. BraYā 45.201–202ab (Kiss 2015, 142, 258): *upaviśyāpayet tatra cumbanādyāvagūhanam | kṛtvā kṣobhaṃ samārabhya pavitraṃ gṛhya sādhakaḥ || prāśayitvā tu tau hṛṣṭau yāgadravyāṇi prokṣayet* |. "The Sādhaka should make [her] sit down there. He should start kissing and embracing her and stimulating her. He should collect the purifying [substance, i.e. the sexual fluids]. Overjoyed, they should consume [the fluids] …"

[**saṃgaḥ**]

āśliṣya cumbanādīni yogī samyak samācaret ||40.60||
dhyāne bahiḥ susaṃsnigdhaṃ tayā saṃgaṃ samācaret |
gajahastaṃ kṣipet tasyāḥ śrīmanmadanamandire ||40.61||
mantram enaṃ smared yogī madaṃ yāvad vimuñcati |
bhautikavyoma †lā aiṃḍi† kevalārṇas tu bhautike ||40.62||
aparo vahni vāmākṣi bindu yukto maheśvari |
CALEpadaṃ CALApadam CITREpadam anantaram ||40.63||
RETOpadaṃ MUÑCApadayugaṃ pūrvabījā vilomagāḥ |
evaṃ krameṇa yo yogī māyāsaṃgaṃ samācaret ||40.64||
tadvīryaṃ svarṇakarpūrakuṅkumādiviloḍitam |
svadehaṃ mardayet kāntiś candravat samprajāyate ||40.65||
samūlāṃ brahmamaṇḍūkīṃ chāyāśuṣkāṃ prasādhayet |
mṛdvīkārasasaṃmiśrāṃ śarkarāghṛtamelitām ||40.66||
trimāsaṃ bhakṣayet kālatrayam akṣapramāṇakam |
annapānaṃ payaḥ pītvā nāsya śukraḥ kṣayaṃ vrajet ||40.67||
śatavarṣasahasrāntaṃ yadi saṃgaṃ samācaret |
nāsya prakṣīyate satyaṃ navatvāptyai tanoḥ priye ||40.68||
rasāyanam idaṃ guhyam anyeṣāṃ na prakāśayet |
etad rahasyaṃ vyākhyātaṃ durlabhaṃ siddhasaṃtatau |
gurukāruṇyasaṃlakṣyaṃ kiṃ bhūyaḥ śrotum icchasi ||40.69||
|| iti śrīmatsyendrasaṃhitāyāṃ catvāriṃśaḥ paṭalaḥ ||

60c cumbanā°] J; cumbunā° Well **60d** samyak] JaJc; samyā[?]k Jb, samyas Well • samācaret] Ja^{pc}JbWell; samācare Ja^{ac} **61a** dhyāne] Jab; dhyāye JcWell • bahiḥ] *corr.*; bahi J, vadi Well • °snigdhaḥ] Jab; °śligdhaḥ Well **61d** śrī°] J; ślī° Well **62b** vimuñcati] JaJcWell; vimuḥtica Jb (*metathesis*) **62d** kevalārṇas] J; kaivalārṇas Well • tu bhautike] J; tv abhautike Well **62** *marginalia in f. 64r of Ja* (*top*): HRAIṂ TVAIṂ RĪṂ CATE VATA CITTE RETO MUÑCA 2 RĪṂ KLAIṂ HRAIṂ. **63a** vahni°] Well; vahvi° J **63b** bindu°] J; bindud° Well • maheśvari] J; maheśvarī Well **63c** cale°] J; cile° Well • cala°] J; calā° Well **64a** muñcapada°] *corr.*; muñcapadaṃ J, mucapadaṃ Well **64a** *hypermetrical* **64b** °yugaṃ] J; omitted in Well **65a** °vīryaṃ] JaJcWell; °bījaṃ Jb • °karpūra°] Well; °karpūraṃ J **66b** chāyā°] JaJcWell; chāyāṃ° Jb • °śuṣkāṃ] J; °śu×āṃ Well **65c** mardayet] J; marddhayet Well **66c** °miśrāṃ] J; °miśroṃ Well **66d** °melitām] JaJcWell; °melikām Jb **67a** trimāsaṃ] J; trimāse Well • kāla°] JaJcWell; kā° Jb **67d** °pramāṇakam] Jab; °pramāṇakraṃḥ Well **67c** °pānaṃ] J; °pātaṃ Well **68b** saṃgaṃ] *corr.*; saṃga JWell **68c** nāsya] Ja; nākṣasya Well • satyaṃ] JbWell; ×yaṃ Ja **68d** navatvāptyai] JaJcWell; navātvāstha Jb **69a** guhyam] J; guhyaṃm Well **69d** °labhaṃ] J; °lebhaṃ Well **69e** °kāruṇya°] JabWell; °kāruṇyaṃ Jc **69 f.** bhūyaḥ] J; bhūya Well • śrotum] JaJcWell; śrītum Jb **Colophon:** catvāriṃśaḥ] J; catvāriṃśat Well

[The intercourse]

The yogin should embrace and kiss her, etc., properly. (40.60cd)
[Then] he should have sex with her outwardly, very gently, while [performing] visualisation. He should apply the "elephant trunk" [method][44] on her divine love temple [i.e. her genitalia]. (40.61)
The yogin should recall this mantra when he ejaculates: Bhautika [AI], Vyoman [H], [...], TU verbatim and Bhautika [AI; i.e. HRAIṂ TVAIṂ].[45] (40.62)
Moreover: Vahni [R] and Vāmākṣi [Ī] with a Bindu [Ṃ; i.e. RĪṂ], O Maheśvarī, the words CALE and CALA and immediately CITRE [CITTE?], (40.63)
the word RETO, MUÑCA twice,[46] and the previous seed-mantras backwards [RĪṂ TVAIṂ HRAIṂ]. The yogin who has had sex with Māyā should rub his semen mixed with gold, camphor and saffron on his own body: [his] beauty will become moon-like. (40.64–65)
He should dry *brahmamaṇḍūkī*[47] together with its roots in the shade. He should mix it with grape-juice, candied sugar and ghee. (40.66)
He should have it three times [a day] for three months in portions measuring a dice as food and drink and he should drink milk. His semen will not deteriorate in millions of years if he practises sex [with Māyā]. His [semen] will never ever wane. It is for the rejuvenation of the body, O Priyā. (40.67–68)
This is the secret of alchemy. He should not reveal it to others. This secret of the Siddha tradition, which is difficult to obtain, has now been taught. It is to be revealed through the compassion of the guru. What else do you wish to hear? (40.69)

Here ends the fortieth chapter of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*.

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44 See p. 443 below.

45 If the decoding of this mantra in the marginalia in f. 64r of MS Ja (top, HRAIṂ TVAIṂ RĪṂ CATE VATA CITTE RETO MUÑCA 2 RĪṂ KLAIṂ HRAIṂ) is more or less correct, the puzzling syllables *lā aiṃḍi* must stand for R. Note the slight differences between the code in the text and the mantra given in the marginalia. The reconstruction of the mantra is somewhat tentative.

46 See *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* 5.51: AMUKĪṂ DRĀVAYA SVĀHĀ *vinyaset sādhakottamaḥ* | *vāmāyā*[?] CAPALACITTE RETO MUÑCA*dvayaṃ paṭhet*.

47 Clerodendrum Siphonantus?

Rubbing one's own semen on one's body (verse 65) is an old custom, and was probably not considered a transgressive practice at all. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad* 6.4.4–5 describe a practice to be followed in case one discharges semen:

> bahu vā idaṃ suptasya vā jāgrato vā retaḥ skandati || 6.4.4 ||
> tad abhimṛśed anu vā mantrayeta—yan me 'dya retaḥ pṛthivīm askāntsīd yad oṣadhīr apy asarad yad apaḥ | idam ahaṃ tad reta ādade | punar mām aitu indriyaṃ punas tejaḥ punar bhagaḥ | punar agnir dhiṣṇyā yathāsthānaṃ kalpantām | ity anāmikāṅguṣṭhābhyām ādāyāntareṇa stanau vā bhruvau vā nimṛjyāt ||6.4.5||

In Hume's translation (1921, 168–169):

> "[If] even this much semen is spilled, whether of one asleep or of one awake, [5] then he should touch it, or [without touching] repeat:—
> 'What semen has of mine to earth been spilt now,
> Whate'er to herb has flowed, whate'er to water—
> Again to me let vigour come!
> Again, my strength; again, my glow!
> Again the altars and the fire
> Be found in their accustomed place!'
> Having spoken thus, he should take it with ring-finger and thumb and rub it on between his breasts or his eye-brows."[48]

As can be seen from this passage, semen was probably never considered so impure as to forbid its magical application on the body, and this practice was recommended to regain strength—exactly as in MaSaṃ 40.68 (*navatvāptyai tanoḥ*). The question is inevitable: is the somewhat similar practice in MaSaṃ 40.65 recommended for a similar situation, namely for ejaculation in a state of mind comparable to sleep, i.e. visualisation? Does this similarity between the two instructions suggest the absence of the female partner in the MaSaṃ?

To return to 40.61cd, where stimulation of the partner is probably hinted at: this gives the instruction to "cast an 'elephant trunk' on the partner's divine love temple" (*gajahastaṃ kṣipet tasyāḥ śrīmanmadanamandire*). This again is ambiguous. *Gajahasta* could be a *mudrā* to be shown during the ritual,[49]

48 I find Olivelle's translation (1996, 88) slightly less accurate at this point, although the differences are minor.

49 See e.g. *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* 17.133–135ab: *eṣā tu paramā mudrā sarvasaṅkṣobhaṇī matā* |

but could as well be the technique mentioned in Jaśodhara's commentary ad *Kāmasūtra* 7.2.2:

> *ratasyopakrame sambādhasya kareṇopamardanaṃ tasyā rasaprāptikāle ca ratayojanam iti rāgapratyānayanam* |
>
> Commentary: *ratasyeti* | *samprayogasya upakrama iti* | *ayam ārambhe, yady api mando rāgo rate pravartayati stabdhaliṅgatvāt, tathāpi prathamataḥ sambādhasya bhagasya kareṇopamardanaṃ gajahastena kṣobhaṇaṃ kāryaṃ …*
>
> [When you are] about to practise sex, [first you should] rub her genitalia with your hand, and when there is dampness, the sexual act can be commenced. This is the restoration of passion.
>
> Commentary: "about to practice sex": at the beginning of the sexual act. This is at the start [of the sexual act]. Even if the passion is weak with regards to sex because the penis is inert, first "her genitalia," i.e. her vulva, should be rubbed with his hand, should be stimulated with the "elephant trunk" [method] …

The possible hint in MaSaṃ 40.61cd at a Kāmaśāstric technique again suggests that we are dealing with the description of a sexual ritual involving a human female partner. Or should this also be only visualised?

3 Why All These Ambiguities?

I think it is safe to say that the teaching of MaSaṃ 40 is ambiguous to an extent that makes it rather difficult to decide on one or another exclusive interpretation. The question to answer is rather: why is it so ambiguous? Is it deliberately so? Is it so due to bad writing, to sloppy composition? Are essential details left out because they were well-known to gurus and pupils at the time of composition of the text? Did revisions/insertions during the course of transmission cause the ambiguity (deliberately or accidentally)? Is the text

---

kṣobhayed athavā mantrī gajahastākhyamudrayā || adhomukhaṃ dakṣapāṇiṃ nidhāyāṅguṣṭhake same | niḥkṣiped aṅgulīḥ sarvā gajatuṇḍākṛtir yathā || gajahastā mahāmudrā kathitā siddhidāyikā |.

ambiguous because of the uncertainty of its redactors, i.e. they were rephrasing old teachings but were not sure of the details? Is this ambiguity the result of the redactors' diffidence in expressing secret teachings on sexuality? Could this ambiguity be seen as indicative of some major change in the tradition?

The first possibility, namely that the text is ambiguous deliberately, would imply that the author(s) or redactor(s) wanted to hide their secret teaching from unauthorised eyes. This is possible but not as typical as one would think. For instance, while they are difficult for the modern reader to decipher, the BraYā's radical teachings on sexual ritual are relatively straightforward concerning what is real and what is imaginary, and while there are technical terms which are not openly discussed in the text,[50] and its language is far from being standard Pāṇinian Sanskrit, it is generally possible to understand how sexual rituals were supposed to be performed.

The next possibility hinted at above, i.e. the effect of bad writing, is possible, but the MaSaṃ is far from being a very cryptic or confused text. It would have required minimal effort and ability on behalf of the redactors to clarify details that we miss: a few lines on how to acquire or invite a Māyā woman, similar to the BraYā's instructions on finding a partner,[51] a verse on her role and position during the ritual, or a clear remark stipulating the yogin's solitude would have been enough.

On the other hand, one should not forget that texts like the MaSaṃ were definitely not written with an outsider reader in mind who would try to understand them several hundred years later. Essential details could have been left out because they were obvious to the redactors.

As regards possible revisions and insertions, there are signs that MaSaṃ 40 is made up of at least three distinct parts. Verses 40.1–28 constitute a small chapter in themselves with weak links to the rest of the chapter. What they have in common is the mention of "Kaula conduct" and bodily fluids. 40.29–37 and the rest of the chapter are more closely related. Both mention and discuss sexual rituals, but the first section, while mentioning sex with Yoginīs, is silent on Māyā, the focus of the second part, i.e. verses 40.38–69, which seem as if they were an alternative and additional teaching. But this additional section may again be made up of passages drawn from various sources. The visualisation of Kāmeśvara and his partner (40.46cd–60ab) may come from a source different from that of the instructions on the sexual act itself, and this in itself would provide some explanation for discrepancies in the text. The text may

50 E.g. the term *avagraha* ("restraint") or *pīṭha* ("external genital organ of the female partner"). See Kiss 2015, 49, 47–48.

51 See BraYā 45.185cd–189ab.

have originally described a sexual ritual with a human partner, but during the transmission of the text some passages teaching new ideas (such as a visualised partner) were inserted, thus making the text ambiguous.

This may lead us to another possibility, namely that at some point the redactors of the text became uncertain of the exact details of the ritual and when they tried to solve the problem they may have ended up obscuring it even further. Finally, the possibility of diffidence may also have played some role, especially if the female partner was meant to be purely imaginary, but other details of the ritual were not.

It seems that a wider perspective may be required to see what this chapter of the MaSaṃ signifies. The ambiguity between actual sex and visualisation in chapter 40 may have its roots in the tension between sexuality and asceticism which is clearly manifest in the frame story of the text (chapters 1 and 55). The frame story contains a unique version of the legend of Matsyendra and Gorakṣa: Matsyendra occupies the body of a dead king and indulges in sensual pleasures. It is Gorakṣa, his disciple, who "rescues" Matsyendra from the trap of sexuality and power, and leads him back to an ascetic life.[52] Taking into account this wider context, it is possible to discover the same tension in the teaching of MaSaṃ 40 between a sexual ritual that may have originated in an earlier tantric strata of the cult, and its probably later haṭhayogic layers.

As I suggest elsewhere,[53] the MaSaṃ could provide clues about the transition of a tantric cult from Kaula practices, often involving transgressive elements, to early Haṭhayoga, often associated with brahmacārin practitioners. The text may be echoing or quoting old tantric texts with such descriptions of sexual rituals that aim at obtaining sexual fluids, but the redactors of the MaSaṃ were perhaps in a transition towards more ascetic or *brahmacaryā*-oriented teachings, and as a result, they come up with a fairly obscure variant of the figure of the tantric Yoginī: Māyā, first described as only a phantom, resembles the wholly mental visualisation of goddesses, but at the same time takes part in a human sexual ritual. The redactors may have had reservations about a sexual ritual with a low-caste woman, and tried to conceal this with instructions on visualisation to such an extent that even the presence of a human partner is now doubtful. They may also have had *kuṇḍalinī* in their thoughts: the

52 See Kiss 2009, 222–233 and 317–321.

53 Kiss 2009, 9: "[…] the MaSaṃ provides some clues for, among other things, the understanding of the transition from the early Indian yoga traditions (Pātañjala and Śaiva) to the late and fully developed *haṭha*-yogic teachings as well as of the transition from the early Kula traditions to the later Kaula teachings associated with the figure of Matsyendra."

text as it stands now could be a metaphor for meditation on her. The manner in which they reconcile two (or three) attitudes, in this case those of explicit sexuality and of brahmacārin yogins' mental worship of a goddess (or of *kuṇḍalinī*), is, as so often in tantric texts, less than convincing. But this imperfection, this ambiguity, is exactly the feature which seems to tell us something about the history of the cult, its transition from one phase to another.

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CHAPTER 19

Haṭhayoga's Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism

Jason Birch

My doctoral thesis (Birch 2013), which was supervised by Alexis Sanderson at the University of Oxford, contained a survey of texts on Haṭha- and Rājayoga. One of the challenges of completing such a survey was that very few of the texts composed from the sixteenth to eighteenth century had been critically edited or studied academically. Inspired by several exemplary surveys of Śaiva literature in Sanderson's articles (e.g. 2001, 2007 and 2014), I visited a large number of libraries in India in an effort to consult manuscripts of unpublished yoga texts. By the end of my doctorate, it was apparent to me that yoga texts composed on the eve of colonialism provided new insights into the history of yoga and, more specifically, are crucial for understanding how Haṭhayoga changed after it had been codified by Svātmārāma in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (circa mid-fifteenth century). In fact, after Svātmārāma had successfully transformed Haṭhayoga from an auxiliary practice into a complete soteriological system, there began what might be considered the floruit of Haṭhayoga, insofar as its literature flourished, its systems of practice accumulated more techniques and it became, particularly in scholarly compendiums on yoga, almost synonymous with the auxiliaries of *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma*.

Building on my doctoral research, this article aims to provide a framework for examining the textual sources of Haṭhayoga that were composed from the sixteenth to eighteenth century. After a brief summary of the early literature of Haṭhayoga, I shall discuss some of the salient features of the late literature by dividing the texts into two etic categories; 'extended works' and 'compendiums.' The extended works expatiate on Haṭhayoga as it was formulated in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, whereas the compendiums integrate teachings of Haṭhayoga within a discourse on yoga more broadly conceived. Both categories include scholarly and practical works which, when read together in this way, reveal significant changes to both practical and theoretical conceptions of Haṭhayoga. Such a reading also illuminates several developments of this time that foreshadowed, and in some cases inspired, the transnational yogas of the twentieth century. The article concludes with a brief discussion on the regional extent of the literature on Haṭhayoga during this period and how the codification of its praxis and theory appears to have diverged in different regions.

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1 Conceptions of Haṭhayoga before the *Haṭhapradīpikā*

The earliest references to the term *haṭhayoga* are found in some Buddhist Tantras, most notably the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Kālacakratantra*, which date to the eighth and eleventh centuries, respectively, and mention it as a method of last resort when the primary techniques of these traditions had failed (Birch 2011, 541–542). An eleventh-century commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, called the *Vimalaprabhā*, explains the term *haṭhayoga* as the name of a type of yoga that forces *prāṇa* ('vitality') into the central channel through a practice involving *nāda* ('internal resonance') and retention of *bindu* ('generative fluids'). The earliest known Śaiva work to teach Haṭhayoga is the circa twelfth-century *Amaraughaprabodha* (Birch 2019). Its Haṭhayoga is somewhat consistent with that of the Kālacakra tradition insofar as both are auxiliary practices that induce *nāda*. Nonetheless, a much closer counterpart to the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s Haṭhayoga exists in an eleventh-century Vajrayāna work called the *Amṛtasiddhi* (Mallinson 2020). Both have similar accounts of three complex *mudrā*s and a system of sounds (*nāda*), blisses (*ānanda*) and voids (*śūnya*). It is important to note that the author of the *Amṛtasiddhi* does not identify its yoga as Haṭhayoga. The reason for this is not stated in the text, but Haṭhayoga appears to have been a controversial practice among some Buddhist exegetes,[1] and it is also possible that Haṭhayoga, or at the very least some of its techniques of that time, had older associations with other religious traditions.[2]

Unlike earlier Buddhist works, Haṭhayoga in the *Amaraughaprabodha* is embedded in a fourfold hierarchy in which Rājayoga is the principal yoga. Rājayoga is defined as the absence of mental activity,[3] a meditative state that was known by this name in other Śaiva yoga texts of the same era.[4] In this hierarchy, Haṭhayoga was not the sole means to Rājayoga, because the latter could also be achieved by Mantra- and Layayoga. Judging by later works, such

1 On Maitreyanātha's and Rāmapāla's rejection of Haṭhayoga, see Isaacson and Sferra 2014, and Mallinson, forthcoming 2020.

2 On the prehistory of certain techniques which were integrated into Haṭhayoga, see Mallinson 2016, 120–122. In the case of the three physical techniques taught in the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *Amaraughaprabodha*, it seems possible to me that the *Amaraughaprabodha* may have borrowed from a source that was older than the *Amṛtasiddhi* (Birch 2019, 964–966) and that the physical practices themselves were not the preserve of esoteric Buddhists.

3 *Amaraughaprabodha* 3d (*yaś cittavṛttirahitaḥ sa tu rājayogaḥ*).

4 The earliest work to teach Rājayoga by name is the *Amanaska*, which can be dated to the eleventh or early twelfth century (Birch 2014, 406–409). In nearly all texts that teach Haṭhayoga, Rājayoga is mentioned as the goal of Haṭhayoga.

as the *Śivasaṃhitā* (5.13–28), which explain the rationale behind this hierarchy, it appears that the characteristics of the student were the basis for determining which yoga was taught to an individual, and it seems likely that Mantra-, Laya- and Haṭhayoga were superfluous to students of extraordinary capability who could achieve Rājayoga without an auxiliary practice.[5]

The praxis common to both the yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the Haṭhayoga of the *Amaraughaprabodha* is three techniques called *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha* and *mahāvedha*. A repertoire larger than this rudimentary one appears in all systems of Haṭhayoga that followed, such as that of the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (circa 13th-century), a Vaiṣṇava work in which a collection of ten *mudrā*s, referred to as the Haṭhayoga of Kapila, was integrated with a Vaiṣṇava form of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* attributed to Yājñavalkya.[6] Kapila's collection of *mudrā*s consists of *khecarī, viparītakaraṇī*, the three *bandha* ("locks"), and three variations of *vajrolimudrā*, in addition to *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha* and *mahāvedha*. Combinations of some of these *mudrā*s appear in contemporary Śaiva works, such as the *Yogatārāvalī* and the *Yogabīja*,[7] which teach basic systems of Haṭhayoga. The latter text is known for its definition of Haṭhayoga as the union of the sun and moon, which are represented by the syllables *ha* and *ṭha*, respectively. This definition is absent from the earliest recension of the *Yogabīja*, which simply defined Haṭhayoga as forcefully consuming the gross elements of the body.[8]

Some of the *mudrā*s in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* also appear in systems of yoga of the same era that were not called Haṭhayoga as evinced, for example,

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5 The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (14) states that Mantrayoga is for the lowest type of practitioner, who has a weak intellect. This is why it is the lowest yoga of the hierarchy (*alpabuddhir imaṃ yogaṃ sevate sādhakādhamaḥ | mantrayogo hy ayaṃ prokto yogānām adhamas smṛtaḥ ||*). A passage in the long recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (17cd–24), which might postdate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, explicitly connects each of the four types of student to one of these four yogas. Both this passage and the similar one in the *Śivasaṃhitā*, mentioned above, appear to have been inspired by the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s discourse (chapters 15–18) on the four types of student in relation to the four stages of yoga.

6 This Vaiṣṇava form of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* is taught (without the Haṭhayogic *mudrā*s) in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and *Yogayājñavalkya*, which were probably composed in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, respectively.

7 Recent work on nineteen manuscripts of the *Yogabīja* by the Haṭha Yoga Project has revealed an early recension that does not teach these *bandha*s and *mudrā*s. Nonetheless, it is likely that a section on four *kumbhaka*s and the three *bandha*s was added to the text before the time of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, in an attempt to explain the practice of *śakticālana* and Haṭhayoga.

8 *Yogabīja*, ms. no. 29917, f. 11v, line 5 (*haṭhena grasyate jāḍyaṃ haṭhayogaḥ sa ucyate*). The "union of the sun and moon" definition was added to later recensions of the *Yogabīja*, one of which may still predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

by two Śaiva works, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and the *Gorakṣaśataka*.[9] This suggests that from the twelfth to the fifteenth century the practice of these particular *mudrā*s was more widespread than the use of the term *haṭhayoga* for designating a system of praxis. In fact, according to the available evidence, *haṭhayoga* is used in this sense in only four non-Buddhist Sanskrit yoga texts that are likely to predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, and two others whose dating is less certain.[10]

Unlike the asceticism and yoga of esoteric traditions, the texts of Haṭhayoga do not mention the need for initiation (*dīkṣā*) for its practice, a characteristic that appears to reflect *haṭhayoga*'s role as an auxiliary practice for people of various religions and social status, including householders (Birch 2015, 8–10). Although some of the distinguishing *mudrā*s of Haṭhayoga, such as inverting the body, may be similar to techniques of older traditions of asceticism (*tapas*), the *mudrā*s had been adapted and repurposed by tantric Buddhist and Śaiva sects by the time texts such as the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *Amaraughaprabodha* were composed. None of the early teachings on Haṭhayoga refer to *tapas* and, in contrast to the mortifying effects of extreme methods of *tapas*, the proponents of Haṭhayoga claimed that this type of yoga would not afflict the body and would, in fact, bring about health and *jīvanmukti* ("liberation-in-life") relatively quickly. Nonetheless, in this period there were opponents to Haṭhayoga

9 One might also include the *Śivasaṃhitā* as an example here. The fourth chapter of this work teaches *āsana*s, *prāṇāyāma* and ten *mudrā*s, as well as *yonimudrā*, which became an integral part of the typology of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Chapters 1–4 of the *Śivasaṃhitā*, in which these techniques are taught, do not refer to Haṭhayoga, which is mentioned only briefly in the fifth chapter. The first four chapters may have been an original text that was combined with the fifth sometime before the seventeenth century (Birch 2018, 107 note 13).

10 These are the *Amaraughaprabodha*, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, the *Yogabīja* and the *Yogatārāvalī*. The other two are the *Śivasaṃhitā* and the *Aparokṣānubhūti*, whose verses on Haṭhayoga may not predate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. On the dating of the *Śivasaṃhitā*, see Birch 2018, 107, note 13. As far as I know, the date of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* is uncertain and it is possible that its verses on Haṭhayoga were added more recently (Birch 2011, 540, notes 98–100). A Sanskrit Vīraśaiva work called the *Śaivaratnākara* by Jyotirnātha mentions in passing the four yogas in the same order as the *Yogabīja* (i.e., Mantra, Haṭha-, Laya and Rājayoga). According to Elaine Fisher (personal communication, 10 March 2019), the *Śaivaratnākara* may have been composed in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, which so happens to be the likely date of the early recension of the *Yogabīja*. A large Sanskrit compendium called the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, probably dated to 1363 CE, mentions Haṭhayoga in a syncretic section on yoga that borrows from earlier yoga texts. I am also aware of a Marathi text on yoga that may predate the fifteenth century, namely, the *Vivekadarpaṇa*. This work defines but rejects Haṭhayoga in favour of a gnostic type of Rājayoga. I would like to thank James Mallinson for drawing my attention to the *Vivekadarpaṇa* and Elaine Fisher for the *Śaivaratnākara*.

who considered it to be like hard asceticism insofar as it was a cause of suffering and unnecessary exertion. These opponents usually favoured effortless gnostic methods for attaining liberation.[11]

The conception of Haṭhayoga in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* represents a turning point in its history. The author of this work Svātmārāma incorporated a larger repertoire of techniques than earlier works and synthesized diverse teachings of various yoga traditions into a cohesive system, which he called Haṭhayoga. Before Svātmārāma's efforts, Haṭhayoga had been conceived as one of several auxiliaries in hierarchical models of yoga. In the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, Haṭhayoga is the sole means to Rājayoga and a complete soteriological system. The success of Svātmārāma's interpretation is attested by the fact that subsequent authors borrowed much of the structure and content of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in creating more extensive works on Haṭhayoga. Also, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* was widely quoted as an authority on its subject, in particular by erudite authors of compendiums on yoga that were composed after the fifteenth century, and it appears to have spread throughout most of India. Recently published catalogues indicate that nearly two hundred manuscripts of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* are held in libraries throughout India, from Kashmir to Tamil Nadu and Gujarat to West Bengal in various scripts, as well as a few vernacular commentaries.

The *Haṭhapradīpikā* might be considered the culmination of a formative period in the development of Haṭhayoga as a system of praxis. In this sense, it marks the beginning of Haṭhayoga as a distinct method that combined both seated and non-seated *āsana*s, the eight *kumbhakas* and the ten *mudrā*s. In keeping with the earlier literature, the main goal of these techniques was Rājayoga. However, in addition to the *mudrā*s of Haṭhayoga, Svātmārāma also stipulated the practice of three other *mudrā*s for Rājayoga, namely, *śāmbhavī mudrā, khecarīmudrā*[12] and a simplified form of *ṣaṇmukhīmudrā*, which is not named as such, but is prescribed for "fusing the mind with the internal resonance" (*nādānusandhāna*).[13] These "meditational" *mudrā*s probably derive

11 Early examples of texts that critique and reject Haṭhayoga and its methods include the *Mokṣopāya*/*Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Amanaska* (Birch 2011, 531, 544–545).

12 *Khecarīmudrā* is taught in chapters three and four of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. In the fourth chapter, the practice of this *mudrā* consists of focusing the mind between the eyebrows, rather than the Haṭhayogic *khecarīmudrā* of inserting the tongue into the nasopharyngeal cavity, which is taught in the third chapter.

13 The *Haṭhapradīpikā* (4.68) states that the ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth should be blocked in order to hear the internal resonance (*nāda*) in the *suṣumnā* channel. Brahmānanda's *Jyotsnā* commentary on this verse adds that the senses are blocked by the fingers, and he calls this practice *ṣaṇmukhīmudrā*. A simpler technique is also mentioned at *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.82ab, in which the yogin presses the ears with the hands to initiate *nādānu-*

from older traditions of Rājayoga, one of which explicitly rejects the *mudrā*s of Haṭhayoga.[14] Their inclusion in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* reflects Svātmārāma's efforts to bring together techniques of diverse traditions under the umbrella term *haṭhayoga*.

After the fifteenth century, the composition of yoga texts which teach or integrate Haṭhayoga flourished. Although these texts reveal significant efforts at augmenting Haṭhayoga's repertoire of techniques and synthesising it with other yogas, religions and philosophies, the schema of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* was most often the starting point and, in many cases, the prevailing paradigm for Haṭhayoga in both the scholarly and more praxis-orientated works that will be discussed below.

2 Post Fifteenth-Century Literature of Haṭhayoga

A notable change in the literature that followed the *Haṭhapradīpikā* was the composition of more comprehensive works on Haṭhayoga and large compendiums on yoga that integrated Haṭhayoga. The early literature on Haṭhayoga consists mainly of short pithy texts that provide skeletal systems of practice and rudimentary theoretical details. The later literature incorporates more techniques and theory, as well as more elaborate systems of practice. The considerable growth in the length of the later works can be seen in Table 19.1.

It should be noted that, on the whole, the early works were composed in a low register of Sanskrit and *anuṣṭubh* metre.[15] They are prescriptive and elementary, which suggests that they were probably written for practitioners. In contrast to this, many of the later works, such as the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* and the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, are more scholarly and tend to be written in higher registers of Sanskrit. Their authors utilize more complex metres, compile their material from a wider range of sources and often include commentary on the older sources, which are frequently cited with attribution.

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sandhāna (*karṇau pidhāya hastābhyāṃ yaḥ śṛṇoti dhvaniṃ muniḥ*). A similar technique is described in the *Śivasvarodaya* (383), the *Rājayogāmṛtasāra* of Ānandānandanātha (1.17–18, f. 9r–9v), the *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣat* (2.2.2) and the *Jogapradīpyakā* (685–688), and it is depicted in an illustrated manuscript called "seven *āsana*s of yoga" at the National Museum of New Delhi, PCWA gallery.

14 For example, one of the earliest yoga texts to teach a *mudrā* called *śāmbhavī* is the *Amanaska*, a text on Rājayoga that explicitly rejects *prāṇāyāma* and the *mudrā*s and *karaṇa*s associated with it (Birch 2014, 406–408).

15 The exception is the *Yogatārāvalī*, which is composed in *triṣṭubh* and incorporates poetic images, etc.

TABLE 19.1 A comparison of the number of verses in early and late texts on Haṭhayoga

	Texts on Haṭhayoga	No. of verses
Pre-16th c. texts	*Yogatārāvalī* (14th c.)	29
	Amaraughaprabodha (12th c.)	46[a]
	Dattātreyayogaśāstra (13th c.)	169
	Yogabīja (14th c.)	170
	Haṭhapradīpikā (15th c.)	392
Post-16th c. texts	*Haṭharatnāvalī* (17th c.)	404
	Haṭhapradīpikā, 10 chs (18th c.)	595
	Siddhāntamuktāvalī (18th c.)	1553[b]
	Haṭhatattvakaumudī (18th c.)	1680[c]
	Yogacintāmaṇi (17th c.)	3423[d]

a This number of verses is based on a short recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which is older than the recension published by Mallik (1954). The short recension is preserved by two manuscripts (Ms. No. 1448 at the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, University of Madras, Chennai, and Ms. No. 70528 at the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Chennai). For more information on this short recension, see Birch 2019.

b This estimate is given by Gharote, et al. 2006, xvi.

c This is an approximate number of *śloka*s for the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī*, which has fifty-six chapters, ranging from 5 to 150 *śloka*s each. Most are around 20. So, I have taken an average of 30. The *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* is undoubtedly a large yoga text, and I have felt no the need to add up all of its *śloka*s to prove this point.

d This estimate is given in a scribal comment at the end of a manuscript of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* held at the Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute (ms. No. 9785 p. 257, line 14).

In order to discuss the salient characteristics of the late literature on Haṭhayoga, I shall divide the texts into two categories. The first consists of "extended works" on the topic of Haṭhayoga and the second, "compendiums" that borrow from Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts. There are some texts, such as the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, which could be placed in either category. Nonetheless, the purpose of introducing these etic categories is to reveal particular stylistic features and content that are characteristic of the works in each group.

2.1 *Extended Works*

The extended works expatiate on the type of Haṭhayoga that was outlined in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Many of these works borrow verses from the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and their discourse centres on the praxis and theory of Haṭhayoga. Examples include:

Haṭharatnāvalī (17th c.)[16]
Haṭhayogasaṃhitā (17th c.)[17]
Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati (18th c.)[18]
Haṭhayogamañjarī (18th c.?)[19]

16 On the date of the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, see Birch 2018, 109 note 24.

17 The *Haṭhayogasaṃhitā* is a compilation that borrows extensively from the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The opening verses (1.2–3) acknowledge the seven sages, namely Mārkaṇḍeya, Bharadvāja, Marīci, Jaimini, Parāśara, Bhṛgu and Viśvāmitra, for spreading Haṭhayoga in the world. The stated aim of Haṭhayoga is to achieve purification (*śodhanaṃ*), firmness (*dṛḍhatā*), steadiness (*sthairya*), constancy (*dhairya*), lightness (*lāghava*), direct perception (*pratyakṣa*) and liberation (*nirlipta*) of the body (*ghaṭa*). Its Haṭhayoga has seven auxiliaries: the *ṣaṭkarma*, *āsana*, *mudrā*, *pratyāhāra*, *prāṇasaṃyāma*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*. The *Haṭhayogasaṃhitā* appears to have been the basis of the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* (eighteenth century), which adds a new frame story (viz., a dialogue between the teacher Gheraṇḍa and a student Caṇḍakāpāli), several elaborate visualization practices and a six-fold Rājayoga. The *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* calls its yoga *ghaṭasthayoga*, omits the *Haṭhayogasaṃhitā*'s teachings on *vajrolī* and redefines this *mudrā* as a handstand, thus revealing a reluctance to adopt the transgressive practices of Haṭhayoga.

18 The *terminus ad quem* of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is the *Śrītattvanidhi*, which was a compendium composed by Kṛṣṇarāja Waḍiyar III, the Mahārāja of Mysore, who was active in the mid-nineteenth century (Sjoman 1996, 40). The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* was a source text of the *Śrītattvanidhi* (see Birch 2018, 131–134), and probably predates it by a hundred years or so (Birch and Singleton 2019, 14–16).

19 Not much scholarly attention has been given to this work. Its name in the published edition is not entirely certain according to the colophons. The text begins with the heading *Haṭhayogamañjarī*. However, the second chapter's colophon refers to the *Jogī-cintāmaṇi* of Śrīsahajānandanātha, the third chapter's colophon to the *Śrīsarvopaniṣat*, and the final colophon to the *Gorakhajogamañjarī*. The text could be a composite work consisting of summaries or extracts of different texts. Nonetheless, the *Haṭhayogamañjarī* styles itself as a work on Haṭhayoga. The terms *haṭhayoga* and *haṭhavidyā* are used in each chapter and it contains a description of the *haṭhayogī* (p. 32). Its opening verses (2–5) state that it is an explanation of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in a vernacular language (*bhāṣā*). It certainly covers most of the content of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, but also includes additional material on *yama, niyama, pratyāhāra, dhyāna*, etc. A significant difference is that much of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s discourse on Rājayoga has been omitted. Like other Brajbhāṣā texts, such as the *Jogapradīpyakā* (1737 CE), the author of the *Haṭhayogamañjarī* equates *vajrolīmudrā* with Rājayoga. I am yet to consult a manuscript of this work or even find a reference to it in a manuscript catalogue or another yoga text. It may be the work referred to as the *Jogamañjarī* (acc. no. 6543, Rajasthan Pracya Vidya Pratisthan, Bikaner, Rajasthan) by Gharote et al. (2006a, lxvii). However, the librarian at this library in Bikaner was unable to locate this manuscript when James Mallinson and I visited on separate occasions in 2018. The *Haṭhayogamañjarī* mentions devotion to Rāma (e.g., p. 10, v. 33 and p. 18, v. 25 and the last line) and was probably compiled in the same period and milieu as the *Jogapradīpyakā*.

Haṭhapradīpikā with ten chapters (18th c.)[20]
Siddhāntamuktāvalī (18th c.),[21] etc.

In particular, the last two texts are literally extended versions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* because their authors simply added more verses to the original work and created additional chapters on related topics. In fact, these "extended texts" enlarge on the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in two ways. Firstly, they integrate other types of yoga and various related topics. For example, the *Haṭharatnāvalī* combines the fourfold system of yoga (i.e., Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga) of earlier works, such as the *Amaraughaprabodha*, with the *aṣṭāṅga* format. The author of the *Haṭharatnāvalī* borrowed over one hundred and thirty verses from the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and mentions Svātmārāma's views on several specific matters (Gharote et al. 2002, xx). The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* significantly extends the original *Haṭhapradīpikā* by adding sections on the purification of the channels (*nāḍīśuddhi*), meditation (*dhyāna*), cheating death (*kālavañcana*) and indifference (*audāsīnya*). A similar array of topics is seen in the *Yogamārgaprakāśikā* (16–18th c.[22]), which adopts the fourfold system of yoga noted above. Its teachings on Haṭhayoga follow for the most part the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Secondly, the repertoire of techniques in most of the texts which follow the *Haṭhapradīpikā* became larger. As shown in Table 19.2, the number of *āsana*s increases most significantly.[23] However, it is also the case that techniques were added to the standard collections of the *ṣaṭkarma*s and *mudrā*s. The original six therapeutic interventions known as the *ṣaṭkarma* form the basis of a repertoire of twenty-one techniques in the *Haṭhayogasaṃhitā*. This work also adds fifteen *mudrā*s to the usual ten that are taught in Haṭhayoga. Furthermore, these texts provide greater detail on many of the *mudrā*s. For example, the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* contains the most elaborate teachings on *vajroli*, which is taught in great detail along with its preliminary practices and medical applications. In table 19.2 the number of *kumbhaka*s remains almost the same but, generally speaking, these texts contain many more verses on *prāṇāyāma*.[24]

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20 On the date of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with ten chapters, see Birch 2018a, 8 note 32.

21 On the date of the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, see Birch 2018, 127.

22 On the date of the *Yogamārgaprakāśikā*, see Birch 2018a, 8 note 29.

23 The *Haṭharatnāvalī* lists eighty-four *āsana*s but describes only thirty-six of them. Other examples from this period of yoga texts with the names and descriptions of large numbers of *āsana*s include the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (96 *āsana*s), the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (112 *āsana*s), the *Yogāsana* (108 *āsana*s), the *Yogāsanamālā* (110 *āsana*s) and the Ujjain manuscript (No. 3537) of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (54 *āsana*s described and two lists of over eighty names of *āsana*s). For further information on this, see Birch 2018.

24 For example, the *Haṭharatnāvalī* has 97 verses in its chapter on *prāṇāyāma* whereas

TABLE 19.2 The proliferation of post-fifteenth Haṭhayogic techniques

Texts	Number of techniques			
	āsana	*ṣaṭkarma*	*kumbhaka*	*mudrā*
Haṭhapradīpikā (15th c.)	15	6	8	10
Haṭharatnāvālī (17th c.)	84	8	9	10
Haṭhayogasaṃhitā (17th c.)	32	21	8	25
Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati (18th c.)	112	9	8	10

The period in which these extended works arose was one in which physical practices were documented on an unprecedented scale. Monographic works were composed on particular techniques that had become, by this time, closely associated with Haṭhayoga. Examples include the following:

Kumbhakapaddhati (17th c.)[25]
Satkarmasaṅgraha (18th c.)[26]
Yogāsanamālā (18th century)[27]
Yogāsana (19th century),[28] etc.

The composition of such works indicates ongoing innovation and syncretisation in the practice of *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma* and the *ṣaṭkarma* that is also reflected in the extended Haṭhayoga texts mentioned above. The *Kumbhakapaddhati* describes over seventy varieties of breath retention (*kumbhaka*) and the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* borrowed many of its additional therapeutic interventions from

the *Haṭhapradīpikā* has 78. The *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* has five chapters on *prāṇāyāma* (9, 10, 12, 37–38), namely, the preliminary auxiliaries and rules of practice for *prāṇāyāma* (*prāṇāyāmapūrvāṅgasādhanavidhi*), an explanation of the names, nature and characteristics of *kumbhaka*s (*kumbhakanāmasvarūpaguṇa*), breathing methods for quelling suffering (*kleśaghnavāyusādhana*), necessary rules for *prāṇāyāma* (*prāṇāyāmakartavyavidhi*) and an explanation of *prāṇāyāma* (*prāṇāyāmavivecana*), which total more than 240 verses. The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* (ff. 53r–86v), the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (pp. 161–220) and the *Yuktabhavadeva* (pp. 107–143) have large sections on *prāṇāyāma* as well.

25 On the date of the *Kumbhakapaddhati*, see Birch 2018a, 9 note 41.

26 On the date of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*, see Birch 2018a, 50.

27 The one available manuscript of the *Yogāsanamālā* was completed on Wednesday, 20 January 1790 CE (*miti mahīṣa sudī 5 budhavasare saṃvat 1846*).

28 See below for information on the date of this text.

Āyurveda.[29] All of these works build on the content of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* that was relevant to their respective topics.

2.2 *Extended Works: Scholarly vs Praxis-Orientated*

Some of the extended works are the result of scholarly efforts to synthesise and elaborate on material from earlier works, whereas others appear to document, perhaps for the first time, a practice that was in use at the time of writing. A good example of a more scholarly extended work is the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, which was composed by Śrīnivāsa. At the beginning of the first chapter, he presents himself as a learned writer by informing the reader that he is an eminent astrologer who excels in the Vedas, Vedānta, the works of Patañjali, Vyākaraṇa, Tantra, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, as well as various other texts and philosophies.[30] His remarks on the *Haṭhapradīpikā* indicate that he was responding to deficiencies which he perceived in that work.[31] In particular, his list of eighty-four *āsana*s appears to have been the creation of a scholar who felt compelled to elaborate on references to this canonical number of postures in early works, such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* and the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.[32] In fact, Śrīnivāsa's list of eighty-four names of postures is preceded and followed by verses of the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which state that Śiva taught eighty-four *āsana*s.[33] The compilatory nature of his collection is revealed by explicit references to and tacit borrowings from the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the *Yogayājñavalkya*, and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* in his descriptions of thirty-six *āsana*s.[34] Also, Śrīnivāsa incorporated into the list at least twelve variations of certain basic postures, which further suggests that this list was a scholarly contrivance arising from his intention to expatiate on earlier textual references to eighty-four *āsana*s.[35]

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29 For further details on this, see Birch 2018a, 49–56.

30 *Haṭharatnāvalī* 1.2 (*vede vedāntaśāstre phaṇipatiracite śabdaśāstre svaśāstre tantre prābhākarīye kaṇabhugabhihite nyāyaratnārṇavenduḥ | sāṅkhye sārasvatīye vividhamatimate tattvacintāmaṇijñaḥ śrīmajjyotirvid agre saravaratanujo rājate śrīnivāsaḥ* ||).

31 For example, see Śrīnivāsa's commentary to *Haṭharatnāvalī* 1.27 and 2.86.

32 For references and translations of the relevant verses, see Birch 2018, 107–108.

33 *Haṭharatnāvalī* 3.7 (~ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 8–10) and 3.23 (= *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.35).

34 In the *Haṭharatnāvalī*'s section on *āsana*, the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the *Yogayājñavalkya*, and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* are cited by name at 3.23, 3.35 and 3.36, respectively. *Haṭharatnāvalī* 3.42–43, 51–54, 57–58, etc., are tacitly borrowed from the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Also, *Haṭharatñāvalī* 3.77 is a rewriting of *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 92.

35 Six types of *mayūrāsana* are mentioned in *Haṭharatnāvalī* 3.10 and five are described at 3.42–47; three of *matsyendrāsana* are mentioned in 3.12 and described at 3.58–60; two of *paścimatānāsana* are mentioned in 3.13, and both are described at 3.66–68; and possibly five of *kukkuṭāsana* are mentioned in 3.17 (if one assumes that *ākārita* and *bandhacūlī*,

The scholarly efforts of Śrīnivāsa in compiling a list of *āsana*s can be contrasted with what one might call "praxis-orientated works" in this category, such as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* and the chapter on *āsana* in the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*. These works are composed in the same style as the early Haṭhayoga texts; they are prescriptive and focus on praxis rather than theory. Their collections of *āsana*s do not appear to be a synthesis of earlier textual sources because their authors do not cite or allude to any sources, and a large proportion of their *āsana*s is not attested in earlier texts. In the case of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, innovations seem apparent in the use of moving *āsana*s, sequencing, linking postures, counterposing and the use of props, such as ropes and walls (Birch 2018, 134–135). Therefore, it is likely that innovation played a significant role in the proliferation of techniques seen in these praxis-orientated extended works which postdate the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Although some of these complex postures may predate the fifteenth century, as revealed by iconography, the codification of large numbers of complex postures in texts specifically on Haṭhayoga, as well as works on yoga broadly conceived, such as the *Jogapradīpyakā*, appears to have emerged from the seventeenth century onwards. In fact, only a small portion of the aggregate number of these *āsana*s are anticipated by the earlier sculptural collections of the Mehudi gate, Brahmanath temple and Hampi,[36] which further suggests that a certain degree of innovation was probably at play during Haṭhayoga's *floruit*.

There is little evidence to indicate that scholarly extended works, such as the *Haṭharatnāvalī*, and the compendiums mentioned below were sources of information for Kṛṣṇamācārya, Swāmī Śivānanda and other gurus who popularized physical yoga in the early twentieth century. These gurus deferred to the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in their publications. Nonetheless, there is significant evidence that they surreptitiously adopted postures from traditions of *āsana* practice that were prevalent in certain regions of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The traces of these traditions are discernible through texts such as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*, the *Jogapradīpyakā* and the *Yogāsana*,[37] which preserve teachings on large distinct collections

which are included among *kukkuṭa*, *ekapādakakukkuṭa* and *pārśvakukkuṭa*, are variations of the same posture).

36 On large collections of *āsana*s at these locations, see Vijaya Sarde 2015 and 2017, and Seth Powell 2018.

37 The *āsana*s of the *Yogāsana*, most of which correspond to untraced Sanskrit descriptions quoted in a commentary on the *Yogasūtra* by Śrīkṛṣṇavallabhācārya (1939), were reproduced in several early twentieth-century publications, one of which was Swāmī Śivānanda's book *Yoga Asanas*. This will be discussed at length in a forthcoming publication.

of complex *āsana*s (Birch, forthcoming). The growing emphasis on complex *āsana*s and *mudrā*s in practical works such as the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* also occurs for the first time in the literature of erudite Brahmins of the same era. I shall now turn my attention to these more scholarly works which integrated Haṭha- and Rājayoga into more orthodox conceptions of yoga.

2.3 *Yoga Compendiums*

A century or so after the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, a number of lengthy compendiums on yoga were composed. Most of these compendiums do not focus on any particular type of yoga, but treat the subject more generally by combining many sources, including texts on Haṭhayoga. Generally speaking, these compendiums are scholarly works of literature, which incorporate philosophy and metaphysics on a more ambitious scale than earlier texts, such as the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. In a sense, their authors produced a new discourse on yoga by combining the teachings of Haṭha- and Rājayoga with those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Brahmanical texts, including the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Mahābhārata*, early Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras. In the early-twentieth century, a synthesis of the same genres was favoured by Brahmin gurus such as Kṛṣṇamācārya, Swāmī Śivānanda and Swāmī Kuvalayānanda, who combined physical yoga techniques with concepts from Pātañjalayoga and Advaitavedānta, as well as metaphysics from tantric traditions, to teach yoga to an international audience.[38]

The compendiums to which I am primarily referring are:[39]

Yogacintāmaṇi of Godāvaramiśra (16th c.)
Yogapañcāśikā (early 16th c.)[40]

38 One should consult the work of Elizabeth de Michelis (2004) and Mark Singleton (2010) for the modern elements, such as neo-Vedānta and physical culture, that also shaped the teachings of these gurus. Some significant similarities in their teachings with the sources I am discussing include the use of the *aṣṭāṅga* format, the integration of *bandha*s and *mudrā*s with *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma*, the importance of inverted *āsana*s, the identification of *samādhi* with Advaitavedānta concepts and, above all, the trans-sectarian approach to compiling their teachings.

39 For dating, please refer to Birch 2018a, unless otherwise indicated.

40 The *Yogapañcāśikā* might be the earliest attempt to integrate Haṭha- and Rājayoga with Pātañjalayoga. The text is cited by name in a Sanskrit work called the *Vivekamukura*, which was composed by Nṛsimha Bhāratīya, according to its last verse (97). If this is the same author who wrote the commentary called the *Subodhinī* on the *Vedāntasāra*, as stated by Thangaswami (1980, 360–361), then Nṛsimha Bhāratī of Varanasi was active in the late sixteenth century. Unlike other compilations in this list, the *Yogapañcāśikā* is a short

Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha (16th c.)[41]
Yogacintāmaṇi of Śivānandasarasvatī (17th c.)
Yuktabhavadeva (17th c.)
Tattvabinduyoga of Rāmacandra (17–18th c.)[42]
Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā (18th c.)
Haṭhatattvakaumudī (18th c.)
Yogasārasaṅgraha (18th c.)[43]
Yoga Upaniṣads (18th c.)[44]
Rājatarala (late 18th–19th c.)[45]

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work of merely fifty verses that cites only the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. It teaches an *aṣṭāṅgayoga*. The first four auxiliaries are Haṭhayoga, and the second four, Rājayoga. It is a Śaiva work that aims at raising *kuṇḍalinī*, uniting Śakti with Śiva and attaining *jīvanmukti*, followed by *videhamukti* when all *prārabdakarma* is extinguished. Its yoga is not intended for those who deny the validity of scripture (*nāstika*), but for male life-long brahmacārins (*nṛnaiṣṭhika*). This text is unpublished and, as far as I am aware, preserved by only one manuscript, which has several small lacunae.

41 Bouy 1994, 89–92.

42 Birch 2014, 415, 434 note 71.

43 The *Yogasārasaṅgraha* undoubtedly postdates the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the *Śivayogapradīpikā*. The latter was probably composed in the late fifteenth century. However, the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* may post-date the *Haṭharatnāvalī* (seventeenth century), as it shares a verse on *bhujaṅgīkaraṇa*, a technique that is only taught in the *Haṭharatnāvalī* (2.31), as far as I am aware (cf. *Yogasārasaṅgraha* p. 28, lines 4–5). Also, there are other verses on Haṭhayoga that seem to follow the *Haṭharatnāvalī* rather than the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (e.g., *Yogasārasaṅgraha* p. 55, lines 8–14 ≈ *Haṭharatnāvalī* 2.32–35). The *Yogasārasaṅgraha*'s *terminus ad quem* would probably be one of its manuscripts. Several appear to be reported in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (hereafter NCC), but I have not had the opportunity to consult any of them.

44 These so-called *Yoga Upaniṣads* are part of a recent recension compiled in South India in the first half of the eighteenth century and commented on by Upaniṣadbrahmayogin (See Bouy 1994). They include the *Yogatattvopaniṣat*, the *Dhyānabindūpaniṣat*, the *Nādabindūpaniṣat*, the *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣat*, the *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat*, the *Yogakuṇḍalinyupaniṣat*, the *Yogaśikhopaniṣat*, the *Darśanopaniṣat*, the *Maṇḍalabrāhmanopaniṣat*, the *Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣat* and the *Varāhopaniṣat*.

45 The *Rājatarala* is a lengthy commentary on the *Yogatārāvalī* (circa 14th c.) that was composed by Rāmasvāmipaṇḍita, who is described as a worshipper of Śaṅkarācārya's feet (*śrīśaṃkarācāryapādakiṃkara*). He cites the *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣat* (ms. no. 72330, f. 29v), which means that the *Rājatarala* was composed after the corpus of one hundred and eight Upaniṣads, that is, the mid-eighteenth century (Bouy 1994, 6, 34, etc.). Also, a verse pays homage to a Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the city of Śrīśaila, near Kadalī, which appears to locate the work in Andhra Pradesh (Mahadevan 2018, 68). It is preserved by one undated palm-leaf manuscript (No. 72330) in Telugu script at the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Chennai, and an undated transcript (No. B378) in Devanagari (circa 20th century) at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

Yogasandhyā (early 19th c.)[46]
Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha (19th c.)[47]

The authors of these compendiums often combined yoga teachings from different traditions seamlessly. For example, in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Godāvaramiśra integrated the physical methods of Haṭhayoga with the auxiliaries of *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* in Patañjali's *aṣṭāṅga* system (see below). Similarly, in Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi* and Bhavadeva's *Yuktabhavadeva*, the meditative state of Rājayoga became the equivalent of Patañjali's highest stage of *samādhi*, called *asaṃprajñātasamādhi*.[48] Most authors of these works were inclined towards Vedānta. They cited the teachings of the Upaniṣads to express the gnostic insights that arise from *samādhi*. Also, they incorporated theistic teachings on yoga from the Purāṇas and Tantras, and were comfortable with defining yoga as meditation (i.e., *cittavṛttinirodha*), on the one hand, and then as the union of the self with a deity, on the other hand. Likewise, their descriptions of *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* juxtapose Patañjali's definition of "binding the mind to one place, etc.," with tantric visualizations of the five elements and deities.

2.4 *Godāvaramiśra's and Śivānanda's Thought Gems on Yoga*

In the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Godāvaramiśra's method of synthesising Haṭhayoga with other yogas is typical of this genre.[49] Godāvaramiśra was a chief minister (*mantrivara*) and preceptor (*rājaguru*) to the Orissan king Pratāparudradeva,

46 According to the final colophon, the *Yogasandhyā* was composed by Śrīsadāśivanārāyaṇabrahmacāri, whose guru was Śrīmajjagannāthacaitanyabrahmacāri. They belonged to the tradition of the Śṛṅgerīmaṭha. The final verse mentions the date of composition in the *bhūtasaṅkhyā* system. If the term *dharma* represents the number eight, it would have been completed in VS 1861 (= 1804 CE), when the sun was in the ninth *nakṣatra* (*tapas*) and the moon full. See *Yogasandhyā*, p. 203 (*rākeśarasadharmorvvīsammite vaikrame 'bdake | tapasīne ca rākāyāṃ satkṛtiḥ pūrṇatāmitā*). I would like to thank for their comments on this verse Somadeva Vasudeva, Péter Szántó, James Mallinson and, in particular, Chris Minkowski, who suggested that *dharma* could mean 4, 6 or 8.

47 The date of the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha* is not certain, although it post-dates the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, which might be as late as the eighteenth century (Mallinson 2014, 170–171).

48 Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi*, p. 9 (*na tatra kiñ cid vedyaṃ saṃprajñāyata ity asaṃprajñātaḥ samādhiḥ | ayaṃ nirbīja iti nirvikalpa iti nirālamba iti rājayoga—iti cocyate*) and *Yuktabhavadeva* 1.33 ([…] *sa eva nirvikalpaḥ samādhiḥ sadā savikalpakajñānābhāvāt || sa eva ca rājayogaḥ*).

49 This work survives in a single, incomplete manuscript, which is dated Wednesday, 16th November 1715 CE. *Yogacintāmaṇi* (f. 132v, lines 7–8): *saṃvat 1772 varṣe kārttika vadi māvāsyā budhavāsare likhitaṃ*.

who ruled in the early sixteenth century. In addition to yoga, Godāvaramiśra wrote works on various topics, including Advaitavedānta (the *Advaitadarpaṇa*[50]), Tantra (the *Tantracintāmaṇi*) and an extensive treatise on politics and warfare (the *Hariharacaturaṅga*).[51] His view of yoga was mainly shaped by the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. He acknowledges this at the beginning of his work:

> In this text, I summarise and examine Patañjali's doctrine, which was explained by Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Bhojadeva and which is validated and [yet] overlooked elsewhere.[52]

Although Godāvaramiśra discusses only some of the *sūtra*s of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* in an order that fits the design of his work, he begins with the first one (*atha yogānuśāsanam*) and, in his discussion of it, cites with attribution passages from the *Gāruḍapurāṇa* (*sic*), the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, as well as the sages Yājñavalkya (i.e., the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*) and Maharṣimataṅga.[53] The first half of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* is concerned with general topics, such as definitions of yoga, the types of *samādhi* and so on. The latter half is structured on the eight auxiliaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Pātañjalayoga, and it is in his discussions of *āsana*, diet and *prāṇāyāma* that he cites

50 The *Yogacintāmaṇi* (f. 131v lines 7–8) of Godāvaramiśra states that he wrote the *dvaitadarpaṇa*: "Now, they have been explained together by me in the Dvaitadarpaṇa" ([…] *asmābhir atha dvaitadarpaṇe yugapadanuvarṇitāḥ* […]). However, it seems that *atha dvaitadarpaṇe* is a scribal error for *athādvaitadarpaṇe*, because *yugapadanuvarṇitāḥ* refers back to two works: the *Saṅkṣepaśārīrakavārttika*, which was composed by his paternal grandfather (*pitāmahacaraṇa*) and the *Advaitacintāmaṇi* by his father (*pitṛcaraṇa*). The NCC (vol. 6, 126) reports that Godāvaramiśra wrote the *Advaitadarpaṇa* because it is quoted in his *Hariharacaturaṅga* (p. 178, v. 22; p. 196, v. 502). This is affirmed in a summary of the *Hariharacaturaṅga* (Meulenbeld 2000, 562–563).

51 For more information on Godāvaramiśra's family and works, see the NCC vol. 6, 1971, 126 and Meulenbeld 2000, 562–563.

52 *Yogacintāmaṇi*, f. 1v, lines 4–5 (*yad vyāsavācaspatibhojadevaiḥ pātañjalīyaṃ niraṇāyi tattvaṃ | anyatra siddhaṃ yad upekṣitaṃ ca tad atra saṅkṣipya nirūpayāmi* ||3||) The codex reads *upekṣitaṃ*, but Gode (1953, 474) transcribes it as *apekṣitaṃ*. Whether he was tacitly emending *upekṣitaṃ* to *apekṣitaṃ* is not clear. He may have emended because the meaning of *apekṣita* is more consistent with *siddha*, but it seems possible that *upekṣita* was intended to contrast with *siddha*, as I have translated.

53 One would expect that the *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra* is meant by this attribution. However, I have not found the cited verse in the published edition of this tantra. The verse in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (f. 3v, lines 5–7) is *agniṣṭomādikān yajñān vihāya dvijasattamaḥ yogābhyāsarataḥ śāntaḥ paraṃ brahmādhigacchati* || *brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviśāṃ strīśūdrāṇāṃ ca pāvanaṃ śāntaye karmaṇām anyad yogān nāsti vimuktaye* ||. This verse is found in the *Viṣṇudharma* (98.016).

two works on Haṭhayoga: the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (*haṭhayoge*—f. 39v, l. 8) and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (*dattātreyaḥ*—f. 36r, line 1; f. 40v, line 3). He also cites the *Yogayājñavalkya* (*yājñavalkyaḥ*—f. 36r, line 6; f. 36v, line 6; f. 37v, line 7; f. 38v, line 7), which was a source text for the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The other sources on these topics are the *Dharmaputrikā*, the *Pavanayogasaṅgraha*, the *Āgneyapurāṇa* and the *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra*. Therefore, on the topic of *āsana*, Godāvaramiśra created a seamless synthesis of haṭhayogic teachings with those of tantric and brahmanical sources.

Godāvaramiśra's work became the basis of an ambitious attempt by Śivānandasarasvatī to integrate a more extensive and diverse array of Haṭhayoga texts with Pātañjalayoga and Brahmanical works. Śivānanda also named his compilation the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. He probably lived in the early-seventeenth century in Varanasi.[54] At the end of this text, Śivānanda informs the reader of the material he has included and excluded. He says:

> Meditation along with the practices [ancillary to it] have been explained briefly by me according to scripture and my understanding. Listening to and contemplating [the teachings] which are seen in detail and at length only in the Upaniṣads, have not been discussed for fear of prolixity. I have revealed here all that which is secret in Haṭha- and Rājayoga for the delight of yogins. However, that Haṭhayoga which was practised by Uddālaka, Bhuśuṇḍa and others has not been mentioned by me, because it cannot be accomplished by contemporary [practitioners. Also], the procedures and so forth promoted by the *kāpālika*s have not been mentioned [because] they contravene the Vedas, Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas.[55]

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54 The *terminus a quo* of Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi* is Godāvaramiśra's *Yogacintāmaṇi* (see above). The *terminus ad quem* is 1630 CE, based on two dated manuscripts of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. The first is reported in the catalogue of yoga manuscripts by Kaivalyadhama (2005, 226–227), which gives the author (Śivānandasarasvatī), the library (the Asiatic Society in Mumbai), the manuscript number (1083) and the date (VS 1687 = 1630 CE). The second manuscript is held at the Panjab University Library and has been catalogued by the Woolner Project (Ms. no. 6922). After this manuscript's final colophon, a scribal comment indicates that it was copied by Rāma on the 13th of the month, Kārttika, in Śāka 1552 (i.e., Sunday, 17 November 1630 CE). The possibility that Śivānanda was a resident of Varanasi is supported by a reference to his devotion to Viśveśvara, a standard claim of Śaivas who resided there. I would like to thank Alexis Sanderson for pointing this out to me, and he also noted that similar references to Viśveśvara in works of Śaivas who resided in Varanasi can be found in Jñānaśiva's *Jñānaratnāvalī* and Viśvanātha's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, which are both Saiddhāntika Paddhatis (personal communication, 24 April 2013).

55 The *Yogacintāmaṇi* pp. 281–282 (with verse numbers added for the clarity of the critical apparatus): *nididhyāsanam etat tu mayā sādhanasaṃyutam* | *yathāśāstraṃ yathābodhaṃ*

Both Godāvaramiśra and Śivānanda excluded the Haṭha techniques of *vajrolī*, *amarolī* and *sahajolī*, presumably because these are the *kāpālika* practices which would be unacceptable to his brahmanical audience.[56] The main difference between Godāvaramiśra's and Śivananda's compilations is that the former focused on Pātañjalayoga and cited Haṭhayoga texts sparingly, whereas the latter discussed Haṭhayoga as forthrightly and comprehensively as the yogas of other traditions, and cited its texts profusely. This is also the case for similar compilations of the time, such as Bhavadevamiśra's *Yuktabhavadeva* and Sundaradeva's *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*.

2.5 *The Polymathy of Bhavadevamiśra*

The synthesis of various philosophies and genres of literature in the yoga compendiums under consideration was created by well-educated Brahmins who were knowledgeable in a wide range of scholarly subjects. A good example of this is the seventeenth-century Bhavadevamiśra, whose *Yuktabhavadeva* is a digest (*nibandha*) that integrated teachings of Haṭha- and Rājayoga with those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, Tantras, Dharmaśāstras and the Epics. Apart from the fact that Bhavadeva cited a wide range of Sanskrit works, the breadth of his learning is attested by the commentaries attributed to him on various *śāstra*s. Manuscript colophons state that he was a Brahmin from Mithila and that his father was Kṛṣṇadevamiśra, his elder brother Baladevamiśra and his teacher Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura. Based on this information, the Bhavadeva who wrote the *Yuktabhavadeva* also wrote commentaries on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*,[57] the *Brahmasūtra*,[58] the *Kāvyapra-*

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saṅkṣepeṇa nirūpitam ||1|| *śravaṇaṃ mananaṃ caiva saviśeṣaṃ savistaram* | *vedānteṣv eva draṣṭavyaṃ noktaṃ vistarabhītitaḥ* ||2|| *rahasyaṃ rājayogasya haṭhayogasya yat sthitam* | *prakāśitaṃ mayā sarvaṃ prītaye yoginām iha* ||3|| *arvācīnair asādhyatvāl likhito na mayā hi saḥ* | *uddālakabhuśuṇḍādyair haṭhayogas tu yaḥ kṛtaḥ* ||4|| *kāpālikapraṇītās tu itikartavyatādayaḥ* | *likhitā na mayā te tu śrutismṛtivirodhinaḥ* ||5||

2b *saviśeṣaṃ savistaram*] 6922, Ed.; *savistaraviśeṣakam* 3537. **4a** *arvācīnair*] 3537, 6922; *sadhrīcīnair* Ed. **4b** *asādhyatvāl*] 3537; *asādhyatvāt* Ed.; *asādhyatvān* 6922. **4b** *likhito na mayā hi saḥ*] Ed.; *likhitvo na mayā hi saḥ* 3537; na *likhito hi mayā tu saḥ* 6922 (hypermetrical). **5d** *virodhinaḥ*] 3537, 6922; *virodhanāḥ* Ed.

56 The *Haṭhapradīpikā* (3.96d) contains a verse that points to the Kāpālika origins of *amarolī* (… *kāpālike khaṇḍamate 'marolī*). *Amarolī* and *sahajolī* are generally considered to be variations of *vajrolī* (e.g., *Dattātreyogayogaśāstra* 31 and 158, *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.92, etc.).

57 This commentary is called the *Pātañjalīyābhinavabhāṣya* and several manuscripts of it are held in the Kathmandu National Archives. The chapter colophons of E 1819-9 and A 554-522 affirm that Bhavadeva was the son of Kṛṣṇadeva and the favourite student (*priyaśiṣya*) of Ṭhakkuraśrībhavadeva.

58 This commentary is called the *Candrikā*, and the NCC (vol. 15, 12) reports that it is by

kāśa[59] and the *Vājasaneyīsaṃhitā*[60] as well as a work on Dharmaśāstra called the *Dānadharmaprakriyā*[61] and another on what appears to be Vaiśeṣika philosophy, the *Vaiśeṣikaratnamālā*.[62] Some manuscript catalogues also attribute to a "Bhavadeva" a commentary called the *Abhinavabhāṣya* on the *Śāṇḍilyasūtra*, also known as the *Bhaktimīmāṃsāsūtra*,[63] and some other works,[64] but the catalogues I have consulted do not provide enough biographic information to prove that this was the same Bhavadeva who composed the *Yuktabhavadeva*. Nonetheless, it is clear that Bhavadeva was a scholar whose knowledge extended far beyond the theory and practice of yoga traditions.

Bhavadeva, who was the son of Sanmiśrasrīkṛṣṇadeva and the disciple of Ṭhakkurabhavadeva.

59 This commentary is called the *Līlā*. The NCC (vol. 4, 98) reports that it is by Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithila and pupil of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura.

60 This commentary is called the *Vyākhyānaratnamālā*. The NCC (vol. 28, 60) reports that it is by Bhavadeva of Mithila, son of Kṛṣṇadeva and disciple of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura.

61 *Dānadharmaprakriyā* was composed by Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, son of Kṛṣṇadevamiśra (NCC vol. 9, 6) at the request of Rudradāsaśreṣṭhin in 1636–1637 CE (NCC, vol. 16, 172). Kane (1930 vol. 1, 560) points out that this work was by Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithila. In a latter volume (1962, vol. 5, part ii, 28), he attributes the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* to Bhavadevabhaṭṭa.

62 The NCC (vol. 32, 64) reports that the *Vaiśeṣikaratnamālā* was written by Bhavadeva Paṇḍita, son of Kṛṣṇadevamiśra and disciple of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura. This appears to be based on a sole manuscript at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (123 of 1881–1882).

63 In its entry on the commentary called the *Abhinavabhāṣya* on the *Śāṇḍilyasūtra* or *Bhaktimīmāṃsāsūtra* (also called the *Śatasūtī* or *Bhaktisūtra*), the NCC (vol. 15, 152) reports that this work is found in the manuscript libraries of the Oriental Institute in Baroda, the Prajñā Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala at Wai and the Sampūrṇānanda library in Varanasi. The catalogues of the first two do not give any biographic information for Bhavadeva and I have not been able to consult catalogues of the Sampūrṇānanda library (SB New DC XII 44408, 44416. ii. 107900. 107911).

64 Other works attributed to a Bhavadeva in the NCC (vol. 16, 172) include the *Yogasaṅgraha*, the *Vyāptivāda* and commentaries on the *Yogadarpaṇa*, the *Yogabindu*, the *Raghuvaṃśa* (called the *Subodhinī*) and the *Ṣaḍaṅgarudra*. Karl Potter's Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies Bibliography (1983, vol. 1, 475) adds commentaries by a Bhavadeva (dated to 1650) on Bhavānanda's *Kārakacakra*, Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and the *Pañcalakṣaṇa* section of Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, as well as a work on Nyāya called the *Anumānaprakaraṇavyākhyā*.

3 The Regional Extent of Haṭhayoga's Literature on the Eve of Colonialism

The compendiums of Godāvaramiśra, Śivānanda, Bhavadevamiśra and Sundaradeva endorsed the teachings of Haṭhayoga.[65] These works were part of a concerted effort among some erudite Brahmins to make Haṭhayoga's physical practices an integral part of the Brahmanical view of yoga, much like the so-called "Yoga Upaniṣads" that were compiled in South India in the first half of the eighteenth century. Christian Bouy's work (1994) on these Upaniṣads informs us that the compiler liberally borrowed material from earlier Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts, often presenting the physical practice as a way of purifying the mind that would then lead to the realization of vedantic truths. As Bouy (1994, 72) notes, the prominence of Haṭhayoga teachings in these Upaniṣads indicates that this type of yoga had come into vogue in vedāntic milieus. He says that the interest of vedāntists in Haṭhayoga may have started in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and then flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In addition to the Yoga Upaniṣads and the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*, which were examined by Bouy, the *Yogasandhyā* and the *Rājatarala* are large exegetical works composed in South India that weave together Pātañjalayoga and Haṭhayoga within a vedāntic framework. The other compendiums discussed in this article support Bouy's observations and extend his hypothesis to the region of Northeast India. Godāvaramiśra lived in what is now Orissa, Bhavadeva in Mithila and both Śivānanda and Sundaradeva in Varanasi. The vedāntic overtones in the works of these authors include references to the Upaniṣads and an emphasis on achieving the liberating gnosis of Brahman. Also, various prosopographic details associate them with Advaitavedānta. Godāvaramiśra's father Balabhadra wrote a text called the *Advaitacintāmaṇi* and he himself the *Advaitadarpaṇa*,[66] Śivānanda mentions Ādiśaṅkara in his lineage[67] and, according to manuscript catalogues, Bhavadeva wrote a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*. Unlike the Yoga Upaniṣads, their works explicitly cite Haṭhayoga texts.

65 For information on Sundaradeva and his works, see Birch 2018a, 58–61.

66 *Yogacintāmaṇi* (ms. no. 220 of 1882–1883) f. 131v.

67 *Yogacintāmaṇi* p. 2: "Having bowed to Śrīvyāsa, the ascetic Śaṅkara, the teacher of the world, [my] teacher Śrīrāmacandra, whose lotus feet are intense bliss, and all of the gods of yogins, the ascetic Śivānanda has written clearly the great *Yogacintāmaṇi*, which had fallen into an ocean of various texts and has the power to explain everything" (*śrīvyāsaṃ yatiśaṅkaraṃ bhavaguruṃ śrīrāmacandraṃ guruṃ sāndrānandapadāmbujañ ca nikhilān natvā hi yogīśvarān | nānāgranthapayodhimadhyapatitaṃ śrīyogacintāmaṇiṃ niḥśeṣārthasamarthakaṃ yatiśivānandaḥ karoti sphuṭam* ||).

In contrast to this, I am yet to locate any such compendium in Northwest India. However, some of the extended works on Haṭhayoga can be traced to this region, such as the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with ten chapters and the *Haṭhayogamañjarī*. These works, along with the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* in Maharashtra and Karnataka, are less scholarly and more likely influenced by practitioners of the time in which they were composed.

4 Conclusion

The flourishing of literature on Haṭhayoga in both North and South India from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was concomitant with a growing pervasiveness of references, over the same period, to Haṭhayoga in Sanskrit literature of various religions and philosophies.[68] The findings of this paper suggest that Haṭhayoga became more prevalent in literature composed during this period and that the *Haṭhapradīpikā* was instrumental in defining the techniques and structure of practice for this type of yoga. Moreover, distinct physical techniques that became closely associated with Haṭhayoga, such as non-seated *āsana*s and *mudrā*s, had become integral to broader conceptions of yoga on the eve of colonialism.

In the period following the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, it is possible to discern that the praxis and theory of Haṭhayoga developed in different ways as it became more widely disseminated. In scholarly circles of Northeast India, its codification took on some of the characteristics of the philosophical yogas, as it

68 Beyond the texts I have mentioned above, the following literature of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries also integrated haṭhayogic teachings. I mention here only a few examples without detailed references, which will appear in a forthcoming publication. Examples include the *Puraścaraṇacandrikā* (late-fifteenth century) and the *Puraścaraṇārṇava* (eighteenth century), two Śaiva ritual compilations that incorporated verses on *āsana*s, some of which occur only in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*; the *Merutantra*, a relatively recent Śaiva work, which mentions Haṭhayoga in relation to *prāṇāyāma*; Rāmatoṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya's *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* (1820 CE), which has numerous references to Haṭhayoga; Narāyānatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, a commentary on the Pātañjala *Yogasūtra*, which integrates fifteen yogas with Patañjali's *aṣṭāṅga* format and defines Haṭhayoga as the auxiliaries of *āsana* and *prāṇāyama*; Vijñānabhikṣu's *Sāṅkhyasāra*, a philosophical treatise that mentions both Haṭha- and Rājayoga; Narahari's *Bodhasāra*, a philosophical compendium that has sections on Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga; the *Bhāvanāpuruṣottama*, a Sanskrit drama in which a Kāpālika mentions *haṭhavidyā* as a ladder ascending to Rājayoga (in terms similar to those of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*); and the *Vāsiṣṭhamahārāmāyaṇatātparyaprakāśa*, a commentary on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which mentions both Haṭha- and Rājayoga, etc.

was integrated with the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and Brahmanical sources. This development resulted in a more syncretic and sophisticated discourse around the physical techniques. The social background of the authors of these compendiums was diverse. Some were *sannyāsins*, such as Śivānandasarasvatī and Śrīsadāśivanārāyaṇabrahmacāri, whereas others identified themselves according to their professions, which included medicine, politics and astronomy (i.e., Sundaradeva, Godāvaramiśra and Śrīnivāsa, respectively).

In contrast to the scholarly compendiums of the northeast, the extended works on Haṭhayoga that arose in the northwest of India retained the more praxis-orientated focus of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which they enlarged upon by adding more techniques and other auxiliaries, such as *yama* and *niyama*. Although not much is known of the authors of these works, renunciant traditions in this region seemed reasonably active in producing manuals on yoga, such as the *Haṭhayogamañjarī* and the *Jogapradīpyakā*, and monographic works, such as the *Yogāsanamālā* and the *Yogāsana*, whose content is related to the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and its extended texts.

From the *Amaraughaprabodha* to the current day, Haṭhayoga has been distinguished by physical methods of practice. In the early period the practice centred on breath retentions with physical locks (*mudrā*), and it burgeoned over the centuries to include an array of complex postures, *ṣaṭkarma* and *mudrā*s. Although these physical techniques were never particular to Haṭhayoga, the textual evidence suggests that after the sixteenth century Haṭhayoga became a dominant paradigm for the practice of physical yoga across most of the Indian subcontinent, and this paradigm was significantly shaped by the content of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. As outlined in this article, the floruit of Haṭhayoga was a period in which its techniques proliferated, particularly in praxis-orientated manuals, and its literature diversified as authors of various backgrounds, most notably erudite Brahmins, attempted to expand and integrate it with other yogas and different religions. By the eighteenth century, this extensive literary activity appears to have peaked, but the momentum behind it carried the notion of Haṭhayoga into the royal courts of Mysore and Jodhpur in the nineteenth century,[69] and placed it firmly at the centre of the revival of postural practice in the twentieth century.[70]

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69 In the mid-nineteenth century, the Mahārāja of Mysore, Mummaḍi Kṛṣṇarāja Woḍeyar III, commissioned a royal compendium called the *Śrītattvanidhi*, which had a chapter on *āsana*s that was based on the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (Birch 2018, 131–132). In the early nineteenth century, the Mahārāja of Marwar had built two temples in Jodhpur (the Mahāmandir and the Udai Mandir) with murals of eighty-four Siddhas in complex *āsana*s, many of which correspond to those in the *Jogapradīpyakā* (Bühnemann 2007, 102).

70 Recent research is starting to reveal more premodern sources of the *āsana*s adopted by

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Abbreviations

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gurus who led the revival of physical yoga in the early twentieth century. For example, Kṛṣṇamācārya was inspired by the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (Birch and Singleton 2019, 49–64) and Swāmī Śivānanda of Rishikesh borrowed the majority of the *āsana*s in his book *Yoga Asana*s (1934) from earlier sources, one of which dates to the mid-nineteenth century (Birch forthcoming).

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PART 5

Art and Architecture

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CHAPTER 20

The Early Śaiva Maṭha: Form and Function

Libbie Mills

We should begin by determining what we think a *maṭha* to be in the early Śaiva context. In the seventh and eighth centuries, *maṭha*s began to receive royal patronage. By the ninth and tenth centuries *maṭha*s collected taxes and agricultural profits (Sears 2014, 6). In the later period and in the south, *maṭha*s come to be a place for pilgrims passing through, or an institution for professional adepts, a place one might abide in on a hereditary basis. There is a rise in endowments for *maṭha*s in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the head of the *maṭha* perhaps being the *rājaguru*, the royal *guru*, of the dominion, hence a figure of political importance (Nandi 1987, 194–195).

But the *maṭha* of the earlier Śaiva world is at base something simpler. It is a place for an initiate to stay in for an extended period for the purposes of study, as an *āśramin*. It is housing for initiated students, with a *guru* offering teaching. Brunner-Lachaux (1998, 380), describing the situation as given in the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, tells us: "Celui dont *Somaśambhu* parle (et qu'il nomme *āśrama* en SP1, p. 316) est d'abord un lieu où vivent des initiés de différents grades, sous la conduite matérielle et spirituelle d'un guru." This was not a shelter for itinerant ascetics, not a locus of political power, but both a residence and a school for initiates or, in Sanderson's (1988, 681) terms, a lodge for cult lineage members.

Next, let us look more closely at these *maṭha* residents. The residents are initiated *āśramin*s assigned, as Brunner-Lachaux described, into four levels according to their type of initiation. The *samayin* has received the *samaya dīkṣā*, the initiation for the pledge-holder or neophyte, and is qualified to study the teachings. The *putraka* has received the *nirvāṇa dīkṣā* and will thus be liberated at the moment of death. The *ācārya* has received the consecration for officiants (*ācārya abhiṣeka*) and is qualified to teach and give *dīkṣā*. And the *sādhaka* has received the *sādhaka abhiṣeka* and is qualified to practice rituals in order to obtain supernatural powers.

As we see stated at *Mohacūrottara* 4.243, all these initiates, at whatever their level, are further regarded as being veritable *liṅga*s, "markers" or sacred images, of Śiva. They are mobile (*jaṅgama*) *liṅga*s, as opposed to the fixed (*ajaṅgama* or *sthāvara*) *liṅga*s which are images installed permanently in a temple. To establish either is an act of great piety:

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saṃsthāpya sthāvaraṃ liṅgaṃ prāsāde yad bhavet phalam
tat phalaṃ labhate vidvān maṭhe saṃsthāpya jaṅgamam 243

The reward that a wise man gains from establishing a mobile image (*jaṅgamam liṅgam*) [i.e. an ascetic] in a *maṭha* is the same as the reward that he gains from establishing a fixed image (*sthāvaraṃ liṅgam*) in a temple. (243)

Having found the residents to be initiates of different types, all considered to be mobile *liṅga*s, let us think about their initiation into that role, and why one might build a *maṭha* for them.

If the adept is a mobile *liṅga*, is, then, his *dīkṣā* (initiation) equivalent to the *pratiṣṭhā* (installation) of an immobile *liṅga*, an image in a temple? The matter has been considered by, among others, Hikita (2005, 193), and Mori (2005, 232); the latter observes that *pratiṣṭhā* brings the deity into a fixed *liṅga*, while *dīkṣā* does the same thing into a mobile one. As Mori (2005, 202–203) notes from the twelfth-century *Vajrāvalī* of *Abhayākaragupta*: "and [the *ācārya*] carries out also the installation of an image, etc., like the installation of a disciple (*śiṣyapratiṣṭhām iva pratimādipratiṣṭhāṃ kuryāt*)." Mori goes on to demonstrate that "in actuality there are many correspondences between the installation and consecration ceremonies." Given that *dīkṣā* (initiation of an adept) and *pratiṣṭhā* (installation of an image) are parallel processes, the place of installation, the home for the initiate, is important, just as the temple, the shelter for a fixed image, is a place of consequence.

If the place has consequence, then there should be a reward from its establishment. An immobile *liṅga* is installed in a private shrine for the benefit of the commissioning *sādhaka*. What of the installation of a mobile *liṅga*, an adept, in a *maṭha*? Who benefits from that? What is the incentive? As we saw above, the *Mohacūrottara* states at 4.243 that the installation of a mobile *liṅga* in a *maṭha* brings merit to the patron who commissions and funds it. So we here move on from the idea of installation of an immobile *liṅga* in the private shrine, for the benefit of the *sādhaka* patron, to something else, to a *liṅga* that can move about, but must still be installed and housed, bringing reward to the patron who houses it.

In looking for accounts of this housing for adepts, I am drawing upon six early Śaiva records, the same six on which Professor Sanderson worked with me some two decades ago (for a study published recently as Mills 2019): the *Kiraṇa*, *Devyāmata*, *Piṅgalāmata*, *Bṛhatkālottara*, *Mayasaṃgraha*, and *Mohacūrottara*. I will go through what we can learn about the *maṭha* from these texts. We will find the most useful material in the *Mohacūrottara* (10th- or 11th-century) and

Devyāmata (in which the *prāsādalakṣaṇa* material shows signs of being substantially earlier; see Mills 2019).

1 Housing in General

To begin, I should give a very brief outline of how these texts describe building plans for houses in general: normal housing, not *maṭha*s in particular. The texts give accounts of the elevation, the vertical design, that are easily followed. But descriptions of the plan, the horizontal design, rely on some basic background knowledge, which I now supply.

Measurements are made in *hasta*s, hands, a measure from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger of the patron. Those measurements are checked for their *āya*. The *āya*s are formulae used to test measurements, to ensure that they are suitable for use. A common presentation is of six sets of *āya*s: *āya*, *vyaya*, *ṛkṣa*, *yoni*, *vāra*, and *tithi* or *aṃśa*. There are 12 *āya*s in a list of items beginning with *siddhi*; 10 *vyaya*s in a list of items beginning with *śikhara*; 27 *ṛkṣa*s in a list of the *nakṣatra*s; 8 *yoni*s in the list of 8 that is *dhvaja*, etc.; 7 *vāra*s in a list of the days of the week; 30 *tithi*s in a list of the lunar days in a month; and 9 *aṃśa*s in a list of items beginning with *taskara*. In each list, some members are regarded as auspicious, some as inauspicious.

The measurement to be tested is multiplied by a set number. The product of that multiplication is then divided by the number of items in the *āya* set. The remainder is checked against the corresponding *āya* in the set to determine whether the measurement is suitable or not. Let me give an example: in the *yoni āya* list, the listed *yoni*s are numbered from 1 to 8. *Dhvaja* (flag) is 1, *dhūma* (smoke) is 2, *siṃha* (lion) is 3, *śvan* (dog) is 4, *vṛṣabha* (bull) is 5, *khara* (donkey) is 6, *gaja* (elephant) is 7 and *khaga* (bird) is 8. The *yoni*s with an odd number are regarded as auspicious. Those with an even number are considered inauspicious. A measurement to be checked against the *yoni āya*s is multiplied by the number 3. The product is then divided by the number of *yoni*s, 8. If the remainder is 1, the *yoni āya* for that measurement is *dhvaja*, which is auspicious; if it is 2, the *yoni āya* for that measurement is *dhūma*, which is inauspicious, and so on. Each *yoni āya*, from *dhvaja* onward, is associated with a planet, and also with the cardinal and intermediate directions from the east onwards in a clockwise direction, according to the positions assigned to those planets. Below, we will see these associations used to indicate directions in house construction.

Moving now from measurements to design, the plan for the construction is always in the form of a square. That square is divided into a grid of cells (*pada*s), with the same number of cells along each side. In the pattern that we

1 *Brahmā*
2 *Marīcaka*
3 *Vivasvant*
4 *Mitra*
5 *Pṛthivīdhara*
6 *Āpa*
7 *Āpavatsa*
8 *Savitṛ*
9 *Sāvitri*
10 *Indra*
11 *Indrajit*
12 *Rudra*
13 *Rudradāsa*
14 *Īśa*
15 *Parjanya*
16 *Jaya*
17 *Mahendra*
18 *Sūrya*
19 *Satya*
20 *Bhṛśa*
21 *Antarikṣa*
22 *Agni*
23 *Pūṣan*
24 *Vitatha*
25 *Gṛhakṣata*
26 *Yama*
27 *Gandharva*
28 *Bhṛṅga*
29 *Mṛga*
30 *Pitṛ*
31 *Dauvārika*
32 *Sugrīva*
33 *Puṣpadanta*
34 *Pracetas*
35 *Asura*
36 *Śoṣa*
37 *Roga*
38 *Vāyu*
39 *Nāga*
40 *Mukhya*
41 *Bhallāṭa*
42 *Soma*
43 *Ṛgi*
44 *Aditi*
45 *Diti*

N

<table>
<tr><td>38</td><td>39</td><td>40</td><td>41</td><td>42</td><td>43</td><td>44</td><td>45</td><td>14</td></tr>
<tr><td>37</td><td colspan="2">13</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">5</td><td colspan="2">7</td><td>15</td></tr>
<tr><td>36</td><td colspan="2">12</td><td colspan="2">6</td><td>16</td></tr>
<tr><td>35</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">4</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">1</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">2</td><td>17</td></tr>
<tr><td>34</td><td>18</td></tr>
<tr><td>33</td><td>19</td></tr>
<tr><td>32</td><td colspan="2">10</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">3</td><td colspan="2">8</td><td>20</td></tr>
<tr><td>31</td><td colspan="2">11</td><td colspan="2">9</td><td>21</td></tr>
<tr><td>30</td><td>29</td><td>28</td><td>27</td><td>26</td><td>25</td><td>24</td><td>23</td><td>22</td></tr>
</table>

FIGURE 20.1 The 9×9 plan, *Bṛhatkālottara*, chapter 112 (the *vāstuyāgapaṭala*)

E

Īśa *Kṛttikā* *bhaya*	*Parjanya* *Pūrva-* *phālgunī* *strīcalatva*	*Jaya* * *Jyeṣṭhā* *vijaya*	*Māhendra* * *Viśākhā* *śrī*	*Sūrya* *Punarvasu* *pratāpakṛt*	*Satya* * *Aśleṣa* *dharma*	*Bhṛśa* *Hasta* *kalaha*	*Kha* *Ārdrā* *śūnya*	*Agni* *Anurādhā* *dāha*
Diti *Uttarabhadrā* *hrāsa*								*Pūṣan* * *Viśākhā* *sukha*
Aditi *Dhaniṣṭhā* *āyuḥkṣaya*								*Vitatha* *Revatī* *duḥkha*
Śravaṇa *Śravaṇa* *dainya*								*Gṛhakṣata* *Mūla* *mṛtyu*
Soma * *Mṛgaśīrṣa* *sampatkara*								*Yama* *Bharaṇī* *kṣaya*
Bhalvāṭa * *Abhijit* *dhana*								*Gandharva* * *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* *suśīlatā*
Mukhya * *Uttarabhadra* *-ka* *pradhānatva*								*Bhṛṅgadeva* *Aśvinī* *dainya*
Nāga *Svāti* *kandarpa*								*Mṛga* *Citrā* *aśrī*
Anila *Āṣāḍha* *uccāṭana*	*Roga* *Tiṣya* *roga*	*Śoṣa* *Aśvinī* *śoṣa*	*Asura* *Śata(bhiṣaj)* *Arthakṣaya*	*Varuṇa* * *Rohiṇī* *śasyada*	*Puṣpadantaka* * *Uttara-* *phālgunī* *vṛddhida*	*Sugrīva* * *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* *kṛṣisaukhya*	*Dauvāri* *Pūrva-* *bhadraka* *vratabandha*	*Pitṛ* *Maghā* *anāyuṣya*

FIGURE 20.2 Deity, *nakṣatra*, and consequence of door position. *Bṛhatkālottara*, *prāsāda-lakṣaṇapaṭala* 238c–243b. Positions with an asterisk are those recommended in 243c–245b

will see here, the pattern for the construction of housing, as opposed to temples or funerary grounds or other things, there are 9 cells along each side of the square, producing a grid of 81 cells in total. See figure 20.1 as an example from the *Bṛhatkālottara* of such a configuration. Once these *pada*s have been laid out, deities are installed in them. In the most common pattern 45 deities are installed. 32 of those deities are placed in the 32 *pada*s around the outer edges of the plan, and 13 deities are placed inside that framework, with Brahmā at

the very centre. When building houses, particular attention is paid to the consequences of a doorway placed at any of the 32 *pada*s around the periphery. See figure 20.2 for an example of an account of doorway consequences, again from the *Bṛhatkālottara*.

This fundamental 9-by-9-part deity map is used as the basis for plans of greater or lesser complexity. For housing, we will see descriptions of three types of design.

2 Type 1: The 9-by-9 *pura*

The most involved, which I will call type 1, is the design for a 9-by-9-part *pura*, a residential complex for a community and its lead figure. That lead figure might be a king or a lesser noble, an important functionary such as a general, or a *guru*. Other members of the community and all the functions of community life are arranged on the 81 cells of the 9-by-9 plan just described, with careful specifications as to what should be placed in each cell of the periphery in particular.

Here is an account of a type 1 complex from the *Mayasaṃgraha*, 5.156–159 and 181–187 (between verses 159 and 181, the text digresses to describe *maṇḍapa*s and column types):

puri vā devagarbhāyāṃ niveśo vo nigadyate
mata[1]viṣkambhamānena kṛtasīmni mahītale 156
śaṅkvādinā gṛhāṇīśapadādīni prakalpayet
tatraiśe japahomārcādhāmopaskaraṇānvitam 157
parjanye sarvavādyāni[2] vidheyāni vipaścitā
snānārghasādhanaṃ vastu jayante marubhṛnmukhe[3] 158
traye pratolī saddvārakapāṭārgalaśobhitā
maṇḍapaś ca vibhūtyarthaṃ geyanātyādisiddhaye 159
…
bhṛśāditritaye kuryāt pākasthānaṃ yathepsitam
pūṣṇi bhojanabhāṇḍāni vitathe salilāśrayaḥ 181
dhanuḥkhaḍgaśarādīni vidadhyāt tu gṛhakṣate
yame saṃyamināṃ sthānam ātmālokanasiddhaye 182

1 156c mata] *em.*; matetyādi C; mano A
2 158a °vādyāni] C; °pākāni A
3 158d °bhṛn°] C; °tvan A

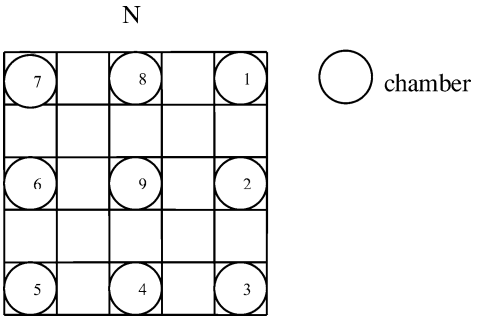
gandharve gāyakasthānaṃ bhṛṅge vyākhyānasaṃśrayaḥ[4]
snānadhāma mṛgasthāne koṇe śaucagṛhaṃ tataḥ 183
maṭhaṃ vā vipulaṃ kuryād gṛhakṣatacatuṣṭaye
tāmbūladantakāṣṭhādidhāma dauvārike[5] hitam 184
sugrīve puṣpadante ca pracetasi ca bhojanam
abhyāgatāśrayaṃ kuryād vidvān asuraśoṣayoḥ 185
muṣalolūkhalakumbhaśilāyantrādikaṃ ruji
gandhasthānaṃ gandhavahe puṣpāyanam ahitraye 186
somadvaye kośagṛhaṃ vidyādhāmāditidvaye
brahmādiṣu padeṣv antar amarālayamaṇḍapaḥ[6] 187

This record lists a place for worship at Īśa; music at Parjanya; ritual bathing and offering at Jayanta; a gateway at Indra, Sūrya and Satya (*marubhṛnmukhe traye*); the kitchen at Bhṛśa, Antarikṣa and Agni (*bhṛśāditritaye*); eating vessels at Pūṣan; a water tank at Vitatha; a store room at Gṛhakṣata; a place for ascetics to achieve contemplation of the self (*saṃyāmināṃ sthānam ātmālokanasiddhaye*) at Yama; singers at Gandharva; a place for teaching the *śāstra*s (*vyākhyānasaṃśrayaḥ*) at Bhṛṅga; bathing at Mṛga; toilets at Pitṛ (*koṇe*); betel, etc., at Dauvārika; food storage at Sugrīva, Puṣpadanta and Pracetas; a room for visitors at Asura and Śoṣa; tools at Roga (*ruji*); perfumes at Vāyu (*gandhavahe*); flowers at Nāga, Mukhya and Bhalvāṭa (*ahitraye*); the treasury at Soma and Ṛgi (*somadvaye*); and a school (*vidyādhāma*) at Aditi and Diti (*aditidvaye*). Within this framework, at Brahmā, etc., are a temple and *maṇḍapa*. At Gṛhakṣata, Yama, Gandharva and Bhṛṅga, a *maṭha* is introduced as an alternative at 184ab.

3 Type 2: The 5-by-5 *nandyāvarta* / *nandikāvarta*

A second design, somewhat less elaborate, is termed the *nandyāvarta* or *nandikāvarta*. This serves as a simpler residence to house higher-ups—nobility, army generals, and *guru*s—and their households. In this case, laid over the fundamental 9-by-9-part deity map is a building design of 5 parts by 5 parts, with spacing between chambers that produces an array of nine chambers in total, or eight if the central position is left undesignated. Each of the eight or nine chambers is assigned a function. See figure 20.3 for some examples of these 5-by-5 designs.

4 183b °saṃśrayaḥ] *em.*; °saṃśraye A
5 184d dauvārike] *em.*; daurike A
6 187d maṇḍapaḥ] C; maṇḍalam A



	nandyāvarta Mayasaṃgraha 5.202–206b	*nandyāvarta Bṛhatkālottara prāsādalakṣaṇapaṭala* 218–221	*nandyāvarta Kiraṇa* 19.15–17b
1	shrine	shrine	shrine
2	assembly	assembly	assembly
3	kitchen	kitchen	kitchen
4	sleeping quarters	sleeping quarters	sleeping quarters
5	lavatory	lavatory	weaponry
6	dining hall	cow shed	dining hall
7	treasury	treasury	treasury
8	tool storage	granary / tool storage	granary
9		king's quarters	

FIGURE 20.3 The *nandyāvarta*/*nandikāvarta* set of nine chambers

Take for example the description of a type 2 design from *Piṅgalāmata* 10.96c–114b:

aṣṭaśālayutaṃ dhanyaṃ nandikāvartam[7] ucyate 96cd
āyacakraṃ vibhajyādau śālāsādhanahetukam
pūrve tu śrīgṛhaṃ kuryād dhvajāyena vipaścite 97
yāmye śayyāgṛhaṃ proktaṃ siṃhāyena vijānataḥ
paścime bhojanaṃ gehaṃ vṛṣāyena[8] vidur budhāḥ 98
nyāsaṃ gṛhottare kuryād gajāyena na saṃśayaḥ
dhūmāyena prakartavyaṃ pākaṃ dahanagocare[9] 99
pāyudaṃ pitarasthe tu śvanāyena na saṃśayaḥ

7 96d nandikāvartam] AC; vandikāvarttam B
8 98d vṛṣāyena] BC; vṛṣayena A
9 99d dahanaº] AC; hadahana B · ºgocare] BC; ºgocaraṃ A

dhānyādikṣodanaṃ gehaṃ vāyavyāṃ rāsabhena tu 100
yāgamaṇḍapa aiśānyāṃ dhvāṅkṣāyena tu sundari
munitārākareṇaiva rudras tridaśa eva ca 101
daśapañcakareṇaiva daśasaptadikchaktikam
ekaviṃśatkareṇaiva dhvajāyaṃ pūrvato bhavet 102
caturaśraṃ samantāt tu kartavyaṃ śrīgṛhottamam[10]
tatra sthāne sadā bhadre[11] śrīmantraiḥ saha saṃyutaḥ[12] 103
śriyaṃ tatra likhet[13] sākṣāc chrīgṛhaṃ tena cocyate
ekona[14]viṃśahastena pūrvapaścāyataṃ[15] bhavet 104
daśasaptakareṇaiva vistaraṃ dakṣiṇottaram
siṃhāyaṃ ca bhavet tena dakṣiṇe śayanāśrayaḥ[16] 105
daśapañcakareṇaiva sadīrghaṃ dakṣiṇottaram
rudrasaṃkhyākareṇaiva vistaraṃ pūrvapaścimam 106
vṛṣāyaṃ ca bhavet tena paścime bhojanāśrayaḥ
trayodaśakareṇaiva pūrvapaścāyataṃ kuru 107
rudrasaṃkhyākareṇaiva dakṣiṇottaravistaram
gajāyaṃ jāyate tena bhāṇḍāgārottareṇa tu 108
daśāṣṭakaradīrghaṃ tu vistareṇa trayodaśaḥ
dhūmāyaṃ jāyate tena vahnau pākaṃ vidur budhāḥ 109
pradīrghaṃ daśahastaṃ tu ṣaṭkaraṃ vistareṇa tu
śvānāyaṃ jāyate tena pitṛsthāne tv avaśyakam 110
daśahastaṃ bhaved[17] dairghyaṃ[18] svaravad vistaraṃ priye
kharāyaṃ jāyate[19] vasyaṃ vāyavyāṃ kaṇḍanīgṛham[20] 111
dviraṣṭakaradairghyaṃ tu dviṣaṭkaṃ vistaraṃ priye
dhvāṅkṣāyaṃ jāyate 'traiva aiśānyāṃ yāgamaṇḍapaḥ 112
śrīgṛhe[21] vāthavā taṃ tu viṣamaṃ caturaśrakam
vittānusārato budhvā coktā nyūnādhikaṃ bhavet 113
tṛtīyaṃ nandikāvartaṃ cumbakasya prakīrtitam 114ab

10 103b °gṛhottamam] BC; °gṛhottamaḥ A
11 103c bhadre] BC; bhadraiḥ A
12 103d saṃyutaḥ] BC; saṃyutaiḥ A
13 104a likhet] C; likṣet AB
14 104c ekona°] A; ekonaṃ C; ekūnaṃ B
15 104d °paścāyataṃ] A; °paścāyaṃ BC
16 105d śayanāśrayaḥ] A; sayanāyayaṃ BC
17 111a bhaved] AC; bhave B
18 111a dairghyaṃ] BC; dīrghyaṃ A
19 111c jayate] AC; jayante B
20 111d kaṇḍanīgṛham] BC; kaṇḍaṇīgṛhī A
21 113a śrīgṛhe] A; gṛhe BC

This account lists the eight chambers of the *nandikāvarta* for a *cumbaka* as follows: the assembly chamber is in the east, the sleeping quarters are in the south, the dining hall in the west, the treasury in the north, the kitchen is in the southeast, the lavatory in the southwest, the granary in the northwest, and the shrine in the northeast. For each chamber, the correct *āya* proportion is assigned.

4 Type 3: The house with four, three, two, or one rooms

The third, lowest, level of complexity produces housing for normal citizens, graded according to either caste or initiation class. Here we see a design, again laid over the basic 9-by-9 deity map, for a residence with only four rooms, or three, two, or one, in descending order according to levels of caste or initiation.

An example of a type 3 presentation for different initiation levels is given at *Piṅgalāmata* 10.93–95 and 114c–128 (verses 96–114b cover the *Nandikāvarta*, as seen above):

sāmānyaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi cumbakādyāśrayaṃ priye
svakṛtānyakṛtāṃ[22] vāpi śālāṃ caivādhunā śṛṇu 93
catuḥśālaṃ triśālaṃ ca dviśālaṃ caikaśālakam
śālāsaṃkhyā bhavanty[23] etā vibhāgas tv adhunocyate 94
ācāryasya catuḥśālaṃ triśālaṃ[24] sādhakasya tu
putrakasya dviśālaṃ ca samayī hy ekaśālakaḥ[25] 95
…
svastikāvartam anyac ca tasyaiva catuḥśālakam 114cd
vittahīno yadā bhadre tadā tat kathayāmi te
sayāgāsthānapūrve[26] tu sapākaśayanāntake[27] 115
sapātribhojanaṃ cāpye sayantranyāsam uttare[28]
yady asya saṃnikṛṣṭaṃ tu taddiśāyāṃ prakalpayet 116
taddiśāya yutaṃ caiva kalpanaṃ gṛhavarjitam

22 93c svakṛtānyakṛtāṃ] A; svakṛtānyakṛtam BC
23 94c bhavanty] AB; bhavaty C
24 95b triśālaṃ] AB; triśāla C
25 95d ekaśālakaḥ] *em.*; ekeśālakam ABC
26 115c sayāgāsthānaº] A; sayāgasthānaº BC · ºpūrve] A; ºpūrvaṃ BC
27 115d ºśayanāntake] AB; ºsamayāntake C
28 116b uttare] AB; uttaram C

triśālaṃ sādhakasyaiva[29] kathayāmi sadādhunā 117
hiraṇyāvartakaṃ caiva hīnaṃ cottaramandiram
kartavyaṃ sādhakendreṇa bhogamokṣaphalārthinā 118
suprabhāvartakaṃ vāpi prāgghīnaṃ sukhadaṃ bhavet
cullikāvartakaṃ caiva yāmyahīnaṃ na śobhanam 119
pakṣaghnāvartakaṃ devi na śastaṃ[30] cāpyahīnakam
dvayaṃ grāhyaṃ dvayaṃ varjyaṃ yato vai sukhaduḥkhadam 120
dviśālaṃ putrakasyaiva śṛṇuṣva varavarṇini
vṛṣasiṃhayutaṃ dhāmasiddhārthaṃ tat prakīrtitam 121
sukhamokṣakaraṃ nityaṃ putrakasya na saṃśayaḥ
gajānaḍvānsamāyuktaṃ yamasūryaṃ vidur budhāḥ 122
mṛtyudaṃ ca yato devi varjitavyaṃ prayatnataḥ
gajadhvajasamāyuktaṃ daṇḍākhyaṃ tad vijānataḥ 123
rājadaṇḍakaraṃ nityaṃ na prāptaṃ viśeṣataḥ
dhvajasiṃhasamāyuktaṃ vātākhyaṃ tad gṛhaṃ bhavet 124
kalahaṃ ca bhaven nityaṃ na śastaṃ varjayet sadā
vṛṣadhvajasamāyuktaṃ pakṣi[31]nāmnā ca viśrutam 125
vittanāśakaraṃ nityaṃ varjitavyaṃ prayatnataḥ
gajasiṃhasamāyuktaṃ kākīnāmnā ca tad gṛham 126
janaiḥ saha virodhaṃ[32] tu tyaktavyaṃ taṃ na saṃśayaḥ
samayinaikaśālaṃ tu tac chṛṇuṣva varānane 127
dhvajaṃ vā paścimāsyaṃ tu siṃhaṃ vā cottarānanam
vṛṣaṃ vā prāṅmukhaṃ bhadre dakṣiṇāsyaṃ gajaṃ na hi 128

In verse 10.95 we are told that the house for an *ācārya* has four rooms, that for a *sādhaka* has three, and that for a *putraka* has two, while the *samayin* has one room. The verses from 114cd onward describe the four-roomed, three-roomed, two-roomed and one-roomed house. In the case of the four-roomed one, recommended for the *cumbaka* when money is wanting, we are given an account of the rooms at 115cd–116ab. The shrine is in the east, the kitchen and bedroom are in the south, the vessel store and dining room are in the west, and the utensils and treasury are in the north. In the case of the three-roomed house for the *sādhaka*, we are told that there may be a room lacking in the north or in the east, but not in the south or in the west. The house with no room in the north

29 117c sādhakasyaiva] *em.*; sādhakaścaiva ABC
30 120b śastaṃ] A; saptaṃ BC
31 125d pakṣiº] BC; pakṣī A
32 127a virodhaṃ] A; virodhe BC

is termed the *hiraṇyanābha*, while that without a room to the east is termed a *suprabhāvartaka*. In the case of the 2-roomed and 1-roomed house, the direction of the rooms is described in terms of the 8 *āya* direction associations, from *dhvaja* in the east onwards in a clockwise rotation.

5 Maṭhas

Having looked at accounts of construction of housing in general, in types 1, 2 and 3, we now are ready to look at what the texts have to say about *maṭha*s in particular. The *Bṛhatkālottara* and *Kiraṇa* give details on the design of temples and also on the construction of domestic buildings for different members of society, from kings down to ordinary caste members. But these texts do not refer to a *maṭha* or anything that could be understood as a *maṭha*.

The *Mayasaṃgraha* mentions the *maṭha*, but quite briefly. As we saw above, *Mayasaṃgraha* 5.156–159 and 181–187 describes the *pura* on a 9-by-9-plan, listing the uses to which each of the 32 *pada*s around the outskirts of the plan is put: kitchen, storage areas, armories, meeting rooms, etc., in a type 1 design. On reaching those *pada*s at the centre of the south side, the text tells us that:

> dhanuḥkhaḍgaśarādīni vidadhyāt tu gṛhakṣate
> yame saṃyamināṃ sthānam ātmālokanasiddhaye 182
> gandharve gāyakasthānaṃ bhṛṅge vyākhyānasaṃśrayaḥ 183ab
> ...
> maṭhaṃ vā vipulaṃ kuryād gṛhakṣatacatuṣṭaye 184cd
>
> At Gṛhakṣata one should set up [a storeroom for] bows, arrows, swords, and other weapons. At *Yama* there should be a place for ascetics to achieve contemplation of the self (*saṃyāmināṃ sthānam ātmālokanasiddhaye*). Singers are stationed at Gandharva. At Bhṛṅga is a hall for the exposition [of the *śāstra*s]. Or one may construct a large *maṭha* on the four [positions] which are Gṛhakṣata and [Yama, Gandharva and Bhṛṅga].

Here, the *Mayasaṃgraha* is giving the *maṭha* as an option, to be placed on the south edge of a *pura*, as an alternative to a combination of items: weapons, ascetics, singers, and a space for teaching. Why here, on the south side? Bakker (2004, 118) has pointed out that the south, a direction associated with the inauspicious, with death, is also viewed as being the benign right side of the deity or *guru* as he faces east. Thus it is a suitable position for the initiate, at the right side of the deity or *guru*.

The *Piṅgalāmata*, in chapter 10, verses 3–77, in describing a 9-by-9 type *pura*, lists the uses to which each of the 32 *pada*s all around the outskirts of the plan are used. In verses 33–36 the *Piṅgalāmata*, like the *Mayasaṃgraha*, places the *maṭha* on the south side, at the *pada*s of Yama and Gandharva.

> yame gandharvake kuryān maṭhaṃ bhūmitrayānvitam 33cd
> athavā dvayasārdhaṃ tu bhūmikaikāthavā priye
> uttamaṃ madhyamaṃ caiva kanyasaṃ ca yathākramam 34
> ācāryasya tad evoktaṃ nijaṃ śayanahetukam
> iṣṭāhnikaṃ jayaṃ dhyānaṃ yogābhyāsaṃ tu tatra vai 35
> vīrabhojyānnapānādyair vīraiḥ saha samācaret 36ab
>
> My dear, at Yama and Gandharva one should make a *maṭha* with three storeys, two [storeys] or one storey. [These are] the best, middling and least [*maṭha*s] in turn. That is the place for the *ācārya* to sleep, for [prognostication of] auspicious days, triumph, meditation, and the practice of yoga. [There the teacher] may associate with *vīra*s (*vīraiḥ saha*), sharing *vīra* food and drink, etc.[33]

Altogether, so far, from the *Piṅgalāmata* and *Mayasaṃgraha*, we have learned that the *maṭha* is generally placed in the south. The *Mohacūrottara* and *Devyāmata* give more information on the nature of the construction itself. The *Mohacūrottara* uses the term *maṭha*. The *Devyāmata* does not.

First let us look at what the *Mohacūrottara* has to say. At *Mohacūrottara* 4.234–243 we get a more detailed depiction of the *maṭha*:

> maṭhaś cāntakadigbhāge liṅgināṃ sthitaye hitaḥ
> yatas te dakṣiṇāśāyāṃ vaseyuḥ śivabhāvitāḥ 234
> prāsādavistaraṃ sūtraṃ tanmānaṃ jagatībahiḥ
> prākāraṃ kārayet tyaktvā tataś cāśramiṇāṃ gṛham 235
> maṭhāgre tatsamaṃ tyaktvā siṃhāyaṃ dakṣiṇe sthitam
> vṛṣāyaṃ[34] paścime jñeyaṃ dhvajāyaṃ[35] pūrvataḥ sthitam 236
> vipulaṃ vā prakartavyaṃ kartur icchāvaśena tu

33 Shaman Hatley notes that "Vīra likely refers to *sādhaka*s: 'heroic *sādhaka*s' might be a good rendering. *Vīrapāna* refers to impure liquids such as alcohol, used in rituals of the Bhairava- and Kulatantras."

34 236c vṛṣāyaṃ] F; vṛṣoyaṃ H

35 236d dhvajāyaṃ] F; dhvajeyaṃ H

caturaśre śarair bhakte madhyaṃ tyaktvā vilopayet 237
gṛhāṇāṃ svecchayā nyāsaḥ saumye syād veśanirgamaḥ
ekabhaumaṃ dvibhaumaṃ vā tribhaumaṃ vā yathāsukham 238
dīrghaśālāvṛtaṃ bāhye prāci yāgālayānvitam
pākādigṛhavinyāsaṃ yathāyogaṃ niveśayet 239
pūrvoktam antaraṃ sārdhaṃ[36] tasyāpy ardhaṃ yathāyatham
maṭhikaikātra†yaṃ kāryaṃ† paṭṭaśālā catuṣkikā 240
bhūmayaḥ pūrvam uddiṣṭā vittābhāve kuṭī matā
samasūtraṃ susaṃsthānaṃ vāstupūjāpuraḥsaram 241
liṅgināṃ ca gṛhaṃ kāryaṃ mahāpuṇyajigīṣayā
etad[37] eva mahāpuṇyaṃ kathayāmi tavākhilam 242
saṃsthāpya sthāvaraṃ liṅgaṃ prāsāde yad bhavet phalam
tat phalaṃ labhate vidvān maṭhe saṃsthāpya jaṅgamam 243

And a *maṭha* for ascetics to stay in (*liṅgināṃ sthitaye*) should be in the south. For they, as devotees of Śiva, should reside to the right [of Śiva]. (4.234)

One should build a wall (*prākāram*) at a distance 1 temple-width beyond the temple base (*jagatī*). At a distance from there (*tyaktvā tataḥ*) is the housing for ascetics (*āśramiṇāṃ gṛhaṃ*). (4.235)

In front of the *maṭha* (*maṭhāgre*), leaving a distance of the same [size] (*tatsamaṃ tyaktvā*), [houses should be built that are sized according to] the *siṃhāya* in the south, the *vṛṣāya* in the west, and the *dhvajāya* in the east. (4.236)

Or they may be made as large as the patron wishes. They are on a square site divided into five [parts along each side]. One should leave the intermediate spaces empty (*madhyaṃ tyaktvā vilopayet*). (4.237)

The installation of the houses is according to the wishes [of the patron]. There should be a [door for] entry and exit to the north. [The houses] may have one, two, or three floors, or as is pleasing. (4.238)

Externally, [the building] is surrounded by a long hall (*śālā*). In the eastern side of the building is the place for worship (*yāgālaya*). One should install the kitchen and so forth as appropriate. (4.239)

At a distance of 1½-times the previously given distance, and half that, as is suitable, is a single *maṭhikā*, in the form of a set of four (*catuṣkikā*) awnings (*paṭṭaśālā*). (4.240)

36 240a sārdhaṃ] *em.* Sanderson; sārdhaṃ *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*; cārddhaṃ FH
37 242c etad] H; tad F

> The storeys (*bhūmi*) are as have already been taught. If money is lacking, a hut (*kuṭī*) is approved. (4.241ab)
>
> One should build the dwelling for ascetics with the same measurements and a good design, [and] performing the veneration of the site (*vāstupūjā*), out of a desire to attain great merit. I will now describe to you this great merit in full. (4.241cd–242)
>
> The reward gained from establishing a mobile image (*jaṅgamaṃ liṅgam*) [i.e., an ascetic] in a *maṭha* is the same as the reward gained from establishing a fixed image (*sthāvaraṃ liṅgam*) in a temple. (4.243)

So, here, we seem to have a *maṭha* housing complex to the south of the temple, bracketed to the east, south and west by actual residences. Verse 237 indicates that each individual residence is of the 5-by-5 type 2 variety. The term *maṭhikā* is introduced, referring to a set of 4 awnings, and a simple hut, *kuṭī* is given as a cheaper alternative.

And, finally, in *Devyāmata*, chapter 105 we are given another account of the residence for initiates. The terms used for the residence are *gṛha* (verses 1, 15, 17), *āśrama* (verses 15, 17), and *veśman* (verse 41). The term *maṭha* is not used. The terms used for the residents of these domiciles are *āśramin* (verse 1), *prāsādāśramin* (verse 82), *dīkṣita* (verses 16, 17), *gṛhin*, and *gṛhamedhin* (verse 72). In verses 15–19b is given an account of the residence (*gṛha*) for the initiate (*dīkṣita*), outside the temple exterior wall and to the south of the temple:

> dakṣiṇāyāṃ diśi śastaṃ gṛham āyatanasya tu
> prākārasya bahiḥ kāryam āśramāyatanasya tu[38] 15
> vastavyaṃ liṅgam āśṛtya dīkṣitaiḥ sujitendriyaiḥ
> tadabhāve 'thavānyasmiṃ pradeśe sumanorame 16
> nātidūrāmbhasaḥ kāryam āśramaṃ dīkṣitātmanāṃ
> asaṃkīrṇe śubhe deśe vastavyaṃ dīkṣitātmabhiḥ 17
> ekaśālaṃ dviśālaṃ vā triśālam athavā gṛham
> catuḥśālagṛhaṃ vāpi kāryaṃ vittānusārataḥ 18
> kāryaṃ hiraṇyanābham vā sukṣetram vā manoramam 19ab
>
> A residence (*gṛham*) is recommended to the south of the temple. The residence (*āśramam*) should be built beyond the outer wall of the temple. (15)

38 Sanderson, by email communication, points out that the sense intended is certainly *āśramam āyatanasya tu*.

It is to be dwelt in by initiates (*dīkṣitaiḥ*), their senses well-subordinated, who have come to (*āśṛtya*) the image (*liṅgam*). Or, in its absence (*tadabhāve*), [they should dwell in] another pleasant place (*pradeśe sumanorame*). (16)

The residence (*āśramam*) for the initiates (*dīkṣitātmanām*) should be built not too far from water. Initiates (*dīkṣitātmabhiḥ*) should live in a fine, unpolluted place. (17)

The residence (*gṛham*) should have one, two, or three rooms. Or a four-roomed residence should be built, according to funding. (18)

A pleasing *hiraṇyanābha* or *sukṣetra*[39] may be built. (19ab)

In verse 18, the housing described is of type 3. In verses 54–74b the consequences of a doorway at each of the peripheral *pada*s of the 9 by 9 deity map are given in some detail:

evaṃ yathākrameṇaiva dvārāṇāṃ phalam ucyate
īśe hy agnibhayaṃ vidyāt parjanye strīviṣo gṛhī 54
jaye ca dhanasampanno māhendre nṛpavallabhaḥ
krodhaparas tathāditye satya ṛta[40]paro bhavet 55
bhṛśe tasya bhavet krauryaṃ cauryaṃ caiva tathāmbare
alpasutas tathā cāgnau pūṣākhye preṣyatāṃ vrajet 56
vitathe 'vinītatāṃ yāti gṛhī gṛhakṣate sudhī
yame ca raudratāṃ yāti gāndharve śrīm avāpnuyāt 57
bhṛṅgarāje bhaven nisvo mṛgākhye[41] nṛpapīḍitaḥ
uktaṃ dvārāṣṭakaṃ tubhyaṃ gṛhe 'smin dakṣiṇāmukhe 58
procyate saviśeṣeṇa gṛhe 'smim paścimāmukhe
paścime pitṛdevatye gṛhī syāt sutapīḍitaḥ[42] 59
ripuvṛddhis tathā tasya vidyā dauvārike pade
sugrīve dhanasampat syād gṛhiṇaḥ sarvadā bhavet 60
sutārthabalasampat syāt pade 'smim puṣpadantake
vāruṇe dhanasampattiṃ nṛpabhayaṃ tathāsure 61

39 As recorded, for example, in *Bṛhatkālottara*, *prāsādalakṣaṇapaṭala* 223–224 and *Kiraṇa* 19.18–19, the *hiraṇyanābha* is a building with three rooms, in the east, west and south, and the *sukṣetra* is a building with three rooms, in the west, south and north. At *Piṅgalāmata* 10.118–119 (above), the building without a room in the north is termed a *hiraṇyanābha*, while that without a room to the east is termed a *suprabhāvartaka*.

40 ṛtaº] *em.*; nṛtaº MW; nanṛṃta N. The emendation to *ṛta* is supported by the fact that at *Bṛhatkālottara*, *prāsādalakṣaṇapaṭala* 239 we see *dharma* at Satya.

41 58b mṛgākhye] *em.*; mṛṣākhye NM; mṛṣākhya W

42 59d sutapīḍitaḥ] N; sutapātitaḥ MW

dhanakṣayaṃ tathā śoṣe rogaḥ syāt pāpayakṣmaṇi
aṣṭau devāḥ samākhyātā gṛhe 'smin paścimāmukhe 62
vāyavyādikrameṇaiva procyate hy uttarāmukhe
baddhabandhas tathā roge ripuḥ syān nāgasaṃjñike 63
mukhye sutārthalābhaṃ syāt sampad bhalvāṭake tathā
dhanasampat tathā some putravairam anantake 64
strīdoṣaś cāditau jñeyo daridrā gṛhiṇo ditau
kathitāni viśeṣeṇa svadevatānvitāni tu 65
hitāvahitāni yāni syūr dvārāṇi śṛṇu yatnataḥ
jayākhyaṃ yat tṛtīyaṃ tu suprabhūtadhanapradam 66
māhendrākhyaṃś caturthaṃ tu gṛhiṇāṃ sarvakāmikam[43]
gṛhakṣataṃ caturtham tu gṛhe 'smin dakṣiṇāmukhe 67
bhakṣyapānasutavṛddhiṃ karoti gṛhamedhinām
gandharvākhyaṃ tathā ṣaṣṭaṃ śrīsaukhyaś ca sukhapradam 68
dvāradvitayaṃ śaṣṭaṃ hi gṛhe 'smin dakṣiṇāmukhe
dhanasampatkaraṃ dvāraṃ tṛtīyam paścimāmukhe 69
caturthaṃ puṣpadantākhyaṃ sutārtha[44]balavardhanam
pañcamaṃ vāruṇaṃ dvāraṃ dhanasampatkaraṃ nṛṇām 70
dvāratṛtayam ākhyātaṃ gṛhe 'smin paścimāmukhe
mukhyādhidevataṃ dvāraṃ tṛtīyaṃ cottarāmukhe 71
dhanasutārthasampattiṃ karoti gṛhamedhinām
bhalvāṭākhyaṃ caturthaṃ tu gṛhiṇāṃ sarvakāmadam 72
dhanasampatkaraṃ proktaṃ pañcamaṃ somadevatam
evaṃ jñātvā[45] viśeṣeṇa yathoktaṃ[46] dvāralakṣaṇam 73
guṇādhikaṃ[47] tato vidvān sthāpayed dvāram ādarāt 74ab

Thus, in due sequence, the consequences (*phalam*) of doorways are given. [With a doorway] at Īśa, the householder will have the risk of fire; at Parjanya, harm from women. (54)

At Jaya [the householder] is endowed with wealth. At Māhendra he is dear to the king. At Āditya there is anger. At Satya there is lawful conduct. (55)

At Bhṛśa is awfulness. And at Ambara there is theft. At Agni there is a lack of sons. At Pūṣan is servitude. (56)

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43 67b sarvakāmikam] *em.*; sarvakarmikam N; sakāmikam MW

44 70b sutārthaº] MW; sutākhyaṃ N

45 73c jñātvā] N; jñāna MW

46 73d yathoktaṃ] N; yathoktā MW

47 74a guṇādhikaṃ] N; gaṇādhikan M; gaṇādhika W

At Vitatha the householder comes to a lack of decorum, at Gṛhakṣata he gains wisdom. At Yama he attains savagery. At Gāndharva he acquires glory. (57)

At Bhṛṅgarāja there is malady. At Mṛga one is oppressed by the king. The set of 8 doorways have been described to you, in the house facing south. (58)

Next it will be specifically described for the house facing west. In the west, at the Pitṛdeva position, the householder will be oppressed by his sons. (59)

There is an increase in the enemy and his knowledge at Dauvārika. At Sugrīva is always an increase of wealth for the householder. (60)

At Puṣpadantaka is a gain in sons, wealth and power. At Vāruṇa is an increase in wealth. At Asura is danger from the king. (61)

There is loss of wealth at Śoṣa and disease at Pāpayakṣman. Eight deities have been listed, in the house facing west. (62)

Those facing north are listed next, in sequence, from the northwest (*vāyavya*) on. At Roga is bondage. At Nāga (Vāsuki) is an enemy. (63)

At Mukhya is an increase in sons and wealth. At Bhalvāṭa is gain. At Soma is a gain in wealth. At Anantaka is heroism in sons. (64)

At Aditi is trouble from women. At Diti is poverty. Specifically listed with their own deities are those doorways which are especially good. Listen with care. The third one, named Jaya, brings great power and wealth. (65–66)

The fourth one, named Māhendra, fulfills every desire for the householder. The fourth one in the house facing south, Gṛhakṣata, increases food, drink and sons for householders. The sixth one, called Gandhārva, brings glory, pleasures and contentment. (67–68)

The second set of doorways has been declared, on the south side. On the west side, the third doorway (i.e., at Sugrīva) brings an increase in wealth. (69)

The fourth, called Puṣpadanta, increases sons, power and strength. The fifth doorway, Vāruṇa, brings increased wealth for men. (70)

The third set of doorways has been declared, on the west side. And on the north side, the doorway governed by Mukhya brings an increase in wealth, sons and property to householders. The fourth one, named Bhalvāṭa, gives men every desire. (71–72)

The fifth one, whose deity is Soma, brings an increase in wealth. After learning the features of doorways as described, specifically, the wise man should carefully establish a doorway with ample good qualities. (73–74ab)

One should note that, while these are the consequences for doorway positions in a residence for ascetics, the consequences do not fall on the ascetic residents themselves, but on the patron who commissions and funds the building of the residence, and who gains the benefit from it.[48] So, the consequences are not in any way to be connected to the lives of the residents. None-the-less, it is worth noting that these are the same consequences that we see repeated over and again for domestic buildings of all sorts. The model that is being used is that for normal housing.

The portion from 81 to 86 describes the layout of the residence (*gṛha*) for the *prāsādāśramin*:

> gṛhaṃ niṣpādayed yatnād yathokta[49]lakṣaṇānvitam
> antaradiśvibhāgaṃ ca gṛhaprāsādayos tataḥ 81
> uktaṃ yathākrameṇaiva prāsādāśramiṇāṃ gṛham
> āgneyyāṃ mahānasaṃ śastam īśānyāṃ yāgamaṇḍapam 82
> ratnahiraṇyavastrāṇām aindrādiśi praśasyate
> yāmyāśre 'py uttare[50] kāryaṃ sthāpanaṃ salilasya tu 83
> dhānyānāṃ sthāpanaṃ śastaṃ vāruṇyāṃ sarvadāhitam
> udūkhalasya vāyavyāṃ sthāpanaṃ samudāhṛtam 84
> sarvavastuṣpadānāṃ tu kauberyāṃ nilayaṃ smṛtam
> nātidūraṃ na cāsannaṃ pracchannaṃ parivāritam 85
> gṛhasyāvāhṛtaṃ kāryam avaśyakāraṇaṃ gṛham
> pūrveṇa vanaṣaṇḍaṃ tu tathā puṣpaphaladrumāḥ 86
>
> One should carefully arrange the residence (*gṛham*) in such a way that is has the characteristics that have been taught. Then [one should arrange] the area in between (*antaradiśvibhāgam*) the residence and temple. (81)
> The residence for those who come to the temple (*prāsādāśramiṇām*) is described in due sequence. In the southeast is the kitchen (*mahānasam*). In the northeast is the space for worship (*yāgamaṇḍapam*). (82)
> Storage for gems, gold and cloths (*ratnahiraṇyavastrāṇām*) is recommended in the east, and for water in the south and centre.[51] (83)

48 I thank Shaman Hatley for this observation.

49 81b yathoktaº] MW; antaraṃ N

50 83c yāmyāśre 'py uttare] MW; yāmyāśreruttare N

51 I take *uttare* to refer to the position to the north of the southern cell. That is, the centre. I

Grain storage (*dhānyānām*) is recommended in the west. In the northwest is storage for the mortar (*udūkhalasya*). (84)
To the north is general storage (*sarvavastuṣpadānām*). Not too far away (*nātidūram*), nor adjoining (*na cāsannam*), is a secluded (*pracchannam*), sheltered (*parivāritam*) (85)
lavatory building (*avaśyakāraṇaṃ gṛham*), aside from the residence (*gṛhasyāvāhṛtam*). To the east (*pūrveṇa*) should be made a copse (*vanaṣaṇḍam*), and trees with flowers and fruit (*puṣpaphaladrumāḥ*). (86)

This is an account of a type 2 *nandikāvarta* type of construction, with 8 rooms on a 5-by-5 plan.

From verse 87 on we get a detailed description of the trees for the surrounding gardens. Then the chapter ends:

kathitaṃ saviśeṣeṇa gṛham āśramiṇāṃ tava[52] 94cd
antaraṃ diśvibhāgaṃ ca prāsādagṛhayor drumān
prākāraḥ svapramāṇena prāsādānāṃ prakīrtitaḥ 95
prākārasya bahiḥ proktam udyānaṃ sumanoramam
kartavyaṃ ca tathodyānaṃ prākārapariveṣṭitam 96
pūrvavac ca ṛjuḥ kāryaḥ prākāraḥ sucayas samaḥ
prākārasya bahiḥ sthāpya parivārālayāḥ priye 97
evaṃ yathākrameṇaiva kāryaṃ sarvam aśeṣataḥ
gṛhād udyānaparyastaṃ prākāreṇa samanvitam 98
tat sarvaṃ samudāyena kartavyaṃ samudāhṛtam 99ab
iti gṛhavāstupaṭalaḥ

The residence (*gṛham*) for the *āśramin*s has been described to you in particular; (94cd)
and [also] the intervening (*antaram*) area (*diśvibhāgam*) between the temple and residence (*prāsādagṛhayoḥ*), and trees. The surrounding wall (*prākāraḥ*), with its measurements, has been described for temples. (95)
The pleasing garden (*udyānam*) beyond the surrounding wall has been described. The garden too is to be surrounded by a wall (*prākāraveṣṭitam*). (96)

find support in the fact that, in verse 22 of this chapter, we were informed that the water supply should be in the centre of the house (*gṛhamadhye*).

52 94d tava] *em.*; bhavaḥ MW

> As before, the surrounding wall should be made straight, well erected and level. My dear, having established the subsidiary shrines (*parivārālayāḥ*) beyond the wall, (97)
> everything should be made thus, complete, and in due sequence. Beyond the residence, it is surrounded by a garden and has a surrounding wall. Everything to be done has been altogether declared. (98–99ab)
> Thus ends the chapter on the residence.

Looking back over what we have seen, in the *Bṛhatkālottara* and *Kiraṇa* we saw no mention of a *maṭha*, but from the *Mayasaṃgraha* and *Piṅgalāmata* came the information that the *maṭha* should be on the south side. When it came to details of the *maṭha* design, we saw in the *Mohacūrotttara* and *Devyāmata* descriptions that looked very much like those for houses for any other person, in types 2 and 3, to the south of a type 1 complex.

We have been looking at the building designs for clues as to what went on inside them, following the sensible line of thinking of Sears (2014, 76), who writes, "the architecture of the monastery indexes the concerns of its residential community." But perhaps all we have learned from the building designs for the *maṭha* is that dorms are dorms, in the end. While the installation of a *jaṅgama liṅga*, an initiate, is equal in merit to the installation of an *ajaṅgama liṅga*, an image, there is by no means the same glamour in its housing. This proves to be a practical domestic establishment entirely like that of an altogether ordinary person who is not initiated—not a *jaṅgama liṅga*.

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Devyāmata

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(M) NAK 1–1003; NGMPP reel no. B 27/6.

(W) Wellcome Institute, gamma 607.

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CHAPTER 21

The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta and its Parallels in the Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras

Ryugen Tanemura

1 Introduction

Most people think that the prominent features of Tantric religions are their esoteric teachings. This might mislead us into supposing that these religions were limited to restricted communities. But in fact these religions extended over a much wider domain. We see this if we consider the fact that both Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism offered a wide range of public social rituals.[1] Following

1 Sanderson proposes that what kept Śaivism alive, and enabled it to exert its influence, was ritual for others, as the professional activity of officiants who operated outside the narrow confines of self-cultivation (Sanderson 2010, 12).

Generally speaking, rituals for others, i.e. rituals performed for the benefit of donors, were formed through modification of rituals for personal salvation. In the case of Tantric Buddhism, the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual is a modification of the *utpattikrama* practice. See the following three quotations: Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramahara*: *tasyānandina āsyena dvihoḥkāravidarbhitam | jvalad bījadvayaṃ rāgāt padmāntaḥ praviśad dravet || tato vajrī mahārāgād vilīya saha vidyayā | śaraccandradravanibhāṃ tiṣṭhen maṇḍalatāṃ gataḥ || athotthānāya taṃ devyaḥ sthitvā koṇāsanenduṣu | codayeyuś catasṛbhiś catasro vajragītibhiḥ* || (Isaacson 2002, 162, lines 9–15); *Vajrāvalī* (*abhiṣeka* section): *tais tathāgataiḥ prajñāsamāpannair mahārāgeṇa dravībhūya vairocanadvāreṇāntarniviśya vajramārgeṇa nirgatya taddravair devīpadme mukhena praveśitaṃ śiṣyaṃ jhaṭiti śūnyatānantaraṃ hūṃvajrajātasaprajñākṣobhyarūpiṇaṃ jñānasattvābhinnam abhiṣicya punar bhujamukhādimūrtibhiḥ *padmān* (corr.; *padmāt* E^{M}) *niḥsṛtya gaganam āpūrya sthitair locanādividyāsahitaiś chatradhvajapatākāvastravāditragītanṛtyapuṣpakuṅkumādivṛṣṭibhiḥ karakiśalayāvarjitabodhicittāmṛtapūrṇasitakalaśais taṃ śiṣyaṃ *padmān* (corr.; *padmāt* E^{M}) *niḥsṛtam abhiṣicyamānaṃ* … (E^{M} § 24.2, vol. 2, p. 341, lines 6–11); *Vajrāvalī* (*pratiṣṭhā* section): *taiś ca tathāgataiḥ prajñāsamāpannair mahārāgeṇa dravībhūya svasya vairocanadvāreṇa praviśya vajramārgeṇa nirgatya taddravair devīpadme mukhena praveśitaṃ pratimādikam abhiṣicya punar bhujamukhādimūrtibhiḥ *padmān* (corr.; *padmāt* E^{M}) *niḥsṛtya bahir ambaram āpūrya sthitair locanādividyāsahitaiś cchatrapatākānṛtyagītavāditrakusumakuṅkumādivṛṣṭiparikaritakarakiśalayāvarjitabodhicittāmṛtapūrṇasitakalaśais tat pratimādikaṃ padmād bahir niḥsṛtam abhiṣicyamānaṃ* … (E^{M} § 17.3, vol. 2, p. 416, line 17–p. 417, line 2). The first passage quoted from the *Bhramahara* teaches how the practitioner should generate himself as Hevajra in the First Union (*ādiyoga*). The practitioner, who has the form of the seed syllables, should enter the womb of Nairātmyā, Hevajra's consort, through Hevajra's mouth, become liquid (i.e. the state of *śūnyatā*), be emitted outside the

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Śaiva models, Tantric Buddhism offered various kinds of consecration ceremonies (*pratiṣṭhā*).[2] Śaivism produced Paddhatis and Pratiṣṭhātantras[3] which teach the details of these public social rituals. Tantric Buddhism also produced a number of manuals which are closely comparable to Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras and Paddhatis. Of these, three manuals are particularly rich in information: the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta, the *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta, and the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇa or Darpaṇācārya, which incorporates much of the *Vajrāvalī* but adds some new materials (Sanderson 2009, 126–127, note 293).

The purpose of this paper is to present a variety of Śaiva parallels in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, especially textual parallels between the *Kriyāsaṃgra-*

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womb, and have the form of Hevajra. The second passage quoted from *Vajrāvalī* teaches how the master should visualise the initiand in the *udakābhiṣeka*. The master should visualise that the initiand is made to enter the womb of the goddess, becomes liquid (*śūnyatā*), and is emitted outside the womb. This is a modification of the meditation in the *utpattikrama* practice. The third passage quoted from *Vajrāvalī* teaches how the officiant should visualise the deity of the image in the *udakābhiṣeka* of the *pratiṣṭhā*. The same method as the second passage is applied here. For the relationship between the *utpattikrama* practice and the *pratiṣṭhā* in Tantric Buddhism, see Tanemura 2004, 85–90.

2 For the parallel repertoire of rituals between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism, see Sanderson 2009, 124–127. To add some more information about the manuals of the Tantric Buddhist funeral rite (given on p. 126, note 294), after the publication of Sanderson 2009, I published a critical edition of and notes on Śūnyasamādhivajra's *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (Tanemura 2013a), an annotated Japanese translation of the same text (Tanemura 2013b), and a preliminary edition and annotated Japanese translation of the *Antasthitikarmoddeśa* of Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* (Tanemura 2012). The visualisation taught in verses 12–13 of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is a modification of the *mṛtasaṃjīvana* practice elaborated in commentaries on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which are classified as works of Jñānapāda school in the Tibetan canon. The *utkrānti* (intentional death of a *yogin*) is applied to the visualisations taught in verses 14–16.

3 Sanderson proposes that the fundamental reason for Śaivism's success was "that it greatly increased its appeal to royal patrons by extending and adapting its repertoire to contain a body of rituals and theory that legitimated, empowered, or promoted key elements of the social, political and economic process that characterizes the early medieval period (Sanderson 2009, 253)." With regard to the second element, the proliferation of land-owing temples, "[t]he Śaivas of the Mantramārga provided specialized officiants and rituals to establish these Śivas [= Liṅgas], developing in the course of time a secondary body of scriptural authorities, the Pratiṣṭhātantras, devoted exclusively to this domain, setting out the rituals of installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) and defining the norms for the form of the Liṅga, the iconography of ancillary images, and the architectural design of the various temple types" (Sanderson 2009, 274; the word in square brackets is supplied by the present author). The characteristics of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* are very close to those of the Pratiṣṭhātantras mentioned above. With regard to the contents of the whole *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, see Tanemura 2004, 12–42.

hapañjikā and the *Devyāmata*, a Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantra, as materials to consider concerning the relations between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism.

2 Rituals in the Public Domain

First, I would like to present parallels at the scriptural level between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism. Just as in Śaivism, where the Saiddhāntika religion, which non-Saiddhāntikas considered to be a fundamental but exoteric and lower Śaiva teaching, is involved in the rituals in the public domain,[4] so too the ritual system of the consecration ceremonies prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is based on the Yogatantras (more precisely, the Vajradhātumaṇḍala system prescribed in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the principal scripture of the Yogatantra class), which was considered to be the Vajrayāna's fundamental authority by the "higher," more esoteric *tantra*s, i.e. Yogottara- and Yoginītantras.[5]

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4 For this non-Saiddhāntika view on the Saiddhāntika religion, see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 231. On the public character of the Saiddhāntika religion, see, e.g., Sanderson 2007, 238–239 and Sanderson 2014, 13.

5 For instance, the *Sūtaka*(*-melāpaka*) (commonly known as "*Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*," which is not attested in Sanskrit primary sources) calls the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* the "root *tantra*." See *Sūtakamelāpaka* (chapter 3 *Vāgviveka*): *vajragurur āha—sādhu sādhu mahāsattva* ***śrītattvasaṃgrahādau mūlatantre*** *cottaratantre ca vāyutattvaṃ na vispaṣṭenoktam, saṃdhyāyabhāṣitatvāt* (E^W p. 375, lines 13–15); *vajragurur āha—sādhu sādhu mahāsattva mantratattvaṃ nāma* ***tattvasaṃgrahādau mūlatantre*** *cottaratantre ca kevalaṃ mantramātram udīritaṃ mantroddhāro na pradarśitaḥ* (E^W p. 378, lines 13–15). That the system of the Yogatantra is the Vajrayāna's fundamental authority might also be implied by the following verse of the *Saṃvarodayatantra* (21.2): ***sāmānyayogatantrānāṃ*** *rahasyaṃ na vipañcitam | siddhīnāṃ paramā siddhir vratnānāṃ paramaṃ vratam* || (E^T p. 134).

That the system of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala taught in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* is employed for rituals in the public domain is inferred from the fact that the fundamental system of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (See the citation from the *Kalaśādhivāsanā* section of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* below).

The verses quoted below from Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* suggest that the rituals prescribed in his manual, which are performed in public, are based on the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. See Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* 2.39–41: *ādāv arghavidhiḥ proktaḥ dvitīye bhūparigrahaḥ | tṛtīyaṃ *ṭippa*(em.; *tippa-* Ms.)*sūtraṃ tu jñānasūtraṃ caturthakam* ||2.39|| *pañcamo rajasāṃ pātaḥ ṣaṣṭhaṃ kalaśādhivāsanam | saptamaḥ kalaśanyāso maṇḍalasādhanam aṣṭamam* ||2.40|| *pratiṣṭhā navamī caiva daśamī homakriyā matā | ekādaśī visṛṣṭiḥ syād ity uktaṃ tattvasaṃgrahe* ||2.41|| (2r7–8). The eleven rituals from the *arghavidhi* to the *visṛṣṭi* mentioned in the above-quoted verses are rituals related to the *pratiṣṭhā* (cf. the structure of the rituals prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, for which see Tanemura 2004, Introduction). The phrase "taught in the (*Sarvatathāgata-*)*Tattvasaṃgraha*" does not

The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* as a whole is a kind of construction manual for monasteries, and the author Kuladatta teaches details of various kinds of rituals within this framework.[6] In chapter 2, having examined the site for a monastery and removed from the site extraneous substances that cause various calamities, the officiant (*ācārya*) should visualise the site, which has been divided into eighty-one compartments, as the Vajradhātumaṇḍala. He should visualise Vairocana in the centre and the other deities in the rest of the compartments. In chapter 3, the officiant should prepare water jugs which are to be used in the ritual. These water jugs represent the deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala, and he should draw the symbols of the deities on them. In the *pratiṣṭhā* of images, although images (or rather the deities of images) go through the brahmanical life cycle rites, they are sprinkled with water from the water jugs which represent the deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala.

The fact that the system of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala is fundamental is implied by the following remarks of Kuladatta.[7]

> (1) *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *Kalaśādhivāsanā* in chapter 3:
> *yasyācāryasya vajradhātau nādhimokṣas tasya sveṣṭadevatādhimokṣeṇa bhūśodhanapratiṣṭhāparyanteṣu sarvakriyākaraṇam aviruddham*.[8]
>
> TANEMURA 2004, 135

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necessarily mean that the scripture prescribes the eleven rituals listed in the verses, probably only that the mantra-visualisation system employed in those rituals is that of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala taught in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. (Cf. Kimiaki Tanaka's understanding of the words from *ādau* to *visṛṣṭiḥ syāt* as being directly quoted by Padmaśrīmitra from the scripture; see Tanaka 2010, 562.) For instance, the *samaya* which the officiant causes the deity of the images to listen to is "*oṃ hūṃ trāḥ hrīḥ aḥ*," the syllables of the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (9r9).

6 See Tanemura 2004, Introduction § 1.5.

7 After the publication of Tanemura 2004, I was able to access the following two manuscripts of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. N2: Kaiser Library Access No. 109; N3: NGMPP E365/12 (private collection). I report on the readings of these manuscripts when I quote the texts from Tanemura 2004. With regard to N2, the first forty-five leaves, of which the material is paper, are a later addition to the original palm-leaf manuscript. The leaves before folio 35 of the original palm-leaf manuscript have been lost. The original manuscript was copied in *samvat* 336. According to Petech, the date of copying is verified for Thursday, February 11th, 1216 (Petech 1984, 81). With regard to N2, I report only on the readings of the original palm-leaf manuscript.

8 Mss. N2 and N3 read as follows. N2: *yasyācāryyasya vajradhātau nāmādhimokṣaḥ tasya sveṣṭadevatādhi*mokṣeṇa*(N2^{pc}; *mokṣauṇa* N2^{ac}) *bhūśodhanapratiṣṭhāparyyanteṣu sarvve kriyākaraṇam aviruddhaḥ* || (30v1–2); N3: *yasyācāryasya vajradhātau nādhimokṣaḥ tasya sveṣṭadevatādhimokṣeṇa bhūśodhanapratiṣṭhāparyanteṣu sarvvakriyākaraṇam aviruddhaṃ* || (24v1–2).

If an *ācārya* does not have a strong conviction in the Vajradhātu, there is no obstacle to his doing all the rites from purification of the site to consecration [of images etc.] with a strong conviction in his own chosen deity.

The fact that the *pratiṣṭhā* prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is a public social ritual is implied in some parts in the text.

(2) *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, chapter 4:
tato bhūpatiḥ sthapatikarmakaraprekṣakalokān yathārhaṃ kaṅkaṇāṅgulīyakavastrahiraṇyasrakpūgatāmbulādibhiḥ samyak paritoṣayet.[9]

• bhūpatiḥ] *em.*; bhūpati° N N2 O C1 C2 C3 T1 T2 T3; bhūpatiṃ N3] • °karmakara°] N N2 O C1 C2 C3; °karmakarau N3 °karmakaraḥ T1 T2; karmakare T3

Then the king should satisfy the architects, the assistants, and the spectators with a bracelet, a finger-ring, a garment, gold, heap of chaplet, *tāmbūla*, or other [articles] according to [the donor's] wealth.

(3) *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *Pratiṣṭhā* in chapter 6:
prekṣakajanāṃś ca tāmbūlādibhiḥ saṃtoṣya śreyase bhojanaṃ baliś ca deyaḥ.[10]

TANEMURA 2004, 162

[The *ācārya* should] also entertain spectators with *tāmbūla* etc. [In addition,] food and a *bali* should be offered for [their] good fortune.

(4) Cf. *Vajrāvalī* (*Vihāragandhakūṭīcaityāvasathāśramārghavidhi*)
pūgasrakcandanaiḥ prekṣakalokān sampūjya

E[M] § 1.1.6, vol. 1, p. 58; A 4r1; B 3v4

In the above-quoted passages from the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, it is envisaged that the ritual is performed in the presence of spectators. The same characteristic of the ritual is also found in the above-quoted passage of the *Vajrāvalī*. It is also envisaged from the first quotation that the sponsor of the ritual is a king. I shall come back to this point later.

9 The edition is based on the following witnesses (for sigla, see the bibliography): N 37v6, N2 39v5, N3 44v1–2, C1 33r5, C2 51v5, C3 43r5, T1 43v4, T2 40v2–3, T3 37v5.

10 Mss. N2 and N3 read as follows. N2: *prekṣakajanāṃś ca tāṃvūlādibhiḥ saṃtoṣya śreyase bhojanam valiś ca deyaḥ* (150v3); N3: *prekṣakajanāś ca tāmvūlādibhiḥ santoṣya śreyase bhojanaṃ valiś ca deyaḥ* (174r3–4).

From the passage quoted below, we see that people are not only passive spectators but also active performers of the ritual.

(5) *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *Vanayātrā* in chapter 5:
tato nagarapraveśasamaye vṛkṣāṇāṃ śilānāṃ vā rājani paurajaneṣu vā vārttāṃ vidhāya madanasphūrtimūrtibhiḥ puṣṭacittair janair vāhayet.[11]

• °samaye] N N3 K O C1 C2 T1 T2; °samaya° N2; °sa++ C3; °*samayai* T3 • śilānāṃ] N N2 N3 K O C1 T1 T2 T3; śilānā C2; [śilānā] C3 • paurajaneṣu vā] N N3 C1 T2; paurujaneṣu vā N2; porajaneṣu vā K; porajaneduvā O; poruṣajaneṣu vā C2; paurajaneṣu C3; purajaneyuvā T1; porajaneṣu cā T3 • vārttāṃ] K C2 C3 T2 T3; vārttā N N3 C1; vattāṃ O; vartta T1 • vidhāya] N N3 K O C1 C2 C3 T1 T2 T3; vidhātāṃ N2 • madana°] *em.*; madanamada° N N2 N3 K O C1 C2 C3 T1 T2 T3 • °mūrtibhiḥ] N N3 K O C1 C2 C3 T1 T3; mūrttibhi N2 • puṣṭacittair] N2 K O C2 C3 T2 T3; puṣṭacittai N; puṣṭicittair N3; puṣṭacirtte C1; puṣṭicitter T1 • janair] N N3 K O C1 C3 T1 T2 T3; janai N2 C2; janer

When the wood [to be used for the construction of a monastery] or the stones [to be used for the construction of a *caitya*] are brought into the city, [the *ācārya*] should send a message [that these materials are being brought into the city] to the king or the citizens. He should make people with joyful minds whose bodies quiver with excitement carry [these materials].

3 Royal Patronage

The above-quoted passage (5) too implies not only that the *pratiṣṭhā* prescribed is a public social ritual, but also that the king might be envisaged as a donor. Royal patronage of the ritual is also implied by the following passage in the *nimittokti* section of chapter 3:

śiraḥkaṇḍūyamānaṃ yady ācāryaśilpiyajamānatanniyogijanānāṃ madhye kaścit karoti tadaikapauruṣād adhaḥ śalyam asti.[12]

TANEMURA 2004, 150

If someone, either the tantric officiant, a craftsman [involved in the rite], the donor or his officials scratches his head [in the site for a monastery

11 N 41v1, N2 43v4–5, N3 49r1–2, K 45r1–2, O 38v5–6, C1 36v2–3, C2 56r3–4, C3 47v2–3, T1 47v4–5, T2 44v1–6, T3 41v4–5.

12 For the reading of Ms. N2 see footnote 28 in this paper.

> etc.], then there is an extraneous thing [that causes a calamity at a depth of] the full height of a man underground.

While an ordinary donor might be present on his own, the king would never be seen without his retinue of officials.

As already mentioned in footnote 3 in this paper, Sanderson proposes that the fundamental reason for Śaivism's success was "that it greatly increased its appeal to royal patrons by extending and adapting its repertoire to contain a body of rituals and theory that legitimated, empowered, or promoted key elements of the social, political and economic process that characterizes the early medieval period (Sanderson 2009, 253)." With regard to the second element, he states as follows:

> The second element of the early medieval process to which I have drawn attention is the proliferation of land-owning temples. All but the most ephemeral sovereigns during this period, both in the subcontinent and in Southeast Asia, gave material form to the legitimacy and solidity of their power by building grand temples in which images of their chosen God were installed, animated, named after themselves (*svanāmnā*), and endowed with land and officiants to support their cult. As we have seen, the great majority of these temples enshrined Śiva [in the form of a Liṅga].
>
> SANDERSON 2009, 274

The first line after the opening verses of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* might reflect similar activities done by royal patrons for tantric Buddhism.

> *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *Ācāryaparīkṣā* in chapter 1:
> *tatra vihārādikam abhidhātukāmo yajamāna ādāv ācāryaṃ parīkṣayet*.[13]

• tatra] C1 C2 T2; tatrā K T1; tato C3 T3 • vihārādikam] K C1 C2 C3 T1 T3; vihārādikrama T2 • abhidhātukāmo] C1 C2 T3; vidhātukāmo K T2; katukāmo C3; vidhātukāme T1 • yajamāna] K C1 C2 T1 T2 T3; yajamāne C3 • ādāv] K C1 C2 T1 T3; n.e. C3 T2 • ācāryaṃ] K C1 C2 C3 T2 T3; ācārya T1 • parīkṣayet] K C1 C2 C3 T1 T2; parīkṣa[ye]+ T3

> In this case (*tatra*), a donor who wants to name a monastery and other [thing for religious purpose after himself] should, first of all, choose an [appropriate] officiant.

13 N folio missing, N3 folio missing, O folio missing, K 1v2–3, C1 1v2–3, C2 1v3, C3 1v3–4, T1 1v3, T2 1v3, T3 1v2–3.

The manuscripts are divided into two groups with regard to the reading of the third word. Mss. C1 C2 T3 read *abhidhātukāmo*, which is employed in the above quotation, and Mss. K T2 *vidhātukāmo*. (The reading of T1 is a corruption of *vidhātukāmo*, and that of C3 is a corruption of *kartukāmo*, which is a synonym of *vidhātukāmo*.[14]) I suspect that the author, Kuladatta, envisages a king as a donor of a monastery, which should be named after the king. The original reading of the third word is therefore *abhidhātukāmo*. The prescriptions in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* are applied to other rituals related to the construction of a temple. In some cases, objects of *pratiṣṭhā* are not named after the donor. This might have changed the reading *abhidhātukāmo* to *vidhātukāmo*. Alternatively, it might be the case that the custom that monasteries, *caitya*s, and other religious objects are named after the donor had died out or was dying out in Kathmandu in Kuladatta's time. Sanderson points out that the Licchavis of Nepal supported Buddhism (Sanderson 2009, 74–77). According to the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, the earliest local chronicle, the following monasteries and *caitya* were named after the donor: the Mānavihāra by Mānadeva, the Dharmadevacaitya by Dharmadeva, and the Devalavihāra by Devaladeva (Sanderson 2009, 74). The first one is confirmed by its mention in an undated inscription assigned to his reign (Sanderson 2009, 75). Several of the monasteries of the Kathmadu valley are attributed to kings of the period of the Ṭhākurī kings—most probably Kuladatta flourished in this period—in inscriptions, palm-leaf deeds, manuscript colophons, or their own tradition. But no monastery or *caitya* named after a king is reported (Sanderson 2009, 77–80). I am not able to draw a firm conclusion, but there might be factors which changed the reading *abhidhātukāmo* to *vidhātukāmo*.[15]

4 Textual Parallels

Next, I would like to present textual parallels between the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras. The section which contains these Śaiva parallels is called the *nimittokti*. In chapter 3, the *ācārya* should divide the

14 This kind of "unfaithful copy" is found in various places of Ms. C. See Tanemura 2004, 102.

15 I do not conclude that the prescriptions of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* are merely ideal. Rather, as I have already pointed out, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is practical in its character (Tanemura 2004, 104–111). For instance, the measurements of a monastery by calculation based on the prescriptions of the *vāstunāga* are very close to those of the plans of Cha Bahi and I Baha Bahi in the Kathmandu valley. See Tanemura 2002, 572, note 29. For the plans of Cha Bahi and I Baha Bahi, see the plates attached to Watanabe et al. 2009.

site into thirty-six compartments. He should drive ritual spikes (*kīla*) symbolising the thirty-two wrathful deities into the compartments, excluding the four central ones, and worship the spikes. Then he should visualise himself as Vajrahūṃkāra in order to remove obstacles from the site. Then the *ācārya* should re-arrange the placement of the spikes in a proper way. After that, the *ācārya* should connect the *pañcasūtra*s—the cords of Brahman, the root cords, the direction cords, and the side cords—to the spikes driven to the ground (*sūtrapātana*). The *nimittokti* explains various kinds of good and bad omens during the *sūtrapātana*. I have already shown parallels in the *Piṅgalāmata*, a Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantra, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, and some other sources (Tanemura 2004, 148–155), and I have found yet other parallels in the *Devyāmata*, another Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantra.

4.1 *The* Nimittokti *of the* Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā *and the* Śalyoddhārapaṭala *of the* Devyāmata

First I shall quote the relevant part of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (abbreviated as KSP) from Tanemura 2004, 148–155. The corresponding verse numbers of the *Devyāmata* (DM) are indicated at the end of each section. For the convenience of readers, the corresponding section number of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* are also indicated at the end of each section of the *Devyāmata*, both in the edition and in the translation.

(1) The *Nimittokti* of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*[16] (Tanemura 2004, 148–155)

[0] animittair asiddhiḥ syāt sūtracchede guroḥ kṣayaḥ[17]

ity vacanān nimittāny upalakṣayet. liṅgāni sūtracchedanarodanasūtrasamullaṅghanagātrasparśananāmasaṃkīrtanādīni.[18] (= DM vv. 9–10)

[1] tatra sūtracchedanenācāryasya maraṇam.[19] (= DM v. 7ab)

[2] śvaśṛgālagṛdhrakaṅkarutair yajamānasya maraṇam āhuḥ.[20]

[3] (1) mārjāreṇa sūtralaṅghane tadasthi rāsabhasya vā. (= DM v. 18) (2) gardabhena laṅghane tadasthi. (= DM v. 23b) (3) kukkureṇa laṅghane tadasthi. (=

16 The readings of N3 are presented in the footnotes at the end of each section.

17 *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* v. 229ab (Ms. 12r2, E^{S} 134). The numeration follows that of the Sarnath edition (E^{S}).

18 For §[0] N3 reads as follows: *animittair asiddhiḥ syāt sūtraccheda guroḥ kṣaya iti vacanāt nimittāny upalakṣayet || liṅgāni sūtracchedanarodanasūtrasamullaṅghanagātrasparśanānāmasaṅkīrttanādīni ||* (33v1–2).

19 For §[1] Ms. N3 reads as follows: *tatra sūtracchedanenācāryasya maraṇaṃ |* (33v2).

20 For §[2] Ms. N3 reads as follows: *śvaśṛgālagṛdhrakaṅkarunair yajamānasya maraṇam āhuḥ |* (33v2).

DM v. 19ab) (4) ajāvibhyāṃ laṅghane tayor asthi gor asthi vā. (= DM v. 20a) (5) aśvenāśvāsthi. (= DM v. 20cd) (6) hastinā hastyasthy uṣṭrāsthi vā. (= DM v. 22c) (7) aśvatareṇa tadasthi. (8) mahiṣeṇa śṛgālāsthi. (= DM v. 21ab) (9) mṛgena mṛgāsthi. (10) ṛkṣena ṛkṣāsthi. (11) varāheṇa vyāghrāsthi. (= DM v. 22a) (12) vyāghreṇa gajāsthi. (= DM v. 22b) (13) mūṣakeṇa mūṣakāsthi. (= DM v. 19cd) (14) sarpeṇa sarpāsthi. (15) kacchapena kacchapāsthi.[21]

[4] (1) śiraḥkaṇḍūyamānaṃ yady ācāryaśilpiyajamānatanniyogijanānāṃ madhye kaścit karoti tadaikapauruṣād adhaḥ śalyam asti. (= DM vv. 63c–64b) (2) bhrūsparśe suvarṇaṃ hastatrayāt kācaṃ vā.[22] (3) netrasparśe netraparyantādhastān muktā.[23] (4) mukhasparśe keśaṃ kāṣṭhaṃ vā trikarādhare. (= DM vv. 64c–65b) (5) dantasparśāt tribhir hastair dantam anumīyate. (= DM v. 65cd) (6) karṇakaṇḍūyane karṇāntādhastād rūpyaṃ suvarṇaṃ vidrumaṃ vā bhavet.[24] (7) galasparśena tatpramāṇādhaḥ kaṇṭhikā lohaśṛṅkhalā vā, mārjārakaṅkālaṃ vā trikarādhare. (= DM vv. 66c–67b) (8) aṃsasparśe tatpramāṇādhare tadābharaṇam. (9) kakṣasparśe kakṣāntādho loham.[25] (10) bāhupīḍane kaṇṭhapramāṇādhare tadābharaṇam. (= DM vv. 69c–70b) (11) dakṣiṇakarasparśe kaṭimātrādhaḥ †pṛṣṭha†kapālaṃ mṛnmayakapālaṃ vā. (= DM vv. 71c–72b) (12) vāmahastasparśe jānumātrādhaḥ kaṭvāpādaḥ. (= DM v. 70cd) (13) pārśvakaṇḍūyane narārdhamātrādho dhūlī. (= DM vv. 74c–75b) (14) uraḥsparśe kaṭimātrādhaḥ paśukīkasam. (= DM vv. 72c–73b) (15) pṛṣṭhasparśe pṛṣṭhāsthi tatpramāṇādhaḥ. (= DM vv. 74ab) (16) kaṭisparśe dvikarādhaḥ pradeśe lohakaṇṭakam. (= DM vv. 75c–76b) (17) liṅgasparśena hastapramāṇādhare trilohaśalyam.[26] (18) jaṃghāsparśe tadasthy ekādaśāṅgulādhare. (= DM vv. 78c–79b) (19) gul-

21 For §[3] Ms. N3 reads as follows: *mārjjāreṇa sūtralaṃghane tadasthi rāsasya vā || gardareṇa laṃghane tadasthi || kujjureṇa laṃghane tadasthi || ajāvibhyāṃ laṃghane tayor asthi vā || aśvenāśvāsthi || hastinā hastyasthi || uṣṭrāsthi vā | aśvatareṇa tadasthi mahiṣeṇa śṛgālāsthi || mṛgeṇa mṛgāsthi || rekṣeṇa ṛkṣāsthi | varāheṇa vyāghrāsthi || vyāghreṇa gajāsthi || mūṣakeṇa mūṣakāsthi | sarppeṇa sarppāsthi || kacchapena kacchapāsthi ||* (33v2–5).

22 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, *Piṅgalāmata* has a close parallel: *bhruvoḥ saṃsparśanād bhadre kācaśalyaṃ trihastakam* (68r3). See Tanemura 2004, 150.

23 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, the *Piṅgalāmata* has a close parallel: *īśa*sthe* (conj. Sanderson; *sthaś* Ms.) *cakṣuḥsaṃsparśāt tanmānān mauktikaṃ bhavet* (68r1). See Tanemura 2004, 150.

24 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, the *Piṅgalāmata* has a close parallel: *śruti*sthe* (conj. Sanderson; *sthaḥ* Ms.) *śrutisaṃsparśāt pravālaṃ vātha kāñcanam | rajataṃ ca śubhā hy ete karṇamātrāt samuddharet |* (68r1). See Tanemura 2004, 150.

25 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, tthe *Piṅgalāmata* has a close parallel: *kakṣau kakṣākṛtiṃ vindyāt kṛṣṇalohaṃ karatrayāt* (68r3). See Tanemura 2004, 151.

26 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, the *Piṅgalāmata* has a

phasparśe 'ṣṭādaśāṅgulādhare 'śvakhuraḥ.[27] (20) pādasparśād dvādaśāṅgulādhare śālmalī kaṇṭako vā. (= DM vv. 79c–80b) (21) pādakaniṣṭhāṅgulīsparśe 'ṣṭāṅgulādhare kāṃsyam. (= DM vv. 82c–83b) (22) pārṣṇisparśe dvādaśāṅgulādhare 'bhrakam.[28]

[5] sūtrapātanasamaye yajamānasya pārśve sthitvā kenacid anyena puruṣeṇa yasya prāṇino nāma saṃkīrtyate tadasthi tatrāstīti niścayaḥ.[29] (= DM v. 12cd)

[6] (1) akasmād gaur āgatya yadi viṣṭhām utsṛjati tadadho 'vaśyaṃ tatpramāṇaṃ kanakam astīti niścīyate. (= DM v. 32ab) (2) yady akasmād āgatya purīṣam utsṛjati bālakumārikā tadā tadadho 'vaśyaṃ tatpramāṇaṃ rūpyaṃ bhavet. (3) bhekarutena jalabhayam. (4) śukaśarikāhaṃsakokilamayūrajīvaṃjīvakacakravākavṛṣabhāṇāṃ hṛdayopakūjanaṃ kalyāṇāya bhavati. (= DM v. 34abc) (5) siṃhagajameghamanojñasvano dhanadhānyārthalābhodayāya bhavati. (6) śaṅkhamaṅgalagītikābālakrīḍanair arthāptiḥ. (7) dhūmadarśane cittapīḍā. (8) hīnadīnavyādhiparipīḍitajanadarśane rogaḥ. (9) dhvajacchatrapatākāmadyamāṃsaghaṇṭālaṅkārāmbhojadadhīndravahnijvālāphalamīnayugarājāṅganadīnāṃ saṃdarśane śubhaṃ bhavati. (10) vidvadbrāhmaṇabhikṣusādhujanānāṃ saṃdarśane dharmaḥ syāt.[30]

iti nimittoktiḥ.

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close parallel: *śiśne tu vikṛtiṃ yāte trilohaṃ tatra jāyate | trikarādhaḥ samuddhāryam iti śāstrasya niścayaḥ |* (68r3–4). See Tanemura 2004, 152.

27 Though the *Devyāmata* does not have a parallel to this teaching, the *Piṅgalāmata* has a close parallel: *gulphasthe gulphasaṃsparśād dhayapādaṃ vinirdiśet | daśāṣṭāṅgulamānena tatra *khātvā* (em. Sanderson; *khaṭvā* Ms.) *samuddharet |* (67v4) See Tanemura 2004, 153.

28 For §[4] N3 reads as follows: *śiraḥkaṇḍūyanaṃ yady ācāryaśilpiyajamānatanniyogijanānām madhye kaścit karoti || tadā ekapauruṣād adhaḥ śalyam asti || bhrūsparśe suvarṇaṃ hastatrayāt kācam vā || netrasparśe netraparyāntādhastān muktā || mukhasparśe keśaṃ kāṣṭham vā *trikādhare* (N3^{ac}; *trikarādhare* N3^{pc}) *|| dantasparśāt tribhir hastair dantam anumīyet || karṇṇakaṇḍūyane karṇṇāntādhastād rūpyaṃ || suvarṇṇaṃ vidrumam vā bhavet || galasparśena tataḥ pramāṇādhaḥ kaṇṭhikā || lohaśṛṅkhalā vā aṅśākaṃkālam vā trikarādhare || aśasparśe tatpramāṇādhare tadābharaṇaṃ || kakṣasparśe kakṣāntādho lohaṃ || dakṣiṇakarasparśe kaṭimātrādhaḥ pṛṣṭhakapālaṃ mṛnmayakapālam vā | vāmahastasparśe jānumātrādhaḥ khaṭvāpādaḥ || pārśvakaṇḍūyane navārddhamātrādho dhūlī || uraḥsparśe kaṭimātrādhaḥ paṇḍuḥ kīkaśaṃ || pṛXṣṭhasparśe pṛṣṭhāsti tatpramāṇādhaḥ || kaṭisparśe dvikarādhaḥ pradeśe lohakaṇṭhakaṃ || liṅgasparśena hastapramāṇādhare trilohaśalyaṃ || jaṃghāsparśe tada*X*(N3^{ac}; *tyo* N3^{pc})kādaśāṅgulādhare gulphasparśe 'ṣṭādaśāṅgulādhare 'śvakuraḥ || pādasparśāXt dvādaśāṅgulre 'dhare śālmalī kaṇṭhako vā || pādakaniṣṭhāṅgulīsparśe 'ṣṭāṅgulādhare kāṃśyaṃ | pārṣṇisparśe dvādaśāṅgulādhare 'bhrakaṃ ||* (33v5–34v1).

29 For §[5] N3 reads as follows: *sūtrapātanasamaye yajamānasya pārśve sthitvā kenacid anye*[*na pu*]*ruṣeṇa␣yasya prāṇino nāma sa*[*kīttyata tada*]*sthi tatrā*[*stī*]*ti niścayaḥ ||* (34v1).

30 For §[6] Ms. N3 reads as follows: *akasmād gaur āgatya yadi viṣṭhām utsṛjati tadadho*

(2) The *Śalyoddhārapaṭala* of the *Devyāmata* (excerpted)

(Ms. A 91r5–93v5, Ms. B 50r2–54v5)[31]

Preliminary Edition

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi yathoktaṃ śalyalakṣaṇam |
sattvānām apakārāya vāstumadhye vyavasthitam ||1||

1b yathoktaṃ] A; yathoktaX B **1c** sattvānām] B; satvānāṃ m A **1d** vāstumadhye] A; vāstumadhya B

caturasrīkṛte kṣetre sūtrite śakunādibhiḥ |
vāstudehavibhāgajño vāstuśalyaṃ nirūpayet ||2||
gṛhaprāsādayor vidvān ārambhe sūtrakarmaṇi |
lakṣayec chakunaṃ samyag nimittaṃ copalakṣayet ||3||
darśanaṃ kīrtanaṃ śabdaṃ yajamānasya ceṣṭitam |
vastudehe yathāvasthaṃ lakṣaye śalyam ādarāt ||4||

4a darśanaṃ] A; daśanaṃ B **4c** lakṣaye śalyam] A; lakṣayec chalyam B

pāṣaṇḍidarśane neṣṭaṃ gṛhiṇām asukhāvaham |
hataṃ kṣataṃ mṛtaṃ bhagnaṃ śrutvā na sūtrayed gṛham ||5||

5a pāṣaṇḍidarśane] *em.*; pāṣaṇḍidarśanaṃ A; pāṣaṇḍidaśane B **5a** neṣṭaṃ] A; neṣṭhaṃ B

†aśastān† ye 'pi ye 'śastā neṣṭā sattvāś ca garhitāḥ |
darśanaṃ kīrtanaṃ śabdaṃ †sattvās† teṣāṃ vivarjayet ||6||

6a aśastān ye 'pi] B; aśastāmy api A **6d** vivarjayet] B; vivajayet A

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vaśyaṃ tatpramāṇaṅ kanakam astīti niścīyate | yady akasmād āgatya [*pu?*]*rīṣam utsṛjati vālakumārikā tadā tadadho 'vaśyaṃ tatpramāṇa rūpyam bhavet || bhekarutena jalabhayaṃ || sukasīrikāhaṃsakokilamayūjīvaṃjīvakacakravākavṛṣabhāṇāṃ hṛdyopakūjanaṃ kalyāṇāya bhavati || siṃhagajameghamanojñasvano dhanadhānyārthalābhodayāya bhavati || śaṅkhamaṅgalagītikāvālakrīḍaner arthāptiḥ || dhūmadarśane cittapīḍā || hīnadīnavyādhiparipīḍitajanadarśane rogaḥ || dhvajacchatrapatākāsadyamāṃsaghaṇṭālaṅkārāmbhojadadhīndravahnijvālāphalamīnayugarājāṅganādīnāṃ sandarśane śubham bhavati || vidvadbrāhmaṇabhikṣusādhujanānāṃ sandarśane dharmmaḥ syāt ||* (34v1–5).

31 The preliminary edition of the *Devyāmata* is based upon the two manuscripts listed below under References. There is another incomplete palm-leaf manuscript of the same scripture (NAK 5–446/vi. śaivatantra 105, catalogued under the title *Niśvāsākhyamahātantra* = NGMPP A41/13), which does not, unfortunately, contain the text of the relevant chapter.

sūtracchedena maraṇaṃ duḥkhaṃ vā maraṇāntikam | (v. 7ab = KSP [1])
evaṃ jñātvā vidhānajñaḥ śāntihomaṃ tu kārayet ||7||
sarvasukhāvahaṃ yasmāt samaṃ śriyānvitaṃ gṛham |
tasmāt susūtritaṃ kṛtvā śalyaṃ veśmani lakṣayet ||8||

8c susūtritaṃ] A; svasūtritaṃ B **8d** śalyaṃ] B; śalya A

sūtrasya laṅghanād vāpi darśanān nāmakīrtanāt |
śabdasaṃśrāvaṇād vāpi lakṣaye śalyam ādarāt ||9||

9b nāmakīrtanāt] *em.*; nāmakīrtanā A; nāmakīrttināt B **9d** lakṣaye śalyam] A; lakṣayec chalyam B

laṅghanaṃ darśanaṃ yasya ruditaṃ nāmakīrtitam |
tasya sattvasya tac chalyam ādiśel laṅghanādibhiḥ ||10|| (vv. 9–10 = KSP [0])

10a darśanaṃ] A; darśanaṃ [ve] B

anyasya prāṇino 'py aṅgaṃ vidyād anyasya laṅghanāt |
gṛhiṇo 'ṅgavikāreṇa vāstunaḥ śalyam ādiśet ||11||

11c gṛhiṇo 'ṅgavikāreṇa] B; gṛhiṇodbhavikāreṇa A

dṛśyate śakuno vāpi sa yasya śrūyate svanaḥ |
nāmasaṃkīrtanaṃ yasya tasya śalyaṃ vinirdiśet ||12|| (v. 12cd = KSP [5])

12c nāmasaṃkīrtanaṃ] *em.*; nāmasaṃkīrtta[na] A; nāmasaṃkīrttate B

...
sūtre prasāryamāṇe tu mārjāro yadi laṅghanam |
rāsabhāsthi vijānīyā tadaṅge vāstuno hy adhaḥ ||18|| (v. 18 = KSP [3](1))

18b laṅghanam] A; laṃghayete B (hypermetrical) **18c** rāsabhāsthi] A; rāsabhāsthim B **18d** tadaṅge] A; tadaṅgo B

yadi śvā laṅghate sūtraṃ tasmiṃ śvānāsthim ādiśet | (v. 19ab = KSP [3](3))
mūṣikālaṅghanenaiva ajāvikāsthim ādiśet ||19|| (v. 19cd = KSP [3](13))

19a laṅghate] A B^{pc}; laṃghayete B^{ac} **19b** śvānāsthim] *em.*; śvāno sthim A; śvāno 'sthim B **19c** mūṣikālaṅghanenaiva] A; mūsakālaṃghanenaiva B

ajāvikāś ca gosthi syād gāva-m-aśvāsthim ādiśet | (v. 20a = KSP [3](4))
aśvasya laṅghanenaiva māhiṣaṃ śalyam ādiśet ||20|| (v. 20cd = KSP [3](5))

20b aśvāsthi] A; B^{pc}; āśvāsthi B^{ac} B **20d** māhiṣaṃ śalyam ādiśet] A; māhiśet B (*haplographical error*)

mahiṣalaṅghanenaiva asthi syāj jambukasya tu | (v. 21ab = KSP [3](8))
jambukalaṅghanenaiva śūkarāsthi samādiśet ||21||
śūkarākramaṇe vyāghraṃ vyāghreṇaiva tu kuñjaram | (v. 22a = KSP [3](11), v. 22b = KSP [3](12))
kuñjarākramaṇe hy uṣṭram †aṅgāraso†ṣṭralaṅghanāt ||22|| (v. 22c = KSP [3](6))

22a vyāghraṃ] A; n.e. B (*caused by eye-skip*) **22c** uṣṭram] A; aṣṭam B

nṛlaṅghanān narāsthi syāt kharāsthi kharalaṅghaṇāt | (v. 23b = KSP [3](2))
evaṃ saṃlakṣayec chalyaṃ laṅghanādarśanādibhiḥ ||23||

23a nṛlaṅghanān] A; nṛlaṃghanā B **23a** narāsthi] A B^{pc}; nṛrāsthi B^{ac} **23c** saṃlakṣayec] A; śalakṣayec B

...
gavāṃ mūtreṇa rūpyaṃ syāt purīṣeṇaiva kāñcanam | (v. 32ab = KSP [6](1))
lohaṃ mārjāramūtreṇa purīṣenāśam ādiśet ||32||

32a gavāṃ] A; gavā B **32a** rūpyaṃ] *conj.*; ruśmaṃ A; rugmaṃ B **32c** lohaṃ] *em.*; loha A B **32c** mārjāramūtreṇa] B.; mārjāmūtreṇa A **32d** purīṣenāśam] A; purīṣenāgam B

...
śāntāyāṃ diśi śakuno madhuraṃ ravate yadi |
arthaṃ tatra vijānīyād ... ||34|| (v. 34abc = KSP [5](4))

34a śāntāyāṃ] A; śāntāyā B

...
śiraḥkaṇḍūyamāne tu śirasi śalyam uddharet ||63||

63c śiraḥkaṇḍūyamāne] A; śirakaṇḍuyamā*ṇde(?) B **63d** śirasi] B; ++[sa] A

asthiśalyaṃ tu taṃ jñeyaṃ puruṣārdhena tiṣṭhati | (vv. 63c–64b = KSP [4](1))
mukhe kaṇḍūyamānena kāṣṭhajaṃ vā śirobhavaḥ ||64||

64b tiṣṭhati] A; tiṣṭati B **64c** kaṇḍūyamānena] A; kaṇḍuyamānena B **64d** kāṣṭhajaṃ] B; kāṣṭajaṃ A

adhasthād dhastadvayenaiva tiṣṭhate nātra saṃśayaḥ | (vv. 64c–65b = KSP [4](4))
hanujaṃ dantasaṃsparśād uddhare tatpramāṇataḥ ||65|| (v. 65cd = KSP [4](5))

65a adhasthād] A; adha B **65b** tiṣṭhate] *em.*; tiṣṭate A B **65b** saṃśayaḥ] A; saśayaḥ B **65c** dantasaṃsparśād] B; dattasaṃspārśād A^{ac}; dattasaṃsparśād A^{pc} **65d** uddhare] *em.*; urddhare A; dhaddhare B

yadaṅgaṃ spṛśate hy arthaṃ tadaṅge śalyam ādiśet |
yadi kaṇḍūyate grīvā śṛṅkhalālohajaṃ viduḥ ||66||

66a spṛśate hy] A; spṛtete ty B

hastatrayeṇa sā jñeyā śṛṅkhalā nātra saṃśayaḥ | (vv. 66c–67b = KSP [4](7))
aṅge kaṇḍūyāmāne tu aṅgajaṃ śalyam ādiśet ||67||

67b nātra] A; śātra B

adhastāt tatpramāṇe tu uddharec chalyam ādarāt |
sphaṇake spṛśyamāne tu sphaṇajaṃ śalyam ādiśet ||68||

68b uddharec chalyam ādarāt] A; śiraśi śalya sudarāt B **68cd** Sphaṇa(ka) *is a corruption of* skandha?

tiṣṭhate tatpramāṇe tu samyag jñātvā samuddharet |
bāhukaṇḍūyamāne tu bāhuke kaṭakaḥ sthitaḥ ||69||

69b jñātvā] A; kṛtvā B **69c** bāhu°] B; vāhū° A **69d** bāhuke kaṭakaḥ] *conj.*; vāhuje nakalaḥ A; vāhyaje nalakaḥ B

hastatrayeṇa sārdhena tiṣṭhate nātra saṃśayaḥ | (vv. 69c–70b = KSP [4](10))

haste kaṇḍūyamāne tu khaṭvāpādaṃ vinirdiśet ||70|| (v. 70cd = KSP [4](12))

70**a** sārdhena] A; sāddhena B 70**b** tiṣṭhate] A; tiṣṭate B

jānumātre sthitaṃ vidyāt karajāṅgulisparśanāt |
haste kaṇḍūyamāne vā kaṭimātre sthitaṃ viduḥ ||71||

71**a** vidyāt] B; vindyān A 71**c** haste kaṇḍūyamāne vā] A; hastena kaṇḍūyamāne *vā(?) B (*hypermetrical*)

śalyaṃ śamuddhared vidvān kapālaṃ vātha mṛnmayam | (vv. 71c–72b = KSP [4](11))
uraḥkaṇḍūyamāne tu paśuśalyam athāṅgajam ||72||

72**a** śalyaṃ] A; śalya B 72**c** uraḥkaṇḍūyamāne] *em.*; uraḥkaṇḍūyamānena A; urakaṇḍūyamāne B

sārdhahastadvaye 'dhastāc chalyaṃ yatnāt samuddharet | (vv. 72c–73b = KSP [4](14))
hṛdaye hṛdayasparśāt tatpramāṇena tanmayam ||73||

73**a** sārdhahastadvaye] A; sārddhahastādvayo B 73**b** yatnāt] *em.*; yannān A; yannā B 73**c** hṛdayasparśāt] *em.*; hṛdayaṃ sparśāt A B

pṛṣṭhajaṃ pṛṣṭhasaṃsparśād udare tatpramāṇataḥ | (v. 74ab = KSP [4](15))
pārśve saṃsparśanād vidyāc chalyaṃ pāṃsulikodbhavam ||74||

74**a** pṛṣṭhajaṃ] B; spṛṣṭhajaṃ A 74**a** pṛṣṭhasaṃsparśād] *em.*; spṛṣṭhasaṃsparśād A B 74**d** chalyaṃ] A; chalyāṃ B

tatpramāṇe sthitaṃ śalyam uddharec chalyavittamaḥ | (vv. 74c–75b = KSP [4](13))
kaṭijaṃ kaṭisaṃsparśād athavā lohakaṇṭakam ||75||
hastadvayapramāṇe tu śalyaṃ tatra samuddharet | (vv. 75c–76b = KSP [4](16))
ūrukaṇḍūyamāne tu ūrujaṃ vātha dārujam ||76||

76**b** śalyaṃ] A; śalya B 76**c** ūrukaṇḍūyamāne] A; urukaṇḍūyamāṇe B 76**d** ūrujaṃ] A; urujaṃ B

sārdhahastapramāṇena śalyaṃ yatnāt samuddharet |
jānukaṇḍūyato dṛṣṭvā sthāṇujaṃ vātha jānujam ||77||

77a sārdhahastapramāṇena] A; sāddhastapramāṇena B **77b** yatnāt] A; yannāt B **77c** jānukaṇḍūyato] A; jānukaṇḍūto B **77d** sthāṇujaṃ] *corr.*; sthānujaṃ A B

†nādhitopaskarasvāpi† hastamātre samuddharet |
yadā saṃspṛśyate jaṅghāṃ jaṅghāsthiṃ tatra nirdiśet ||78||

78a nādhitopaskarasvāpi] A; nāditopaskaramvā B (*The readings of both* A *and* B *are suspected but undiagnosed corruption.*)

ekādaśāṅgule 'dhastāt tiṣṭhate nātra saṃśayaḥ | (vv. 78c–79b = KSP [4](18))
pāde kāṇḍūyamāṇe tu kauñjaraṃ śalyam ādiśet ||79||

79a ekādaśāṅgule 'dhastāt] A; ekādaśāṅgulodhastā B **79b** tiṣṭhate] A; tiṣṭate B **79d** kauñjaraṃ] B; kaujeraṃ A

dvādaśāṅgulamāne tu śalyaṃ kaṇṭakam uddharet | (vv. 79c–80b = KSP [4](20))
aṅguṣṭake yadā kaṇḍū khaṭikāśalyam ādiśet ||80||

80b śalyaṃ] A; śalya B

rītikācitrasaṃmiśraṃ lohaṃ vā tatra nirdiśet |
aṅgulyāṃ yadi kaṇḍūya aśvapādaṃ vinirdiśet ||81||

81a rītikācitrasaṃmiśraṃ] B; rītikācitrasanmriśraṃ A **81b** lohaṃ] A; loha B **81d** aśvapādaṃ] B; aṣṭapādaṃ A **81d** vinirdiśet] A; vinidiśet B

sārdhavitastimātreṇa tiṣṭhate nātra saṃśayaḥ |
kaniṣṭhikāyāṃ kaṇḍūya kāṃsyaṃ tatra vinirdiśet ||82||

82a sārdha°] *em.*; sārddhaṃ A; sāddha° B **82b** tiṣṭhate] A; tiṣṭate B **82c** kaniṣṭhikāyāṃ] A; kaniṣṭhikāyā B **82d** kāṃsyaṃ] B; kāṃsaṃsyavit A

tac cāṣṭāṅgulamāne tu tiṣṭhate nātra saṃśayaḥ | (vv. 82c–83b = KSP [4](21))
adhopādasya kaṇḍūya carma śalyaṃ samādiśet ||83||

83a tac] A; ta[ṃ] B **83d** carma] A; cama B

aṣṭāṅgulapramāṇe tu tiṣṭhate śalyakaṇṭakam |
...
iti śalyoddhārapaṭalaḥ.

Provisional translation

Next, I shall, as told before, teach the characteristics of extraneous substances, which exist beneath the site (*vāstumadhye*) and cause calamities to people. (1)

When the site, which has been made square, is being divided with cords, [the officiant] who has knowledge of divisions of the site (*vāstudehavibhāgajñaḥ*) should investigate extraneous substances by omens, etc. (2)

When the division of [the sites for] a house and a shrine with cords has been commenced, the wise man [i.e. the officiant] should notice an omen and observe it correctly. (3)

[The omens are] seeing [someone or something], announcing [a creature's name], cries [of animals], and the actions of a donor. [The officiant] should carefully notice an extraneous substance as situated beneath the site. (4)

If a heretic is seen, that brings an undesirable outcome to householders. If one hears someone hurt, wounded, or killed, or something broken, then [the officiant] should not divide the site with cords. (5)

If there are persons who are not praised, undesirable, or blameworthy, then one should avoid seeing such persons, hearing [the names of] such persons announced, and hearing the voices of such persons. (6)

If a cord is cut, there is death or deadly pain.[32] (= KSP [1]) (7ab)

[The officiant] who has knowledge of the ritual should perform the fire rite for quelling of calamities, if he becomes aware of such [omens]. (7cd)

Since a levelled house brings every comfort and prosperity [to the residents], one should divide the site properly with cords and examine extraneous substances beneath the site (*veśmani*). (8)

[The officiant] should carefully prognosticate the extraneous thing [underground] by observing [a creature] step over a cord, seeing [an auspicious or inauspicious thing], announcing a [creature's] name, or hearing [an auspicious or inauspicious sound]. If [a creature] steps over [a cord] or is seen, or if one [hears] a cry of [a creature] or announce a [creature's] name, then [the officiant] should prognosticate the extraneous thing [related to] that creature according to the stepping over and other [omens]. (= KSP [0]) (9–10)

32 The second outcome, deadly pain, is not mentioned in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.

If a creature [intrudes into the site] stepping over [a cord], then [the officiant] should know that there is the body [of that creature, i.e. bones of that creature beneath the site]. He should prognosticate an extraneous substance beneath the site (*vāstunaḥ*) by the bad condition of the householder's body. (11)

If an omen is seen, or if [a creature] cries out, or if [someone] announces a [creature's] name, then [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing [related to] that [creature]. (= KSP [5]) (12)

...

If a cat [intrudes into the site] stepping over [a cord] while a cord is being cast, it should be understood that there is the bone of an ass beneath that spot of the site.[33] (= KSP [3](1)) (18)

If a dog steps over a cord, [the officiant] should prognosticate the bone of a dog [beneath] the [spot of the site]. (= KSP [3](3)) (19ab)

If a mouse passes [over a cord], [the officiant] should prognosticate bones of goats and sheep [beneath the site].[34] (= KSP [3](13)) (19cd)

If rams or sheep [step over a cord], there is the bone of a cow [beneath the site].[35] (= KSP [3](4)) (20a)

If cows [step over a cord], [the officiant] should prognosticate bones of a horse [beneath the site]. (20b)

If a horse steps over [a cord], [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing related to a buffalo[, i.e. the bone of a buffalo beneath the ground].[36] (= KSP [3](5)) (20cd)

If a buffalo steps over [a cord], there is the bone of a jackal [beneath the site]. (= KSP [3](8)) (21ab)

If a jackal steps over [a cord], [the officiant] should prognosticate the bone of a boar [beneath the site]. (21cd)

If a hog steps over [a cord], there is [the bone of] a tiger [beneath the site]. (= KSP [3](11)) (22a)

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33 Although the *Devyāmata* does not mention the bone of a cat as an extraneous thing, it should also be prognosticated if we consider v. 10 of the *Devyāmata* above.

34 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* mentions the bone of a mouse, which is not mentioned in the *Devyāmata*, as the extraneous thing in the case that a mouse passes over a cord. If we consider v. 10 of the *Devyāmata* above, the bone of mouse should also be prognosticated in this case.

35 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* mentions bones of rams and sheep, which are not mentioned in the *Devyāmata* as extraneous things. Probably, in this case too, the rule of v. 10 above should be applied.

36 If the rule of v. 10 is applied, the bone of a horse should also be prognosticated in this case. The bone of a buffalo is not mentioned in the corresponding part of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.

If a tiger [steps over a cord], there is [the bone of] an elephant [beneath the site]. (= KSP [3](12)) (22b)

If an elephant steps over [a cord], [there is the bone of] a camel [beneath the site].[37] (= KSP [3](6)) (22c)

If an camel steps over [a cord], there is †*aṅgārasa*† [beneath the site]. (22d)

If a man steps over [a cord], there is a human bone [beneath the site]. (23a)

If an ass [intrudes into the site] stepping over [a cord], there is the bone of an ass [beneath the site]. (= KSP [3](2)) (23b)

In this way, [the officiant] should examine extraneous substances by [the omens] such as stepping over and seeing. (23cd)

...

If a cow [which has entered the site] urinates or drops dung, there are pieces of silver or gold [beneath the site, respectively].[38] (= KSP [6](1)) (32ab)

If a cat urinates or drops dung, [the officiant] should prognosticate a piece of iron or an inauspicious thing (? *aśam*)[39] [beneath the site,] respectively. (32cd)

...

If a bird sings sweetly in an auspicious direction, then [the officiant] should prognosticate a treasure there. (v. 34abc = KSP [5](4)) (34a–c)

...

If [someone] scratches his head, [the officiant] should remove an extraneous thing at a depth of the full height of a man (*śirasi*). On the other hand, it should be understood that the extraneous thing which is a bone exists [at a depth of] a half [of the height] of a man [underground].[40] (= KSP [4](1)) (63c–64b)

If [someone] touches his mouth (or face), there must be [an extraneous thing] which is a piece of wood or hair (? *śirobhavaḥ*) [at a depth of] two cubits underground.[41] (= KSP [4](4)) (64c–65b)

If [someone] touches his teeth, there is [an extraneous thing] which is a tooth (*hanujam*). [The officiant] should remove [it from a depth of] that measurement [= up to the teeth].[42] (= KSP [4](5)) (65cd)

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37 The *Devyāmata* does not mention the bone of an elephant, which is mentioned in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. Probably, in this case too, the rule of v. 10 should be applied.

38 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* does not mention the former omen, i.e. the urination of a cow.

39 There might be a corruption here. It is expected that the extraneous thing is a certain kind of metal in this case.

40 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches only that there is an extraneous thing at a depth of the full height of a man in this case.

41 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches that the depth is three cubits in this case.

42 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches that the depth is three cubits in this case.

If [someone] touches a part of his body, [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing (*arthaṃ … śalyam*) [at a depth] up to the part. (66ab)

If [someone] touches his neck, they know that there is [an extraneous thing] which is an iron chain. It should be understood that that iron chain [exists at a depth of] three cubits [underground]. There is no doubt about it.[43] (= KSP [4](7)) (66c–67b)

If [someone] scratches a part of his body, [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing related to the part (*aṅgajam*) at a depth up to the part (*adhastāt tatpramāṇe*). [The officiant] should remove the extraneous thing carefully. (67c–68b)

If [someone] scratches his shoulder (?), [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing related to the shoulder (?), which is at a depth up to the [shoulder (?)]. If he knows it correctly, he should remove it.[44] (68c–69b)

If someone scratches his arm, there is armlet [at the depth] up to the arm.[45] [That extraneous thing] exists [at a depth of] three and a half cubits [underground].[46] There is no doubt about it. (= KSP [4](10)) (69c–70b)

If [someone] touches his [left?] hand, [the officiant] should prognosticate the leg of a couch [beneath the site]. If [someone] touches his finger (*karajāṅguli*°), [the officiant] should know [that the extraneous thing] is situated at a depth up to the knee.[47] (= KSP [4](12)) (70c–71b)

Alternatively, if [someone] scratches his [right?] hand, it is understood that there is an extraneous thing, i.e. a skull or [a bowl] made of clay [at a depth] just up to the buttocks [underground]. The wise man [i.e. officiant] should remove it.[48] (= KSP [4](11)) (71c–72b)

If [someone] scratches his breast, there is the bone of an animal (*paśuśalyam*) or hair (*aṅgajam*)[49] [at a depth of] one and a half cubits underground.[50]

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43 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* additionally mentions a necklace and skeleton of a cat as extraneous things in the case that someone touches his neck.

44 I am not sure what *sphaṇa* or *sphaṇaka* means. The preceding verse refers to the neck and the following the arm, so this word probably means shoulder.

45 If we refer to the parallel in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, the extraneous thing to be prognosticated is an ornament related to the arm.

46 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches that the depth is the measurement up to the neck.

47 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* limits the first condition to the left hand, but does not mention the second condition, i.e. touching a finger.

48 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* limits the condition to the right hand. The relevant part of the *Devyāmata* does not have a word corresponding to †*pṛṣṭhakapālam*† in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, i.e. the *Devyāmata* does not give a clue to solve the textual problem in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.

49 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* does not mention this second extraneous thing.

50 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches that the depth is the measurement up to the buttocks in this case.

[The officiant] should remove that extraneous thing carefully. (= KSP [4](14)) (72c–73b)

If [someone] touches his heart, there is [an extraneous thing] related to it (*tatmayam*) at a depth up to the heart (*hṛdaye … pramāṇena*). (73cd)

If [someone] touches his back, there is [an extraneous thing] arising from the back[, i.e. a back-bone at the depth up to the back]. If [someone touches] his belly, [there is an extraneous thing related to the belly] at the depth up to the [belly]. (= KSP [4](15)) (74ab)

If [someone] touches his side, one should prognosticate that there is an extraneous thing arising from dust. The best knower of extraneous things [= the officiant] should remove that extraneous thing which exists [at a depth of] that measurement [= up to the side] [underground]. (= KSP [4](13)) (74c–75b)

If [someone] touches his buttocks, there is [an extraneous thing] arising from the buttocks[, i.e. coccyx?] or an iron nail at a depth of two cubits [underground]. [The officiant] should remove that extraneous thing from there. (= KSP [4](16)) (75c–76b)

If [someone] scratches his thigh, there is an extraneous thing related to the thigh or piece of wood at a depth of one and a half cubits. [The officiant] should remove it carefully. (76c–77b)

If [someone] is seen to scratch his knee, there is an extraneous thing, i.e. a stump (*sthāṇujam*) or a knee bone (*jānujam*) at a depth of one cubit. [The officiant] should remove it.[51] (77c–78b)

If [someone] touches his shank, [the officiant] should prognosticate a bone of the shank [at a depth of] eleven digits underground in that place. There is no doubt about this. (= KSP [4](18)) (78c–79b)

If [someone] scratches his foot, [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing related to an elephant[, i.e. a born of an elephant (*kauñjaraṃ*)].[52] He should remove the extraneous thing, i.e. a thorn [at a depth of] twelve digits [underground]. (= KSP [4](20)) (79c–80b)

If [someone] scratches his big toe, [the officiant] should prognosticate an extraneous thing, i.e. a piece of chalk. Alternatively, he should prognosticate a piece of iron mixed with various calxes of brass there. (80c–81b)

51 I have not translated the corruption, *nādhitopaskarasvāpi*.

52 An extraneous thing prescribed in the corresponding part of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is a piece of silk-cotton wood (*śālmalī*).

If [someone] scratches his toe, [the officiant] should prognosticate a foot of a horse [beneath the site].[53] It exists at a depth of one and a half *vitasti*s. There is no doubt regarding this. (81c–82b)

If [someone] scratches his little toe, [the officiant] should prognosticate a piece of bell-metal [beneath] the spot. That [extraneous thing] exists [at a depth of] eight digits [underground]. There is no doubt about it. (= KSP [4](21)) (82c–83b)

If [someone] scratches his sole, [the officiant] should prognosticate an animal's hide as the extraneous thing. There is the extraneous thing at a depth of eight digits. (83c–84b)

…

These are the rules for the removal of extraneous substances.

5 Concluding Remarks

Whereas Śaivism produced Pratiṣṭhātantras, scriptures which specialise in temple construction and installation, Buddhism did not produce a scripture in this domain.[54] The author of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* was aware that there is no scriptural authority at least with regard to the *nimittokti* section. Thus he states that one should consider various omens based on the half stanza from Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*. He also employs the word *liṅga* as a synonym of *nimitta* and uses this word not only for an auspicious or inauspicious sign or omen, but also as a term from logic (inferential sign). His intention is probably to state that the word *nimitta* in the half stanza quoted from the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* should be understood as a *liṅga* and, therefore, things caused by those *liṅga*s are correctly inferred (*anumīyate*) based on the *liṅgaliṅgisaṃbandha*. However, this might not necessarily mean that Kuladatta thinks his teachings are non-Buddhist. For in ritual manuals

53 A foot of a horse (*aśvapādaṃ*) is supported by Ms. B and Ms. A reads *aṣṭapādaṃ* (a spider). Since the omen is scratching the toe, an extraneous thing related to the foot might be better.

54 The Śaivas of Mantramārga produced a secondary body of scriptural authorities, the Pratiṣṭhātantras, devoted exclusively to the domain of construction of royal temples. They also asserted the principle that the Śaiva *sthāpaka*, the specialist who performs the rituals related to temple construction and installation, is competent not only for the Śaiva domain but also for all the levels that Śaivas ranked below this (Sanderson 2009, 274–275). Cf. *Devyāmata*: *pāṣaṇḍidarśanaṃ neṣṭaṅ gṛhiṇām asukhāvahaṃ* (Ms. A 91v1); *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *nimittokti*: *vidvadbrāhmaṇabhikṣusādhujanānāṃ saṃdarśane dharmaḥ syāt* (Tanemura 2004, 155).

it is important that Buddhist mantra-visualisation systems are employed.[55] In the case of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, the mantra-visualisation systems of the Yogatantra and the "higher" *tantra*s are employed, and in this sense the rituals prescribed function as Buddhist. This syncretism of different classes of scriptures is common to both Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism.

The *nimittokti* and other sections (e.g. *bhūmiparīkṣā*) in which close textual parallels to Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras and Paddhatis are found have little to do with Śaiva and Buddhist doctrines and those sections have close parallels to *jyotiḥśāstra*s and *śilpaśāstra*s.[56] One might suppose that this is evidence of the fact that both Śaivism and Buddhism used this kind of literature as common sources and established their own respective ritual systems. This is probably not the case. Although the non-sectarian parallels are common to the Śaiva Pratiṣṭhātantras or Paddhatis and the Buddhist ritual manuals, and these two religions employ different mantra-visualisation systems, the structures or styles of the rituals prescribed are similar to each other. For example, while the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* teaches that in the preparation of water jugs the officiant should make the assistants recite Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* prescribes a preparation ritual for consecration of the Śivaliṅga in which mantras of the four Vedas are recited in the four directions (Tanemura 2004, 235, note 50). Considering the parallels on the scriptural level mentioned above, the parallel repertoire of rituals prescribed in Śaiva ritual texts and the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, and the similarities of structures or styles of the rituals, it is not implausible that one religion, probably Buddhism, followed examples of the other. It is, of course, important to consider various parallels of the kinds presented in this paper in greater detail in order to understand the relationship between Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism.

55 The *sūtrapātanavidhi*, in which the *nimittokti* section is included, is based on the mantra-visualisation system of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala taught in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. See Tanemura 2004, 139–155, 237–250.

56 For example, descriptions similar to those of the *nimittokti* of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* are found in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 53.105–110 (E^B vol. 1, pp. 489–491). See also Tanemura 2004, 245–250.

Appendix: A Provisional Edition and Translation of the *Bhūśalyasūtrapātananimittavidhi* of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*

After I had finished writing a draft of this article, I found a small section of Jagaddarpaṇa's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* which teaches about extraneous things beneath the site for a *maṇḍala* or monastery, and the omens for those extraneous things. Here I present a preliminary edition and provisional translation of the relevant section. This is written in verse, and the metre is *śārdūlavikrīḍitā*. Most probably the material is silently quoted from the work of a predecessor; the section colophon of Ms. K states that the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* is a compilation of various teachings (for this colophon, see the apparatus of this preliminary edition).

sūtraṃ tatra nipātayet suvidhinā tullīkṛte bhūtale
pañcajñānamayaṃ viśuddhavalitaṃ nirgranthi nābhyūrdhvagam |
sthairyadhyānasamanvito varagurur nāsāgramadhye 'kṣiṇī
ghaṇṭāmaṅgalagītaśaṅkhapaṭhanaiḥ saṃstūya vaṃśasvanaiḥ ||1||

airandhrīkarapallavoddhṛtapayomiśraphullojjvalair
arghaṃ ratnasuvarṇagandhakusumaiḥ saṃdāpayed dāyakaḥ |
naimittaṃ ca nirūpayed gurumṛtiḥ sūtrasya saṃcchedane
nūnaṃ jambukagṛdhrakaṅkaruditair mṛtyur bhavet svāminaḥ ||2||
2c gurumṛtiḥ … saṃcchedane] = KSP [1] **2d** = KSP [2]

yajjātīyaviśeṣasattvajanitaiḥ sūtraṃ samullaṅghyate
tajjātīyakam asthi tatra niyataṃ sūtrādhare vāstuni |
dātuḥ pārśvagato hi sūtravitate yannāma saṃkīrtayet
tannāmānugasattvakīkasamalaṃ dātṛsthabhūkhaṇḍale ||3||
3ab = KSP [3] **3cd** = KSP [5]

svāṅgaṃ vā spṛśati drutaṃ vidhivaśāt tanmānam ākhanya tac
chalyānāṃ bahudhā nimittam uditaṃ samkṣepamātraṃ tv iha |
gaur āgatya tadā purīṣam asṛjat tanmānahema sthitaṃ
yadvā bālakumārikā ca visṛjet tanmānarūpyaṃ bhavet ||4||
4a = KSP [4] **4c** = KSP [6](1) **4d** = KSP [6](2)

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2 viśuddhavalitaṃ] K^{pc} N1 N2 (*The relevant word in Ms. K is corrected at least three times*: viX → vidha → visuvalitaṃ → visuddhavalitaṃ) ‖ nirgranthi] N1; nigranthi K; nitranthi N2 3 nāsāgramadhye] K N1; nāśāgramadhya N2 ‖ 'kṣiṇī] *conj.*; 'kṣaṇo K; kṣaṇo N1 N2 4 ° paṭhanaiḥ] N1 N2; °pradhvanaiḥ K ‖ saṃstūya] *em.*(←Tib. bstod pas); santūryya K; santūrya N1 N2 5 airandhrīkara°] N1 N2; airandhrikara° K ‖ ° praphullojjvalair] N1 N2; °prasphullojjvalair K 6 dāyakaḥ] *em.*; dāyakaṃ K N1 N2 7 gurumṛtiḥ] N2; gurumṛti K 8 jambuka°] N2; jambūka° K ‖ ° ruditair] K; °rudite N2 ‖ mṛtyur] K; mṛtyu N2 10 ° sattva°] N2; °satya° 12 dātuḥ] K^{pc} N2; pādātuḥ K^{ac} ‖ pārśvagato] K N2^{pc}; śvagato N2^{ac} 15 ākhanya] N2; ākhana K 16 chalyānāṃ] K; chalyānāṃ m N2 ‖ bahudhā] K^{pc} N2; bahuvidhā K^{ac} ‖ nimittam uditaṃ] K; nimittavyditaṃ *or* nimittamaditaṃ N2 ‖ tv] N2; n.e. K 17 asṛjat] N2; asṛjan K 18 visṛjet] K; visṛjat N2 ‖ tanmānarūpyaṃ] N2; *tanmānarūpa* K ‖ bhavet] N2; bhave K

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7 naimittaṃ] *The folios which contain the text from* nimittam *to the end of this chapter are missing from* Ms. N1.

The excellent master [= officiant] in steady meditation, gazing upon the centre of the tip of his nose, should cast the cord on the surface of the site which has been levelled following the rules exactly. [The cord,] into which [the five threads of the five colours] are twined, has as its nature the five wisdoms and is purified. [It] does not have a knot, and is placed in the centre [of the site before casting]. (1a–c)

Having praised [the cord] with the sounds of a bell, auspicious song, conch shell, and bamboo flute, the donor should offer guest water [to the cord] together with jewels, gold, and fragrant flowers, which are blooming and beautiful, and mixed with the juice extracted from the sprouts of the *airandhrīkara*. (1d–2b)

[The officiant] should examine omens. If a cord is cut, the death of a master [will take place]. (= KSP [1]) If the cries of a jackal, a vulture and a heron [are heard], then the death of a lord [will] definitely [take place]. (= KSP [2]) (2cd)

If a cord is stepped over by a specific kind of creature, then there must be a bone of that creature beneath the site (*vāstuni*) on which the cord is being cast (*sūtrādhāre*). (= KSP [3]) (3ab)

If [some other man] who stands beside the donor announces a [creature's] name while a cord is being cast, then there is an impure substance, i.e. a bone of the creature of the name beneath the site on which the donor is standing. (= KSP [5]) (3cd)

If [someone] touches [a particular part of] his body and [the site] is quickly dug to a depth up to that [particular part of the body] according to the rules, then there is the [extraneous thing corresponding to the omen]. (= KSP [4]) (4a)

[With regard to bodily sensations,] various omens of extraneous things [beneath the site] are taught. In this [short section], however, [the explanation is] just abridged. (4b)

If a cow comes and drops dung, then there is the same amount of gold as the [dung beneath the site]. (= KSP [6](1)) Alternatively, if a young girl [comes and] urinates, then there must be the same amount of silver as [the urine beneath the site]. (= KSP [6](2)) (4cd)

maṇḍūkadhvaninā gṛhe jalabhayaṃ dhūmena cittākulaṃ
rogārtāṅgavihīnakuṣṭhavivaśastrīdarśaṇe rogabhāk |
jīvaṃjīvamayūrakokilaśukāś cakrāṅkahaṃsarṣabhās
teṣāṃ kaṇṭharutaṃ śubhodayakaraṃ saṃpatkaraṃ darśaṇam ||5||
5a maṇḍūkadhvaninā … jalabhayaṃ] = KSP [6](3) **5a** dhūmena cittākulaṃ] = KSP [6](7) **5b** = KSP [6](8) **5cd** = KSP [6](4)

siṃhāmbhodhararājakuñjararavair dhānyārthalābhodayaṃ
bālakrīḍanaśaṅkhamaṅgaladhvanau dravyāgamas tadgṛhe |
chatrāmbhojapatākāmurajadhvajālaṅkārarājāṅgaṇā-
matsyakṣīradadhīndramadyadahanajvālāphalānāṃ jayam ||6||
6a = KSP [6](5) **6b** = KSP [6](6)

dhānyadravyasutādivṛddhir atulā niṣpannakāryaṃ tadā
bhikṣubrāhmaṇadhīdhanottamajanaiḥ saṃdarśaṇe dharmabhāk |
prārambhe bhuvi sūtrapātanavidhau devādisaṃsthāpane
śreyoliṅgam idaṃ hitodayakaraṃ saṃvīkṣya kuryāt tadā ||7||
6c–7a = KSP [6](9) **7b** = KSP [6](10)

śilpācāryavicāracārucaturais tyaktvāśubhaṃ sarvathā
yena sthānanivāsisarvajanatārājñāṃ ca dātur yathā |
kalyāṇāya śubhodayāya nitarām ādau vicāryaiva tat
sattārāgrahayogavāsaraśubhe kāryāṃ samārabhyatām ||8||

iti bhūśalyasūtrapātananimittavidhiḥ.

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1 maṇḍūkadhvaninā] N2; maṇḍakadhvaninā K ‖ cittākulaṃ] *em.*; cintākulaṃ K; citākulaṃ N2 2 rogārtāṅga°] K; rogārttaṅga° N2 ‖ ° vihīna°] N2; °vihina° ‖ ° vivaśa°] *em.*; °vivaśaḥ K; °vivagaḥ N2 ‖ ° strīdarśaṇe] N2; °strīdarśaṇa K 3 cakrāṅka°] K; cakrāṃṅka° N2 ‖ ° rṣabhās] N2; °gaṇāḥ K 7 ° ravair] *em.*; °ravai K N2 8 ° dhvanau] N2; °dhvanair K 9 chatrāmbhoja°] K^{pc}; cchatrāmbhojakha° K^{ac}; chatrāmbhojakhama N2 ‖ ° muraja°] K; °jera° N2 ‖ ° dhvajālaṅkāra°] K; °dhvajaghaṭālaṅkāra° N2 10 ° dadhīndra°] N2; °dadhisu° K 12 dhānya°] K; dhānyārtha° N2 ‖ niṣpanna°] K; niṣpan° N2 14 bhuvi] N2; guru K 15 śreyoliṅgam] K; śriyoliṅgam N2 ‖ saṃvīkṣya] N2; saṃvidya K 17 śilpācārya°] *em.*; śiṣyācāryya° K; śilppācārya° N2 ‖ ° caturais] K; catures N2 18 yena] N2; ye K ‖ sthānanivāsi°] N2; sthānavāsināṃ K ‖ ° sarvajanatā°] N2; sarvvajanānāṃ K^{ac}; sarvvajanatānāṃ K^{pc} ‖ ca dātur] N2; pradābhūr K 19 tat] K; tata N2 21 iti bhūśalyasūtrapātananimittavidhiḥ] *em. based upon* N2; nānāmatāt samākṛṣya maṇḍalācāryadarppaṇaviracite kriyāsamuccaye bhūśalyasūtrapātananimittavidhiḥ ṣaṣṭamapaṭalaḥ K; iti bhūśalyasūtrapātananimitavidhi N2

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8 ° maṅgala°] la *of* maṅgala *must be short* (dhv *does not make the vowel heavy*). 9 muraja] la *of* muraja *must be short* (dhv *does not make the vowel heavy*).

If a frog croaks, there is danger of water in the [donor's?] house. (= KSP [6](3)) If smoke [is seen], there is distraction of mind. (= KSP [6](7)) If a person suffering from a disease (*rogārtāṅga*°), a person of a lower [class], a person suffering from leprosy, a deranged person (°*vivaśa*°), and a woman are seen, then it causes disease (*rogabhāk*). (= KSP [6](8)) (5ab)

Songs (*kaṇṭharutam*) of a *jīvaṃjīvaka* bird, peacock, *kokila* bird, parrot, *cakrāṅka*, *haṃsa*, and a bull bring auspiciousness. If [these creatures] are seen, it brings prosperity. (= KSP [6](4)) (5cd)

The roar of a lion, the sound of thunder, and the roar of a royal elephant bring the gain of grain and property. (= KSP [6](5)) (6a)

If the voices of children playing, the sound of a conch-shell, or an auspicious [song are heard], it brings wealth to the [donor's] house. (= KSP [6](6)) (6b)

If a parasol, lotus, banner, *muraja* drum, flagpole, ornament, a woman of the court, fish, milk, the best curd, wine, blazing fire, and fruits [are seen], then there are victory, extraordinary increase of grain, property, [the number of] sons, and other [merits], and the completion of duties. (= KSP [6](9)) (6c–7a)

If a *bhikṣu*, *brāhmaṇa*, wise man (°*dhī*°), or a wealthy man (°*dhanottamajana*-) is seen, it brings virtue. (= KSP [6](10)) (7b)

In the consecration of [images of] deities and other [sacred objects], [the officiant] should examine the [above-mentioned] omens which bring merits [to the donor] in the commencement of the rite of the casting of cords, and then perform [the casting of cords]. (7cd)

The officiant with special knowledge of architecture[57] who is skilled in the examination [of omens] should abandon inauspicious[, extraneous] things by all means. By doing this (*yena*), fortune and auspiciousness will certainly be brought to the donor, the king, and all people who live in the region. [Therefore, the officiant] should first examine the [omens], and then undertake the rite [to follow] when the combination of fixed stars and planets, and the day are auspicious. (8)

These are the rules for extraneous things beneath the site and the omens [observed] in the rite of casting of cords.

57 I have not seen the word *śilpācārya* elsewhere. If this is not a corruption, it probably refers to a particular class of officiant which is equivalent to the *sthāpaka*, the Śaiva officiant who specialises in the installation of images and consecration of temples.

Abbreviations

ac	before correction
conj.	a diagnostic conjecture
corr.	a correction
DM	*Devyāmata*
em.	an emendation
KSP	*Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*
NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
n.e.	not existent
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
pc	after correction
X	an illegible *akṣara*
+	an *akṣara* lost due to damage to the manuscript.
†...†	suspected but undiagnosed corruption

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For sigla N K O C1 C2 C3 T1 T2 T3, see Tanemura 2004, 103–103.

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CHAPTER 22

Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three *Nāmasaṃgīti*-Related Texts

Anthony Tribe

In this article I suggest that an eight-armed Mañjuśrī found in early Western Himalayan Art be identified not as the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī but as the Ādibuddha.[1] This figure is distinctive in that it holds four swords, one in each of its four right hands, and four book volumes, one in each of its four left hands. Previously identified as a form of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī,[2] this image is found in three locations in the Western Himalayas. Two of these are in Ladakh: one at Alchi in the Sumtsek (Gsum-brtsegs, "Three-Storeyed") Temple; the other at Mangyu, where there are two images, the first in the Two-armed Maitreya Chapel, the second in the Village Stūpa.[3] These three images are murals. The third location is in Spiti, where there is a clay sculpture in the Golden Temple or Serkhang (Gser-khang) at Lalung.[4]

1 The expression "Ādibuddha," which may be rendered in English by "Original Buddha," denotes, in the present context, a figure seen as the embodiment of the gnosis (*jñāna*) underlying the state of Buddhahood. It is not surprising, perhaps, that Mañjuśrī, as the *bodhisattva* of wisdom par excellence, would be reconfigured to function additionally as the Ādibuddha.

This article, which, as will become evident, very much represents work in progress, has its origins in research on Vilāsavajra's *Nāmasaṃgīti* commentary, research that was supervised some twenty-five years ago by Professor Sanderson. I undertake this foray into the field of early Western Himalayan art with some trepidation: it is not an area in which I possess expertise. I have tried not to go beyond the limits of what I feel confident in claiming; nonetheless, there are bound to be errors, both of omission and commission. I offer advance apologies!

2 The Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala as described by Abhayākaragupta has an eight-armed form of Mañjuśrī, named Mañjughoṣa, as its central deity (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*—hereafter *NYĀ*—54).

3 "Two-armed Maitreya Chapel" is the nomenclature of Luczanits 2004; van Ham 2011 uses "Maitreya Tower 1." With "Village Stūpa," however, I follow van Ham's (ibid.) terminology. Luczanits (ibid.) has "Four-image Chörten," which is somewhat misleading, as while the building contains four clay images there are also mural images.

4 Regarding the dates of these temples, that of the Alchi Sumtsek is still a matter of contro-

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FIGURE 22.1 Eight-armed Mañjuśrī, uppermost level, Sumtsek, Alchi
PHOTOGRAPH BY JAROSLAV PONCAR (JP93 26.4.05 WHAV)

The Sumtsek figure, perhaps the best known of the three, is the central deity of a fifty-three deity *maṇḍala* on the top (i.e., the third) level of the temple (Figs. 22.1–2).

Being on the highest level and also on the wall opposite the temple's entrance, it occupies the place of greatest symbolic importance in the building.

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versy. While the eleventh and thirteenth centuries both have their advocates (see Levy and Fidler 2014), I am inclined to agree with Linrothe's (2011) assessment of a mid-twelfth to early-thirteenth century time frame. For the Two-armed Maitreya Chapel and the Village Stūpa at Mangyu, Luczanits (2004, 170, 173) has suggested circa 1225 as a date, and the second half of the twelfth century for the Lalung Serkhang (ibid., 106). The eight-armed Mañjuśrī under discussion is also present in the murals of the mid-fifteenth century "Great Stūpa," or Kumbum (sKu 'bum), at Gyantse, Tibet (see Ricca and Lo Bue 1993, plates 5–9; and also Tribe 2016, 89–90, for a brief discussion).

FIGURE 22.2 Maṇḍala of eight-armed Mañjuśrī, uppermost level, Sumtsek, Alchi
PHOTOGRAPH BY JAROSLAV PONCAR (JP83 26.4.01 WHAV)

This position has been puzzling since one might expect to find a Buddha in such a location, not a *bodhisattva*. Emphasizing this apparent oddity is the placing of a *maṇḍala* of Vairocana on the side wall to Mañjuśrī's (proper) right. As the cosmic Buddha, Vairocana has seemingly been demoted from a more appropriate position on the back wall.[5]

5 For further photographs of the Sumtsek figure and the associated *maṇḍala*, see Goepper and Poncar 1996, 222–223, and van Ham 2019, 344–345, 354–355. Another mural of a multi-armed Mañjuśrī holding swords in the Sumtsek should be mentioned. To the proper right of the monumental clay figure of Maitreya on the ground floor, there is, close to the floor, a seated ten-armed, five-headed, white Mañjuśrī, with each hand holding a sword. Goepper and Poncar have just two views of this figure (1996, 127, 135), one very partial, the other small and indistinct: the location makes photography especially challenging. Van Ham (2019, 237) has a better image, which shows most of the figure clearly. Four of the left hands are not visible, occluded by part of the Maitreya statue. Both van Ham (ibid.) and Goepper and Poncar (1996, 132) make slips in their descriptions of the figure, however, the former describing it as eight-armed, the latter as six-headed. It is clearly five-headed and the five right hands, as well as single visible left hand of the photograph, each bear a sword (van Ham states that all the hands have swords). While neither Goepper and Poncar nor van Ham attempt to identify this unusual image, van Ham (ibid.) nicely demonstrates the stylistic affinity between it and the seated figure at Mangyu by placing photographs of the two figures on the same page.

FIGURE 22.3 Eight-armed Mañjuśrī, Two-armed Maitreya Chapel, Mangyu
PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIANE PAPA-KALANTARI (CP02 44,39 WHAV)

At nearby Mangyu, the figure (Fig. 22.3) in the Two-armed Maitreya Chapel is found on the (proper) left panel of two narrow panels framing the halo of the large standing clay figure of Maitreya. It is one of a number of single figures stacked vertically, and is not surrounded by a *maṇḍala*.

The second Mangyu figure (Fig. 22.4), in the Village Stūpa, is standing rather than seated, and is stylistically related to the seated figure. This form, which I have not seen elsewhere, appears to be a variant of the seated figures that were the initial and primary focus of this article.[6]

6 This figure is, perhaps, particular to the context of the three other murals of standing fig-

FIGURE 22.4 Standing eight-armed Mañjuśrī, Village Stūpa, Mangyu
PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIANE PAPA-KALANTARI (CP02 41,14 WHAV)

The figure in the Lalung Serkhang (Fig. 22.5) is a clay sculpture. It no longer holds any attributes. However, like those at Mangyu and Alchi, it does not display the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, the standard *mudrā* in early Western Himalayan art for the principal hands of figures of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī.[7] Each

ures—of Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteśvara and Tārā—in the Village Stūpa. Van Ham (2011, 45, 144) identifies both Mangyu images as Arapacana Mañjuśrī variations. For photographs of the standing Mañjuśrī see van Ham ibid., 148–149.

7 For example, in the assembly halls ('Du-khang) in Alchi and Sumda, the Two-armed Maitreya

FIGURE 22.5 Maṇḍala of eight-armed Mañjuśrī, Serkhang, Lalung
PHOTOGRAPH BY JAROSLAV PONCAR (JP92 500,15 WHAV)

of the eight hands of the Serkhang figure displays the same *mudrā*—the middle and ring fingers curled down, the middle finger touching the thumb, and the index and little fingers extended. Christian Luczanits (2004, 98–101) has convincingly argued that the Serkhang and Sumtsek figures are the same.[8]

Chapel in Mangyu, the Translator's Temple at Nako, and the main temple's assembly hall at Tabo. This iconography reflects the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala as described by Abhayākaragupta (*NYĀ* 54).

8 Luczanits (2004, 99) observes that the position of the principal right arm does not conform to his interpretation, but that there is evidence of repair work at the elbow that likely altered the arm's position. Assuming Luczanits is referring here to the figure's proper right arm, I take

Giving further support to the identification he notes that the Serkhang Mañjuśrī is flanked on each side by two columns of four further clay sculptures that form a surrounding *maṇḍala* of sixteen figures. The inner two columns are comprised of four goddesses[9] and the four directional *tathāgata*s.[10] These eight deities also form the first circle surrounding Mañjuśrī in the Sumtsek *maṇḍala*.

In what follows I will first examine the identity of the central eight-armed figure of Mañjuśrī, after which I will turn to the question of the nature of the *maṇḍala*s surrounding the figures at Alchi and Lalung, as well as their lack around the Mangyu figures. The eight-armed figure, as has been noted, has previously been identified as Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī.[11] This is primarily in connection with the Sumtsek mural, and seems to be largely on the basis of the two figures having the same number of arms, and, in the case of the Sumtsek Mañjuśrī, also having the same number of heads and each being white in colour. Thus Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977, 64) suggested the Sumtsek Mañjuśrī corresponds to the central figure of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī of *maṇḍala* no. 2 in the Alchi Assembly Hall ('Du-khang).[12] The two

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him to be suggesting that the arm/hand is in an inappropriate position to hold a sword. While he identifies the Serkhang and Sumtsek figures as the same, Luczanits identifies them as an alternative form of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī.

9 Luczanits (2004, 100) suggests that these are Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Tārā. However, if it is right, as I will argue, that these eight-armed Mañjuśrī figures are primarily associated with variants of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the main *yogatantra*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, I think the four female figures are more likely to be the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala's four Perfections (*pāramitā*), known also as seals (*mudrā*) and Family-mothers (*kulamātṛ*). Locanā et al. are not witnessed as a group of four until later, in texts of the *yogottara/mahāyoga* Guhyasamāja cycle, and likely first appearing in chapter one of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. Tanaka Kimiaki (2018, 134–135) suggests the two groups were originally from different traditions, with the *Guhyasamājatantra* group evolving from a triad of *kulamātṛ*s—Locanā, Māmakī and Pāṇḍarā—in the *Susiddhikaratantra*, and, as a result, bypassing the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

10 I.e., Akṣobhya (E), Ratnasaṃbhava (S), Amitābha (W), and Amoghasiddhi (N).

11 Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977, 64), Goepper and Poncar (1996, 223), Luczanits (2004, 98–99). Snellgrove and Skorupski's identification has, in lieu of alternatives, generally been accepted by subsequent writers. More recently however, given the obvious iconographical discrepancies between the Sumtsek Mañjuśrī (plus *maṇḍala*) and the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala, the identifications have been made with increasing degrees of caution (see, for example, Goepper and Poncar ibid., notes 151 and 153). Linrothe (1996, 272) does not follow the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara identification, and although he does not offer a concrete alternative, he usefully explores reasons why Mañjuśrī was of significance not only in the Sumtsek and but in the Alchi complex as a whole.

12 For a photograph of this figure and first circle of the surrounding *maṇḍala* see Pal and Fournier 1988, plate D 14; also van Ham 2019, 114–121, for the whole *maṇḍala* and details.

principal hands of the latter figure are in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. Of the remaining six, the three on the (proper) right hold in turn a sword, an arrow, and a *vajra*, while those on the left grasp a book, a bow, and a bell. This is standard iconography for Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī.[13] Yet, as far as I am aware, a description of him holding four swords and four book volumes is textually unattested.

However, an eight-armed Mañjuśrī holding four swords and four books is described by Mañjuśrīmitra, Agrabodhi, and Vilāsavajra, all in works associated with the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (hereafter *NS*), "The Chanting of the Names."[14] The three works are Mañjuśrīmitra's *Ākāśavimala* (D 2543, a *NS maṇḍalavidhi*), Agrabodhi's **Sādhanaupayika*[15] (*Sgrub pa'i thabs*, D 2579, a *NS sādhana*), and Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (*NMAA*) (D 2533, a *NS* commentary). They were most likely composed between the mid-eighth and early-ninth centuries, and were each translated into Tibetan in the early part of the eleventh century.[16] Only Vilāsavajra's text is known to survive in Sanskrit. All three authors agree in identifying this eight-armed Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha. Thus understood, Mañjuśrī's location in the position of highest status in the Sumtsek makes sense. As the Ādibuddha, Mañjuśrī becomes the source of all Buddhas, including Vairocana to his right, as well as Prajñāpāramitā, who is at the centre

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The *maṇḍala* numbering is that of Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977, 38). It should be noted that it is mistakenly numbered as "*maṇḍala* 1" (ibid., 64), which in their own numbering is a *maṇḍala* with Vairocana as its central figure. Snellgrove and Skorupski state that the Sumtsek Mañjuśrī is "not [in the location he is] simply in his own right however, but in terms of the Sarvavid (Vairocana) tradition, which controls all the Alchi iconography" (ibid.). They may here be tacitly acknowledging that the *maṇḍala* surrounding Mañjuśrī bears little resemblence to the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala in the 'Du-khang, and presumably suggesting that Mañjuśrī as Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara has been appropriated into a Sarvavid context.

13 This matches the description given by Abhayākaragupta (*NYĀ* 54, l. 6–7).

14 Also known as the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, the *NS* was translated into Tibetan by Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po, 958–1055 CE), although it is likely that his was not the first translation. Rinchen Zangpo also translated the *NS* commentaries of Mañjuśrīmitra and Mañjuśrīkīrti (respectively D 2532 and D 2534), the latter being the source of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala. For an English translation and edition of the Sanskrit text of the *NS* see Davidson 1981. For a recent overview of the text and its contents see Tribe 2015. Very much on the right track, Linrothe (1996, 272) identified the *NS* as a crucial text in trying to understand the reason for the location of the eight-armed Mañjuśrī at the top of the Alchi Sumtsek.

15 For comment on **Sādhanaupayika* as a Sanskrit reconstruction of *Sgrub pa'i thabs*, see "Note for readers of Tibetan: What is a *no pyi ka*?" in van Schaik 2009.

16 On Mañjuśrīmitra and Vilāsavajra see Davidson 1981, 5–8. For a more extended discussion of Vilāsavajra's dates and life, see Tribe 2016, 21–33.

of a *maṇḍala* to his (proper) left. Mañjuśrī should no longer, at least in this form, be seen as a *bodhisattva*.[17]

The depictions of Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha by Vilāsavajra, Mañjuśrīmitra, and Agrabodhi will be examined next. I will also comment on the relationship between the textual descriptions and the artistic depictions at Alchi, Mangyu and Lalung.

1 Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*

Of the three authors, Vilāsavajra's description of the Ādibuddha is the most extensive. The *NMAA* interprets the *Nāmasaṃgīti* within the context of a tantric *sādhana*,[18] one based on an expanded version of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*'s *yogatantra* Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.[19] The *maṇḍala*'s principal deity is a four-faced Mahāvairocana, and it is in his heart that Vilāsavajra locates the Ādibuddha, depicted with eight arms holding four swords and four book volumes. The Ādibuddha is not the terminus of the interiorization process in Vilāsavajra's *sādhana*, however. At the Ādibuddha's heart a *prajñācakra* ("wisdom wheel") is visualised, on which *mantra*s assosiated with the *Nāmasaṃgīti* are placed. At the centre of the *prajñācakra* a final form is generated, that of Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva ("the gnosis-being Mañjuśrī"), who is seen as the embodiment of non-dual gnosis (*advayajñāna*). Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva is visualised as six-faced, and holding a blue lotus in each of his two hands. Each lotus is crowned with a volume of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. As a result, although the Ādibuddha is, in a sense, the *cakreśa* ("lord of the *maṇḍala*") of Vilāsavajra's Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, he is the intermediate figure of three forms, all of whom have, or share, that role.

In the fourth chapter of the *NMAA*, Vilāsavajra's description of the Ādibuddha directly follows that of Mahāvairocana:

17 Mañjuśrī thus transitions from being the *bodhisattva* of wisdom (*prajñā*) to being the wisdom (now *jñāna*) that underlies, and is therefore conceptually prior to, Buddhahood.

18 For a critical edition and translation of the Sanskrit text of the first five chapters of the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* that contains a more detailed analysis of Vilāsavajra's *sādhana*, see Tribe 2016. A summary of it is also available in Tribe 1997.

19 The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is more accurately called the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala. For convenience I use the shorter and more familiar form. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* is known also by the more extended title, *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The shorter form is commonly found in Sanskrit sources, including the *NMAA*.

*tam evaṃbhūtaṃ mahāvairocanam ātmānam adhimucya caturbuddhāsanayogena taddhṛdaye candramaṇḍalaṃ tadupari dhīḥkāreṇa pariniṣpannam ādibuddhaṃ bhagavantam | **pañcānanam** iti pañcamukham | **pañcaśikham** iti pañcacīrakam | tasyaiva bandhanāt **pañcacīrakaśekharam** | pañcavarṇopetam | pūrveṇa nīlaṃ dakṣiṇena pītaṃ paścimena raktam uttareṇa haritam | mūrdhni paramāśvamukhavad avasthitaṃ mukhaṃ śvetaṃ ⟨yasya taṃ⟩ | śāntaṃ kumārābharaṇopetaṃ saśṛṅgāraṃ vicitravastraparidhānam aṣṭabhujaṃ śatasāhasrikāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ caturdhā vibhajya caturbhiḥ karair hṛdi saṃdhār⟨a⟩yamānam | aparaiś caturbhiḥ karaiḥ prajñākhaḍgaṃ praharaṇābhinayena dhārayantaṃ caturbuddhāsanayogena vyavasthitaṃ bhāvayet ||*

TRIBE 2016, 255–256, ll. 105–116

[The *sādhaka*,] on generating the conviction that he himself is Mahāvairocana as [previously] described, via the yoga of the four Buddha-thrones, should visualise a moon-disc in his heart. Above that, transformed out of the syllable *dhīḥ*, [he should visualise] the lord, the Ādibuddha. [The Ādibuddha] **has five faces** (*pañcānana* > *pañcamukha*). [He also] **has five crests** (*pañcaśikha*)—in other words, five hair-braids. It is through tying up those [hair-braids that he] **has a crown of five hair-braids** (*pañcacīrakaśekhara*). [His five faces] have five [different] colours: dark blue for the east [and forward-facing face], yellow for the south, red for the west, [and] green for the north. On the top, he has a white face, the face of [the deity] Paramāśva. He is tranquil, with the ornaments of a youth, in fine clothing, wearing about himself a many coloured garment. He has eight arms, holding at his heart with four hands the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* ("The Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines") divided into four parts, [and] carrying, in each of the other four hands, a sword of wisdom in the gesture of striking. [All this is to be] put in place [i.e. visualised] via the yoga of the four Buddha-thrones.[20]

This passage is not free from textual or interpretive problems but none of them materially affects the present discussion. Although Vilāsavajra's figure corresponds to the Alchi and Mangyu Mañjuśrī figures in holding the four swords and four text volumes, other aspects of the description do not completely match. Vilāsavajra's Ādibuddha has five faces, differently coloured. The Sum-

20 The translation is a slightly adapted version of the translation that accompanies the Sanskrit edition in Tribe 2016.

tsek figure has four faces, all white. The Lalung Serkhang Mañjuśrī has three faces visible, each painted golden.[21] At Mangyu, both the seated and standing Mañjuśrī figures do have five faces, albeit arranged differently from the *NMAA* description. They likely also have the same colours,[22] those of the four directions plus white for the main forward-looking face, matching their body colour. In addition, it is worth noting that in the *NMMA* the Ādibuddha is said to hold all four volumes of the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* to his heart. While the seated Mangyu figure holds one book to his heart, the standing Mangyu and the Sumtsek figures hold a sword to their hearts (and no book volumes), and the Serkhang figure has one (empty) left hand raised to heart level but just to the side of his torso.[23]

A note of caution should perhaps be added here. It has been observed that the murals and clay sculptures of early Western Himalayan art reflect a process of Tibetan integration and adaptation of their Indian sources.[24] This means that it may not always be feasible to pinpoint precise textual sources for iconography. Elements of a *maṇḍala*'s or image's iconography—number of heads, or colour of faces, for example—may be local adaptations, or inflections, of descriptions transmitted originally via Indian teachers and their Sanskrit texts. Bearing this proviso in mind, I hope to show that it does seem possible to rule some (broad) iconographic identifications in, and others out.

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21 Luczanits (2004, 99) suggests a fourth head may be hidden by the (cloth-draped) umbrella above the eight-armed figure's three heads. It should be noted that the clay sculptures of early Western Himalayan art have generally been repainted, and not necessarily in their original colours. The Lalung Serkhang was completely repainted in the early 20th century Luczanits (ibid., 93–94).

22 For discussion of the facial colours of the Mangyu figures see the section on below on Mañjuśrīmitra's *Ākāśavimala*. While this description of the Ādibuddha does not specify whether the figure is seated or standing, I think it fairly certain that the former is presupposed. Prior to the visualisations of Mahāvairocana and the Ādibuddha, the *NMAA* describes how the *maṇḍala*, as a residence, should be visualised. The description concludes with an account of the thrones (*āsana*) of the deities, with a lion throne in the centre.

23 The positions of the principal hands of the seated Mangyu and Sumtsek and standing Mangyu figures are exactly reversed: left hand to heart with book, right hand to hip with sword (seated Mangyu), and left hand to hip with book, right hand to heart with sword (Sumtsek and standing Mangyu). The seated figure at Mangyu with a book held to his heart is thus closer to Vilāsavajra's description, as well as in alignment with Mañjuśrī's primary association with wisdom. In this respect the Lalung figure appears (assuming an unchanged principal left arm position) to be more affiliated with the seated Mangyu iconography.

24 See Luczanits (2004, 72) for some comments on this in relation to Tabo.

In the above description of the Ādibuddha by Vilāsavajra, the words in bold typeface reference *NS* 93 (*pañcānanaḥ pañcaśikhaḥ pañcacīrakaśekharaḥ*). When Vilāsavajra specifically comments on *NS* 93 later in the *NMAA*, unfortunately he does not add anything, but simply refers the reader back to the present description:

> ***pañcānanaḥ pañcaśikhaḥ pañcacīrakaśekhara*** *iti* || *ayam aparārdhaś cādibuddhasya gurūpadeśenādiyoge draṣṭavyaḥ* | *tatraiva vyākhyātatvāc ca punar iha nocyate* ||
>
> ---
>
> iti] AD; ti B · ayam] AD; aryam B · aparārdhaś] *corr.*; aparārddhaś B; ana(ṣṭhu?)varddhaś A; anastavarddhaś D · ihaiva māyājālābhisambodhikramoktasya mahāvairocanahṛdgatasya A (*as a marginal addition with an insertion mark after* cādibuddha) · yoge] AD; ge B
>
> *NMAA* chapter 8, on *NS* 93cd; mss: A.69v4, B.48v3, D.110r2
>
> **With five faces. With five crests [of hair]. With a crown of five hair-braids**. And this second half [of the verse] should be understood with reference to the Ādibuddha, via the teacher's instruction on the beginning yoga (*ādiyoga*) [phase of the *sādhana*]. And as it is explained there, it is not restated here.

Ms. A's marginal addition (whether scribal or a correction) somewhat superflously adds that the Ādibuddha is "in the heart of Mahāvairocana [as] stated in the "Method of Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*" [i.e., in *NMAA* ch. 4, where the Ādibuddha is described]." Although the presence of swords and book volumes makes it hard not to see Vilāsavajra's Ādibuddha as a form of Mañjuśrī, he does not here explicitly say that he is. This is remedied later in his comment on the word *ādibuddha* (*NS* 100ab: *anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayaḥ*):

> ***ādibuddha*** *iti* || *ādāv eva buddha ādibuddhaḥ* | *sa ca pañcajñānātmakaḥ …*[25] *evaṃ pañcajñānātmakaḥ pañcavarṇātmakaś cāsau bhagavān* | *sar-*

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25 This ellipsis contains a summary of the five *jñānāni* (gnoses) in terms of various masteries. Thus the *ādarśajñānam* (mirror-like gnosis) is associated with the five *balāni* (powers); *samatājñānam* (gnosis of equality), with the four *vaiśāradyāni* (confidences); *pratyavekṣaṇājñānam* (discriminating gnosis), with the four *pratisaṃvidaḥ* (special knowledges); *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānam* (praxis gnosis), with friendliness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*); and *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam* (gnosis of the completely pure *dharma*-sphere), with overlordship of everything (*sarvādhipatya*). These associations are referenced to the *Māyājālatantra* in ms. A (alone).

vadharmasamatāmukhenaikālambanatvena draṣṭavyaḥ sa ca mañjuśrīr ata evāsau ***niranvaya*** *iti* ||

varṇātmakaś] A; varṇārtmakaś B; varṇāś D · ālambanatvena] A; ālambanatve D; ārthatvena B · niranvaya] BD; niratvaya A.

NMAA chapter 8, on *NS* 100ab; mss: A.75r1, B.53r1, D.120v1)

Ādi-buddha: [the word] *ādibuddha* means [he who is] "awakened from the very beginning," and that one has the five gnoses (*jñānāni*) as his nature … So that one, who has the five gnoses as his nature and [also] the five colours as his nature, is the lord (*bhagavān*). And he should be understood to be Mañjuśrī, since as the equality of all *dharma*s he is the unique ground [of all phenonena]. For that very reason he is [described as] **free from [causal] connection** (*niranvaya*).

To summarize, Vilāsavajra has clearly identified an eight-armed figure holding four swords and four books as the Ādibuddha, and has stated that the Ādibuddha is also Mañjuśrī. At the same time, there are some discrepences between Vilāsavajra's description and the images at Alchi, Mangyu and Lalung. There is also some variance of appearance between each of the four (three mural and one clay) temple figures.

The likelihood of Vilāsavajra's text—or Agrabodhi's, as we shall see—being of influence in the iconography of these figures is given support by the existence of a small clay figure directly above the eight-armed Mañjuśrī in the Lalung Serkhang (Fig. 22.6). The figure is two-armed, each hand holding a lotus stem. The two stems each rise to a flower base, one on each side of the figure a little above its shoulders.[26]

If it is correct to identify the central eight-armed figure as the Ādibuddha, then I think the two-armed figure may be Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, who in

26 This distinctive figure was noted by Tucci (1988, 118), who, having identified the Ādibuddha figure as "Vairocana or one of his emanations" (ibid., 117), on the basis that the central figure was surrounded by the four directional *tathāgata*s, briefly observed that the figure above was Sarvavid. More recently this image has been discussed at greater length by Luczanits (2004, 99–100, 208–209), who notes the figure's unusual iconography and suggests a possible link with the sun-god Sūrya, who holds two lotuses similarly. This in turn, he suggests, supports the hypothesis that the figure is a form of Vairocana given the word *vairocana* means "resplendent, exceeedingly bright." In fact, the link between Vairocana and the sun is stronger than Luczanits perhaps realised: the literal Sanskrit meaning of *vairocana* is "coming from or belonging to the sun (*virocana*)." Also, Edgerton (1953 II, 512) suggests that in Buddhist contexts *virocana*, "the sun," and its derivative *vairocana*, can be synonymous.

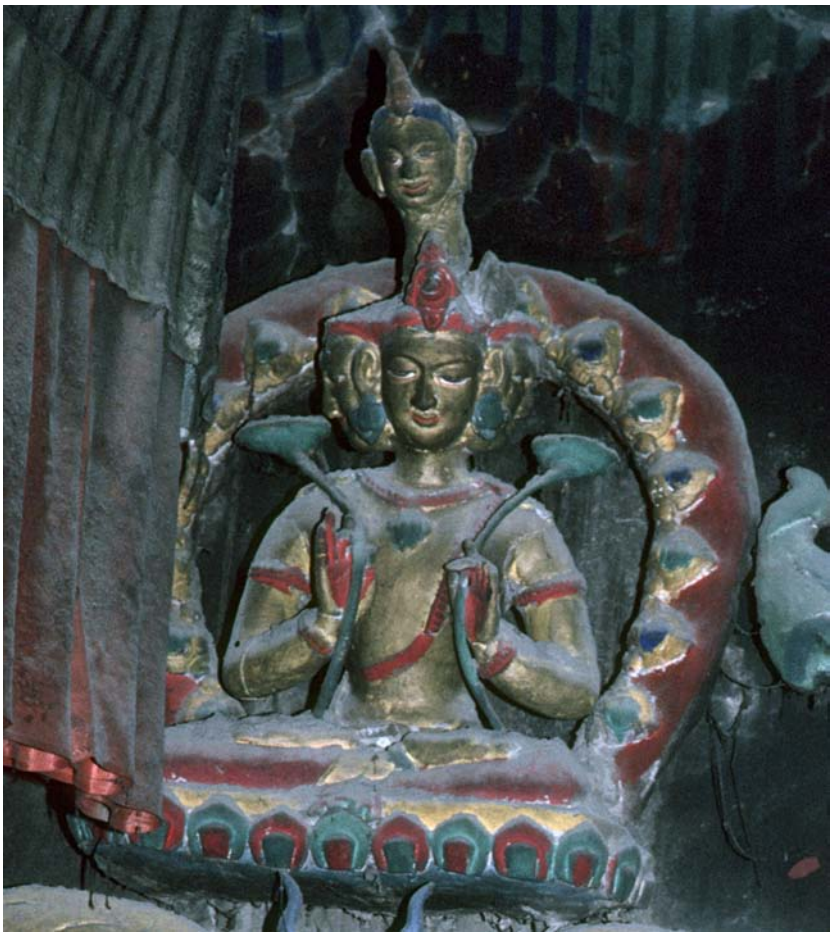

FIGURE 22.6 Two-armed Mañjuśrī (as Jñānasattva), Serkhang, Lalung
PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS (CL91 52,6 WHAV)

the *NMAA* is visualised in the heart of the Ādibuddha. Vilāsavajra describes Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva as follows:

> *tasya cakrasya madhyavartinam akārajaṃ bhagavantaṃ ṣaṇmukhaṃ jñānasattvaṃ śaracchaśāṅkaprabham indranīlāgrasaccīraṃ bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyaprabhāmaṇḍalaṃ sarvatathāgatamayābharaṇaṃ samādhisamāpannaṃ vicitrapadmāsanopaviṣṭam ubhayakarāsaktanīlotpalordhvasthitaprajñāpāramitāpustakadvayaṃ śāntarasopetam ātmānaṃ vicintya |*
>
> TRIBE 2016, 260, ll. 172–176

> [Next] he should visualise himself as the fortunate one, the gnosis-being [Mañjuśrī], born from the syllable *a* situated in the middle of that [wisdom-]wheel [situated in the heart of the Ādibuddha]. He has six faces, is radiant like the autumn moon, with the best of sapphires in his beautiful hair, with a halo that has the brilliance of the orb of the newly risen sun, with all the *tathāgata*s as [head-]ornaments, immersed in meditative concentration, seated on a variagated lotus throne, in tranquil mood, with a pair of books of the *Prajñāpāramitā* above blue lotuses held in his two hands.

The figure in the Serkhang is missing the volumes of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, as is the eight-armed Mañjuśrī below him.[27] There is also a discrepancy in the count of heads. Vilāsavajra has six for Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva (one more than the Ādibuddha, who in turn has one more than Mahāvairocana, the outermost figure of the central nested triad). Although the Serkhang figure has just four heads, the fourth is about a head's distance above the tops of the first three heads. The result is that the figure looks distinctly odd, with one head floating above the other three. It does not seem impossible (and it would certainly improve the aesthetics) that there were originally two further heads in between the bottom three and single top head, giving a pyramidal structure of three + two + one heads, i.e. six altogether, matching Vilāsavajra's description.

There is also a small figure in direct vertical alignment with the two-armed and eight-armed sculptures, immediately beneath the (let us assume) Ādibuddha's lion throne. It is a mural of a white four-faced Mahāvairocana, two-armed and simply attired, with his hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā* (see Fig. 22.5).[28] His location may be coincidental, but if not, he completes Vilāsavajra's triad of Mahāvairocana, the Ādibuddha, and Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva. The location of Mahāvairocana beneath the other two figures is hard to explain unless he is somehow understood to be subordinate to them, which is precisely what Vilāsavajra is saying.[29]

Vilāsavajra describes Mahāvairocana as follows:

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27 That the Ādibuddha lost the four volumes of the *Prajñāpāramitā* apparantly without damaging the hand *mudrā*s suggests that they were easily removable. The same detachability may have applied to the two-armed figure.

28 Luczanits (2004, 93–94) notes that while the Serkhang murals were repainted crudely during the early twentieth century, it appears that the repainting followed what was present before.

29 Namely that Mahāvairocana (= all *samādhi*s) has the Ādibuddha (= the *pañcajñāna*) as his nature, who in turn has Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva (= *advayajñāna*) as his nature. It is possible that the Mahāvairocana mural is not part of the clay sculpture *maṇḍala* at all, and

tataś ca pradhānāsana āḥkāreṇa pariniṣpannaṃ mahāvairocanam | yato yad eva cittaṃ prakṛtyā grāhakādyākāravirahād dharmadhātusvabhāvaṃ tad eva caturmukhaṃ śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānāṃ dharmadhātor ālambanatvena sarvasamādhiprasūtihetutvāt | śuklavarṇaṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt | jaṭāmakuṭopetaṃ nirābharaṇaṃ ca śāntacittatvāt | bodhyagrīmudrāyuktaṃ prajñopāyātmakatvāt

TRIBE 2016, 255, ll. 100–105

And then [the *sādhaka* should visualise] Mahāvairocana on the principal seat, generated by means of the syllable *āḥ*. [Why has he four faces?] Since consciousness—which is of the nature of the Dharma-Sphere since, by its nature, it lacks such forms as the grasped [i.e., the subject-object duality]—is four-faced. [This is] because the four liberation faces [/doors] (*vimokṣamukha*)—emptiness and the rest—are the cause of the origination of all meditative concentrations (*samādhi*), [and this in turn is] because their ground is the Dharma-Sphere. He is white in colour because he has the Dharma-Sphere as his nature. He has braids of hair [stacked up on his head] as a crown and is unadorned because he is one whose mind is tranquil. Since he has both wisdom and means as his nature he makes the *bodhyagrī* ("highest awakening") hand gesture.[30]

In contrast with Vilāsavajra's description, the Serkhang Mahāvairocana is not "unadorned". He has armlets, bracelets and two necklaces. Yet he is is still fairly simply adorned, with no clothes on his upper body and with his hair stacked behind a minimal crown.[31] He is two-armed but with his hands in

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that the significance of his location should be understood just in relation to the two rows of deities that flank him to each side. However, this same vertical alignment of the three figures of Vilāsavajra's *NMAA* is also found in a Tibetan *thangka* of unknown provenance, a photograph of which was kindly sent to me by Tanaka Kimiaki. In the *thangka* the central figure is Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, however, with the eight-armed Ādibuddha above him, and a small four-headed Mahāvairocana beneath him; and as in the Serkhang, the three central figures are surrounded by the four directional *tathāgata*s and four *kulamātṛ*s.

30 *bodhyagrī-mudrā*. In this *mudrā* the extended and raised left forefinger is grasped and encircled by the fingers of the right hand, the hands being held at the heart. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* (89, 4–5) describes it as follows: "The raised left *vajra*-finger should be grasped with the right [hand]. This *mudrā*, which bestows the awakening of the Buddhas, is called *bodhyagrī*" (*vāmavajrāṅgulir grāhyā* [em.; *grāhya* Ed.] *dakṣineṇa samutthitā | bodhyagrī* [em.; *bodhāgrī* Ed.] *nāma mudreyaṃ buddhabodhipradāyikā*). For discussion of variants of this *mudrā* and confusion surrounding its name, see Tribe 2016, 90–92.

31 A good example of a mural of an unadorned (i.e., with no jewelry and simple clothing) Mahāvairocana with a crown of stacked hair (*jaṭāmakuṭa*) is present in the Gyantse Kum-

dharmacakra-mudrā rather than *bodhyagrī-mudrā*.[32] Nevertheless, although Vilāsavajra's description does not exactly match the Serkhang figure, its broad correspondence, and especially its location, is striking.

Before discussing Mañjuśrīmitra's and Agrabodhi's texts, it is worth noting that Vilāsavarja makes a clear distinction between Mañjuśrī as *jñānasattva* and as *bodhisattva*:

> ***jñānasattva*** *iti sarvatathāgatahṛdayavihāritvāt | mañjuśrīś cāsau jñānasattvaś ceti mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ | nāyaṃ daśabhūmīśvaro bodhisattvaḥ kiṃ tarhy advayajñānaṃ prajñāpāramitā saiva mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ*
>
> TRIBE 2016, 236, ll. 215–218

> He is [described in *NS* 10 as] the ***jñānasattva*** since he dwells in the heart of all the *tathāgata*s. The *jñānasattva* Mañjuśrī is not the *bodhisattva* that is the master of the ten [*bodhisattva*] stages. Rather, he is non-dual gnosis (*advayajñāna*), the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) itself.[33]

If Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva should not be identified with the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, then by extension, this should equally apply to Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha. Understanding this helps makes sense of the iconographic programme of the Sumtsek (and by extension of the three figures in vertical alignment in the Lalung Serkhang). Tucci (1988, 117–118) proposed that the two clay figures in the Lalung Serkhang were manifestations or forms of Vairocana or Mahāvairocana. In the present reading the inverse is true: Mañjuśrī the Ādibuddha manifests Mahāvairocana. And by implication, he also manifests Mañjuśrī the *bodhisattva* along with all the *tathāgata*s and other *bodhisattva*s. Thus at Lalung it is the *jñānasattva* Mañjuśrī, as the topmost figure, that can be read as manifesting, in turn, the Ādibuddha and Mahāvairocana.

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bum (see Ricca and Lo Bue 1993, plate 5). If *jaṭāmakuṭa* is analysed as a *dvandva* rather than a *karmadhāraya* compound it can be translated as "having a crown *and* stacked hair." For a Mahāvairocana depicted in this way, also in the Kumbum, with a large crown in front of stacked hair see Ricca and Lo Bue ibid., plate 4.

32 The Alchi 'Du-khang has a mural of four-faced, two-armed Mahāvairocana with his hands in *bodhyagrī-mudrā* (see Pal and Fournier 1988, plate D 5; van Ham 2019, 94–95). Like the Sumtsek eight-armed Ādibuddha, this figure has its fourth head stacked centrally above the others. In contrast, the Serkhang Mahāvairocana has all four heads on the same level, with two to the proper right of the front face, and one to the left.

33 The *karmadhāraya* analysis of *mañjuśrījñānasattva* is omitted from the translation.

2 Mañjuśrīmitra's *Ākāśavimala*

Mañjuśrīmitra, who may have been an older contemporary of Vilāsavajra, wrote extensively on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.[34] In the *Ākāśavimala*, he describes both the Ādibuddha and Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, albeit more briefly than Vilāsavjara. First, the Ādibuddha:

> *dang po'i sangs rgyas zhal lnga pa | phyag brgyad pa | g.yas bzhin shes rab kyi ral gri | g.yon bzhin shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i po ti yod pa | zhal bzhi phyogs dang mthun pa | dbus dmar ser ro |*
>
> D 2543, 4r3–4

> The Ādibuddha has five faces and eight arms. In the right [arms] are sword[s] of wisdom; in the left volume[s] of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The four faces correspond [in colour] to the directions. The central face is orange.

Mañjuśrīmitra and Vilāsavajra agree on the key iconographical elements. There is one significant difference in that Vilāsavajra's fifth face is white, Mañjuśrīmitra's is orange. As noted earlier, the seated figure at Mangyu has five faces (unlike the four-faced Sumtsek figure), and the top and fifth face appears to be orange-brown. However, it is likely to have originally been green. If it were orange it would point to Mañjuśrīmitra as a possible textual source, although he does not describe a white face, which is the colour of the principal faces for both Mangyu figures. The likely explanation of the orange-brown colour of the top face of the seated Mangyu figure is that the original colour has faded over time. It is clear from the Sumtsek *maṇḍala* that while reds and blues preserve their colour fairly well over time, greens and yellows can fade; in the Sumtsek instance, they both faded to a pale reddish brown.[35] The arrangement of heads in both the Mangyu figures (seated and standing) is the same: three heads at the same level (front, left and right facing), surmounted by two further heads, one above the other. The topmost face of the standing Mangyu figure is clearly green, in contrast to the orange-brown of the seated figure. The intermediate face colouring for both is similar: very pale brown for the seated figure and off-white for the figure standing. The colours of the three horizontal lower faces are identical: white (to the front), flanked by blue (to the proper right) and red (to the left). If green is correct for the topmost face, and if it is assumed that an

34 Davidson (1981, 5–6) dates Mañjuśrīmitra to the mid-eighth century and notes that Bu ston records a tradition that he may have been Vilāsavajra's teacher.

35 See below, note 40. In the Mangyu figures yellow appears to fade almost to white.

original yellow of the intermediate faces has faded, then both figures have the same head arrangement and colouring. These colours are those described by Vilāsavajra. The head arrangement differs, however: Vilāsavajra has four heads (representing the four directional *tathāgata*s) at the same level, each facing one of the four directions, and the fifth central (principal) white head above the four. The Mangyu arrangement could be understood as an adaptation to the constraints of two dimensional mural painting.[36]

Turning to Mañjuśrīmitra's description of Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, it is also structurally parallel to that of Vilāsavajra and immediately follows his description of the Ādibuddha:

> *de'i thugs kar shes rab kyi 'khor lo rtsibs drug pa la | gsang sngags rgyal po drug gis mtshan pa | de'i kyil du 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa' zhal drug phag gnyis pa | g.yas ral gris g.yon po ti 'dzin pa*
>
> D 2543, 4r4

> In his (i.e. the Ādibuddha's) heart is a wisdom wheel (*prajñā-cakra*), six-spoked, ornamented with the six secret *mantra* kings. In its centre is Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, with six faces [and] two hands. The right [hand] carries a sword, the left a book.

Again there is a significant difference between Mañjuśrīmitra and Vilāsavajra. Vilāsavajra's Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva does not hold a sword and a book, but has a lotus stem in each hand, each topped with a book. If it is correct to identify the two-armed figure in the Lalung Serkhang above the Ādibuddha as Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, Vilāsavajra seems a more likely iconographical source than Mañjuśrīmitra.

3 Agrabodhi's **Sādhanaupayika*

Agrabodhi (Tib. Byang chub mchog) is described as Vilāsavajra's maternal uncle in the *NMAA*'s colophon.[37] This makes him a contemporary of both Mañjuśrī-

36 In the murals of these eight-armed Mañjuśrī figures at Mangyu and in the Sumtsek the principal face and body is white in each case, indicating their alignment with Mahāvairocana, whose distinctive colour is also white, and who is so described by Vilāsavajra above: *śuklavarṇaṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt*, "He is white in colour because he has the Dharma-Sphere as his nature."

37 Byang chub mchog has been standardly reconstructed as *Varabodhi. For discussion of the *NMAA's* colophon see Tribe 2016, 25–28 and Appendix 3.

mitra and Vilāsavajra, and probably the latter's elder. In his *Nāmasaṃgīti *Sādhanaupayika* Agrabodhi also describes the Ādibuddha and Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva. Again, first the Ādibuddha:

> *dang po'i sangs rgyas zhal lnga pa | | byis pa'i rgyan gyis rnam brgyan cing | | rin chen sna tshogs na bza' can | | phyag brgyad mnga' ba'i phyag mtshan ni | | g.yas pa bzhi ni go rims bzhin | | shes rab kyi ni ral gri bsnams | | de bzhin g.yon pa'i phyag bzhi na | | shes rab pha rol phyin pa yi | | po ti re re bsnams pa'o | |*
>
> D 2579, 62v7–63r1

> The Ādibuddha has five faces. He is adorned with the ornaments of youth, and [wears] garments [decorated] with various gems. He has eight hands. As for the attributes held by the hands: the four right hands in turn carry a sword of wisdom; similarly, the four left hands each carry a volume of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The basic iconography of five faces and eight arms (with swords, and volumes of the *Prajñāpāramitā*) follows Vilāsavajra and Mañjuśrīmitra. Although the description is a little more elaborate than Mañjuśrīmitra's, Agrabodhi omits colours for the Ādibuddha's faces. Agrabodhi's description of Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva follows a half folio later:

> *ye shes sems dpa' zhal drug pa | | ston ka'i zla ba ltar gsal zhing | | indra nīla'i gtsug phud can | | nyi ma 'char ka'i 'od 'dras bskor | | zhi ba'i ngang tshul dang ldan zhing | | g.yas dang g.yon gyi phag gnyis kyis | | utpala dmar po g.yas pa ni | | g.yon pa na ni sngon po nyid | | utpala de gnyis steng nyid na | | shes rab po tis mdzes pa'o | |*
>
> D 2579, 63v.2–3

> Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva has six faces. He is luminous like the autumn moon, with the choicest sapphire as a [head] crest. He is encircled as if by the light of the rising sun, and he has a peaceful disposition. With [his] two hands—right and left—[he holds] a red lotus in the right, a blue one in the left. Adorning the top of [each of] those two lotuses is a volume of *Prajñā*[*paramitā*].

All three authors agree, then, that Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva has six heads and two arms; and Agrabodhi and Vilāsavajra concur (against Mañjuśrīmitra) that he holds two lotuses topped with books. Agrabodhi and Vilāsavajra differ,

however, in the colour of the lotuses. Agrabodhi has one red and one blue; Vilāsavajra has them both be blue. As noted, the Serkhang scultpures have been repainted in the twentieth century[38] and at present the Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva figure has two green lotuses. In conclusion, either Agrabodhi or Vilāsavajra or both could be a source for the Serkhang figures. All three authors also share the same core structure for their *sādhana*s, with the Ādibuddha in Mahāvairocana's heart, a wisdom-wheel within the Ādibuddha's heart, and Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva in the centre of the wisdom-wheel. And like Vilāsasvajra, both Mañjuśrīmitra and Agrabodhi describe Mahāvairocana with four heads, and with hands in *bodhyagrī-mudrā*.[39]

4 Broader Iconographic Contexts

Some remarks about the *maṇḍala*s surrounding the Mañjuśrī Ādibuddha figures at Alchi and Lalung, and the lack of any at Mangyu, follow. First, the Alchi Sumtsek. While I am not able to clearly identify either Mañjuśrīmitra, Vilāsavajra or Agrabodhi as providing the textual source for the *maṇḍala*, one thing is clear: it is not a *maṇḍala* of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī. This is the case irrespective of the identity of the central deity.

The Sumtsek *maṇḍala* (Fig. 22.2) contains fifty-three figures in total, all contained within a single four-gated square courtyard. Within the courtyard is another (ungated) square that contains two circles surrounding the central deity. The first of these circles contains eight figures, the second sixteen. In the first circle in the intermediate directions are the four family mothers (*kulamātṛ*), identifiable by the family symbols they hold (*vajra*, gem, lotus, *viśvavajra*). In the four cardinal directions are the four directional *tathāgatas*, indicated by their *mudrā*, animal/mount (*vāhana*) and colour.[40] The second circle may well contain the sixteen *samādhi* deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Each

38 See above, note 21.

39 See *Ākāśavimala* D 2543, 4r2–3; **Sādhanaupayika* D 2579, 62v6–7

40 While Akṣobhya (blue) and Amitābha (red) have their colours, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are a similar pale reddish brown. Their original colours have likely faded, both here and throughout the *maṇḍala*. The colour of the garment on the Ādibuddha's legs is a similar, presumably faded, colour; it is possible to discern the remains of a floral pattern on the leg coverings. The high status of this figure is perhaps further reflected in the use of gold paint, not only for the slightly embossed circle that surrounds him and for the crowns on his heads, but also for the swords and book volumes. Close inspection also reveals that both ends of each sword and book volume are adorned with a terminus of *vajra* prongs.

figure is iconographically distinct, although with the exception of Vajrarāga (E), Vajraratna? (SE), Vajratejas/Vajrasūrya (SSE), Vajratīkṣṇa (S), and Vajrayakṣa (N) I have not been able to make clear identifications.[41] In the corners between the second circle and the ungated square are four offering goddesses.

Beyond the square, in the space between it and the main gated courtyard walls are the remaining figures, twenty-four altogether. The corners are occupied by four further offering goddesses. This leaves five figures on each side. The members of each group of five have the same colour (that of their presiding *tathāgata*) and hold the attribute definitive of their family (i.e. *vajra*, gem, lotus, or *viśvavajra*).[42] It is tempting to identify sixteen of these figures as (non iconographically individuated) *bodhisattva*s. This would leave the remaining four as door guardians.[43]

The Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala in the Alchi 'Du-khang that, according to Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977, 64), corresponds to the Sumtsek *maṇḍala* also has eight figures in a circle surrounding the central deity. In this the two *maṇḍala*s are structurally alike. The figures in the 'Du-khang circle, however, are the eight *uṣṇīṣa* deities, iconographyically identical. Beyond this, and within the first of three gated courtyards are four eight-armed *tathāgata*s and four eight-armed goddesses.[44] As the existence of three courtyards suggests, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala is large, with over two hundred deities.[45] The Sumtsek *maṇḍala* should, I believe, be identified instead as a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala variant. If the sixteen putative *bodhisattva* figures are excluded, the *maṇḍala* is identical to the thirty-seven deity Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. A set of sixteen *bodhisattva*s often supplements the deities of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* in later Vajradhātu-maṇḍala descriptions. These are generally the sixteen *bodhisattva*s of the present aeon (*bhadrakalpa*), as described for example in Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.[46]

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41 Also, some of the directional locations of the identifiable figures are unusual: for example Vajratīkṣṇa, standardly associated with Amitābha and the west, is in the south.

42 As with their *tathāgata*s, the colours of the southern and northern deities appear to have faded.

43 However, those that occupy the positions of door guardians are not iconographically distinct from their neighbours.

44 For photographs of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Mañjuśrī and the *uṣṇīṣa* deities, see van Ham 2019, 115, and Pal and Fournier 1988, plate D 14. For examples of the *tathāgata*s and goddesses see van Ham ibid. 115–116, and Pal and Fournier ibid., plates D 15–18.

45 For Abhayākaragupta's description of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala, which contains two hundred and sixteen figures, see *NYĀ* 54 ff.

46 See *NYĀ* 44 ff. The same list is also present in Abhayākaragupta's Durgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala (*NYĀ* 66 ff.).

In assessing possible textual sources for the Sumtsek and Lalung *maṇḍala*s, at present I am only able to comment on the *maṇḍala* elaborated by Vilāsavajra around the triple central figure(s) of Mahāvairocana, the Ādibuddha and Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva.[47] It too is a fifty-three deity (if the central triad is counted as one) Vajradhātu-maṇḍala variant. The deities are enumerated/emanated in the following order: four family mothers (*kulamātṛ*),[48] four *tathāgata*s, sixteen *samādhi* deities, eight offering goddesses (*pūjādevī*), four gate guardians (*dvārapāla*), and sixteen *bodhisattva*s. While Vilāsavajra elaborately connects these deities with doctrinal categories and *Nāmasaṃgīti* "names," he gives no iconographical descriptions. Also, while the sixteen putative *bodhisattva* figures of the Sumtsek *maṇḍala* are not distinguished beyond their family affiliation, the *NMAA* set is not the same as the *bhadrakalpa* group.[49] Thus while the Sumtsek *maṇḍala* could be derived from Vilāsavajra's *NMAA*, further investigation may reveal a more immediate source.

Turning very briefly to the deities surrounding the Ādibuddha figure in the Lalung Serkhang, it was seen earlier that (again counting the central triad as one figure) they comprise a *maṇḍala* of seventeen figures, two columns of four figures positioned to each side of the Ādibuddha. It was also noted that Luczanits (2004, 98–101) identified the eight figures of the two inner columns as identical with the figures in the first circle surrounding the Ādibuddha in the Sumtsek

47 Vilāsavajra enumerates the *NMAA maṇḍala* deities in chapter five (associating each with a "name" from the *NS*).

48 Namely Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī and Karmavajrī. Although the core thirty-seven deities of Vilāsavajra's *maṇḍala* (i.e., discounting the sixteen *bodhisattva*s) are identical in name and number with those of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the order of emanation of the four family mothers—also described in both texts as Perfections (*pāramitā*)—differs. In the *Tattvasaṃgraha* they appear after the sixteen *samādhi* deities (and before the eight offering goddesses and four door guardians). In the *NMAA* they comprise the initial manifestation of non-dual gnosis. Their more central position can perhaps be seen as reflecting the changing status—the increasing centrality—of the feminine within tantric Buddhism during this period.

49 Maitreya and Amoghadarśin are the first two members of the sixteen *bhadrakalpa bodhisattva*s (followed by Apāyañjaha, Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati, Gandhahastin, Surāṅgama, Gaganagañja, Jñānaketu, Amṛtaprabha, Candraprabha, Bhadrapāla, Jālinīprabha, Vajragarbha, Akṣayamati, Pratibhānakūṭa, and Samantabhadra). The *NMAA* list is headed by Maitreya and Mañjuśrī (followed by Gandhahastin, Jñānaketu, Bhadrapāla, Sāgaramati, Akṣayamati, Pratibhānakūṭa, Mahāstāmaprāpta, Sarvāpāyañjaha, Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati, Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Amitaprabha, Gaganagañja, and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin). That Mañjuśrī is enumerated here underlines the notion that Vilāsavajra sees Mañjuśrī-as-*jñānasattva* emanating Mañjuśrī-as-*bodhisattva*. The *NMAA* set is also found in Abhayākaragupta's forty-three deity Mañjuvajra-maṇḍala (Tricatvāriṃśadātmakamañjuvajra-maṇḍala: see *NYĀ* 50).

at Alchi. He also identified the outer eight figures as offering goddesses. This seventeen-figure *maṇḍala* could be derived from Vilāsavajra's *NMAA maṇḍala*, as an abbreviated version. Alternatively, the two rows of mural figures painted below the Ādibuddha, which flank Mahāvairocana may be part of a larger *maṇḍala*.[50] Whether the *maṇḍala*, larger or smaller, is described more precisely by Agrabodhi or Vilāsavajra requires further investigation.

While the Alchi and Lalung figures each have a *maṇḍala* as their immediate iconographic context—a context that makes sense of, and supports, their identification as Mañjuśrī Ādibuddha—this is not the case for the two figures at Mangyu, neither of which is at the centre of a *maṇḍala*. In the Two-armed Maitreya Chapel the seated Ādibuddha figure has no especial prominence—being one among ten deities that flank the large two-armed clay statue of Maitreya, five on each side. The iconographic programme of these figures is unclear, as they do not appear to constitute a *maṇḍala*. Among them are also two additional Mañjuśrī figures, one of which is a six-headed, six-armed, white Mañjuśrī at the same level as the Ādibuddha figure, and on the other side of the Maitreya statue.[51] The iconographic situation of the standing Ādibuddha figure in the Village Stūpa is not dissimilar. The *stūpa* contains three other standing mural figures, those of Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteśvara and Tārā. These four figures, each of the same size, flank, in two pairs, two clay statues placed on the main axis of the *stūpa*, one at each end. There are eight further murals on the side walls (that also flank two clay statues), each of which is half the size of the standing figure murals. The Mañjuśrī Ādibuddha figure is prominent, therefore, but not especially so. It appears to be of equivalent status to the other three standing figures depicted as murals. It is not clear how to read the apparent lack of high status accorded to these two Mañjuśrī figures at Mangyu. It seems possible that they were not understood as depictions of the Ādibuddha—and this despite their textual context, and in spite of their iconographic context in

50 Study of these two rows of repainted figures might clarify whether they are part of the *maṇḍala* or not. A combination of sculptures and murals is found elsewhere: for example, in the Translator's Temple at Nako subsidiary deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are murals while the five *tathāgata*s are sculptures (Luczanits 2004, 79–80).

51 This intriguing figure, which as far as I am aware has not been identified, has six arms: the principal pair in his lap in *dhyāna-mudrā*; an upper pair with an arrow (proper right) and bow (left), and a lower pair holding a lily (right) and a lotus flower (left). The six faces, in two rows of three, have two central white faces. The remaining four have the colours of the directions. The correspondence of the number of heads with the Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva as described by our commentators is suggestive. Could this be a Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva variant, or even an Ādibuddha variant, perhaps from another *Nāmasaṃgīti* commentarial tradition?

the Alchi Sumtsek and the Lalung Serkhang. Further work on the iconographic programmes at Mangyu might clarify their roles.[52]

5 Addendum: The Relationship between Agrabodhi's **Sādhanaupayika* and Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*

Agrabodhi's description of Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, using images of the moon, a sapphire and the sun ("He is luminous like the autumn moon, with the choicest sapphire as a [head] crest. He is encircled as if by the light of the rising sun."), is very close to that of Vilāsavajra, close enough for one to be borrowed from the other. What makes the comparison more striking, and the likelihood of borrowing more certain, is that the three descriptions are also allusions—more or less quotations—to three *Nāmasaṃgīti* verse quarters, which are taken in the same order by both authors, but which are not in the order of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

The three *pāda*s are *śaraccandrāṃśusuprabhaḥ* (*NS* 125b), *indranīlāgrasaccīraḥ* (*NS* 126a), and *bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyaḥ* (NS 125c). Vilāsavajra's *NMAA* (see above) has *śaracchaśāṅkaprabham indranīlāgrasaccīraṃ bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyaprabhāmaṇḍalaṃ*. The second description, except for the change in case ending, quotes *NS* 126a. Both authors' descriptions also immediately follow a statement that Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva is six-faced. If we compare Agrabodhi's descriptions with the Tibetan translation of the *NMAA* their closeness becomes particularly clear:

> | | *ston ka'i zla ba ltar gsal zhing* | | *indra nīla'i gtsug phud can* | | *nyi ma 'char ka'i 'od 'dras bskor* | |
>
> AGRABODHI

> | *ston ka'i zla ba'i mdog can* | *indra nīla mtshog gi gtsug phud* [|] *nyi ma 'char ka'i ltar 'od kyi dkyil 'khor gyis bskor ba* |
>
> VILĀSAVAJRA. D 2533, 39r1

52 Rather than exploring in any depth the iconography surrounding the two Mangyu figures, my goal in this paragraph has been to focus on the apparent oddness of their location, on the assumption, that is, that they should be identified as representations of Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha. Rather more has been published on the Village Stūpa than the Two-armed Maitreya Chapel. On the latter, see Luczanits 2004, 167–170; van Ham 2011, 42–55. On the former, see Linrothe 1994 and 1999, 173–174; Luczanits ibid., 170–174; van Ham ibid., 138–158. Luczanits usefully comments that the square Village Stūpa has a main axis. Linrothe's 1994 article unfortunately came to my attention too late for me to consult.

Alone, this passage does not provide sufficient evidence to establish a direction of borrowing. Either could be an expansion or contraction of the other. Vilāsavajra is the more descriptively elaborate of the two. Agrabodhi's text is in a seven-syllable metrical form (which is the case for his descriptions of the Ādibuddha as well as Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva), suggesting that the original Sanskrit passage was likely in verse. Further comparison of Agrabodhi's and Vilāsavajra's texts is required.

6 Conclusions

In summary, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*-related texts of Vilāsavajra, Mañjuśrīmitra, and Agrabodhi indicate that the eight-armed Mañjuśrī[-like] figures at Alchi, Mangyu and Lalung be identified as the Ādibuddha. Such an identification explains why the Alchi figure occupies the most prominent location in the Sumtsek. It makes sense of the organization of the murals of the topmost storey, with the Ādibuddha representing the deeper nature of Vairocana to his (proper) right and Prajñāpāramitā to his left. It also makes sense of the vertical organization of the storeys of the back (and most important wall), with the Ādibuddha vertically above, and again representing the underlying nature of, both Śākyamuni (on the second storey) and Maitreya (the future Buddha, whose large clay figure faces the entrance to the Sumtsek on the first storey). However, only the five-headed Mangyu figures have the number of heads described by our authors. The Alchi mural figure has four, and the clay figure at Lalung just three (or possibly four). These variations, which may or may not reflect local adaptation, remain to be accounted for.

Differences between the three textual descriptions examined both allow and disallow the possibility of differing influences. Thus, for the two figures at Mangyu, the colouring of their five faces points to a tradition associated with Vilāsavajra as a source, and not Mañjuśrīmitra: Agrabodhi, who does not describe the colours, is neither ruled in nor out. Also, the small clay figure above the Ādibuddha in the Lalung Serkhang is likely to be Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva as depicted by Agrabodhi or Vilāsavajra rather than Mañjuśrīmitra.[53] Further,

53 Both Vilāsavajra's *NMAA* and Agrabodhi's **Sādhanaupayika* were translated into Tibetan in the early eleventh century by Smṛtijñānakīrti, who was working in eastern Tibet. It may seem unlikely that their tradition of *NS* interpretation could be the source for the Lalung Serkhang images. However, Luczanits (2004, 122) has argued that the sculptures in Cave 2 at nearby Dunkar reflect influence from north-east India (via Nepal and central Tibet),

if the Mahāvairocana mural beneath the clay Ādibuddha in the Serkhang is part of the main *maṇḍala*, then together the three figures represent the triadic and complex deity described in each of the three texts discussed, but here as inflected by those of Agrabodhi and Vilāsavajra. Additionally, the evidence suggests that the *maṇḍala*s surrounding the Alchi and Lalung figures are related to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* rather than the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala. A remaining puzzle concerns the positioning of the two Mangyu figures: their respective iconographic contexts raise questions about whether they were intended as, or perceived to be, depictions of Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha.

In wider perspective, the mid-eighth to early-ninth century Indian textual portrayal of Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha, and as *the* Jñānasattva, by Mañjuśrīmitra, Agrabodhi, and Vilāsavajra (to place them in their likely chronological order) reveals what is hard not to read as a concerted effort during this period to promote Mañjuśrī as the key tantric deity. While the effort ultimately failed, as a result of competing claims for the role of Ādibuddha (for example by supporters of Vajrasattva, Vajradhara, and Samantabhadra) and by the increasing dominance of the newer *yoginītantra* traditions, it is nonetheless significant that this *yogatantra*-based vision of Mañjuśrī as the Ādibuddha still had currency some two to four hundred years later in the artistic portrayals found in early Western Himalayan Buddhist art.

The findings of the present investigation also give clear support to the suggestion, made by both Linrothe and Luczanits,[54] of the importance of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and its associated literature in understanding the role of Mañjuśrī in Western Himalayan Buddhist art.

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and although he sees Lalung's artistic origins as being in north-west India, perhaps some textual/iconographic influence may have come from the east. If the Lalung Serkhang dates from the second half of the twelfth century (see above, note 4) there would be ample time for transmission of a Vilāsavajra/Agrabodhi based iconographical tradition. In the case of Mañjuśrīmitra's text there is no equivalent issue of geographical transmission. Rinchen Zangpo played a major role in the development of Buddhism in the Western Himalayas, becoming associated with many of its temples and monasteries, and although he did not translate the *Ākāśavimala*, he did translate both the *NS* and Mañjuśrīmitra's *NS* commentary (see note 14 above).

54 See Linrothe 1996, 272 and Luczanits 2004, 212–214.

Abbreviations

D	Catalogue of the Derge edition of the Kanjur and Tenjur published by Tōhoku Imperial University. See Ui Hakuju et al. 1934.
NMAA	*Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* of Vilāsavajra
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NS	*Nāmasaṃgīti*
WHAV	Western Himalaya Archive Vienna

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CHAPTER 23

Life and Afterlife of *Sādṛśya*: Revisiting the *Citrasūtra* through the Nationalism-Naturalism Debate in Indian Art History

Parul Dave-Mukherji

This paper sets out to revisit the *Citrasūtra*, a seminal section on painting from the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, in the light of key concerns around the cultural politics of art historiography, the *śāstra-prayoga* debate (Maxwell 1989, 5–15), and the related question of interpretative frameworks for studying early Indian art. The latter concern has lately come to the forefront in the context of post-colonial studies and global art history. It is critical of intellectual parasitism (Dhareshwar 2015, 57–77) and pushes postcolonial thought to explore 'native' interpretative frames to study Indian art (Asher 2007, 12).

This paper attempts to complicate the search for alternative frameworks by underlining gaps and slippages that surround the meaning of terms in a given text and their modern appropriations. To this end, it traces the genealogy of the term *sādṛśya*, from the śilpaśāstric lexicon through its twentieth-century reception in art-historical discourse. How does a term acquire an afterlife when it enters into the force field of reinterpretation steeped in cultural nationalism? How could a newly "discovered" Sanskrit text function in such a space?[1]

In this paper, I also intend to address the larger question: what is the genealogy of the view of India's cultural past, and specifically its "art," as transcendental/ idealistic/spiritual, which has translated itself into a belief? And why does this belief persist, although in different configurations? In more recent times, an ethnographic approach to the study of texts has emerged as a corrective, which I will critically examine for its relevance for alternative interpretative frames for the study of Indian art. In the end, I will conclude by relating Coomaraswamy's transcendentalism to David Shulman's recent dis-

1 The first printed text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, edited by Pandit Madhusudhan and Madhavaprasada Sarma in 1912 (Venkateshwar Press, Bombay), is the one that caught the attention of a pioneering art historian, Stella Kramrisch, who had arrived in India from Vienna. It was her English translation which brought the text into the discourse of art history and Indology.

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course around the 'more than real' (Shulman 2012), and the latter's implication for interpretative frameworks for Indian art.

1 The Discovery of the *Citrasūtra*

It is around the first quarter of the twentieth century that some major textual sources, either complete or as fragments, were "discovered," edited and translated. They began to acquire tremendous cultural significance as carriers of authentic meaning. One such text was the *Citrasūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which emerged on the stage of art history in India when it was first translated into English in 1924 by Stella Kramrisch, the pioneering historian of Indian art. This art historian from Vienna chanced upon this text soon after her arrival in India in 1919. The first printed text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, edited by Pandit Madhusudhan and Madhavaprasada Sarma and published by the Venkateshwar Press, Bombay in 1912, is the one that caught attention of Kramrisch. It was her English translation (Kramrisch 1928 [1924]) which brought the text into the discourse of art history and Indology.

It was almost a decade later that another pioneering art historian, A.K. Coomaraswamy, turned his attention to this text, singling out one of its chapters, *adhyāya* 41, for translation and commentary (Coomaraswamy 1933, 13–21). This chapter of the text deals with the classification of painting into four types—Satya, Vaiṇika, Nāgara and Miśra. According to Coomaraswamy, the first two types corresponded to the pictorial tradition of the Ajanta caves.

By now, the two most eminent art historians of Indian art who played a seminal role in establishing the discipline of art history in India were involved in the interpretation of the *Citrasūtra*. This, in turn, exalted the status of the text and transformed it into an Ur-text for a wide-ranging extrapolation about Indian art and aesthetics, which continued into the first decade of the 21st century (Nardi 2006).

Almost twenty-five years separate Coomaraswamy's commentary on the text and its first critical edition, brought out by a Sanskritist, Priyabala Shah in 1958 and 1961. Shah's edition broke fresh grounds in textual criticism when she incorporated the readings from six new manuscripts. However, her attempt at theorization was restricted, interestingly, to the same chapter selected by Coomaraswamy, which dealt with the classification of paintings. She was far too involved with connecting the types of paintings with types of architectural styles to pay attention to whether Coomaraswamy's metaphysical readings of the terminology were borne out by the edited text. Exactly two decades later, interest in this text was renewed when another art historian, C. Sivaramamurti

published a translation and commentary of all nine chapters of the *Citrasūtra* (1978). A Sanskritist and an art historian of post-independent India, Sivaramamurti assigned a diametrically opposite significance to the text, one validating "Indian naturalism" as opposed to the manner in which Coomaraswamy used this text as a support for his claims of transcendentalism during the colonial period.

2 The *Citrasūtra* Turn in Early Indian Art History

The interpretation of the *Citrasūtra* is further complicated by the fact that it was "discovered" in colonial India; this implied that its interpretation would be caught in a comparative framework involving the art of the colonizer and that of the colonized. The central question around which the art of India and that of the West were compared and judged was that of 'naturalism,' a term that was seen as intrinsic to the identity of western art.

When the *Citrasūtra* came to light in the early decades of the twentieth century, cultural nationalism was at its height and art history as a discipline was being introduced into Indian universities. Naturalism supplied a key term, often as an antithesis to ornamentalism, around which debates on the worth of Indian art and craft were being carried out amidst the ascendency of cultural nationalism. Transcendentalism and naturalism are dialectically connected as part of a discourse largely constructed by A.K. Coomaraswamy to place Indian art on a morally higher plane. The former stands for Indian art and its spiritual interiority, defined in contrast to the naturalism ascribed to Western art. There prevailed a climate of contestation rife with orientalist binaries that pitted the 'rational,' 'scientific' West with the 'mystical,' 'irrational' India (Masson-Oursel 1925).[2] If Indian art is believed to be the result of the artists' power of meditation, Western art is assumed to capture only the surface of nature or the visible world but never its inner essence. Hence the imbrication of the naturalism debate within nationalism. In the battle between the superiority of naturalism in art as a hallmark of Western control over representation and its rejection by

2 Paul Masson-Oursel, a French Orientalist, exerted a strong influence on Coomaraswamy. It is to be noted that Coomaraswamy found strong support for his views in Masson-Oursel's writings and in fact translated Masson's 1925 article "Une connexion entre l'esthétique et la philosophie de l'Inde: la notion de pramâna" (*Review des Arts Asiatique* 2, 1: 6–9) into English as "A Connection between Indian Aesthetics and Philosophy in India" (*Rupam* 27 & 28 [1926]: 91–94).

Indian nationalists for the higher civilizational ideal of transcendentalism, the latter won the day. Its victory placed Coomaraswamy at an advantageous position, and today this discourse has come to assume truth value, constituting a common sensibility concerning Indian art (Dehejia 1996).

For transcendentalism to emerge as an effective discourse to counter colonial presuppositions about Indian art, such as the denial of the existence of fine arts in India, an alliance of Art History with Indology was the need of the day. Already by the middle of eighteenth century, the discipline of Indology had been founded, having as its main objective the study of Indian culture through texts. Indology, right from its inaugural moment, operated with the assumption that it was ancient and classical Indian texts that were the most authentic means of recovering India's past (Halbfass 1981).

Around the early 1920s, art history came to be introduced in an Indian university when the Vienna-trained art historian, Stella Kramrisch, began to teach this discipline in Kalabhavana, Visvabharati University, Santiniketan, at Rabindranath Tagore's behest. In other universities where it was taught, such as Calcutta University and Banaras Hindu University, it was as an adjunct to ancient Indian history. It was in 1950s that an independent department of Art History and Aesthetics came to be established in the Faculty of Fine Arts, MSU, Baroda. This discipline was mobilized for the reconstruction of India's past, part of the nationalist project to regain the lost essence of Indian-ness as a means of reclaiming subjectivity (Guha-Thakurta 1991).

3 Coomaraswamy's Reading of the *Citrasūtra*: A Founding Moment in Indian Art History

So strong was Coomaraswamy's commitment to transcendentalism that it impelled him to interpret the traditional *śilpaśāstra*s through the same lens. I have discussed his negotiation with the anomaly posed by the *śilpaśāstra*s elsewhere (Dave-Mukherji 2008, 132–134). Let us see how the term *sādṛśya* gets inflected by his translation. As a case in point, let us turn to Coomaraswamy's translation of *adhyāya* 41 of the *Citrasūtra*, which primarily defines four categories of painting: Satya, Deśika, Nāgara and Miśra. He particularly focused on the first category, as it seemed to pose a challenge to his assumption that there is no place for naturalism in Indian art. In fact, the very term Satya may be translated as "real" or "naturalistic" in light of its definition—that any painting bearing resemblance to the world belongs to this category:

yat kiñcil lokasādṛśyaṃ citraṃ tat satyam ucyate

I have translated this as follows (Dave-Mukherji 2001, 159):

> Whichever painting that bears a similarity with the world [that painting] is called Satya ("Naturalistic").

This is in fact in wide variance with Coomaraswamy's translation (1933, 13):

> Painting that represents any of the worlds (*kiñcilloka-sādṛśya*) … is called Pure or Sacred (*satya*).

How *satya* comes to translated as "Pure or Sacred" is not a matter of willful mistranslation. Rather, we need to historicize this mode of interpretation and ask, under what conditions may *satya* be taken as "Pure or Sacred"? *Satya* could no longer be accepted as "True to life", as interpreted by Kramrisch (1928, 51). Another term, which intensified this problem, was *sādṛśya*, which could not be allowed to retain its usual sense (Coomaraswamy 1933, 21):

> If we understood *sādṛśya* then to mean "illusion" or "realism," verisimilitude of any crude or naive sort, we should be contradicting all that we know of the oriental conception of art.

It was the co-existence of *satya* with *sādṛśya* (resemblance/likeness) which compounded Coomarsawamy's problem of avoiding literal translation. Hence Coomaraswamy was compelled to connect *yatkiñcilloka-* with *sādṛśyam*, against the rules of Sanskrit syntax, in order to yield the meaning "any of the worlds" in place of "any painting." His translation (Coomaraswamy 1933, 13) continues as follows:

> Painting that represents any of the worlds (*yatkiñcillokasādṛśya*)*, that is elongated and has ideal proportions* … [emphasis added]

In fact, the description of the painting as "elongated" (*dīrghāṅgam*) and having "ideal proportion" (*supramāṇam*) belongs to the next category of painting, termed Deśika. By misreading in this manner, he could explain away the naturalistic potential in the term *sādṛśya* and impose his view of idealism being the essential feature of Indian painting (Coomaraswamy 1933, 13):

> So also in verse 2 above, where *kiñcilloka* must include *devaloka* ["abode of the gods"], *sādṛśya* cannot be interpreted as "naturalistic."

Coomaraswamy's departure from normal Sanskrit syntax and semantics did not go unnoticed, but invited ridicule from his contemporary, a well-respected Sanskrit scholar (Raghavan 1933, 905):[3]

> *Satya* cannot be interpreted as a Sattvika picture. One can as well derive it from Sat and say it is the picture of the Upanisadic Brahman.

In response to Raghvan's criticism, Coomaraswamy revised his translation of *satya* from "Pure or Sacred" to "*intellectual* and *ideal*" (Coomaraswamy 1933, 26), and rejected its literal meaning, which was however subsequently reinstated by Priyabala Shah (1961, 120) in the first critical edition of this text:

> Whatever (*yatkiñcid*) painting depicts semblance of the world (*Loka-sādṛśyam citram*) is called Satya.

Coomaraswamy evidently felt in need of more support for his elimination of the concept of resemblance than the *Citrasūtra* could provide. He began to look to the idealist schools of Upanisadic philosophy and epistemology (Coomaraswamy 1933, 26) to arrive at a metaphysical reworking of the term *satya*:

> Satya is "real", "actual", "intelligible", "ideal"; nāmarūpa, "form" as distinct from the natural disorder (anṛta) of the sensible world (loka) (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, 6, 3: *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, 11, 6).

In his recasting of *sādṛśya*, Coomaraswamy turned to a rather unexpected source for an alternative definition of imitation in art that could preserve the term, but be free of the unwanted association of naturalism. He found what he was looking for in western medieval sources. In my view, this detour to the western medieval sources was not fortuitous but compelled by Coomaraswamy's confrontation with the *Citrasūtra*. This is confirmed by evidence of the period for his new interest, as given by his biographer, Roger Lipsey. According to Lipsey (1977, 73), the beginning of the 1930's marks the period of transformation for Coomaraswamy: "… it is just at this point that the relation to medieval Christian thought changed from an enthusiastic but transient acknowledgement of

3 Raghavan further comments, "My impression on reading the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is that even to its author the exact import of these names was not clear. The text seems to have been written after a cut in the flow of tradition of the artists who were using these words as *paribhāṣā*s."

the value of Meister Eckhart in particular to a permanent and scholarly interest in the entire scholastic tradition from its origins in the St Augustine to its flowering in the thirteenth century."

For Coomaraswamy, medieval Christian thought best illuminated how to interpret *sādṛśya* without any 'naturalistic' connotations (1933, 26):

> Now as to Visnudharmottara, III, 41, 1 and 9, *kimcit* is not "any" but "somewhat"; loka not here "worlds" but the sensible (not alaukika) aspect of the world; *sādṛśya* is not "resemblance" but consonantia, adaequatio rei et intellectus, …

Combining references to western medieval sources with the terms from Indian epistemology, Coomaraswamy (1933, 26) arrives at a new definition of the *satya* type of painting as

> … *sāhitya, sādhārāṇya*, all of which have reference to unity self-contained in art, and not to likeness (*sādṛśatā*) to a model. *Kimcilloka-sādṛśya* is then "the unity of which is only somewhat as to the world, …".

For Coomaraswamy, *sādṛśya* with its naturalistic implication and its coexistence with *satya*, translated as "Pure," was contradictory. Here, purity is taken as a "unity self-contained in art," and for that reason the potential of referentiality to the world outside implied by the term *sādṛśya* was viewed as posing a threat to his construct of art as the realm of the mind. In another instance, he qualified this term as "a consent (*sādṛśya*) of pictorial and formal elements in the substance (*śarīra*) and essence (*ātman*) of the work" (Coomaraswamy 1933, 27). While he conceded to some presence of pictorial realism in the other three types of painting, it is the first type or Satya through which the ethical notion of art as "Truth" could be admitted as that which had to be elevated beyond any reference to this realism (ibid.):

> … and this contrasts with *vaiṇika* and *nāgara* painting in which it is to be understood that the realistic, pictorial (*sādṛśa*) element is much greater, where accordingly an adaequatio (*tadākāratā*) rei et intellectus, *sādṛśya*, is only partially attainable.

Notice a distinction created between *sadṛśa* (which allows an element of pictorial realism) and *sādṛśya* (a consent of pictorial and formal elements) was crucial for his interpretation to avoid contradicting "all that we know of the oriental conceptions of art." Rather than unpacking "the oriental conceptions

of art," Coomaraswamy ended up congealing the old binaries between a rational occident and a spiritual orient. His 'cultural unconscious' is betrayed in a footnote in which he claims to have captured the voice of tradition through his alleged fidelity to the textual sources (Coomaraswamy 1933, 27).

> What follows is derived from all these sources without the addition of any thought or phrase of my own. Verbal authority could be cited for any statement.

What relevance this kind of interrogation has for us today, this reaching back to the cultural politics of the early-twentieth century, also needs to be addressed. The transcendentalist claim made by Coomaraswamy on the basis of a "found" textual tradition can be explained as a political exigency for combating the colonial representation of Indian art. However, when such reliance on 'scriptural evidence' is perpetuated in postcolonial times, its inbuilt essentialism can have serious implications today in an India that is witnessing an unprecedented obsession around nationalism.

Foregrounding the claim that rejection of naturalism by Indian artists was intentional, Coomaraswamy effectively undercut the criticism that Indian art was deficient in naturalism. He suggested, instead, that it was never the intention of the Indian artists to imitate the visible world but to create a symbolic image based on a supramundane ideal which transcended the world of appearance. The charge leveled against Indian art of crude execution and a lack of anatomical accuracy (Ruskin 1905, 347) in the rendering of human and animal form was answered not by questioning the criteria of execution and cultural knowledge of bodies, but by claiming that these so-called "deficiencies" were deliberate, a result of a "specialized technique of vision" (Coomaraswamy 1934, 166):

> Technical production is thus bound up with the psychological method known as yoga. In other words, the artist does not resort to models but uses a mental construction and this condition sufficiently explains the cerebral character of the art, …

The vision of the classical Indian artist that emerges from Coomaraswamy's early writings appears to be modelled upon the idea of sculpture of *dhyāni* Buddhas, with artistic activity relegated to the domain of pure mental contemplation (Coomaraswamy 1908). The eyes of the artist appear to be visualized as half-closed, focused more on the inward, contemplative space of the mind and less on the world "out there," the domain of naturalism. With an ingenious

reversal of binaries set up by the colonial critics, Coomaraswamy constructed a compelling counter-narrative, but in the process, he reproduced the very colonialist logic he had set out to resist.

Certainly, Coomaraswamy's transcendentalist claims for Indian art and aesthetics did not remain uncontested, as demonstrated by V. Raghavan's (1933) criticism of Coomaraswamy's interpretation and by the translators of the *Citrasūtra*. However, such voices of dissent were relegated to the margins and rarely made an impact on the disciplinary framework of Indian art history, where Coomaraswamy's theoretical framework has retained a canonical status. Most curiously, Kapila Vatsyayan, in her very Foreword to my edition of the *Citrasūtra* has cited the same verse that I have used to critique Coomarawamy's transcendentalist standpoint in order to justify it. The tenacity of this view can be gauged by the manner in which Coomaraswamy's misreading of *pratyakṣa*, direct perception, as the least important *pramāṇa* or source of knowledge in Indian epistemology, is ratified by Vatsyayan (Dave-Mukherji 2001, xiii–xiv). In fact, all the six classical *darśana*s of Indian philosophy consider *pratyakṣa* the most salient source of knowledge (Matilal 1986).

4 The *Citrasūtra* in Postcolonial Art Historiography: C. Sivaramamurti

The return of interest in the *Citrasūtra* in the work of C. Sivaramamurti in the late 1970s signals a re-appropriation of this text within his agenda of cultural nationalism. Ostensibly, his turn to this text was to eradicate false readings and restore it closer to its original state (Sivaramamurti 1978, xv). Underscoring his interpretation of the *Citrasūtra* was the claim that naturalism was accorded a positive role both in Indian art and in the text, which resonated with the stand taken by him more than four decades earlier (Sivaramamurti 1934, 189):

> Questions of perspective and foreshortening do not appear to have baffled the old artists of our land as in evident from their talks on such technical details as *kṣayavṛddhi* and the actual conformance of the pictures to those rules so elaborately discussed in books on theory.

It is largely the presence of terms such as *sādṛśya* and *kṣayavṛddhi* (literally "decrease and increase," i.e. "foreshortening," a technique used to show apparent depth in naturalistic art) that indicated to Sivaramamurti that the traditional Indian artist was no less proficient in representing the world "naturalis-

tically" than his western counterpart. In a similar move, he looks beyond the context of the *śilpaśāstra*s, examining classical Sanskrit literature, and finds further evidence of imitation in art, as for example, in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (Sivaramamurti 1934, 189):

> The tendency of imitation in an artist given in the *Mṛchhakaṭikā* is healthy sign of progress at a particular stage provided it is directed in the right direction.

Thus by placing the *śilpaśāstras* in this wider context, Sivaramamurti retrieved key terms such as *sādṛśya*, *anukṛti* and *kṣayavṛddhi* from the framework of transcendentalism. Sivaramamurti reinstated naturalism in post-colonial India as an index of 'progress,' as proof that India could measure up, and more, to the categories and standards of art set up in and by the West. Indeed, he writes naturalism back into the art-historiographical demands of post-colonial India, mapping the term powerfully onto nation building.

For me, the rejection of naturalism in Indian art on grounds of its western identity is as problematic as its nativist retrieval in Sivaramamurti's interpretation of the *Citrasūtra*. Interestingly, Sivaramamurti's espousal of an Indian naturalism met with deep skepticism from Stella Kramrisch, who was invited to write the foreword by the author (Sivaramamurti 1934, 10):

> If as the text shows and Dr. Sivaramamurti stresses, realism was a main consideration with the painters, their criteria of verisimilitude were, no doubt, met in practice, although no object painted in the murals of Ajanta, which are roughly contemporary with the *Chitrasūtra* would strike a spectator today as being realistically painted. The realism is in the eye of the beholder and pious stories told, though not in the *Chitrasūtra* ...

Kramrisch almost poses as a paradox the gap between the ancient painters' intentions to accomplish realism and their actual practice, and argues that the premodern criteria of representation do not match up with our modern expectations of verisimilitude. Today, it is possible to see an overlap between Kramrisch's skepticism about Sivaramamurti's literal reading of the mimetic terms in the *Citrasūtra* and David Shulman's (2012) recent problematization of 'the real' in the context of his study of the South Indian models of mind.

In his reading of a seventh-century playwright, Harṣadeva's classical Sanskrit drama, *Ratnāvalī*, Shulman foregrounds the role of painting in the way the plot unfolds. About the question of verisimilitude, which emerges when the characters recognize each other in their respective portraits, Shulman arrives at a

paradox similar to Kramrisch's, but resolves it by stressing the realm of imagination (Shulman 2012, 28):

> Apparently, the painted image is recognized not so much by virtue of how it is painted but mostly as a prop for projection, …

At one stroke, if Kramrisch evacuates realism/naturalism (taken interchangeably in this context) from both the walls of Ajanta and the text of the *Citrasūtra*, Shulman edges it from the painted surface to the space of literary imagination. Naturalism or 'the real' is discursively edged off to the realm of the mind via the "eyes of the beholder" and the physical entity of a painting reduced to a "prop for projection." Despite her reservations about claims of verisimilitude in the *Citrasūtra*, Kramrisch had earlier accepted cultural specificity in visual representation. This view implicitly allowed for "Indian naturalism," even if her example draws from Chinese and European naturalism (Kramrisch 1922, 25):

> The Chinese naturalism to the European eye appears as an idealistic abstraction, while the European naturalism strikes the Chinese as ugliness.

However, it is instructive to recognize the difference between Kramrisch and Shulman's skepticism about the claims of the real. Kramrisch, to some extent, was able to accommodate naturalism as a culturally specific phenomenon that manifested in art theory, if not in practice, while Shulman relegates the question of painterly resemblance solely to the domain of imagination. However, such a categorical dismissal of verisimilitude assumes a wide gap not only between discourse and practice but also between how the Indian mind thinks, how the Indian eyes see and how Indian bodies act; thinking, vision and agency are assumed to fall outside of any rational intentionality.

What needs examination is the persistence of a belief that ancient Indian art willfully rejected any empirical interest in the world that surrounded the artists. In my view, the theoretical framework of what this belief (i.e. in transcendentalism) was once a part of has faded into the background, turning the belief and the problematic produced by that theory into a widely-shared yet questionable sensibility concerning India's past and art traditions. Rather than a simplistic retrieval of an "Indian naturalism," as attempted by Sivaramamurti, the very semantic framework of the real operating in the *śilpaśāstras* and literary texts needs to be unpacked and thought through.

5 The *Śāstra-Prayoga* Debate

Since the inception of art history in India in the late eighteenth century, the core of the discipline came to be defined by a "detailed study of archeological evidence using a stylistic approach" (Maxwell 1989, 5). Despite the momentous "discovery" of the *śilpaśāstra*s inaugurated by the coming to light of the *Mānasāra* in 1834, and by subsequent work on the *Citralakṣaṇa*, *Citrasūtra*, *Mānasollāsa* and other sources around the early-twentieth century, these have still not been adequately explored for developing interpretative frameworks of art history in India. As pointed out by Tapati Guha Thakurta (1991, 170) in the context of Bengal, a sharp divide arose between history and aesthetics, as between archeology and the study of *śilpa* texts, when modern commentaries on ancient texts came to be written by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries:[4]

> Art history and aesthetics, even as they grew out of the same institutionalized scholarly sphere, would henceforth always be marked out as a discretely differentiated field.

The separation of aesthetics and archeology got mapped onto the *śāstra* (theory) and *prayoga* (practice) divide, and led to a division of labour in which the question of meaning and interpretation was seen as the realm of specialized Sankrit-based scholarship dissociated from the empirical study of artifacts, with the latter thought to lie in the domain of archeology.

Reflecting on Indian intellectual history, Sheldon Pollock touches upon the imbrication of power in the Indian intellectual tradition around *śāstra-prayoga* (Pollock 1984, 499–519). Seldom has modern art history in India responded to the issue of the caste hierarchy that has existed between the Brahmin authors of the *śilpaśāstras* and the low caste *śilpins* or artisans who practiced art (Misra 1975). Kramrisch (1985, 61), in fact, was one of the first art historians to examine caste in the context of art practice and point out contradictory views about labour and caste often held by the *Dharmaśāstras*:

4 Abanindranath Tagore, who spearheaded the Bengal School, wrote an article, "Shadangas or The Six Limbs of Painting" in 1915. It claimed to base its interpretation of Indian aesthetics on a verse culled from the *Kāmasūtra* of circa 500 CE. This elicited a vehement critique from an archeologist, Akshay Kumar Maitreya, and illustrates the conflict between aesthetics and archeology, as pointed out by Guha-Thakurta (1991).

> Manu says that the hand of a craftsman engaged in his work is always ritually pure. The *Gautama Dharmaśāstra* postulates that a Brahman may not accept food from an artisan. The law books thus distinguish the craftsman in his social position on one hand, and in his state of grace on the other—when he is engaged in his work, when he creates, and, thereby, gives effect to his being an embodiment of Viśvakarma.

Despite Kramrisch's attention to caste and its implication for the system of patronage and art practice, the model created by Coomaraswamy of the *śilpī* or an artist/artisan aligned with transcendentalism remained dominant. Even Kramrisch later began to follow this line of thought (1985, 57):

> As artists and magicians, the Indian craftsmen transmuted matter into form, vision into concrete shape, and man beyond his earthy competence … Charged with this power their work became concretely real, subtly effective, and transcendentally existent ….

6 Reading *Sādṛśya* through Ethnography

Since the time of the modern discovery of the *śilpaśāstras* and particularly with reference to texts on architecture, ethnography has emerged as a valid method of interpreting difficult terminology. As early as Ram Raz's attempt to make sense of obsolete terminology around 1830s, recourse to extant practice was sought as a way of checking the extent to which *śāstric* terms had purchase with craftsmen. The question that I would like to raise here is the usefulness of ethnography in the interpretation of terms that deal with the 'resemblance' or 'truthfulness' of visual representation. Where are we placed today in terms of our understanding of this terminology, and to what extent is combining ethnography with the study of *śilpa* texts useful for shedding light on its slippery semantics?

Samuel Parker (2003, 5–34) has been at the forefront of embracing the ethnographic approach in the study of texts mainly on architecture. Can this method be equally illuminating in the study of the *śilpaśāstras*? Do critical terms that relate to visual representation—*anukṛti* (imitation or mimesis), *sādṛśya* (resemblance or verisimilitude), *viddha* (literally "pierced," or capturing resemblance), *aviddha* (that which lacks resemblance), etc.—hold resonance for traditional idol makers? Here perhaps we need to distinguish between technical terms for parts of a building and terms that deal with aesthetics (beauty) and visual representation. Terms that deal with complex semiotics

such as *sādṛśya*, beauty, etc., are too culturally loaded for them to travel well across time. Perhaps in this regard it is instructive to turn to British art historian, Michael Baxandall (1972, 26), who has brought to our notice how some art terminologies common in fifteenth-century Italy, which had made perfect sense to their contemporary public, resist easy comprehension for today's audience.

Ethnography, as employed by some Indologists, assumes continuity of meaning across time such that by recourse to extant practice by modern *sthapati* (traditional architects) the meanings of traditional treatises can be unlocked. Terms such as *sādṛśya* are ensconced in a whole web of meanings and practices of viewing that make them intelligible, and in the absence of the latter, they often give rise to skepticism around *śilpaśāstras*—as if what they say fails to coincide with what they *really* mean.

Besides, do terms like *sādṛśya* or *satya*, no doubt used in classification of paintings in terms of degrees of correspondence to the visible world as far as the *Citrasūtra* is concerned, have the same valence as technical terms that classify a building? Or, as demonstrated by the survey of the historiography of textual interpretations, terms dealing with visual representation are seen by cultural nationalists as too invested in civilizational identity and the marking of cultural difference to yield an 'objective' meaning. More recently, Isabella Nardi has ventured into this fraught zone and attempted to employ the ethnographic approach to analyze how a present-day traditional idol maker engages with visual representation and beauty. Nardi has interacted with local sculptors in Orissa and Rajasthan to explore the relevance of the *śilpaśāstras* to their current practice (Nardi 2006, 58–63).

In her conversation with a local sculptor, Ram Prasad Sharma, Nardi was struck by Sharma's comparison of the sculpture of Lakshmi with a European Renaissance master, Giovanni Bellini's *Young Woman with a Mirror* (painted in 1515), only to demonstrate the greater beauty of the former (2006, 60):

> Applying his rules and ideals, the sculptor explains that the major defects of this Renaissance figure are that the woman has a huge belly and very big arms.

Likewise, Nardi (ibid.) attributes this sculptor's failed attempt at copying Michelangelo's sculptures to "different vocabulary and aesthetic ideals of the Indian sculptor and [the] Renaissance [sculptor]." Such an ethnographic exercise, while shedding light on the gap between text and practice, serves to underline cultural difference and tends more towards truisms about how each cultural practitioner responds to aesthetics through what is locally familiar than to clarify meanings embedded in texts.

7 "Mistranslation" of Sanskrit Terms: A Paradigm for Rethinking Visual Representation in Indian Art

There is no simple, pure unproblematic naturalism in the Indian tradition waiting to be recuperated. The very fact that there is no one-to-one translation possible in Sanskrit, for example, opens up an area of interrogation and also a paradigm for interpretation. Perhaps we have neither the words nor the concepts to capture the domain of "naturalism."

Kapila Vatsyayan insightfully problematizes the question of naturalism in the context of premodern India thus (Dave-Mukherji 2001, xii):

> For a fuller examination, it would be necessary to reopen the question of what constitutes as Nature in the Indian mind-scape, more precisely, the *mahābhūtas* and *prakṛti*. This comprehension has to be clearly distinguished from the emergence of 'naturalism' as an art movement in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Of course, the absence of a single term does not signify that the concept does not exist. Rather, the absence itself can be seen as an important clue. Perhaps what we have is a much more complex experience which can be described by using a combination of *sādṛśya*, *satya* and *anukṛti*. In the same way, Sanskrit terms such as *kṣayavṛddhi* (literally, diminution and expansion) or *vartanā* need not be directly taken as equivalents of "foreshortening" or "shading." The lack of a close fit between them and the gaps opening up as we attempt to map one set of Sanskrit terms on another set of English terms may itself signify a rich terrain to explore.

Once it is acknowledged that that no mode of visual representation in any given culture in the West or elsewhere has a direct, unmediated and privileged access to the visible, it makes futile any defensive and anxious search for an "Indian naturalism." In Art History, Norman Bryson (1983) has engaged with a post-structuralist critique of representation and argued against any unmediated access to the real, a view that helps us to complicate the issue of naturalism even in the context of premodern Indian art.

In more recent times and a context closer to South Asia, the question of 'the real' has assumed new significance in the writings of David Shulman, who has added a more specific dimension to this inquiry through his focus on South Indian models of mind. I would conclude by juxtaposing Coomaraswamy's anti-naturalism with Shulman's evocation of the 'more than real.' At one level, one may discern a certain correspondence between Coomaraswamy's rejection of naturalism as alien to the Indian sensibility, a construct created under the

sway of cultural nationalism, and Shulman's recognition of a different model of mind for South Asia that allows for an interplay between the real and the imagined. At the same time, it is possible to recognize a distinction between their models. While Coomaraswamy's view of naturalism arose out of a desire to defend Indian art from colonial denigration, Shulman—despite his focus on South India—complicates any simple binaries of the real and the imaginary; this he does by refusing a separation between an observing subject and observed real, instead posing their mutual permeability. Notwithstanding the fact that Shulman arrives at this model through a close reading of literary texts, it has important implications for notions of visual representation.

Once we overcome the defensive rejection of 'the real' and resituate the real at the cusp of the existing and the imaginary, the *sāstric* terminology can be accessed in new ways. The term *vāyugati* is a case in point. I would like to express my gratitude to Alexis Sanderson for pointing out the 'literal' meaning of *vāyugati* when I was editing the *Citrasūtra* as his D.Phil. student in Oxford in the late 1980s. This term appears in the description of hallmarks of a skilled artist, the *citravid*, in the last *adhyāya* of the *Citrasūtra*, and sets up a high standard of verisimilitude for artistic practice: an expert must have an ability to depict parts of the body (or difficult transitional points) normally covered by ornaments like the neck, wrists, feet and ears; a body wounded by an arrow; an old person; he must create differentiation between a sleeping and a dead body, and an illusion of an apparent undulation of a flat surface. It is in this context of technical mastery over representation that *vāyugati* appears as a further marker of a skilled painter (Dave-Mukherji 2001, 250–251):

> *taraṅgāgniśikhādhūmaṃ vaijayantyāmbarādikam*
> *vāyugatyā likhed yas tu vijñeyaḥ sa tu citravit*
>
> He who is able to paint waves, flames, smoke, flags and garments etc. with the speed of the wind (*vāyugatyā*) is considered to be an expert.

Previous editors of the *Citrasūtra*, who *include* Stella Kramrisch, A.K. Coomaraswamy, C. Sivaramamurti and Priyabala Shah, have overlooked the performative dimension of *vāyugati*. They have considered its representational meaning and connected it with the objects to be depicted, such as flames, banners and clothes that are windswept (*vāyugati*). *Vāyugati* can also connect with the agent of representation, i.e. the *citravid* or the expert in painting, who must paint flames, banners and clothes with the *speed of the wind*. If the first sense locates the objects to be drawn, such as flames, banners and clothes, in the lived

and observable world, the second meaning implies artistic labour and skill, and above all points to the temporality of execution as an index of mastery over representation. Either way, it helps to recast the image of a traditional painter, not as creating images out of a meditative trance through half open eyes and duplicating formula from the past, but as one who encounters the world with keen eyes, trained hands and a vibrant imagination.

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Index

Abhidharmakośabhāṣya 87, 88n, 90n, 124n89
Abhinavagupta xxviii, 3–6, 106–135, 144–167, 186, 255, 259–260, 262n41, 284, 292–310, 387–389, 391, 406
abhiṣeka, *see* Caturthābhiṣeka; consecration; kings: royal consecration
ācārya, *see guru*
ācāryābhimāna 5, 208–209
Ācāryahṛdayam 200, 211
Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya 10, 508, 531
Ādhyātmika 17
Ādibuddha 10–11, 539, 546–565
Advayavajra 172, 180
agency; agent 6, 89–90, 95–101, 122, 146, 165, 209, 283–284, 295n25, 298, 309, 314, 325, 338, 579, 584
Aghorī 40–42, 393, 395, 402
Agrabodhi 11, 546–547, 551, 555, 557–559, 562–565
Ākāśavimala 11, 546, 549n22, 556, 559n39, 565n53
Aḷakiya Maṇavālapperumāḷ Nāyaṇār 200, 211
Āḻavantār 199, 204
Alchi 539–548, 551, 555n32, 559–560, 562–565
alcohol 2, 40–43, 326, 350, 432, 495n33
Amaraughaprabodha 412, 421, 452, 454, 459, 472
Amareśvara 28, 30, 38–43
amarī 429
Amoghapāśakalparāja 240, 241n32
amṛta 2, 8, 38–43, 52, 197, 206, 375, 379–380, 404n49, 413–414
Amṛtakaṇikā (Aka) 172–173, 176–177
Amṛtakaṇikoddyota 173, 176
anumāna, *see* inference
apoha 127n, 135n117
Arthaśāstra 5, 219–221, 224, 326
āsana 451, 454n9, 455, 456n13, 458–463, 465–467, 471, 473n, 549n22
ascetic(s) 1, 5, 9, 15–17, 23–27, 29n36, 33–34, 39, 54–55, 58, 68, 75, 221, 223, 229, 231, 250–251, 253n10, 258n27, 270–279, 311, 332, 391, 421, 446, 454–455, 483–484, 494–501
asidhārāvrata 64, 66, 427
āśrama 17, 483, 497–498
āśramin 483, 496–497, 501–502
Aṣṭādhyāyī (A) 89n5, 305, 315
aṣṭāṅga 453, 459, 463n38, 465–466, 471n8
Āṭānāṭiya–sutta 235n4
Atharvaveda 5, 218–220, 224–225
Atimārga 1–2, 15–29, 33–34, 38, 39n19, 278
ātman, *see* self
ātmavāda 3, 87, 98n29

Bakker, Hans xi, xv, xx, xxiii, 35–38, 44, 494
bandha 8, 453, 463n38
Banaras, *see* Vārāṇasī
banner 36, 220, 237–238, 240, 367, 376, 485, 535, 584
bārhaspatya 110, 125n
bathing, ritual 26, 37, 69, 73–74, 236–237, 253, 326, 429, 489
Beyond the Fourth, *see turyātīta*
Bhadrakālī 7, 326, 328
Bhagavadgītā 22n21, 26, 119n51, 202, 205, 226, 463, 466
Bhairava 2, 20–21, 28, 34, 35n9, 40–43, 69n66, 71, 266n53, 294, 365, 370n24, 393–394, 400, 402–403, 433–434, 436
Bhairavaprādurbhāva 19–20
bhairavas 2, 20–21, 28, 34n9, 40–43, 68–71, 75, 266n53, 294, 365, 370n24, 393–394, 400–403, 433–436, 495n
Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra 240
Bhāratī 365, 371
Bhartṛhari 110, 124n89
bhāva 433–434, 436
Bhavadevamiśra 468, 470
bhoga 16, 163, 211n, 255n17, 257, 261–262, 268n56, 271n65, 273–275, 355, 357, 378, 391, 405, 493
see also siddhi
bindu 8, 390, 405n52, 414–442, 452
Brahmayāmala (BraYā) 8, 39n19, 40, 74–75, 265n, 387–406, 427, 428n10, 429, 438n33, 440n43, 445
Bṛhatkālottara 19n12, 266, 269, 286n5, 484–488, 490, 494, 498nn39–40, 503

Brunner, Hélène; Brunner-Lachaux, Hélène 52, 71n, 252n6, 253n11, 256nn18–20, 257n24, 258n27, 264, 270nn, 272nn68–70, 276nn82–83, 85, 278, 483
bubhukṣu 250–256, 260–263, 266, 269, 273, 277–278, 405
see also sādhaka
Buddhacarita 5, 229–230
Buddhism xxvii–xxviii, 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 48, 53–56, 78–79, 87–94, 97–100, 107n9, 108–132, 147, 148n, 170–172, 182–188, 234–244, 252n8, 285n, 286n5, 339–340, 365, 409–421, 452, 454, 507–514, 529–530, 539–565
Buddhist–Brāhmaṇical Ātman debate 87–88, 93

caitya 240, 512, 514
cakra 389, 390n9, 393, 399, 404, 406, 420, 547, 557
see also Śrīcakra
Cāmuṇḍā 38, 42, 75, 325–326, 366n8, 395, 399, 435n26
Caṇḍikā 40–42, 322, 327, 330–331
Caṇḍīśataka 325, 333
caryā 3, 47, 50–59, 74, 77–79, 297n30
see also puraścaryā, vratacaryā
caryāpāda 52–56, 60n16, 256n19, 258
Caturthābhiṣeka 172–178, 182–183, 188
see also consecration (*abhiṣeka*)
Caturthāloka, *see Tattvaratnāvaloka*
Caturthasadbhāvopadeśa 175, 178–179, 181–183
causality 89–90, 97, 108, 112–116, 130, 134–136, 551
chandoha 418
Chinnamastā 417–418
Christian thought, medieval 574–575
Cīlapattikāram 324, 327, 334–336, 338
Citrasūtra 11, 569–585
cognition(s) 88–97, 99–101, 118n50, 124n89, 127, 128n94, 132, 134–135, 136n, 147n5
colonialism 9, 11, 470–471
see also postcolonialism
consciousness 3–4, 62n, 89–101, 108–137, 146–162, 165–166, 174, 177, 180, 188, 259n29, 267n, 284n1, 287, 294, 309, 357, 378, 379n, 554
consecration (*abhiṣeka*) 66, 75, 172, 182, 224–225, 243, 259, 270, 278n89, 328, 417, 483–484, 507–509, 530, 535
see also Caturthābhiṣeka; royal consecration
Coomaraswamy, A.K. 569–577, 581, 583–584
Cord of Power, *see śaktitantu*

Dakṣiṇāmnāya 438n32, 440
Dakṣiṇamūrtyuddhārakośa 361
Dattātreyayogaśāstra[3] 8, 453, 454n10, 457, 461, 467
deśika, *see* guru
Devīmāhātmya 326, 339, 340n40
Devīpurāṇa 324, 329, 339–340
Devīrahasya 350, 359–361
Devyāmata (DM) 10, 484–485, 495, 497–503, 509, 515–529
dharmabhāṇaka 236
Dharmakīrti 88n, 107n9, 115–116, 127n, 135n117
Dharmottara 115, 286n5
Dhvajāgrakeyūradhāraṇī 237–239, 241n5
dīkṣā 2, 4, 6, 33–38, 42–43, 48–52, 54, 75, 149n11, 154n20, 158n29, 171–188, 243, 249–279, 301–302, 311, 388n, 392, 403, 454, 483–484, 492
adhikāradā 266
niradhikāradā 266n54
nirbījā 250–252, 256, 258n27, 265, 268–269
nirvāṇadīkṣā 254, 264n48, 266–274, 277n88
naiṣṭhikī 256, 273–274, 277
bhautikī 255n18, 256, 257n23, 258n27, 259n29, 273–274, 275n80, 277
lokadharmadīkṣā 252, 266–269, 272
lokadharmiṇī 6, 249–279
sadyonirvāṇadīkṣā 267
sabījā 252, 256, 268–272, 275, 277
śivadharmadīkṣā 266–269
śivadharmiṇī 6, 251–279
dīkṣita 497–498
Durgā 322–341, 365, 368, 371

ethnography 11, 323, 337, 569, 581–582

female 2, 9, 34, 39, 71, 221, 238, 402–403, 414
see also woman

five nectars 39–40
see also amṛta
Five States; Five Mystic States 160–161
flag, *see* banner
Four Great Kings 235–236, 240, 243
Fourth Initiation, *see* Caturthābhiṣeka
Fourth State, *see turya*
funeral 10, 222, 225, 508n2

Gāhaḍavāla 20
gajahasta 441, 443–444
gnosis 54, 367, 388, 391, 406, 470, 539n1, 547, 550n, 553, 555, 561n48
see also jñāna
Godāvaramiśra 463–472
Goodall, Dominic xxv, xxix, 3, 33n2, 48, 49n, 52n5, 54, 59n15, 60n16, 65n60, 71n, 72, 78, 93n17, 97n, 158n29, 218n3, 221n14, 222n, 223nn17–18, 226nn23, 25, 227nn26, 29, 228n30, 249n, 250, 252n8, 254n14, 256n19, 261n39, 264, 266n52, 271n66, 272n70, 273n72, 279, 322n, 325n6, 334n17, 335n27, 339n, 364n1, 365nn4, 6, 379, 401n35
Gorakhbāṇī 416
Gorakṣa 9, 446
Gorakṣaśataka 412, 454
granthi 8, 394, 399–401, 406, 415, 416n
gṛha 488–502
gṛhastha, *see* householder
Gūḍhapadā 172–173, 178, 183
Guhyasamāja 53n8, 171–172, 184–187, 420, 452, 508n2
Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi 243, 515n17, 529
Gurjara-Pratihāra 7, 368
guru xxv, 5, 10, 52, 57, 61–62, 66–67, 145, 148, 176, 180–182, 184–187, 195–212, 217–221, 224–225, 229, 250, 253–254, 258, 264–271, 297n28, 388n3, 390n9, 430–421, 431, 442, 444, 462–463, 473n, 483–484, 488–489, 493–495, 510–515, 572–573
guruparaṃparā 203, 207, 212
Gyantse 540n, 554n31

Halāyudhastotra 28–30
Harṣacarita 68, 242n40, 325
haṭha, haṭhayoga, *see under yoga*
Haṭhapradīpikā 8–9, 412, 422, 451–464, 467, 468n56, 471–472
Hatley, Shaman xxv, 8, 39n19, 40, 41n22, 255n17, 259n29, 304n, 309n, 311n, 340nn38–39, 388n4, 389n5, 390n9, 404n50, 405n54, 427, 428n14, 435n27, 495n33, 501n48
houses; housing 237, 240, 242, 483–503
see also gṛha, kuṭī, maṭha, maṭhikā, pura, veśman
householder 16, 69, 250–251, 258n27, 270–273, 276, 278–279, 454, 499–500, 524–525

idealism 129n96, 573
imitatio dei 62–63, 71, 75–76, 78
indriya 109–110, 115, 121, 124n89, 125n, 126n90, 134, 443
inference 4, 110–115, 121–122, 124n89, 125n, 126n90, 127, 130n89, 132–136
initiation, *see dīkṣā*
Irāmāṇuja Nūṟṟantāti (IN) 5, 195–199, 201–209
Isaacson, Harunaga xxv, xxix, 19n11, 22n21, 35, 48, 49n, 54, 59n15, 65n60, 72, 78–79, 95n20, 158n29, 170–72, 212, 219n3, 221n14, 222n, 223n18, 226–228, 245, 286n5, 388, 417n, 447, 452n1, 507n
Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā (ĪPK) 4, 144–150, 155, 157, 163–166, 283, 292–302
Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikāvṛtti (ĪPKVṛ) 292, 297, 301–302
Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī (ĪPV) 4, 106, 108, 144, 147, 297–298, 301–302
Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī (ĪPVV) 167, 293n18, 297–298, 300n36, 301–302

jaṅgama liṅga 483–484, 497, 503
see also ascetic(s)
Jayadrathayāmala 19n12, 33n3, 251, 266–267, 269–270, 286n5, 428n10
Jayaratha 6, 166n43, 255, 260–263, 269, 284, 303, 307–308, 365n5, 387, 427n9, 435n30
jñāna 3, 8, 17, 23–29, 47, 50–55, 68, 69n67, 75, 78, 90–94, 101, 114–115, 130–133, 144, 146, 152, 180, 202–204, 205n18, 285, 289, 297, 335, 337, 353, 356, 368, 370, 387–403, 406, 417, 539, 547n17, 596
see also gnosis

jñāna and *kriyā*, dichotomy of 8, 388–392, 406
jñānapāda 47, 182, 187, 508n2
Jñānaratnāvalī 251, 271–278
jñānasattva 547, 551–559, 561–565
Jñānasvāmin 358

Kādambarī 324–325, 330–333
Kadri 421n28
Kālabhairava 21
Kālacakratantra 172n, 173, 187, 244, 452
Kālarātri 326, 329–331, 334, 336, 338
Kalhaṇa 286n5, 295n25
Kālidāsa 217–231, 365n6
Kālī 166n43, 325
see also Bhadrakālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālarātri, Kālīkula
Kālīkula 150, 325, 328
Kāmadeva 365–368, 372–373
Kāmeśvara 436, 438, 440, 445
Kāmeśvarī 364, 367, 374, 384
Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu 197–199, 201
kapāla, *see* skull(s)
Kāpālika 2, 24, 28, 33–44, 75, 429, 467–468, 471n
karma 22, 47, 49, 198, 201–202, 227, 250–270, 274, 275n80, 392, 404–405
see also prārabdha
Kashmir xxv–xxvi, xxviii, 4, 6–7, 79n, 101, 126n90, 144, 146, 170–176, 180–184, 263, 278, 283–299, 311, 325, 349–353, 369, 455
Kāśikāvṛtti 286n5, 307n51, 315n, 317n
Kaul, Sāhib 352–353, 355n31, 358–361
Kaula 33n3, 150, 156, 161–162, 292–293, 305, 310n, 391–392, 426, 428, 434, 445–446
see also kula
Kevalajñāna; Kevalijñāna 25, 29–30
khaṭvāṅga 36n11, 58, 65
Khecarīvidyā 409
Khmer Empire xxviii, 4, 170, 184, 186–187
kings; kingship 5–6, 20, 181, 217, 226, 229–231, 234–243, 268n56, 285n, 321–327, 336–341, 368, 383–384, 494, 514, 557
royal consecration 328
royal palace 5, 236, 242n40, 244
royal patronage 242, 285n4, 483, 508n3, 512–514, 529n54
see also rājaguru, purohita
Kiraṇa 53, 56, 59, 62, 67, 75, 79, 158n29, 255n14, 484, 490, 494, 498n39, 503
Kiraṇavṛtti 92nn10,12, 93n16, 94n19, 95n22, 97n
knower 91, 99, 146, 161, 166, 180
knowledge, *see jñāna*
Kramrisch, Stella 569n, 570, 582–573, 578–581, 584
kriyā 3, 8, 47, 54, 78, 387–388, 391–406
see also ritual
kriyāpāda 47, 52, 66
Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā (KSP) 10, 508–530
Kṣemarāja 130n89, 145, 149n12, 159, 162–165, 242n5, 253–255, 256n18, 258n27, 263, 381n35, 428n10
Kubjikā 8–9, 326n8, 337, 426
Kubjikāmata 68–69nn, 75, 399, 429n15, 430, 432
kula 162n, 302, 310n, 311, 366, 428–436, 445, 446n53
see also Kaula
Kulanātha 383–384
Kumārila 87, 98
kuṇḍalinī 9, 155n23, 378n27, 383, 399, 401, 406, 435–436, 446–447, 464n40
kuṭī 497

Laghusaṃvaratantra 244
Lakulīśa 35–38
Lalung 539, 540n, 543–552, 555–565
lament 225–226
Laukika 17, 23–27
laya, *see under yoga*
liṅga 26, 30, 48–49, 61–66, 229, 402, 483–484, 497–498, 503, 508n3, 513n, 529, 530
see also jaṅgama liṅga, sthāvara liṅga
liṅgin 271n67, 496, 498
Linrothe, Robert 540n, 545n11, 546n14, 563n, 565
lokadharma 6, 249, 251, 262, 275, 278, 303n45
lokadharmī 6, 251–254, 257–265, 269–272, 275n81, 276
lokamārga 22–26, 27n32, 28–29, 251n
Lokamārga 22–26, 27n32, 28–29
Lokātīta 22, 24, 25n25, 26–27
Lokottaramārga 23, 27–28
Lorenzen, David 33n5, 34, 34n6

Luczanits, Christian 539n3, 540n, 544, 545nn8–9, 11, 549nn21, 24, 549n24, 551n, 552, 552n28, 561, 562n50, 563n, 564n, 565

Mahābhārata 22n21, 26n28, 54, 205n18, 218, 312, 324–325, 329–331, 334, 463
Mahābhāṣya 306
Mahākāla 21, 30, 332, 333
Mahāmāyāvijayavāhinīdhāraṇī, *see Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā*
Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī 239n23, 242n40
Mahānavamī; Navamī 7, 325–328, 337
Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī 241
Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra 237, 239, 242n41
Māhātmya 2, 16–25, 28
Mahāvairocana 11, 510, 541, 546–551, 553–555, 557n36, 559–562, 564–565
mahāvrata 35–36, 37n14, 66
Mālinīvijayottara 54, 159, 164, 166, 304, 308
Mangyu 10, 539, 540n, 541n, 542–551, 556–559, 562–565
Mañjuśrī 10–11, 539–565
Mañjuśrīmitra 11, 546–547, 549n22, 555–559, 564–565
Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa 48, 78, 243
mantra 1, 5–8, 15–16, 48–50, 57–58, 61, 63, 66–79, 181, 198, 242, 244, 254, 257, 259n29, 325–326, 349–354, 358–361, 367, 389, 392–404, 428n14, 429, 437, 442, 452–453, 454n10, 459, 471n, 459n5, 530, 557
Mantramārga 1–3, 15–18, 24, 27–28, 47, 54–56, 59, 68–70, 75, 78–79, 508n3, 529n54
mantroddhāra 7, 350, 353, 358–361, 367n13
Manusmṛti 17, 18n7, 19n12, 69, 75, 224
marriage 220, 222, 225, 303n
Mataṅga 52n4, 54, 66, 72, 93n17, 263n43, 399, 400n29, 427, 466n53, 467
Mataṅgavṛtti 92nn9, 11, 13–14, 95n22, 96nn23, 25
maṭha 10, 483–485, 489, 494–497, 503
maṭhikā 496–497
mātṛkā 77–78
Matsyapurāṇa 19
Matsyendra 9, 446
Matsyendrasaṃhitā (MaSaṃ) 8–9, 426–447
Maturakavi āḻvār 197, 201
Māyā 50–51, 93, 98, 146, 274, 326, 429–437, 442, 445–446
Mayasaṃgraha 484, 488–490, 494–495, 503
Māyōṉ 197, 200–203
Mohacūrottara 483–497
moon 2, 8, 35–38, 43, 204–205, 295, 335, 353, 357, 371–382, 413–417, 439, 442, 453, 465n46, 548, 553, 558, 563
Mṛgendra 52, 55, 93nn16–17, 255n18, 256–278
Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa 171, 187
mudrā(*s*) 8, 366, 372, 409, 411, 416–417, 421, 427, 443, 444n, 452–472, 543–559, 562n51
mumukṣu 250–256, 265–266, 270, 273, 405 *see also putraka*

nāḍī 8, 378n27, 390, 399–401, 404, 413, 415–416, 452, 456n13, 459
Nāgabhaṭa II 7, 368–369
Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (*NMAA*) 11, 174, 546–549, 552, 554n29, 557, 561–563, 564n
Nāmasaṃgīti (*NS*) 11, 539n1, 546–547, 556, 558, 561, 562n51, 563–565
Nammāḻvār 197, 199, 201
nandyāvarta/nandikāvarta 489–492, 502
Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha 256n18, 257n23, 261n35, 263
Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā 237, 238, 239n26, 242n38
Nardi, Isabella 570, 582
Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa 87, 92n9, 93n18, 94n19, 95n22, 96n25
nationalism 11, 569, 571–572, 576–577, 582, 584
naturalism 11, 571–579, 583–584
Navadharma 244
Navarātra 7, 321–341
nectar, *see amṛta*; five nectars
Nidrā 326, 329, 336, 338
Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā (*Niśvāsa*) 1, 3, 8, 17, 47–48, 50n, 52–53, 59, 62, 70, 72, 75, 78–79, 252n8, 258n27, 264, 365, 413n18, 427

Guhyasūtra 2–3, 48–52, 62–67, 68n65, 70, 72, 75, 78–79
Niśvāsamukha 17–18
Nityā Sundarī 7, 364–369, 373, 375, 377, 380n30
nityānusaṃdhānam 198, 212
Nyāya; Naiyāyika 3, 87–101, 125n–126n, 130n98, 210, 286n5, 461, 469n64
Nyāyabhāṣya 98n32
Nyāyamañjarī 89n3, 95n20, 98nn30–32, 107n9, 125n, 126n90, 129n98, 130n98

omen 219–221, 524–525, 526n38, 529, 533

*paddhati*s 10, 364, 367n14, 368, 467n54, 508, 530
see also Somaśambhupaddhati, Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati
Padmā 365, 368, 371
padmamālā 8, 392–406
Padmanidhi 365, 368, 370
Pañcarakṣā 239n27, 244–245
Pāṇini xxvin, 305, 307, 311, 315–318, 445
Parā Prakṛti 7, 368, 379, 380n30
Paramaśiva, *see under* Śiva
pāramitā 240, 545n9, 561n48
Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti 92n9, 97n
Parker, Samuel 581
Paścimāmnāya 432
Pāśupata 2, 15–18, 21–25, 28–30, 33–35, 37n14, 38, 73, 333
Pāśupatasūtra 17, 24–25, 29, 439, 440n40
Pātañjalayogaśāstra 462–463, 464n40, 466, 468, 471, 472
Patañjali 306, 465–466, 471n
Piṅgalāmata 484, 490–495, 498n39, 503, 515, 516nn21–26, 517n27
Pollock, Sheldon 6, 287–313, 580
possession 40, 226, 293, 304n, 324, 327, 334, 336
see also samāveśa
postcolonialism 11, 569, 576–579
Power of Awareness 145–146, 154
Pradyumna peak 349–352
Prajñāpāramitā 240, 244n, 543n6, 546–549, 553, 555–558, 562, 564
prakāśa xxx, 108, 112, 118, 119n51, 126, 128n94, 133, 155, 160, 163
prāṇāyāma 327, 451, 454n9, 456n14, 459–460, 461n38, 463n38, 465–466, 471n68
prapatti 5, 194, 195n, 198–199, 208–212
prārabdha 253–255, 259n29, 260n31, 268n56, 270, 274
see also karma
pratiṣṭhā 10, 66, 392, 484, 507–514, 530
*pratiṣṭhātantra*s 508–509, 514–515, 529–530
Pratyabhijñā 3, 106, 113n31, 118n47, 124n89, 145, 146n, 159, 292–294, 297–302, 308, 309n, 310n, 311, 352
pratyakṣa 458n17, 577
Prīti 366, 368, 372
pura 488, 494–495
*purāṇa*s 19–20, 26, 323–324, 329, 339–340, 463–468
puraścaraṇa 68, 70
puraścaryā 3, 68, 79
purohita 5, 217–225, 229–231
pūrvasevā 3, 68, 70, 74, 79
putraka 57, 59, 254–255, 258n27, 264, 271, 483, 493
see also mumukṣu

Raghavan, V. 194n2, 574, 577
Raghuvaṃśa 5, 217–221, 224–225, 229–230, 296n27
rājayoga, see under yoga
rājaguru 465, 483
see also purohita
Rājataraṅgiṇī 285n4, 286n5, 295n25
Rāmakaṇṭha 3, 67, 87–101
Rāmānuja 5, 194–212
Ratanasutta 242
Rati 366, 368, 372
Ratnakaṇṭha 359
Ratnaketuparivarta 240
Ratnavajra 4, 175–183
Raviśrījñāna 172–173, 176–178, 183
ritual xxviii, 1, 5–11, 27n32, 28, 33–43, 47, 52, 54, 57, 61, 63, 73, 75, 78, 187, 198, 218–225, 234–244, 249–251, 262–275, 278–279, 303n, 300, 321–341, 350, 352, 359, 387–394, 403–406, 426–447, 471n, 483, 489, 495n33, 507–515, 524, 529–530

see also asidhārāvrata; bathing ritual; *caryā*; Caturthābhiṣeka; consecration (*abhiṣeka*); *dīkṣā*; funeral; *jñāna* and *kriyā*, dichotomy of; *kriyā*; Mahānavamī/Navamī; *mahāvrata*; *mantra*; *puraścaraṇa*; *puraścaryā*; *pūrvasevā*; *pratiṣṭhā*; *sādhana*; sexual ritual; *śrāddha*; *vidyāvrata*; *vrata*; *vratacaryā*; worship, outer
royalty, *see* kings; kingship
Rudra 16, 58, 242n40, 277n88, 415, 429, 486

Sab Bāk inscription 170, 184
Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbhava 9, 426
Ṣaḍdhātusamīkṣā 110, 123n88, 124nn88–89
sādhaka 40–41, 48–49, 57–63, 66, 70–71, 77–78, 250–273, 278, 401–406, 427n6, 428n11, 429n16, 440n43, 483–484, 492–493, 495n33, 548, 554
see also bubhukṣu
sādhana 48–49, 63, 547, 550
**Sādhanaupayika* 11, 546, 557, 559n39, 563, 564n
sādṛśya 11, 569, 572–583
Saiddhāntika 3, 51, 59, 72, 75, 92–93, 96, 100–101, 126n90, 161–162, 270–271, 279, 467n54, 509
Śaiva; Śaivism xxv–xxviii, 1–3, 6–10, 15–30, 33–44, 47–79, 87n2, 92–95, 99–101, 107n9, 108n, 112–117, 127n, 128n94, 130n98, 131n100, 134n113, 144–147, 159–167, 186, 202, 217, 242n40, 249–279, 283–311, 321, 334–337, 339n, 340n39, 364–384, 387–406, 409–421, 426–447, 451–454, 464n40, 467n54, 471n68, 483–503, 508–530
Śaivasiddhānta 47, 100–101, 392
śaktipāta 158, 260–261
śaktitantu; śaktisūtra 8, 387, 395–403
samāveśa 4, 144, 146, 150–152, 157, 160, 163, 165–166, 419
see also possession
Śaṃkhanidhi 365n6, 368, 370
Sāṃkhya 3, 25, 93, 94n18, 96–101, 124, 147, 461
Sanderson, Alexis xxv–xxxiv, 1, 7–10, 15–16, 17n6, 18n9, 25n26, 28, 33n1, 35, 37, 40n21, 44, 47–48, 49n, 54–55, 59n15, 63nn46–47, 64n58, 65n60, 68, 70–72, 75, 78nn78–79, 79n, 87, 95n21, 144–145, 150, 217, 220n9, 241n37, 243, 249, 250n3, 263n43, 264n45, 266, 267n, 268n57, 271, 272n71, 277–279, 283, 286n5, 294, 295n23, 310n, 314n60, 322, 325, 326n9, 328, 349nn1, 3, 352nn24–25, 359, 367, 368n15, 387, 392, 399, 403, 409–410, 417, 418nn24–25, 426–427, 428n10, 435n26, 438n32, 440n42, 451, 467n54, 483–484, 496n36, 497n, 507n, 508, 509n4, 513–514, 516nn23–24, 517n27, 529n54, 539n1, 584
Saptāṅga (SaA) 171, 177, 179, 183–187
Sarasvatī 235–236, 240n28
Śārikā 7, 350–361
Śārikāstava, Śārikāstrotra 351–358, 360
Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra 243, 560n46
Sarvajñānottara 33n2, 53, 57n, 59, 62, 66–67, 72, 75, 155n22, 158n29
Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūha 240
Sarvavajrodaya 243
śāstra-prayoga 6, 11, 287–290, 309, 312, 569, 580–581
satya 486, 489, 499, 570–575, 582–583
Sautrāntika 3, 88n, 108–116, 135, 188
Sears, Tamara 10, 483, 503
self 4, 24–25, 87–101, 119n51, 125n, 126n90, 145–166, 293, 389–390, 465, 489, 494
Self-that-is-awareness 146, 165
sexual ritual 9, 426–447
Shah, Priyabala 570, 574, 584
Shulman, David 569–570, 578–579, 583–584
Siddhaikavīratantra 244
siddhi 7, 16, 48–49, 52, 58, 63–66, 70, 74, 77–78, 149, 154n21, 163, 252n8, 255, 256n18, 260, 325, 327, 335, 355n30, 366, 369n19, 392n, 405–406, 431, 437, 485
see also bhoga
śilpācārya 534, 535n
Śiva
-tattva 159, 163–164
as *sthāṇu* 333
consort of 34, 334–336, 356, 378, 384
devotion to 268, 293, 496
mythology of 20, 25–27, 29, 35–36, 294–295, 311, 370
nature of 17, 24–25, 27, 30, 49–51, 119n51, 146, 159, 162, 202, 300–301, 309, 369, 421
Niṣkala- 51, 161, 254, 260n31

Parama- 365, 368–369, 401
Sadā- 50–51, 157, 159, 164, 259n29, 270n62, 401, 429
Sakala- 58, 254, 259n29, 260n31
teachings of 16, 33n5, 43, 50, 294, 299, 434, 461
temple of 61, 67, 242n40, 513
union or identity with 42–43, 52, 62, 93, 149, 157, 158, 166, 250, 257, 259n29, 260–262, 267n, 273–275, 293, 298, 305n47, 308, 382, 388, 393, 405nn52, 53, 416, 432–433, 436, 438, 464n40
worship of 2, 28, 61, 73, 265, 326, 330, 431
see also Bhairava; Kāmeśvara; Kulanātha; *imitatio dei*, *liṅga*; Mahākāla; Rudra; *samāveśa*; *śivatva*; Śiva-water; Soma
śivatva 149, 155n22, 158n29, 260–262, 274n79, 297, 301n36, 305n47, 382
see also Śiva, union or identity with
Śiva-water 73–74, 429
śivadharmī 252, 257–261, 263n43, 271–272, 275
see also sādhaka
Śivadṛṣṭi (ŚD) 107n9, 119n51, 124n89, 293, 294n19, 297, 298n, 299, 302n44, 305
Śivadṛṣṭivṛtti (ŚDVṛ) 124, 300n36, 302n44
Śivānandasarasvatī 464, 467n, 472
Sivaramamurti, C. 570–571, 577–579, 584
Śivasaṃhitā 412, 453, 454n9
Śivasūtra 150
skull(s) 2, 18, 21–26, 33, 36–39, 58, 65, 370, 372, 413, 527
see also khaṭvāṅga
Soma 2, 33–39, 42–44, 486, 489, 500
Somānanda 6, 119n51, 124n89, 283–284, 292n, 293–294, 295n25, 297–299
Somaśambhupaddhati 266n54, 270, 272n68, 276, 483
Somaśarman 2, 35–38, 43
Somasiddhānta 2, 33, 43
śrāddha 275–276
Śrī 237, 240
Śrīcakra 349, 366–368, 372, 378n28
Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa 240
Śrīnagar 7, 349, 351
Śrīvidyā 352, 359, 399, 426, 438n32, 440
see also Dakṣiṇāmnāya
Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati 359
stotra; stuti 5, 7, 28–30, 165, 195–202, 207, 212, 240, 353, 358–360, 364–368, 380n32, 384
see also Halāyudhastotra; Kāmasiddhistuti; Śārikāstava; Sūryastutirahasya
sthāpaka 529n54, 535n
sthāvara liṅga 483–484, 497, 503
stuti, *see stotra*
Sūkṣmāvarttabhaṭṭa, *see* Ratnavajra 174–176, 183
Sundaradeva 470, 472
Sūryastutirahasya 359
Svacchanda 2, 18, 20n14, 24–25, 28, 250n4, 251n, 252–259, 263–266, 268, 274, 278, 286n5
svādhiṣṭhāna yoga 420
Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha 69–72, 75, 93n17

Tantrāloka (TĀ) xxviii, 118n47, 130, 154n20, 158n29, 165–167, 255, 259–262, 268, 284, 365n5, 387, 389, 427n9, 428n12, 435n27
Tantrālokaviveka (TĀV) 130n98, 165, 284
Tantrasadbhāva 68n63, 69n66, 75, 259, 264n48, 278, 389–391, 406
Tattvaratnāvaloka (TaRaA) 171, 173, 176–180, 182–183
Tattvaratnāvalokavivaraṇa (TaRaVi) 171, 176, 183, 185
Tattvasaṃgraha (*Sarvatathāgata-*) 509, 545nn9–10, 547, 560, 561n48, 565
Tattvasaṃgraha (by Sadyojyotis) 93n16
textual parallels 10, 24, 78, 92, 106n2, 151–152, 158n29, 432, 508–509, 514–517, 530
Tibetan 8, 148n10, 170–172, 175–181, 188, 186, 234, 235n2, 238–239, 285n, 410nn2, 4, 411, 416, 508n2, 546, 549, 554, 563, 564n
Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār 5, 195, 196, 197n5, 198nn10–11
Tiviyappirapaṇtam 197–201, 205, 207, 211
Torella, Raffaele 3, 106, 109n12, 115n35, 117n41, 124n89, 129n97, 134n, 144n111, 113–115, 146, 147n7, 148n9, 149, 150, 151n15, 152–159, 162–164
transcendentalism 11, 569–572, 576–577, 581
Trika-Krama synthesis 162, 165

Trilocana 270, 276, 279, 372
Tripurā; Tripurasundarī 8, 349, 352, 364, 366–369, 426
turya 4, 144–167, 177
turyātīta 4, 144–167, 180

Udbhaṭa 126n90, 286n5
Utpaladeva 3–6, 101, 106–135, 136n, 144–145, 155n23, 157, 158n30, 161, 165, 283–284, 292–302, 310n

Vāgīśvarakīrti 4, 170–187
Vaidika; vedic 2, 6, 16–17, 20n15, 25, 34, 42–43, 54n, 69, 205–206, 211, 218, 242n40, 285, 289, 290n11, 303n, 305, 307–312, 325–326, 335, 338, 352, 359
see also Atharvaveda; Vedas
Vaiṣṇava 1, 5–8, 20, 194–199, 204n15, 207–212, 321, 325–329, 335–338, 365, 368, 453
Vajradhātumaṇḍala 509–510, 530n55
Vajrāvalī 10, 484, 507n, 508, 511
Vajrayāna xxviii, 410, 412n9, 416–421, 452, 509
Vāmakeśvaratantra 364, 366–384, 435
Vāmakeśvarīmata, *see Vāmakeśvaratantra*
Vāmanapurāṇa 19–20
Vārāṇasī 2, 16–25, 28, 271, 277, 390n9
Vārāṇasīmāhātmya (VM) 19, 24–27
Vasubandhu 87, 88n, 110, 112, 130n100, 131n100
Vaṭakalai 194n2, 195–198, 209–212
Vatsarāja 7, 364, 368–369, 380n32, 384
vāyugati 584
Vedas 69, 181, 198, 200, 205–207, 211, 230, 242n40, 285, 289, 340, 381, 461, 467, 530
see also Atharvaveda; Vaidika; Vedānta
Vedānta 147, 205–206, 461–466, 470
Vedānta Deśika 5, 194–197, 203, 206–212
veśman 223, 497, 519, 524
Vibhūticandra 173, 176
vidyā (mantra) 47–51, 66–68, 69n66, 72–77, 384, 392–393, 395, 402, 404
vidyāṅgamantra 68, 71–75
vidyāvrata 3, 54–56, 62, 66–79
vidyādhara 7, 239n24, 241n33, 364, 368, 382, 384
see also Vatsarāja
Vidyāpīṭha 39n19, 389
Vijñānavāda; Vijńānavādin 4, 88n, 112, 113n31, 147, 188
vikalpa 121, 127n94, 432n20
Vilāsavajra 11, 174, 539n1, 546–548, 549n23, 550–565
Vimalāvatī 271
vimarśa; vimarśana 95, 110, 112, 121, 132–133
Viṣṇudharmottara 11, 286n5, 328, 569–585
see also Citrasütra
Vivekamārtaṇḍa 412, 454, 461
void 4, 145–148, 152–153, 160–161, 405, 452
Vraḥ Dhanus 184, 187
vrata 3, 35, 48, 53n8, 54, 56–68, 74–78, 256n19, 258n27, 392
see also asidhārāvrata, mahāvrata, vidyāvrata, vratacaryā
vratacaryā 54–59, 67–68, 71
see also caryā, puraścaryā, vrata

war; warfare 240, 244, 245n48, 322, 337, 466
Watson, Alex xxix, 3, 87, 89n3, 91n, 92n9, 93nn15–16,18, 94n19, 95n22, 97n, 99, 101n, 147, 261n39, 379n30
Wedemeyer, Christian 53, 55, 59n14, 62, 68, 72
woman 9, 65–66, 77, 221, 225, 250, 268n, 279, 294, 296n27, 299n, 332–335, 357, 339, 340, 354, 391, 427nn, 428n10, 429, 431–432, 434–436, 445–446, 499–500, 535, 582
see also female
worship, inner 387–392, 403–406
worship, outer 387–392, 403–406

Yatirājasaptati (YS) 195, 203–207
Yatirājabhairavam 204
yoga xxix, 1, 3, 7–9, 25, 38, 47, 50–52, 78, 144, 153, 163, 220, 267n, 268n56, 387–390, 394, 399, 403–406, 409, 411, 412n9, 416–421, 426, 446n54, 451–472, 495, 548, 550, 576
haṭha- 8–9, 39n18, 399, 409–416, 420–421, 426–429, 446, 451–472
laya- 406, 452–453, 454n10, 459, 471n
rāja- 9, 451–459, 463, 464n40, 465, 467–470, 471n
see also āsana; *aṣṭāṅga*; *bandha*; *bindu*; *granthi*; *kuṇḍalinī*; *mudrā*; *naḍī*;

prāṇāyāma; *śaktitantu*; yogic body; worship, inner
Yogācāra, *see* Vijñānavāda
Yogacintāmaṇi 410n3, 412, 456–457, 459n23, 461n24, 463–467, 470n66–67
yogatantra 11, 509, 530, 545n9, 547, 565
yogic body 8, 390, 393–401, 404n49, 411, 413, 420
yoginī 9, 71, 325, 327, 393, 399, 417, 428–436, 445–446