

SECTION ONE

THE GREAT TRADITIONS OF *TANTRA*

Chapter One

**CANONS OF MAJOR TANTRIC TRADITIONS AND
THEIR DIVISIONS**

The term *tantra* throughout this study is employed in the sense of either several interrelated but fundamentally varying cults like Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya, Skānda and even Bauddha or scriptures affiliated with them.¹ The term 'tantrism' is coined by Western Indologists², which generally refers to a distinct tradition either parallel or entirely different from that of orthodox vedic tradition.³ As it has been observed by several scholars, like Andre Padoux, tantrism was not considered to be an independent tradition at earlier times.⁴ The early scholars who raised bell about the existence of a cult of esoteric and exoteric practices tended to project its anti-vedic undercurrents and anti-nomian ritual practices as salient features.⁵ But studies suggest that tantrism as a whole cannot be said to be anti-vedic in its core; and tantric rituals are very much similar to vedic rituals in their structure.

The Term *tantra* Defined

It is necessary to provide a tentative working definition of *tantra* at the outset in order to get oriented to the following subject-centered discourses. Of the modern writers of tantrism, Christopher Wallis's definition of *tantra* appears to be much closer to the reality. Moreover, it is all-inclusive. He defines *tantra* as:

An Indian Interreligious movement driven by a ritual practice presupposing initiation, oral instruction from a guru, and micro-meso-macrocosmic correlations, and utilizing mantras, creative meditations, and sometimes sensual or antinomian means to access and experientially assimilate the divine energy of the (various conceived) Godhead, in order to achieve power, pleasures and liberation.⁶

It is far from certain as to when *tantra* had emerged as a system and characteristic feature of primordial customs and practices. And there are no evidences to prove beyond doubt that there were different cults within *tantra* in the hoary past. The historical background of its development becomes more predictable now as several scholars at global level are seriously working together to unearth hitherto unnoticed manuscripts and bring out critical editions. Still there are hundreds of thousands of manuscripts in Indian, Nepalese and European manuscript libraries remaining in the darkness waiting for their time to see the light of the day.

Importance of the *Guru* and the *Śāstra*

The two relatively common characteristics of all great and little tantric traditions are (i) the Preceptor (*Guru*) is held above even god by the followers and (ii) the importance attached to scriptures (*Śāstra*). The

Guru's role in keeping alive the traditions, identifying and initiating a qualified person into tradition are rightly acknowledged and dealt with due respect in all tantric scriptures alike. As has been rightly pointed Gavin Flood:

While the texts of revelation are important, it is all above the revelation as the living tradition of guru lineage that animates the tradition and through which the grace of Śiva is believed to flow. Here text becomes performance and the texts' teachings embodied in human guru.⁷

To speak about tantric observances means to speak about rituals. Rituals are central to all the religious practices prescribed for the realization of the ultimate truth in any of tantric traditions. It is true that rituals form the basis of vedic religious practices too. The similarity between the religious methods prescribed by both vedic and tantric traditions lies in the underlying structure of rituals that seem to reflect concepts of each other. Wherever there is a discussion on ritual, the texts automatically form part of it. Apart from general use of texts to learn and preserve the traditional secrets they are also often relied on to legitimize customs and practices of a cult. Even though conventionally traditional wisdom imparted through an oral tradition is given top priority in all

tantric traditions alike the necessity of textual knowledge is also not underestimated.

The Canonical Divisions

It is essential to have knowledge of canonical divisions in background before undertaking any study on tantric rituals. Here in the following pages an attempt is made to provide a hawk's view of prominent tantric traditions and the major scriptural divisions. And the following discussion on scriptural divisions is a synthesis of the conventional and modern scholarly understanding.

As mentioned earlier there are different cults in *tantra* and the scriptures belong to them are broadly known as 'tantric scriptures'. There are said to have three prominent cults in *tantra*, viz., Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta and the scriptures belong to these cults are generally known as *Āgama*, *Samhitā* and *Tantra* respectively. It is to be noted that this is not a rule of thumb but a general rule that can be applied to refer to divisions of tantric literature in general. There are instances where these terms seem to have employed interchangeably. For example; the *Niśvāsātattvasamhitā* must be a Vaiṣṇava text according to this rule but in fact, it is the earliest surviving scripture of Śaivasiddhānta. Similarly, the Śaivasiddhānta scripture *Ajītāgama* is also known as *Ajītamahātānta*. The texts of other

relatively less prominent cults like Saura, Gāṇapatya and Skānda are highly indebted to the above ones for being a source to thrive on as independent cults.

The Classifications of *Śaivāgama-s*

The classification of *Śaivāgama-s* follows a hierarchy and the method of classification slightly differs in *Āgama-s*⁸ and *Purāṇa-s*.⁹ All *Āgama-s* see themselves to be affiliated with one of these classifications.

The *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, earliest surviving scripture of *Śaivasiddhānta* considers that all the knowledge came out of the five faces of *Sadāśīva*. It divides the scriptures thus emerged from the faces of Śiva into *laukika*, *vaidika*, *adhyātmika*, *atimārga* and *mantramārga* and the corresponding faces from which they originated are *sadyojāta* (w), *vāmadeva* (n), *aghora* (s), *tatpuruṣa* (e) and *īśāna* (u) respectively.¹⁰

Īśāna (Upper)	—————→	<i>Mantramārga</i>
Tatpuruṣa (East)	—————→	<i>Atimārga</i>
Aghora (South)	—————→	<i>Ādhyātmika</i>
Vāmadeva (North)	—————→	<i>Vaidika</i>
Sadyojāta (West)	—————→	<i>Laukika</i>

The *laukika* is of ordinary observances of an uninitiated like farming, medicine, archery, ad judicature, *āyurveda*, *dhanurveda*, *nāṭyaveda* etc. The *vaidika* is strictly adhering to the rules of Vedic religion as explained in Vedic literature in general, particularly the knowledge of obligatory, incidental, desiderative sacrifices.¹¹ The *ādhyātmika* is the contemplation of *Sāṃkhya* dualism of matter and spirit and its realization through *Yoga* system.¹² The *atimārgin*-s are so called because the tradition claims to have transcended all the conventional orthodox beliefs and practices. According to Diwakar Acharya they get the name since they were fond of doing things beyond the ordinary measures for example, excessive munificence (*atidāna*) and excessive asceticism (*atitapa*).¹³

Generally, the *atimārga* refers to three interrelated cults in the Āgamic literature, i.e., *pāśupata* (also known as *pañcārthapāśupata*), *lakulīśa/kāpālīka*¹⁴ and *saumya*. Among these three *atimārgic* traditions the cult of *pāśupata* is earliest of any known tantric cults. It is named after the *paśupati* who in the guise of *lakulīśa* initiated Kauśika, Gārgya, Kuruṣa and Maitreya. These disciples are said to have propagated the cult in India.¹⁵

The fundamental texts that deal with practices of *pāśupata*-s are

i) *Pāśūpatasūtra*, on which *Kauṇḍinya* is known to have written a commentary, known as *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and ii) *Gaṇakārikā*, attributed to an eighth century scholar Haradatta. This text is now available with a commentary by Bhāsarvajña (10th century A.D.) known as *Ratnatīkā*.¹⁶ Other than these texts, there are also references of eight *pramāṇa* texts belonging to the *lākula* and *mausala* sects of *pāśūpata*-s.¹⁷

The system *pañcārtha* is so called because their religious practices are based on five principles (*padārtha*-s) i.e., effect (*kārya*), cause (*kāraṇa*), prescribed rules (*vidhi*), union (*yoga*), and the end of the suffering (*duḥkhānta*).¹⁸ The ultimate aim of all *atimārgic* practices is to end worldly suffering (*duḥkhānta*). According to Diwakar Acharya, the early forms of *pāśūpata* observances were centered on bull's vow which has its roots in Vedic cult of Indra. He notes the early practices of this cult as:

In this earliest form of their practices, *Pāśūpatas* ritually adopted the bull's behavior and regarding themselves as the cattle (*paśu*) of their lord (*pati*), cultivated devotion to *rudra paśupati* ('lord of cattle'). They bathed in ashes, wore the garlands taken off the image of *rudra* after worship, attended to him in various ways, adopted the bull's behavior by bellowing and acting out the bull's other behaviors such as kicking and butting, recited the

rudragāyatrī and *aghoramantra* and meditated on the sacred syllable OM. With all this practice, they acquired supernatural powers in their life time and ultimately the end of suffering.¹⁹

Alexis Sanderson, the historian of Śaivism, shows further based on the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhita*'s account that there are two levels of *atimārga* i.e., that of *pañcārthika*-s and those who observe *kapālavrata* or *lokātītavrata* or *pāśupatavrata*.²⁰ The *pāśupata*-s can be easily identified as they hold skull-topped staff in one hand and a cranium made begging bowl on the other.

The *mantramārga*²¹ is again classified into five as *bhūta*, *vāma*, *bhairava*, *gāruḍa* and *siddhānta*. These are also said to have come out of the five faces of *Sadāśiva*. Sanderson distinguishes the differences and discontinuities between *Pāśupatism* and tantric Śaivism as follows:

The only goal offered by *Pāśupatism* is liberation through the definitive cessation of suffering (*duḥkhāntaḥ*): tantric Śaivism offers liberation, lesser rewards (*bhuktiḥ*), or both. All *Pāśupatas* are, at least in theory, permanent ascetics: tantric Śaivas may be permanent ascetics (*naiṣṭhikavratī*), temporary ascetics (*bhautikavratī*) or non-ascetics (*gṛhasthaḥ*). Only regenerate Brahmin men may take up the *Pāśupata* observances: the benefits

of tantric *dīkṣā* are accessible to men of all four castes and to women. All *Pāśupatas* are required to be actively *Pāśupata*: tantric initiate are of two kinds (i) those in whom *dīkṣā* initiates a lifelong obligation to perform tantric rites (*sabījadīkṣitaḥ* and [*śivadharmi*] *sādhaka*) and (ii) those whose involvement in tantric ritual may be limited to passing through the ceremony of their initiation (*nirbījadīkṣā*) and [*lokadharmi*]*sādhaka*). *Pāśupatism* is personal religious activity: tantric *Śaivism* extends from this into the public domain.²²

The Canons of *Bhūta*, *Gāruḍa* and *Vāma* Divisions

The canons of *Bhūta* and *Gāruḍa* streams are totally lost in oblivion but their name and numbers can be still known through some references found in *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasamhitā*, *Kāmikāgama* etc. The subject matter of both of *Bhūta* and *Gāruḍa* scriptures are principally centered on the magical rites of exorcism and curing of snakebites.²³

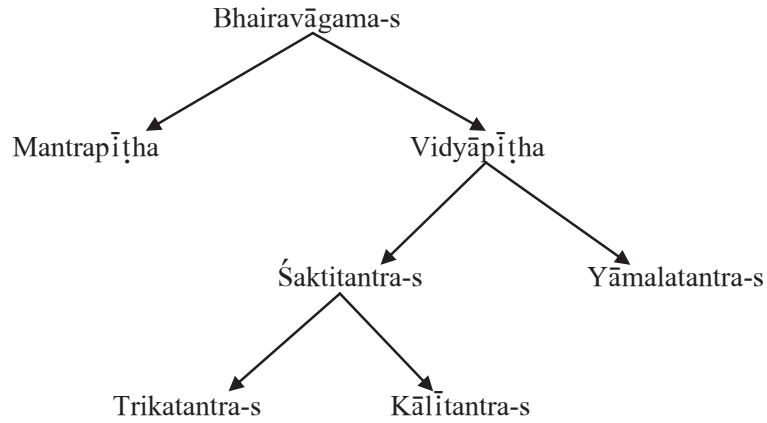
The *tantra*-s of *Vāmasrotas* mainly deal with cult of four sisters *Jayā*, *Vijayā*, *Jayanti* / *Ajitā* and *Aparājitā* who are worshipped along with their brother *Tumburu*.²⁴ The principal texts of the cult are *Vīṇāśikhā* and *Devītantrasadbhāvasāra*.²⁵ The aim of religious practices laid down in these sources is acquisition of power, *siddhi*.²⁶

The *Bhairavāgama*-s also deal with system of classification of Śaiva canons. But it is relatively less complex as they divide the all scriptures of Śaivism into three namely *Śiva*, *Rudra* and *Bhairavāgama*-s. They are 10, 18 and 64 in number respectively.²⁷ Among them the *Śiva* and *Rudrāgama*-s together constitute the well-known *Siddhāntāgama*-s. This implies the possibility that the *Āgama*-s might have come into existence at two different stages. These *Āgama*-s are known for preaching dualism (*bheda*) and dualism-cum-non-dualism (*bhedābheda*) respectively. The *Bhairavatantra*-s are further classified into a number of categories in which, as a general rule the *tantra*-s show the tendency towards incorporating the feminine forms of the ultimate as the supreme principle. The further classification of the *Bhairavāgama*-s also follows a complex pattern. It is as given below.

First it is divided into *Mantrapīṭha* (seat of *mantra*) and *Vidyāpīṭha* (seat of *vidyā*). Then the latter is again divided into *Śaktitantra*-s and *Yāmalatantra*-s. The *Śaktitantra*-s are further divided into *Trikatantra*-s and *Kālītantra*-s. One of the major differences between these *tantra*-s is as it ascends towards *Kālītantra*-s in a hierarchical order the female goddesses eventually rise to dominance whereas, the male gods lose importance and get totally excluded from the pantheon. The below

given diagram illustrates the classification of *Bhairavāgama-s* and their sub divisions.

The Division of *Bhairavāgama-s*



(Figure: I.1)

The structure, content and philosophical standpoint of *Siddhāntāgama-s* and *Bhairavāgama-s* vary considerably from each other. With regard to the content, the *Siddhāntāgama-s* follow a different method of classification whereas, the *Bhairavāgama-s* do not seem to follow a particular method. So in what follows the unique features of *Siddhāntāgama-s* and sub groups of texts affiliated with them are given with special consideration.

The Structure and Content of *Siddhāntāgama-s*

Generally the *Siddhāntāgama-s* are said to follow a system of four-fold classification of their contents. They are *Jñāna* / *Vidyā* (philosophy),

Kriyā (rituals), *Yoga* (practices of breath control) and *Caryā* (daily routines) respectively.²⁸ The *Vidyā* section of *Āgama*-s provides a theoretical explanation of inter-related yet ontologically different categories²⁹ creation of pure and impure universes, thirty-six reality principles,³⁰ theories on salvation etc.³¹

The *Kriyā* section of *Āgama*-s deals with the rituals, particularly performed at temples, ranging from daily observances to detailed description consecration and expiation rituals.

The *Caryā* section of *Āgama*-s is devoted to explain the daily observances of an initiate. His / her post-initiatory observances include daily (*nitya*), incidental (*naimittika*) and optional (*kāmya*) rituals. The *naimittika* rituals constitute the installation of images and consecration rituals. The incidental rituals are performed when certain needs are to be fulfilled.

Apart from being a separate section of *Āgama*-s, *Yoga* is inextricably interwoven in the rituals. The fundamentals of *Yoga* explained in the respective section of *Āgama*-s are slightly different from that of *Pātañjalayoga*. According to Helene Brunner, the *Āgamic Yoga* differs from the *Pātañjalayoga* even in the definition of *Yoga* itself and also in the number of *āsana*-s, constituent *aṅga*-s etc. The *Āgama*-s define

Yoga as a condition of being one with Śiva. Concerning the limbs (*yogāṅga-s*), even though certain *Āgama-s* speak about eight-limbed *Yoga*, a typical *Āgamic Yoga* constitutes only of six limbs. They are *pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, *tarka* (*vīkṣaṇa*) and *samādhi*. That means the first three *aṅga-s* of *Pātañjala* system viz., *yama*, *niyama* and *āsana* do not find place in the *Āgamic* system of *Yoga*. Another point to be noticed here is that *Mṛgendrāgama* considers *japa* as one of the *aṅga-s* which is placed prior to *Samādhi*.³²

This is the general understanding of division of content of *Āgama-s*. But a closer look into this matter would reveal that this particular order is not seen necessarily followed by all *Āgama-s* alike: for a number of *Āgama-s* available today do not have one or two sections at all. Notably the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which is said to be the earliest surviving scripture of *Śaivasiddhānta* had five sections viz., *niśvāsamukha*, *niśvāsamūla*, *niśvāsottara*, *niśvāsanaya* and *niśvāsaguhya*. Among the available *Āgama-s* only six are found to have followed this division namely *Kiraṇa* (*vidyā*, *kriyā*, *caryā* and *yoga*), *Suprabheda* (*kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *jñāna*) and *Mātaṅgapārameśvara* (*vidyā*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *caryā*), *Mṛgendra* (*vidyā*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *caryā*) *Svāyaṃbhava* and *Sarvajñānottara*.³³ Of these the *Kiraṇa* and *Suprabheda* belong to the

Mūlāgama-s and the remaining to the *Upāgama*-s. Rather interestingly, as Helene Brunner observed, the demonstrably early *Āgama*-s not only do not divide their contents into four sections but also contents of four *pāda*-s seem to be interwoven i.e., *yogapāda* contains details of rituals, which usually falls under *kriyā and caryāpāda*-s.³⁴ She further observes that majority of *Āgama*-s have huge *kriyāpāda*-s and except the available versions of *Mṛgendra*, *Pauṣkara*, *Mātaṅga*, *Pārameśvara*, *Suprabheda* and *Kiraṇa*, others do not have *vidyāpāda* at all.³⁵ What Helene Brunner found out that the contents are very much similar but they were not seen systematically arranged into four sections, but logically arranged, in the early *Āgama*-s. Modern historians of Śaivism argue that the four-fold division is basically a South Indian phenomenon.³⁶ Here another significant point made by Alexis Sanderson is noteworthy that many texts which claim to belong to the scheme of twenty-eight *Siddhantāgama*-s are found only in south Indian manuscripts and some such as *Kāmika*, *Ajita*, *Kāraṇa*, *Cintya*, *Dīpta* and *Suprabheda* are later productions.³⁷

The Provenance and Date of Composition

Regarding provenance and date of composition of *Āgama*-s, large body of evidences suggest that a few of them are written in North India

while rests are in South India. And the *Āgama*-s thus produced later in South India can be easily distinguished as they tend towards following the vedāntic line of thinking. Such texts explain the abstract principles in purely vedantic terms and as a result the metaphysical background of *Siddhāntāgama*-s found to have modified or reworked in later texts. To this list, the *Āgama*-s which are reworked later following the lead of *Vedānta*, *Ajita*, *Suprabheda*, *Yogaja* and *Cintya*, can be added. There are strong grounds to substantiate this point and a good piece of evidence in this dimension can be extracted from Goodall's preface to the *Parākhyā Tantra*. There he has seen given relative chronology of principal *Siddhāntāgama*-s and tried to distinguish later south Indian compositions from the scheme of twenty-eight *Āgama*-s. In the list given he has identified the *Āgama*-s and *Upāgama*-s of pre-twelfth century namely, *Pārameśvara*, *Niśvāsa*, *Svāyaṃbhuvāsūtrasaṃgraha*, *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha*, *Kiraṇa*, *Parākhyā/ Saurabheya*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, *Dviśatīkālottara*, *Saptaśatikakālottara*, *Jñānapañcāśika*, *Śatikakālottara*, *Bṛhatkālottara*, *Mṛgendra*, *Mātaṅga*, *Sarvajñottara*, *Mohacūḍottara* and *Mayasaṃgraha* respectively based on the criteria that either the presence of their manuscripts in Nepalese or the reference to or commentaries on them by early *Siddhāntika* commentators could be taken to mean that they were known at that time.³⁸ The most obvious features of pre-twelfth

Siddhāntatantra-s by which they can be distinguished from the latter are they do not seem to be influenced by *Vedānta* and were not concerned about public worship in temples.³⁹

The *Upāgama*-s

Each of these twenty-eight *Mūlāgama*-s have a set of *Upāgama*-s associated with them.⁴⁰ They are also as important as *Mūlāgama*-s. Structurally, some of the *Upāgama*-s follow the system of four-fold classification of contents of *Mūlāgama*-s.

The *Paddhati* Texts

It is conventionally believed that *Āgama*-s are not compositions of human authors rather they are revealed to different divinely beings. On the contrary, the *Paddhati* texts are believed to be human compositions. The *Paddhati* texts liturgical canons devoted to systematically order and elaborate on ritual procedures found scattered in *Āgama*-s. Since details of many of authors the *Paddhati* texts are known to us they can be situated in the historical background. Here a definition of the *Paddhati* text can be of great help to get a clear picture of its basic characteristics. To reproduce Alexis Sanderson's citation of a passage of *Bhaṭṭarāmakāṇṭha* from his *Sārdhatrīśatīkālottaravṛtti*:

*paddhatiḥ pratiśāstraṃ śrutasya tatsāmarthyāpekṣitasya ca
mantratantrānuṣṭhānāya saṅkṣepāt krameṇābhidhānaṃ
yajurvedādaṃ yajñasūtrādivat.*

For any scripture a *Paddhati* is a text which enables the performance of the rituals [of that scripture] along with the mantras [that accompany them] by succinctly arranging in order [of performance] (i) the [instructions] explicitly stated [in that scripture but] dispersed in various places [throughout its length], and (ii) whatever [else] those explicit statements imply. An example is the *Yajñasūtra* in the case of the *Yajurveda*.⁴¹

There had been numerous composers of texts of this genre and most of their preceptorial lineages were traced successfully by either the composers themselves or later writers. For instance, *Aghoraśivācāryapaddhati* enlists fourteen *paddhatikārā*-s by name.⁴² But this is not presented in a chronological order and the works of some of them are not found yet. The list includes wide range of authors belonged to different geographical sections of India ranging from Kashmir to South India.

The available and most influential *Paddhati* texts are *Naimittikakramānusandhāna* of Brahmaśaṃbhu (A.D. 938),

Siddhāntasārapaddhati of Bhojadeva (A.D. 11th century), *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* or *Somaśaṃbhupaddhati* of Somaśaṃbhu (A.D. 1095), *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśiva (A.D. 1157)⁴³ *Jñānaratnāvalī* of Jñānaśiva (A.D. 12th century) *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* of Īśānaśivaguru (A.D. 12th century) and *Siddhāntaśekhara* of Viśvanātha. Proliferation of these generic texts could be taken as a pointer which suggests how fast the temple cult in India was growing up.

The *Saiddhāntika* Exegetes

Apart from the *Paddhatikāra*-s, Kashmir is also known to have produced a line of tradition of learned *Saiddhāntika* exegetes. They have played a pivotal role in spreading the Śaiva religion as they succeeded in providing the strong intellectual foundation to *Śaivasiddhānta* through their writings. In their style of presentation they echoed style of argument of traditional Indian philosophical systems, especially *Nyāya*. Among them, the Kashmirian exegete *Sadyojyotiś*'s⁴⁴ *vṛtti* on early *Saiddhāntika* scriptures viz., *Svāyaṃbhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, and exegesis of *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* (*mokṣakārikā*, *bhogakārikā*, *parāmokṣanirāsa-kārikā*), his prose commentary on the principal parts of the doctrinal section of *Mokṣakārikā* known as *Svāyaṃbhuvavṛtti* and an independent work *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* (a philosophical treatise in which he propounds his

view of *Saiddhāntika* ontology and soteriology and defends it against the contrary positions of *mīmāṃsaka*-s, *naiyāyika*-s, *sāṃkhya*-s, *vedāntin*-s, *pāñcarātri*ka-s, *pāśupata*-s and *Buddhist*-s)⁴⁵ were very influential. Likewise the *Mṛgendravṛtti*, commentary on *Svāyaṃbhuvavṛtti*, *Śaranniśā*, and a long commentary on *Tattvasaṅgraha* of *Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha*, commentaries on *Mātaṅgapārameśvara*, *Svāyaṃbhuvāsūtrasaṅgraha*, *Kiraṇa* (first twelve chapters) and *Sārdhatriśatīkālottara* and commentaries in prose on *Mokṣakārikā*, the *Parāmokṣanirāsakārikā* and *Tattvatrayanirṇaya* and *Nareśvaraparīkṣā* of his son *Bhaṭṭarāmakaṇṭha-II* and commentary on *saiddhāntika pratiṣṭhāntara Mayasaṅgraha* by *Bhaṭṭavidyākaṇṭha-II* (*Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha*'s pupil) and *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* of *Śrīkaṇṭha* etc. also contributed much to development of *Śaivasiddhānta* into well-defined philosophical system.⁴⁶

Later Phase of Śaivasiddhānta

Leaving no trace of the existence of *Śaivasiddhānta* by the time of Muslim rule in Kashmir around thirteenth century A.D., it had its later developments in Tamil soil and still it continues to exist in South India. New works have been produced as independent texts rightly rooted in the principles of *Śaivasiddhānta*. This particular period in the history is also marked by the production of commentaries on fundamental texts and

Paddhati-s. Among them the contributions made by Aghoraśiva (12th century A.D.), which include independent texts and commentaries and a *Paddhati* text namely, the *Aghoraśivācāryapaddhati* are noteworthy. He is followed by *Trilocanaśivācārya* who had also helped to spread the *Saiddhāntika* ideologies through his independent writings like *Siddhāntasārāvalī*, *Siddhāntasamuccaya* and so on. Later developments are marked by a shift from the medium of Sanskrit to Tamil. This movement is triggered by the composition of *Ñānāmīṛtam* of Vākācamuṇivar (12th century A.D.). Following its composition the *Civaññāpōtam* of Meykaṇṭār (13th century A.D.) became the milestone in the history of Tamil *Śaivasiddhānta* in the sense that later writings were totally based on it.

There are two versions of the text (i) *Śivajñānabodha*- a Sanskrit text believed to be a part of *Rauravāgama* and (ii) *Civaññāpōtam* of Meykaṇṭār. Between them the Sanskrit version has yielded several commentaries. They are 1. *vṛtti* by Sadāśivaśivācārya (14th century A.D.), 2. *Śivajñānabodhopanyāsa* and *Śivajñānasiddhisvapakṣadrṣṭāntasaṅgraha*⁴⁷ of Nigamajñānadeśika (also the author of *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, (16th century A.D.), 3. three commentaries by *Śivāgrayogin* (16th century A.D.) namely a. *Laghuṭīkā*, b. *Saṅgrahabhāṣya* and c.

Bṛhadbhāṣya, 4. *vṛtti* by Jñānaprakāśa (16th -17th centuries A.D.), and 5. *Jñānāvaraṇabhāṣya* by Veḷḷiyampalavāṇattampirāṇ (17th century A.D.).⁴⁸

The commentaries on the *Civañāṇapōtam* are 1. *Civañāṇacittiyār* by Aruḷnanti Śivācārya (13th century A.D.)⁴⁹ 2. *Civappirakācam* by Umāpati (14th century A.D.) and 3. *Māpāṭiyam* (*Mahābhāṣya*) by Civañāṇacuvāmikaḷ (18th century A.D.).

Besides the texts belonging to the *Civañāṇapōtam* School there are a few more works left. The distinguishable characteristic of such works is that they differ considerably from the ideologies of this traditional line of thinking. The texts that are composed between the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. namely, *Tattuvaviḷakkam* (of Campantacaraṇālayar), *Tattuvappirakācam*, *Tiruneriviḷakkam*, *Vaḷḷal Cāttiram* and *Meymmoḷicaritai* belong to such a category. It is almost around this period that the principal *Āgama*-s of *Śaivasiddhānta* particularly *Sarvajñānottara* and *Devīkālottara* were restructured and reinterpreted in accordance with theological concepts of Tamil version of *Śaivasiddhānta*.

One of the important differences between classical Śaivism and Tamil *Śaivasiddhānta* lies in the conception of liberation. As mentioned earlier, *Āgama*-s postulate liberation as becoming equal to Śiva but for the latter the soul never remains ontologically distinct from Śiva after

liberation. Certainly this is a later soteriological development but this concept of non-dual existence of the Soul remains the hallmark of South Indian Śaivism.⁵⁰

Apart from these texts and their commentaries the devotional *Tevāram* hymns of Śaiva devotees (known as Nāyanār-s), were also helped much to the spread and development of Śaivism in South India. They not only sung hymns in praise of Śiva but also were instrumental in promoting the cult of devotion, which brought a sea change in the religious outlook of followers and common men as well.

The *Bhairava tantra-s*

Generally, the *Bhairavatantra-s* present their contents in the form of a conversation between the Bhairava and his consort. As is mentioned above, in the scheme of classifications of *tantra-s*, *Bhairavagāma-s* belong to Right Current of scriptures (*dakṣiṇasrotas*)⁵¹ because they are said to have issued from the southern face of *Sadāśiva*.

In the *pīṭha* system of classification *Bhairavatantra-s* are classified into four *pīṭha-s*⁵² namely, *Mantrapīṭha*, *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Maṇḍalapīṭha* and *Mudrāpīṭha*.⁵³ Among these the *tantra-s* of *mudrā* and *Maṇḍalapīṭha* had been considered to be relatively less important.

Mantrapīṭha

The *tantra*-s of *Mantrapīṭha* are less extensive than that of *Vidyāpīṭha*. The *Mantrapīṭha* is known so because of the predominance of masculine *mantra*-s in ritual and other practices in the texts belong to this division. The scriptures of this cult are centered on the worship of *Svacchandabhairava* and his consort *Aghoreśvarī*.⁵⁴

The principal *tantra*-s belong to *Mantrapīṭha* are *Svacchanda*, *Unmatta*, *Asitāṅga*, *Ruru*, *Caṇḍa*, *Krodha*, *Jhaṅkāra* and *Kapālīśa*.⁵⁵ The *Svacchandatantra* enlists only four of them i.e., *Svacchanda*, *Caṇḍa*, *Krodha* and *Unmatta*.⁵⁶ But according to *Srīkaṇṭhīyaṣaṃhitā*, there are twenty four *Dakṣiṇa tantra*-s.⁵⁷

Alexis Sanderson's observation as to how the underlying structure of practices of the *Śaivasiddhānta* differs from that of the *Mantramārga* sheds considerable light on the matter. He notes:

In Śaiva Siddhānta, Śiva (Sadāśiva) was worshipped alone. In *Mantrapīṭha* he is joined in worship by his consorts as the personification of Śakti. Iconically she is equal. But the larger ritual context shows that she is still subordinate.⁵⁸

He further notes:

The Traditions of *Bhairava Tantras* are *Kāpālika*, the basic form of their ascetic observance being that of the skull (*kapālavrata* / *mahāvrata*). The difference between this and *Lākula* form of this observance is largely a matter of the basic difference of the *Mantramārga* stated above. The term *Kāpālika* is reserved here for this *Mantramārgic* segment of the *Śaiva* culture of the cremation grounds.⁵⁹

I. *Vidyāpīṭha (Śākta-śaiva)*

The canons of the *Vidyāpīṭha* are associated with the highest level of esoteric practices and revolve around the cult of *Yoginī*-s or female spirits. The ritual cult taught by scriptures of this division is marked by, as Sanderson puts it, "its embeddedness in the intensely transgressive tradition of *Kāpālika* asceticism".⁶⁰ As mentioned earlier the scriptures *Vidyāpīṭha* is again divided into two viz., *Yāmalatantra*-s and *Śaktitantra*-s.

a. *Yāmalatantra*-s

It is in the *Yāmalatantra*-s one could see the *Śakti* as being moved to central stage and the *Bhairava* becoming her subordinate. The primary meaning of the term '*Yāmala*' is "a couple in union"⁶¹ and commonly

refers to union of God with his consort. For instance; the divine pair of *Brahmayāmala* comprises of deities *Kapālīśabhairava* and Great Goddesses, whose names include *Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī*, *Aghorī* and *Bhairavi*.⁶² The texts belonging to this classification are *Brahmayāmala* (also known as *Picumata* and by two titular epithets *Navākṣarādhikaraṇa* and *Dvādaśasāhasra* in scriptural sources),⁶³ *Rudrayāmala*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, *Skanda-yāmala* and *Umāyamala*.⁶⁴ Regarding the significance of titles of these texts Shaman Hatley in his recent Study on the early Śaiva cult of *Yoginī*-s remarks that "extant lists show that their titles were formed by appending- *Yāmala* to the names of brahmanical deities, or in some cases other mythical figures. Then he draws attention to the fact that these brahmanical deities "serve as counterparts to and namesakes for the mother goddesses (*mātṛ*-s). This is evidenced from the fact that *Yāmalatantra*-s are also described as *Mātṛtantra*-s."⁶⁵ These *tantra*-s are the earliest sources known to deal with early *kaula* rites: initiations ritualized sex, visionary practices and induced possession.

b. Śaktitantra-s

Being the most esoteric revelations, *Śaktitantra*-s carry forward the central observances of *kāpālīka* tradition in most complete way. The cult of *Yoginī* permeates all the levels of these *tantra*-s and the *kaulism*⁶⁶

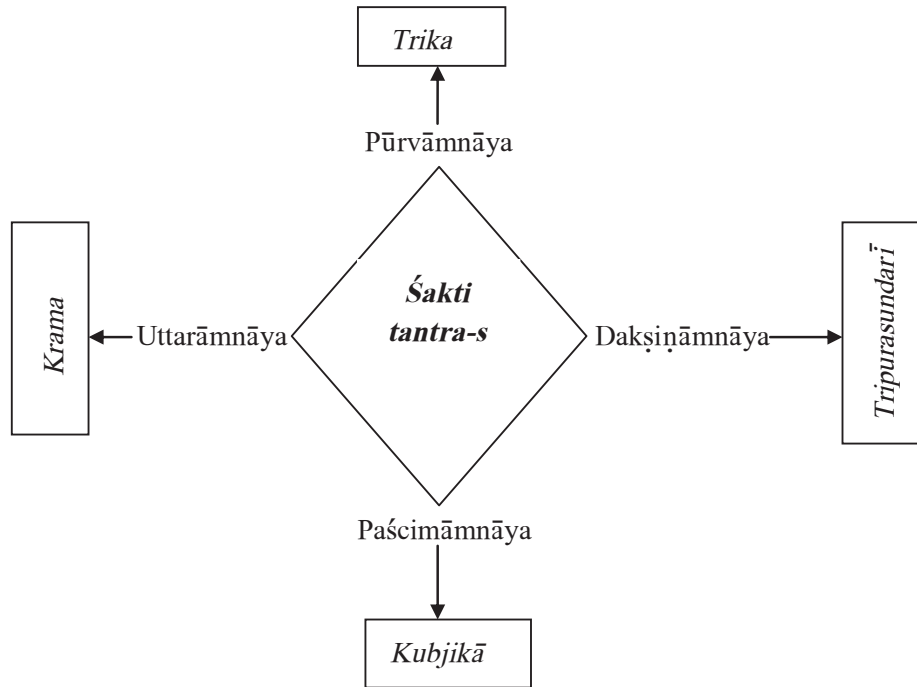
developed from within this cult.⁶⁷ The "*Yoginī*", as noted by Hatley, "designates a spectrum of female sacred figures many of which in different contexts bear distinct names."⁶⁸ David White offers a rather clear picture of characteristic features of *Yoginī-s* as:

The *Yoginīs* whose cults were central to Kaula practice had the following features: (1) they were a group of powerful, sometimes martial, female divinities with whom human female "witches" were identified in ritual practice; (2) their power was intimately connected to the flow of blood, both their own sexual and menstrual emissions, and the blood of their animal (and human?) victims; (3) they were essential to Tantric initiation in which they initiated male practitioners through fluid transactions via their "mouths"; (4) they were possessed of the power of flight; (5) they took form of humans, animals, or birds, and often inhabited trees; (6) they were often arrayed in circles; (7) their temples were generally located in isolated areas, on hilltops or prominences and were usually round and often hypaethral; and (8) they were never portrayed as practicing yoga for the simple reason that yoga as we know it had not yet been invented.⁶⁹

Though White's study and his style of argument had succeeded in providing clear insight into the cult of the *Yoginī*-s, many of his notions have been recently challenged by Shaman Hatley in his Ph. D Thesis "*The Brahmayāmalatantra and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs*"⁷⁰. Hatley adds a few more characteristics of *Yoginī*-s, which include (1) their appearance as even mortal *Yoginī*-s. As for evidence he turns to *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* where *Yoginī*-s are depicted as of two types: *kulajā* or "born in clans", called also *mānuṣya*, "human"; and *devatāḥ*, "deities/goddesses"; (2) their organization into clans (*kula*, *gotra*)- In Śaiva sources they appear as an organized clans of seven or eight Mothers (*mātrī*-s); (3) theriomorphism- they appear in many forms including horses, lions, birds, snakes and their imagery ranges from the horrific, grotesque and martial to comic, exuberant and musical; (4) *kāpālīka* cult and iconography- they are presented often bearing skulls, bone ornaments and skull staves (*khaṭvāṅga*) and they are associated with cremation grounds; (5) danger, purity and power- they may appear dangerous to non-initiates and fatal to apostates. With regard to pure and impure objects, practitioners offer wine or blood as *argha* while *Yoginī*-s will return this by giving impure *caru*; (6) protection and transmission of esoteric teachings; (7) flight- they are often pictured as sky-travelers.⁷¹

The *Śaktitantra*-s are further subdivided into four transmissions (*āmnāya*-s) i.e., known by the name of four directions viz., (i) *Pūrvāmnāya* (eastern), (ii) *Uttarāmnāya* (northern), (iii) *Paścimāmnāya* (western) and (iv) *Dakṣiṇāmnāya* (southern). The four *āmnāya*-s have certain tantric cults associated with them namely, *Trika*, *Cult of Tripurasundarī*, *Krama* and cult of *Kubjikā*. Each of these has distinctive pantheons, *mantra*-s, *maṇḍala*-s, mythical saints and myths of origin.

The Division of *Āmnāya*-s and Cults



(Figure: I.2.)

The pattern of division of *āmnāya*-s and cults associated with them can be illustrated as in the (Figure: I. 2.) shown above.

i. *Pūrvāmnāya* (Eastern Transmission): The *Kaula Trika*⁷²-This is centered on the cult of triad of goddesses (*triḱa*) namely *Parā* (*pramāṭṛ*), *Aparā* (*prameya*) and *Parāparā* (*pramāṇa*). These goddesses are worshiped either alone or with subordinated *Bhairava*-s. In their masculinised worship, variant of *Trika Parā*, *Aparā*, and *Parāparā* are worshiped as the powers of *Triśīrobhairava* (note that here the Bhairava is three headed).⁷³ The principal scriptures that form the part of this line of transmission are *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Mālinīvijayottara* and *Tantrasadbhāva* and *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.

ii. *Uttarāmnāya* (Northern Transmission): This is believed to be directly transmitted by *Yoginī*-s. The three major systems belong to the *Uttarāmnāya* are (a) the doctrine of *Mata*, (b) the *Krama* system also known as *Mahārtha* and (c) the cult of *Guhyakālī*.

a) *Mata*-This cult is rooted in the tradition of *Jayadratha yāmala*. The worship of twelve *Kālī*-s is the prominent feature of this cult. The deities of this cult are conspicuous by their animal faces or numerous faces in addition to principal human face. Three goddesses occupy prominent position in the ritual system of the cult.

They are the *Trailokyaḍāmara*, *Matacakreśvarī* and *Ghoraghoratarā*.

Cincīṇīmatasārasaṅgraha is the other important text dealing with all the details of *kaula* form of *mata* and its system of ritual.

b) *Krama*- it is known for worship of 13 /12 *Kālī*-s along with series of sets of deities in affixed sequence (*krama*). The sequence follow the four phases of worship of *Kālī* namely *ṣṛṣṭikrama*, *sthitikrama*, *saṃhāarakrama* and *anākhyākarma*. To this *Kramasadbhāva* adds the fifth phase called *bhāsākrama*.⁷⁴ The fundamental scriptures of the system are the *Devīpañcāśataka* and *Kramasadbhāva*.

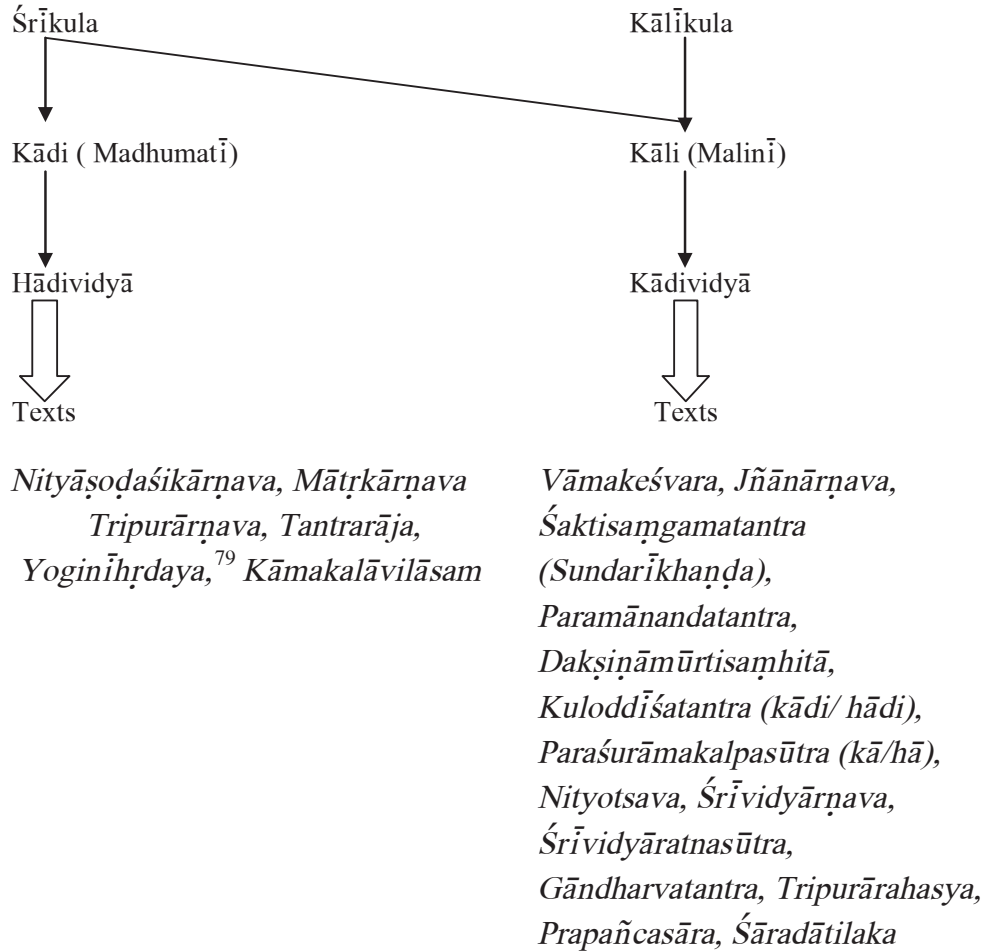
c) The cult of the *Guhyakālī*-the order of worship and pantheon of the cult are akin to that of *Mata*.

iii. *Paścimāmnāya* (the western transmission): This system is centered on the cult of the goddess *Kubjikā*. The word *Kubjikā* literally means humped-back and she is visualized so in the scriptures belong to western transmission. Mark identifies her early prototypical designations as *Khañjinī*, *Laghvikā*, *Kukārā*, *Kujā* (with its variants *kujāmbikā*, *Śrīkujāmbikā*, *Kujeśī* and *Kujeśvarī*),⁷⁵ *Kubjī*, *Vakrā* etc. In her worship the trident of *Trika* is replaced by a triangle.⁷⁶ The principal texts dealing with the details of her worship *Manthānabhairava tantra*-it calls itself as *Caturviṃśatisāhasra* and *Kubjikāmata*. Apart from these fundamental

texts, there are a good number of other texts dealing with the same subject. They are; two versions of *Manthānabhairavatantra* namely, *Ambāmata-saṃhitā* and *Kulakaulinīmata*, texts related to these primary sources viz., *Kularatnodyota*, *Śrīmatasāra*, *Śrīmatasārasaṅgraha*, *Siddhapañcāśikhā* and *Kularatnapañcakāvatāra*, some minor texts like *Nigūḍhajñānasadbhāva-tantra*, *Kulamūlaratnapañcakāvatāra*, *Kubjikopaniṣad*, *Kubjikātantra*, and short ones like *Siddhapañcāśikha*, *Kramasūtrādhikāra* and *Cinciṇīmata-sārasamuccaya*.⁷⁷

iv. *Dakṣiṇāmnāya* (southern transmission): This is the cult of *Tripurasundarī* also known as the cult of *Śrīvidyā*. She is worshipped in the *Śrīcakra* with her retinues. Kerala is considered to be one of its main centers and it is a living cult there. The great *advaita* philosopher Śaṅkarācārya is said to have propagated this cult in south India. According to *Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra*, the scriptures of *Śrīvidyā* are found to have classified into *Śrīkula* and *Kālīkula*. The former is divided into *Kādi* (also called as *Madhumatī*) and *Kālī* (also known as *Mālinī*).⁷⁸ Between the *Kādi* (*kādimata*) is said to be *Hādividyāpradhāna*, while *Kālī* (*kālīkāmata*) is said to be *Kādividyāpradhāna*. The below diagram (Figure: I.3.) will explain the complex classification pattern and the principal texts belonging to *Śrīkula* and *Kālīkula* traditions.

The Division of the Cults of *Śrīvidyā* and their Scriptures



(Figure: I.3.)

As the diagram suggests there are two ways of classifying canons of the *Śrīvidyā* cult namely, they are divided first into *Śrīkula* and *Kālīkula* and further divisions are made under these two heads. In the second method all the divisions proceed from the *Śrīkula*. The word *vidyā* denotes *mantra* and the *kādividyā* refers to a *mantra* beginning with the letter *ka*.

The differences between these two sub-divisions lie not only the letters of *mantra* but system of worship also.

Mudrāpīṭha

This division follows the path of *Mantrapīṭha*. The three principal *tantra*-s form the part of this classification is *Hṛdbheda*, *Māṭṛbheda* and *Kubjikāmata*.

II. *Maṇḍalapīṭha*

This is said to be equally present in all the other *pīṭha*-s.

The *Tantra*-s of Kashmir Śaivism

The Kashmir Śaivism is still a subject for academic pursuit for many eastern as well as western scholars even today. Several important studies have appeared particularly during last three decades and every year new books are coming out under the title or related to "*Kashmir Śaivism*". Every study claims to be written from different perspectives. One of the main reasons that deeply engage the scholars in the works of Kashmirian intellectuals is their high literary standard coupled with unfathomable intellectual depth. Unless and until scholars are able to rise to level of those Kashmirian preceptors intellectually at least, their works contribute little, if not misleading, to understanding the depth of doctrines

of Kashmirian intellectuals. The works produced by them comprise either of independent treatise or extensive commentaries. Kashmir is also known for giving birth to high order, learned exegetes. Wallis observes that their discourse concerning the nature of the reality is built on three levels.

[. . .] their arguments concerning the nature of the reality are built on three levels; through reason, through appeal to scriptures, and through appeal to personal experience. these three methods of discourse corresponded to three spheres of discourse: the first method could be used in debate with Buddhists and other non-Śaivas, the second in debate with Śaivas schools of other than that of the author, and all three in instruction of the author's own disciples.⁸⁰

Generally, there are said to have three schools of Śaivism developed in Kashmir. They are the *Spanda*, *Pratyabhijñā* and *Trika*. Since the fundamental doctrines and texts of the *Trika* School are discussed already, the brief sketch of distinguishing characteristics of other two schools is given below.

The *Spanda* School

Vasugupta (c. 825-875 A.D.) is considered to be founding father of the *Spanda* school. His *Śivasūtra* features first in the chronological order

of scriptures of Kashmir Śaivism. The legend has it that the *sūtra*-s were revealed to him in a dream as to have been written on a rock. His work *Śivasūtra* is said to be a verbatim of what was engraved on the rock. Later on, it was his disciple *Kallaṭa* (c.850-900 A.D.) who carried further *Vasugupta*'s teaching through his *Spandakārikā*.⁸¹ The works attributed to *Kallaṭa* are the *Spandasarvasva*, *Tattvārthacintāmaṇī*, *Spandasūtra*⁸² and *Madhuvāhinī*. Several commentaries were written on the *Spandakārikā*. They are 1) *Spandavṛtti*- this is *Kallaṭa*'s own short commentary 2) *Spandavivṛti* (*Spandavivaraṇasāramātra*) by Rāmakaṇṭha, 3) *Spandanirṇaya* and *Spandasandoha* by Kṣemarāja and 4) *Spandapradīpikā* by Utpalabhaṭṭa.

The Pratyabhijñā School

Somānanda (c. 900-950) is considered to be the founder of *Pratyabhijñā* School. He expounds the basic tenets of the school through his *Śivadṛṣṭi*.⁸³ But the system gets its name after Utpaladeva (both son as well as disciple of *Somānanda*, 9th-10th century A.D), whom Wallis rightly describes as "who possessed one of the greatest intellects and one of the most passionately devotional hearts in the whole documented history of the non-dual Śiva tantra."⁸⁴ He is the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñākārikā* in which he expanded further the teachings of his

preceptor in a relatively simple and intelligible manner. He is known to have written a commentary on his own work known as *Īśvara-pratyabhijñākārikāvivṛti* and another one called *Īśvarapratyabhijñāṭīkā*. Later on the great philosopher Abhinavagupta had written two commentaries, one short and one long, on the same. They are the *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (*laghvī*) and *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛtivismarśinī* (*bṛhatī*).

Utpala is also known to have written a group of three works, known as "*Siddhitrayī*" namely the *Ajaḍapramāṭṛsiddhi*, *Īśvarasiddhi*, *Sambandhasiddhi* and two *vṛtti*-s on them called as *Īśvarasiddhivṛtti* and *Sambandhasiddhivṛtti*. The hymn "*Śivastrotrāvalī*"⁸⁵ is also attributed to him.

Lakṣmaṇagupta appears next in the line of tradition. None of his writings, if any, survives today. Subsequently it was his disciple Abhinavagupta (c. 975-1025 A.D.) who took the system into its heights.

Abhinavagupta and His Works

Being a prolific writer, Abhinavagupta, the great intellect and tantric preceptor India has ever produced, carried further the teachings of his teachers and gave firm philosophical as well as gnostic foundation to

then existing non-dual Śaiva traditions of Kashmir. His works can be categorized into three heads 1. Commentaries 2. Independent works and 3. Hymns. Some of his well known works are as following;

Commentaries

1) *Parātriśikā vivaraṇa* 2) *Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha* and 3) *Śivadrṣṭyālocana*.

Independent Works

1) *Tantrāloka* (his magnum opus, to it Jayaratha has written an extensive commentary called 'Viveka') 2) *Tantrasāra* 3) *Tantravaṭadhānikā* 4) *Mālinī-vijayavārttika* and 5) *Paramārthasāra* (this has been commented by a South Indian Yogarāja (second half of 11th century A.D.).

Hymns

1) *Anuttarāṣṭikā* 2) *Paramārthadvādaśikā* 3) *Paramārthacarcā* 4) *Mahopadeśaviṃśatikā* 5) *Kramastotraṃ* 6) *Bhairavastavaṃ* 7) *Dehasthadevatācakrastotraṃ* and 8) *Anubhavanivedanaṃ*.

Literary productions did not cease after Abhinavagupta but it continued triumphant march for at least two more centuries until the Muslim invasion in the 13th century A.D. put an end to all developments.

Among the Abhinavagupta's successors Kṣemarāja stands out as gigantic figure who furthered the teachings of his master mostly through his extensive and learned commentaries. His works are as following;

- 1) *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayaṃ* 2) *Parāpraveśikā* 3) *Sivasūtravimarśinī* 4) *Spanda-nirṇayaṃ* 5) *Spandasandohaṃ* 6) *Stavacintāmaṇi vivṛti-* a commentary on the *Stavacintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa 7) *Svacchanda udyota-* a commentary on *Svacchandatantra*, 8) *Netrodyota-* a commentary on *Netratantra* 9) *Vijñānabhairavodyota* 10) *Śivastrotrāvalī-ṭikā* and 11. *Sāmbapañcāśikāṭīkā*.

These are the principal writings of founders of each school and their immediate followers. But the picture will not be complete if the works of same stature produced in Kashmir are not included in the list. The other important works of this nature are as following;

- 1) *Śivasūtravārtika* of Varadarāja (11th century A.D., a well known South Indian disciple of Kṣemarāja 2) *Paramārthasāravivṛti* by Yogarāja (11th century A.D., another disciple of Kṣemarāja) 3) *Tantrālokaviveka* and a commentary on *Vāmakeśvarīmata* by Jayaratha (12th century A.D.) 4) *Mahārthamañjarī* (a text of *Kaula* tradition written in Maharashtrian Apabhraṃśa language) of *Maheśvarānandanātha* (12th century A.D.) 5) *Mahānayaprakāśa* (written in Kashmiri Apabhraṃśa) of Rājānaka

Śrīkaṇṭha (12th century A.D.) 6) *Devīnāmaṣilāsa* of Sahib Kaul and 7) *Bhāskarī*- Bhāskarakaṇṭha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Vimarśinī* on *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*.

Vaiṣṇavism

The *Bhāgavatism* is said to be the earliest Vaiṣṇava tradition, for there are several inscriptional evidences particularly of Gupta period suggesting the existence of cult by the epigraphic usage of the word '*paramabhāgavata*', '*mahābhāgavata*' etc. In earlier sources it denoted those who are devoted to cult of Nārāyaṇa, but in later periods it even meant to include the yogic and ascetic undercurrents of the cult in addition to devotion to Nārāyaṇa.⁸⁶

The Classifications of Tantric Vaiṣṇava Scriptures

There are two divisions of tantric Vaiṣṇava scriptures namely, *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa*.⁸⁷ As a cult, the *Pāñcarātra* system is believed to be the earliest Vaiṣṇava tradition that existed in Kashmir even before the predominance of Śaivism.⁸⁸

The *Pāñcarātra* Cult

The earliest reference to the word *Pāñcarātra* is found in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (XIII.6.1.1, 7.9) where Nārāyaṇa is said to have

performed a *pāñcarātra puruṣamedha* sacrifice for five days and nights after which he is said to have surpassed all beings and become the entire universe.⁸⁹ It is also said to have connected with the lost Vedicśākhā (school) *Ekāyana*.⁹⁰ The *Nārāyaṇīyaparvan* (XII.321-329) of the great epic *Mahābhārata* is earliest known source to refer to the doctrinal and ritual characteristics of the ancient *Pāñcarātra* tradition.

The term *Pāñcarātra* is interpreted in a number of ways within the texts of *Pāñcarātra* themselves.⁹¹ Interestingly, the tail-end word *rātra* has yielded to wide range of interpretations including night, day and night, knowledge⁹² and ignorance. So texts seem to be interpreting the term *Pāñcarātra* based on the preference for meaning of the word *rātra*.

F.O. Schrader, who pioneered the studies on *Pāñcarātra* and made an extensive survey of available texts, has observed that the tradition's name can be traced back to one of its doctrines, namely the doctrine of Viṣṇu's five forms of manifestation namely *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcā*.⁹³ Whereas according to J.A. Van Buitenen, the name *Pāñcarātra* derives from its cult specific ritual practices rather than from its philosophy, as these practices form the main content of the *Samhitā*-
s.⁹⁴

The *Pāñcarātra* literature

It is held traditionally that the numbers of the *Pāñcarātra* canons are 108. Against this conventional belief F.O. Schrader has brought out the details of 210 *Samhitā*-s in his pioneering study of *Pāñcarātra* canons 'Introduction to the *Pāñcarātra* and the *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā*'.⁹⁵

Among the *Samhitā*-s the three namely *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, *Paṣkarasaṃhitā* and *Sātvatasamhitā*, also known as "*Ratnatraya*",⁹⁶ are considered to be most authoritative.⁹⁷ Notably later texts seem to have listed a group of six more texts as authoritative. They are *Sanatkumāra*, *Padma*, *Parama*, *Padmodbhava*, *Māhendra* and *Kāṇva Samhitā*-s.⁹⁸

As noted by several scholars that Kashmirian polymath *Utpalavaiṣṇava*, who flourished in Kashmir in the tenth century A.D., had seen quoted from *Sātvata* and *Jayākhyā* in his commentary on *Spandakārikā*, which means both these texts were well known relatively earlier than the other texts.⁹⁹ But recently Diwakar Acharya has come forward with evidences of even earlier *Samhitā*-s namely *Jayottaratantra*, *Svāyambhuvapāñcarātra*, *Devāmṛtapāñcarātra* and *Vāsudevakalpa* and he has also started editing these texts.¹⁰⁰

With respect to the date and provenance of *Samhitā*-s, O. Schrader and Mitsunori Matsubara argue that the *ratnatraya*-s and *Ahimbudhnyasamhitā* were likely to have been written in Kashmir; and the rest after the Śrī Vaiṣṇava tradition got well established in South India.¹⁰¹ O. Schrader attests eighth century A.D. to *Ahimbudhnyasamhitā* (around 600 A.D. according to Mitsunori) whereas Sanderson argues that it postdates *Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja (1000-1050 A.D). And also he puts forth substantial evidences to show *Ahimbudhnyasamhitā*'s south Indian origin which is also against the views of Schrader. Rest of the *Samhitā*-s, according to Mitsunori, are much later compositions and his chronological arrangement of *Samhita*-s is as following; *Parama*, *Sanatkumāra* (later than 600 A.D. and earlier than 900 A.D.), *Īśvara*, *Parameśvara*, *Nāradīya*, *Lakṣmītantra*, *Viṣvaksena*, *Padma*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Śeṣa*, *Aniruddha*, *Srīpraśna*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmā*, *Śāṇḍīya*, *Bṛhadbrahma* and *Nāradapāñcarātra*.¹⁰² V. Varadachari has observed that of these *Lakṣmītantra* and *Ahimbudhnyasamhitā* have devoted comparatively more chapters on process of creation than rituals. And the texts like *Ānandasamhitā*, *Īśvarasamhitā*, *Nāradīyasamhitā*, *Pādmāsamhitā*, *Bhāradvājasamhitā*, *Mārkaṇḍeyasamhitā*, *Lakṣmītantra*, *Viśvāmitra samhitā*, *Viṣṇutantra* and *Sanatkumārasamhitā* have more than one

version.¹⁰³ Of these *Īśvara-saṃhitā*, *Pādmasaṃhitā* and *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* are predominantly South Indian.

Just like *Siddhāntāgama*-s, an ideal *Saṃhitā* is said to following the four-fold system of classification of contents. But most of extant texts do not conform to this general rule. Remarkably, the *Padmasaṃhitā* and *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* (*brahmarātra*, *śivarātra*, *indrārātra* and *ṛṣirātra*) are the only two texts containing the four *pāda*-s. Similar to some of *Āgama*-s, certain *Saṃhitā*-s have also been divided into three or more sections. For example: the *Jñānāmṛtasāra* has been divided into five parts, called as *rātra*-s. The *Nārāyaṇīyasamhitā* is found to be divided into three *kāṇḍā*-s called *jñānavaibhava-kāṇḍa*, *yajñavaibhava-kāṇḍa*-and *iṣṭivaibhava-kāṇḍa*. Quite interestingly, *kriyā* or *caryā* sections of many of these *Saṃhitā*-s are preserved intact, but not *vidyā* and *yoga* sections.

In another system of classification the *Pāñcarātra* texts are classified into four heads viz., *āgamasiddhānta*, *mantrasiddhānta*, *tantrasiddhānta* and *tantrāntarasiddhānta*.¹⁰⁴

The Contents of the *Saṃhitā*-s¹⁰⁵

According to *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, core of the theological discussion of *Saṃhitā*-s revolves around; 1) Essential Nature of God¹⁰⁶ 2)

His six supreme qualities (*ṣāḍguṇya*)¹⁰⁷ 3) The four *vyūha*-s 4) Creation, preservation and destruction of worlds¹⁰⁸ 5) Sub *vyūha*-s¹⁰⁹ 6) The *vibhava*-s¹¹⁰ and secondary manifestation 7) Essential form of *Lakṣmī* and 8) Essential form of *Jīvātman*.

The *Vaikhānasa* Cult

The term *Vaikhānasa* denotes hermits in Vedic literature. *Dharmaśāstra*-s consider *Vaikhānasa*-s along with *vāḷakhilya*-s and *phena*-s as hermits (*vānaprastha*), those who have entered third stage of life. The *Vaikhānasa*-s perceive themselves as belonging to *Vaikhānasa śākhā* of *Yajurveda* that is one of the three *śākhā*-s of the same, the other two being *taittirīyaka* and *vājasaneyaka*. Two medieval *Vaikhānasa* texts namely *Ānandasamhitā* and *Ādisamhitā* explicitly express their affiliation with *aukhyasākhā* of *Yajurveda*. The principal texts of the *Vaikhānasa*-s are the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* and *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* (later than fourth century), both are believed to have written by the sage Vikhanas. He is well known as an author of *Dharma* and *Gṛhya* section of Vedic literature. His authority in several Vedic rites is evidenced from the citations made by the *Dharmasūtra*-s of Bauddhāyana (II.6.16), *Gṛhyasūtra*-s of Agniveśa (II.6.5) and Bauddhāyana (II.9.17), *Śrautasūtra*-s of Bauddhāyana (II.24.3) and the *Śrautasūtra*-s of Hiraṇyakeśin (XIX.3.14).¹¹¹

But the *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* does not mention Vikhanas as its author while the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* do, but at the extreme end of two chapters (9.5; 10.15).¹¹² The former consists not only of *gṛhya* (domestic rites) and *dharma* (rules of conduct) parts but it also deals with three specific features: (i) omnipresence of devotion to Nārāyaṇa-viṣṇu, (ii) the importance given to image worship (the installation rituals and daily worship of Viṣṇu's image at home, in a temple or in a sacrificial ground) and (iii) lengthy prescriptions of hermitic and ascetic practices.¹¹³ Its importance lies in being the only text of its kind elaborating on the yogic practices to be followed by hermits who have entered fourth stage of life. The four stages of life are of a vedic student, house-holder, hermit and renouncer-which is reserved only for Brahmins.¹¹⁴

Classifications of the *Vaikhānasa* Literature

Other than these two texts (i.e., *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra* and *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*) Vikhanas is not known to have written any other works of same nature. Generally known *Vaikhānasasaṃhitā*-s are later compositions primarily by his four disciples namely Atri, Kaśyapa, Bhṛgu and Marīci and sometimes tradition attributes Aṅgiras also as the author of medieval *Vaikhānasa* corpus.¹¹⁵ Generally the works written by these four are known as *tantra*-s, *kāṇḍa*-s, *adhikāra*-s and *saṃhitā*-s

respectively. The works attributed to Atri are *Pūrvatantra*, *Ātreyantra* / *Mahāsaṃhitā*, *Viṣṇutantra* and *Uttaratantra*. Though *Satyakāṇḍa*, *Tarkakāṇḍa* / *Karmakāṇḍa*, *Jñānakāṇḍa*, *Santānakāṇḍa* and *Kāśyapa-kāṇḍa* are said to be written by Kāśyapa the *Jñānakāṇḍa* is the only work available today. The Bhṛgu's compositions are *Khilādhikāra*, *Purādhikāra* / *tantra*, *Mānādhikāra* / *Arcanādhikāra*, *Varṇādhikāra*, *Niruktādhikāra*, *Prakīrṇādhikāra*, *Yajñādhikāra*, *Vāsādhikāra*, *Kriyādhikāra*, *Citrādhikāra*, *Pratigṛhyādhikāra*, *Khilatantra* and *Uttaratantra*. The works of Marīcī are *Jayasamhitā*, *Ānandasamhitā*, *Samjñānasamhitā*, *Vīrasamhitā*, *Vijayasamhitā*, *Vijitasamhitā*, *Vimalasamhitā* and *Jñānasamhitā*. Among these *Ānandasamhitā* is the only work available today. The entire list and classification of *Vaikhānasasamhitā*-s can be found enumerated in the four texts namely *Vimānārcanakalpa*, *Ānandasamhitā*, *Yajñādhikāra* and *Samūrtārcādhikaraṇa*.¹¹⁶

These fundamental texts of the *Vaikhānasa* tradition are believed to have composed between ninth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The major difference between the *Vaikhānasasmārtsūtra* and later *Samhita*-s is the former is primarily concerned with ascetic practices despite of its preference for image worship. But latter *Samhita*-s are less bothered about

the ascetic practices instead they emphasize on the importance of temple rituals and priest-hood.

Just like the *Pāñcarātrin-s*, *Vaikhānasa-s* also postulate about the five-fold manifestation of Vishnu but it contrasts with the *vyūha* theory of the latter in several respects. They are *Viṣṇu* (the all-pervading one and the central figure, the original and highest of them), *Puruṣa* (god as the principle of life), *Satya* (god as static and beginningless existence), *Acyuta* (god, the changeless one), and *Aniruddha* (god as the one who cannot be limited or reduced).¹¹⁷ These five forms of manifestations equated with the five-fold fire of vedic sacrificial tradition.

As in the other tantric traditions, initiation is the pre-requisite to priesthood and it is done during the eighth month of pregnancy (*garbhadīkṣā*). The *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra's* account of initiation starts from the time of observance of the *Śīmantonayana* (tracing the furrow in the hair of a women in the eighth month of her pregnancy) which is followed by offering rice cooked in milk to the god *Viṣṇu*. After the offering is made, it is given to the pregnant woman. By taking the rice in it is believed that the fetus is initiated (*garbhadīkṣā*) into the cult. The observance of this unique form of initiation makes *Vaikhānasa-s* different

from *Pāñcarātrin*-s. But it is observed that relatively early *Vaikhānasa* texts do not refer to *garbhadīkṣā* at all.¹¹⁸

Notably the productions liturgical texts continued even after composition of fundamental *Samhitā*-s. Traditionalists of modern era also have attempted to extend the cultic teachings and practices through the composition of ritual manuals or commentarial works. But they do not enjoin the status of traditional *Samhitā*-s, but still are held important. Of these later works include the commentary on the *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin (post dates 14th century A.D.) and his own manual on image worship *Śrīmadbhagavadarcanaprakaraṇa*. The latter has received an extensive commentary called *Arcanānavanīta* by Keśavācārya. He is also known to have written two handbooks on public worship namely *Sarvapratiṣṭhāvidhidarpaṇa* and *Brahmotsavānukramaṇikā* and a handbook on domestic rituals viz., *Vaikhānasa-gr̥hyasūtradarpaṇa*.¹¹⁹

The other important author falls in this line of tradition is Bhaṭṭabhāskara, whose commentary on *Vaikhānasamantrapraśna* is held very important by traditionalists. The Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita (17-18 centuries A.D.) is another influential author who is attributed to have tried to establish a vedāntic *Vaikhānasa* school and also known to have

commented on the *Brahmasūtra*, known as *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya*. Throughout his commentary he seemed holding aloft the principle that image worship is the primary means to liberation. The works to his credit are a commentary on *Paramātmika* (a collection of gnomic *mantra*-s that forms the chapter of the *Vaikhānasamantrapraśna*), commentary on *Vaikhānasaśrautasūtra*, *Tithinirṇayakārikā* (an astrological treatise), and *Vaikhānasamahimāmañjarī* (a eulogy of the *Vaikhānasa* tradition).

It is a remarkable point that a Keralite, Sundararāja (1841-1905 A.D.) has been counted as a celebrated commentator by *Vaikhānasa* tradition. His works are *Uttamabrahmavidyāsāra*, commentaries on the works of Śrīnivāsadīkṣita viz., *Nigamacūdādarpaṇa*, commentary on *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* and a biography of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita known as *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitacarita*.¹²⁰

The Buddhist *Tantra*

Tantrism as a cult was never remained confined to geographical boundaries of political India, but crossed all the boundaries of nationality. There are enough textual and scriptural evidences proving the evolution of tantrism into a common religion in South Asian countries. Just as all cults of tantrism share some commonalities, Tantric Buddhism shares the

common characteristic of *Śaivatantra*-s, particularly that of Śaivism of *Mantramārga*.¹²¹

Classification of the Buddhist Tantric Literature

Canons of Buddhist *tantra* are broadly divided into five namely,

1) *Kriyā* (*tantra*-s of action): e.g., *Anantamukhadhāraṇīsūtra*, *Amitābhadhyānasūtra*, *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa* etc.

2) *Caryā* (*tantra*-s of observance): e.g., *Mahāvairocanasambodhi*.

3) *Yoga* (*tantra*-s of Yoga): e.g., *Tattvasaṅgraha-sūtra*, *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṅgraha*, *Paramādyā*, *Mahāvīrocānābhisambodhisūtra* etc.

4) *Yogottara* (*tantra*-s of higher Yoga): e.g., *Guhyasamāja*, *Advayasamatāvijaya* etc.

5) *Yogānuttara*¹²² (*tantra*-s of supreme Yoga)/ *Yoginī* *tantra*-s/ *Yoganiruttaratantra*: e.g., *Laghusaṃvara (mūlatantra)*, *Kālacakra*, *Mahāmāyā*, *Buddhakaṇṭhā*, *Catuṣpīṭha*, *Mahāmudrātilaka*, *Abhidhānottaratantra*, *Saṃpuṭotbhavatantra*, *Hevajra*, *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, *Herukābhīdhāna*, *Rigyārāli*, *Vajrārāli*, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, *Vajraḍāka*, *Guhyakośa*, *Vajrāmṛta*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Vajracatuṣpīṭha* etc.¹²³

This classification is presented in ascending order. The *tantra*-s belong to each of categories are noted for their exoteric or esoteric nature. The interesting aspect of this division is that unlike four-fold division of content of Śaiva *tantra*-s i.e., *vidyā*, *kriyā*, *caryā* and *yoga*, Buddhist *tantra*-s are categorized under each one of these divisions. But it is to be noted that there is no group of texts called *Vidyātantra*-s. This system of classification suggests that a text belongs to a particular division does not deal with topics of other division of canons.

Of the above classifications of *tantra*-s, the *Kriyātantra*-s (*mantrakalpa*) are mainly concerned with achieving worldly ends. They are not much bothered about philosophical speculations. One of the remarkable features of this division of *tantra*-s is they do not consider initiation as a necessary prerequisite to learn the scriptures and perform the rituals.¹²⁴

According to Sanderson a comparison can be made between Buddhist *Caryā* and *Yoga tantra*-s with that of Śaiva *Siddhānta* cult of *Sadāśiva*. Similarly, the scriptures of more esoteric and heteropractic traditions of higher *Yoga* and supreme *Yoga* can be compared with *tantra*-s of *Mantrapīṭha* and *Vidyāpīṭha*.¹²⁵ As further observed by him there

are also similarities between *Yoginītantra*-s and *tantra*-s of *Vidyāpīṭha* even in ritual procedures, style of observance, deities, mantras, mamaṇḍalas, ritual dress code, *Kāpālika* accoutrements, specialized terminology, secret gestures and secret jargons.¹²⁶

There are some beliefs and practices common to both Śaivism of *Mantramārga* and Tantric Buddhism. Wallis notes these common features are as;

1. Prerequisite of initiation and the importance of guru.
2. Initiates are to view the guru as an embodiment of deity.
3. Liberation means in a sense becoming the deity itself.
4. Possibility of an immersion into true nature at any moment.¹²⁷

The Tantric Cult of Bengal

Geographically, Bengal was another strong hold of tantric cults. Though it is the land known for antinomian and shamanic practices of gruesome aspects of Tantrism, it was here that the mild *Sahajīya* cult of Vaiṣṇavism had originated. It is the land where Kālī is worshipped in her

most ferocious form in temples and it spread later into adjacent regions like Assam and Orissa.

The *tantra*-s written in Bengal are divided into several categories. They are Buddhist, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava *tantra*-s and their date of composition extend from sixth to fifteenth centuries A.D.

The Buddhist *Tantra*-s of Bengal

Among the extant Buddhist *tantra*-s produced in Bengal in Sanskrit language *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*s considered to be very much important. The other works of the kind are *Tattvasaṅgraha* and *Tattvasiddhi* of Śāntarakṣita (eighth century A.D), *Cakrasambaramaṇḍalavidhitattvāvatāra* of Kumāravajra (10th century A.D.), *Herukasāadhanā* of Divākara-candra (11th century A.D), *Vajrayāna Sāadhanā* of Jetāri, and commentaries such as *Śrīsamputatantrarāja* called as *Āmnāyamañjarī*, *Buddhakaṭātantra* and *Vajrāvalināmamaṇḍalopākhyā* of Abhayākara-gupta (11th century A.D), *Viśeṣatattvaṭīkā* and *Devātiśayaṭīkā* of Prajñā-varman. And there are some minor works also.¹²⁸

The Śākta Tradition of Bengal: The *Daśamahāvidyā* Cult

The canonical divisions and their characteristics discussed so far are mostly originated in Kashmir and adjacent regions and later flourished

either there itself or other parts of the subcontinent. But the *Daśamahāvidyā* cult has a different history of origin and practice. It originated in Bengal and was predominantly associated with the tantric practices of this part of India. The ten goddesses are *Kālī*, *Tārā*, *Tripurasundarī*, *Bhuvaneśvarī*, *Bhairavī*, *Chinnamastā*, *Dhūmāvatī*, *Bagāḷāmukhī*, *Mātāṅgī* and *Kamalā*.

The principal texts expounding the details of their rituals are *Śaktisaṃgama Tantra*- which deals with only the ritual system of four goddesses *Kālī*, *Tārā*, *Sundarī* and *Chinnamastā* in the four divisions of the same text, *Śāktapramoda*, *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, and *Āgamarahasya* of Sarayuprasada Dvivedi. This being solely an alternative ritual system had wide currency not only in Bengal and other parts of the country particularly Orissa and Assam.

The *Tantra*-s of Jainism

Just like the tantric cults of Buddhism, Jains also had developed their own systems of tantric ritual practices. The principal tantric texts are *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*- which deals with the worship of *padmāvatīdevī*, who has a form similar to the *nāgayakṣī* worshipped in the *sarppakkāvu*-s of Kerala, *Jvālāmālīnīkalpa* etc.

This is just an over view of classifications of tantric canons. A detailed philosophical discussion of each school is not attempted here owing to the fact that the main intention is to give a general view of extend of tantric canons and their divisions. It is necessary to have this as a general background for further discussion on rituals.

Notes

- ¹ There are several meanings ascribed to the term. See the Sanskrit *Kośa*-s viz., *Śabdakalapadruma*, *Vācaspatya*, *Amarakośa*, *Medinīkośa* and *Nyāyakośa* (pp.318-19) for diverse meanings. Also see P.V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.III, pp.1031-32. But nowhere other than in Tantric scriptures will one find it to have employed employed to refer to text of a tantric cult.
- ² Andre Padoux observes that the tantrism is " a category of discourse in the west" and to use it in a fashionable jargon "it is an etic, not an emic entity." See *What Do We Mean by Tantrism, The Roots of Tantra*, p. 17.
- ³ The first literary evidence for it can be seen in Kulluka Bhaṭṭa's exegesis to *Manusmṛti* wherein he says Śruti consists of two streams 'vaidikī' and 'tāntrikī'. (*śrutiśca dvividhā tāntrikī vaidikī ca*) see E. V. Rāman Nampūtiri's introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* for how certain authors had distinguished these two streams from each other.
- ⁴ *The Roots of Tantra*, p. 17.
- ⁵ Sir John Woodroffe alias Arthur Avalon through his pioneering works projected *tantra* as a *Veda*-congruent spiritual tradition whereas, Agehananda Bharati tried to highlight anti-vedic and anti-brahmanic tendency of *tantra*. see Annaette Wilke, *Recoding the Natural and Animating the Imaginary: Kaula Body-practices in the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Ritual Transfers, and the Politics of Representation*, pp. 23-4.
- ⁶ *Buddhism and the issue of Co-functionality with Śaivism in the Early Medieval Period*, p.16.
- ⁷ *The Śaiva Traditions, The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*, p.203.
- ⁸ Alexis Sanderson has observed that the Śaiva literature seem to have been classified into three ways: (1) into *Saiddhāntikatantra*-s on the one hand and the *Mantrapīṭha* and *Vidyāpīṭha* divisions of the *Bhairava* stream (*bhairavasrotaḥ*) on the other, (2) into *Tantra*-s of *Saiddhāntika* (*Ūrdhva*), *Vāma* and *Dakṣiṇa* streams, and (3) into *Saiddhāntika Tantra*-s and *Bhairava Tantra*-s. see *History Through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pāñcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginī Tantras*, p.19; Vrajavallabha Dvivedi demonstrates various ways of classifying Śaiva *tantra*-s based on the Śaiva

sources themselves. One of such classifications follow dividing them into *Srotovibhāga*, *Pīṭhavibhāga* and *Amnāyavibhāga*. In the first division there are two sub-divisions viz., *Trisrota- vāma*, *Dakṣiṇa* and *Siddhānta*-(this is similar to number two in Sanderson's list) and *Pañcasrota*- this constitutes the *tantra*-s that came out of five face of Sadāśiva. They are *Siddhānta* (Upper face), *Gāruḍa* (Eastern face), *Vāma* (Northern face), *Bhūta* (Western face) and *Bhairava* (Southern face). According to this system the *Siddhāntāgama*-s emanated from the upper face. But *Ajītāgama* speaks slight differently as the 28 *Āgama*-s came out of Sadāśiva's five faces, not from a particular face. In the *pīṭha* system of classification the texts are divided as belonging into *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Mantrapīṭha*, *Mudrāpīṭha* and *Maṇḍalapīṭha*. Regarding the *Amnāya* classification textual sources differ considerably as there are four, five and six divisions. See V.V Dvivedi's *Upodghāta* (introduction to *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇavaḥ*), pp.53-59.

⁹ See Mark S.D. Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, pp.16-19.

¹⁰ See Sanderson, *Lākulas*, p.156.

*śṛṇvantu ṛṣayassarve pañcadhā yat prakīrtitam /
laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ caiva tathādhyātmikameva ca //
atimārgaṇca mantrākhyam* [. . .]. The same system of classification is seen in *Mṛgendra*, *Pauṣkarapārameśvara*, *Svacchanda* and *Jayadrathayāmala*.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.157.

¹² *ādhyātmikaṃ sāmukhyayogādipratipādita prakṛtipuruṣavivekajñāna-sarvavṛttinirodhajñānikaṃ / ibid.*, p.159.

¹³ *Pāśupata*, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, pp.458-59.

¹⁴ To know more about the characteristic features of Kāpālīka's cult see Judit Torzok, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, pp.355-61; *The Canons of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, pp.26-31.

¹⁵ See Mark, *op. cit.*, pp.20-21.

¹⁶ In addition to these Madhva's *Sarvadarśanasamṅgraha*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Pāmpāmāhātmya*- a *Purāṇa* of late origin- etc. also describe the principal beliefs and practices of the cult. See Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths, *The Pāśupata Obsrvance (Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 40)*, pp. 318-19.

¹⁷ Eight of these *pramāṇa* texts referred to in *Svacchandatantra* and *Niśvāsattvasaṃhitā* are 1. *Pañcārthapramāṇa* 2. *Guhya* or *Śivaguhyā* 3. *Rudrāṅkuśa* 4. *Hṛdaya* 5. *Vyūha* 6. *Lakṣaṇa* 7. *Ākarṣa* and 8. *Ādarśa*. These are in fact the names eight Rudras' who said to have propagated these treatises (ete *rudrā etannāmakapāśupataśāstrāvatārakāḥ*) see Sanderson, *Lākulas*, p. 171.

¹⁸ *evam suduḥkhāntaḥ kāryaṃ kāraṇaṃ yogo vidhiriti pañcaiva padārtha samāsataḥ upadiṣṭāḥ /*

Pāśupata Sūtras With Pañcārthabhāṣya of Kaundinya, p.6.

¹⁹ *Pāśupatas*, p.459.

²⁰ *Lākulas*, p. 158.

²¹ See *Lākulas* p. 147 for the differences between *Atimārga* and *Mantramārga*.

²² Sanderson, EPHE-Lectures-p.5.

²³ See Mark, notes 221, p.152.

na śrutam gāruḍam kiñcit sadyaḥ pratyayakāraṇam /

taṃ ācakṣhasva suraśreṣṭha mama bhaktaśca śaṅkara //

lakṣaṇam nāgajātīnām garbhotpattimaśeṣataḥ /

rūpakam sarvanāgānām vyantaram ca jatakam //

grahaykṣhapiśācānām sākinīnām ca lakṣaṇam /

bālagrahāśca ye krūrāḥ pīdyante nitya nirghṛṇaḥ // (*Bṛhatsūcīpatra tantra*, vol. I, p.96)

²⁴ Mark notes "He stands (or sits?) on a lotus of four petals. On the eastern petal is seated *Jayā*, on the southern *Jayeśvarī*, on the northern *Jitā*, while *Parājītā* in the west. They are sisters of *Tumburu* and all play *Vīṇās*. *Tumburu*'s association with music- particularly the *Vīṇā*- is also brought out by a number of Goddesses amongst the many that surround Him who are said to be skilled in playing this instrument." Here the name of four Goddesses appears to be slightly different. See Mark, notes to part one, pp.149-151 for the further details on the visualization of *Tumburu*.

²⁵ Sanderson, *Introduction to Śaivism* (handout), p.3.

²⁶ See Mark, Notes to part one, p.151.

xxxxsiddhyartham uktaṃ tad avatārakaḥ /

nayasūtrādibhedena vāmaṃ vāmāt vinirgatam // (*Pūrva Kāmikāgama*, 1/25)

- ²⁷ *Abhinavagupta* speaks of this classification in the context of glorifying the supremacy of *Mālinīvijayottara* as it teaches the essence of *Trika*.
daśāṣṭādaśavasvaṣṭabhinnam yacchāsanam vibhoḥ /
tatsāram trikaśāstram hi tatsāram mālinīmatam // 1.18
- ²⁸ See *Kiraṇa- catuṣpādayutānyeva, Mṛgendrāgama, Vidyāpāda, 2, 2. tripadārtham catuṣpādam mahātantram jagadpatiḥ /sūtrenaikena saṅgrhya., Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama, Kriyāpāda, 10, 2: catuṣpadārtha kuśalam, Helene Brunner, The Four Pādas of Śaivāgamas, The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (Vols. LVI-LXII), fn.21, p.266.*
- ²⁹ The numbers of *padārtha*-s vary ranging from three to six according to some of the *Āgama*-s. The three categories (*tripadārtha*-s) are *pati* (Śiva), *paśu* (fettered soul) and *pāśa* (bondages) and they are ontologically distinct from each other. The Śiva does five acts (*pañcakṛtya*) viz., *sṛṣṭi* (creation), *sthiti* (maintenance), *saṃhāra* (re-absorption), *rodha/nirodha*, *tirobhāva/saṃrakṣaṇa* (concealment) and *anugraha* (grace) at his will. The last two actions are executed in favor of fettered souls by which he restrains the eternal nature of souls to limited beings and grant them liberation after the impurities are completely stripped of. The *paśu* is the technical term for an individual who is also infinite, not created, and possess all the attributes of Śiva at his core. The only difference is that *paśu*-s are totally unaware of their omnipotence and omnipresence due to their everlasting association with the impurities.
ato anādimālabandhāt kāraṇātte pumāṃso anīśvaraḥ, anabhivyaṅkajñatva-kartṛtva bala malanivṛttameva tadabhivyaṅkteḥ, ibid, p.15.
- ³⁰ The *Śaivasiddhānta* postulates about two distinct processes of creation viz., pure and impure. In the pure creation (consists of five principles Śiva, Śakti, Sadāsiva, Īśvara and Śuddhavidyā) Śiva is the efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇa*) whereas, the *bindu* acts as the material cause (*upādānakāraṇa*). While in the creation of impure principles (consists of rest of the thirty-one principles beginning with *māyā* up to *pṛthivī*) Ananta is the efficient cause and *māyā*- Unlike the *māyā* of vedantins, *Śaivasiddhāntins'* view *māyā* as single, eternal, and unconscious source of worlds and everything in them, including the bodies and faculties of each soul- becomes the material cause. See Sanderson, *The Doctrine of Mālinīvijayottara*, p.282.

The creation of the pure universe proceeds from Śiva with the emergence of seventy crores of *mantra*-s. There are eight divinities, considered to be lords of *mantra*-s known as *vidyeśvara*-s with Ananta is their chief. Subsequently he (Śiva) creates *vīrabhadra*, chief of 100 *Rudra*-s, *Brahman*, *Viṣṇu* etc. In the creation of impure universe Śiva gets it done through an intermediary, Ananta. He agitates *māyā* in order to initiate the process of creation and as a result *kalā*, *vidyā* and *rāga* evolve. From the *rāga* evolves the *pradhāna* or *avyakta* and rest of the creation process is similar to that of *Sāṃkhya*. The sole purpose of creating the world is to give an opportunity to those souls who are not experienced the fruits of their past actions to get released from the bonds of *karma*. It is Śiva who alone capable of releasing souls and when he feels that a soul is ripen enough to be released, he grants his omniscience and omnipotence. In the case of those souls who are born as human beings, Śiva grants liberation through the ritual of initiation (*dīkṣā*) which he accomplishes through a human officiant (*ācārya*). The *Saiddhāntika*-s attach very much importance to ritual because the *pāśa*- the unique characteristic feature of *pāśa* as presented by the *Āgama*-s is it is a material (*dravya*), not an abstract concept-can be removed by a corresponding action (*kriyā* / *vyāpārah*) alone. This does not happen otherwise, i.e., by mere knowledge of reality. That is why the initiation is so important as far as *Śaivasiddhāntin*-s are concerned. It is the impurity (*mala*) causes soul to experience the influential powers of products of *māyā* viz., *vidyā* (limited knowledge), *kalā* (restricted action), *niyatiḥ* (the effects of past actions) and *kālaḥ* (limited time). When a soul is caught under the influence of *māyā*, it is subjected to the cycle of several births and re-births to experience the fruit of actions carried out in previous lives.

There are four fetters (*pāśa*-s) restraining a soul from its unlimited freedom. The four *pāśa*-s are impurity, (*mala/pravṛttiḥ*), *māyā* / *granthipāśaḥ*, past actions (*karma*) and power of Śiva's will which holds souls to subject these three (*rodhaśaktiḥ* / *īśabalam*). The *mala* is of three kinds viz., *āṇava*, *māyīya* and *kārma*. And those who are bound by *mala*-s are classified in to three. They are 1) *vijñānakalā*-s: those who are restricted by only the powers *mala*, 2) *praḷayākala*-s: those who are being affected by *mala* and *kārman*, and 3) *sakala*-s: those who are totally affected by *mala*, *karma* and *māyā*. Śiva

liberates the souls at his free will by weakening the powers of impurity that results in the souls to desire for shunning worldly pleasures and pains and strives to find an officiant to get initiated. This attitude and commitment are said to be the perfect signs of *śaktipāta* (the descent of power). Then the officiant proceeds by performing subsequent rituals of initiation that enable the candidate to perform rituals prescribed in the *Āgama*-s and learn the scriptures. These philosophical postulations are well reflected and inextricably interwoven in rituals.

31 As mentioned earlier the *Siddhāntāgama*-s hold a dualistic view. Dualism is in the sense that *Jīva* can never become Śiva but equal to him (*Śivasamatā*) (*śivasamatvameveha mokṣo na tu tallayaḥ; Tattvatryanirṇayavṛtti* of *Bhaṭṭarāmakaṇṭha*, p.12.) and can enjoin the powers namely, omnipotence and omniscience. This is too possible only after death. The initiation is the necessary precondition to perform the rituals and learn the concerned scriptures. Moreover, the initiation is said to be the only means to be undergone by a practitioner in order to be eligible for attaining the highest reality viz., *Śivasamatā*.

32 Helene Brunner, *The Place of Yoga in Śaivāgamas*, Pandit N.R. Bhatt Facilitation Volume, p.439.

33 Helene Brunner, *Four Pādas of Śaivāgamas*, op. cit., pp. 264-65.

34 *ibid.*, p.265.

35 Two *Paddhati* texts following the quadri-partition are *Siddhāntasāravalī* of Trilocana (13th century A.D.) and *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* of Īśānaśivagurudeva (*Sāmānya, Mantra, Kriyā* and *Yoga*). *ibid.*, p.276.

36 See Helene Brunner, *The Place of Yoga in Śaivāgamas* pp. 426-31; and also Goodall's introduction to *Parākhyātantra*.

37 *Summary of Tantirc Śaivism*, p.2.

38 *Parākhyātantra*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

39 *ibid.*, p.xxvii.

40 See the third volume of *Rauravāgama* edited by N.R. Bhatt. There he provides the entire list of *Upāgama*-s.

41 *Earliest Śaiva Guides to Ritual*, p.2.

42 *durvāsāḥ piṅgalaścaiva ugrajyatotiḥ subodhakaḥ /*
śrīkaṇṭho viṣṇaukaṇṭhaśca vidyākaṇṭhastathaiva ca //
rāmakaṇṭho jñānaśiva jñānaśaṅkara eva ca /

somaśaṃbhur brahmaśaṃbhustrilocanaśivastathā //
aghoraśiva evātha prasādaśiva eva ca /
rāmanāthaśivaścaivam īśānaśiva eva ca //
vāruṇākhyā śivaścaiva tadāsācāryapuṅgavaḥ /
etaiḥ divyaiḥ śivācāryaiḥ paddatiḥ paribhāṣitā //

43 His other known *Saiddhāntika* works are philosophical commentaries on Bhojadeva's (Parāmāra king of 11th century A.D.) *Tattvaparakāśa*, Rāmakaṇṭha-II's *Nāḍakārikā*, Śrīkaṇṭha's *Ratnatraya* and the four works of Sadyojyotis viz., *Tattvasaṅgraha*, *Tattvatrayanirṇaya* and *Bhogakārikāca*; and *Pañcāvaraṇastava*. See Richard H. Davis, *Aghoraśiva's Background*, *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, p. 367.

44 This is not his original but a second name given at the time of initiation. He is referred to by Kashmirian exegetes by other names viz., *Kheṭakanandana* by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Kheṭakabāla* by Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha and *Kheṭapala* by Jayaratha. See Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, *The Philosophy of Sadyojyoti*, p.20.

45 Sanderson, *The Date of Sadyojyoti*, p.9.

46 *ibid.*, p.3.

47 Reference to this text is made by T. Ganesan in *Concept of Mukti and Its Means in Śaivasiddhānta*, fn. 9, p. 5.

48 T. Ganesan, *Śaivasiddhānta*, pp.522-23.

49 He has been hailed by traditionalists as *Sakalāgamapaṇḍita*. T. Ganesan, *Sanskrit and Tamil for Śaivism*, p.3

50 It is further postulated in *Civaññāpōtam* that Śiva being embodied as preceptor (*ācārya*) keeps the self at his holy feet by removing the constraining *mala*. According to Śivāgrayogi it is Śiva who kindles the innate *Śivānanda* of the Self after removing all the fetters and pouring the rain of his bliss and merging the Self into himself. Nigamajñāna adds further that the bliss of the liberated self and Śiva are of different nature.

With respect to means capable of leading to liberation the exegetes of principal *Siddhāntāgama*-s namely, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Rāmakaṇṭha and Aghoraśiva had held the view that the initiation is the only way out. But the followers of *Śivajñānabodha* School believe that it is the dawn of *Jñāna* - the undifferentiated unity with Śiva- leads the soul to liberation. The liberation according to Sivāgrayogin is the manifestation of one's innate Śivahood

(*muktiḥ...malavidaraṇapūrvikā sivābhivyaktiḥ*). See T. Ganesan, *Concept of Mukti and Its Means in Saivasiddhānta*, for a detailed discussion on how liberation is held differently within the tradition of Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta.

⁵¹ Mark observes that the texts- particularly *Netratantra* and *Brahmayāmala* which were written before ninth century- did not seem to be referring to a mode of division of *tantra*-s of Śaivism into five currents (*srotas*). Later texts divide *tantra*-s into *Vāma*, *Siddhānta* and *Bhairava*. The *Siddhānta tantra*-s are further divided into *Śivabheda*-s and *Rudrabheda*-s. The *Bhairava tantra*-s are further categorized into *Mantrapīṭha* and *Vidyāpīṭha*. The *Netratantra* also presents same three- fold division. The presiding deities in these classifications of *tantra*-s are said to be *Tumburu*, *Bhairava* and *Sadāśiva*. It further mentions about the scriptures that belong to *Dakṣiṇasrotaḥ* (i.e., *Bhairava tantra*-s) as forming "the division into eight times eight" (*aṣṭāṣṭakavibhāga*) also known as '*Bhairavāṣṭaka*'. See Shaman Hatley, *The Brahmayāmalatantra and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs*, p. 216 and 266. also *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, to know the slight variation in the order and name of eight *Bhairava*-s and the corresponding *tantra*-s known by their names according to the list of *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇa-sārasamuccaya*, *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasamhitā*, *Jayadrathayāmala* and *Brahmayāmala*. pp. 44-46.

⁵² Here the *pīṭha* denotes 'a collection' of scriptures.
śrīmadānandaśāstrāḍau proktaṃ bhagavatā kila /
samūhaḥ pīṭhaṃ etaccadvidhā dakṣiṇavāmataḥ /
mantra vidyeti . . . (T.Ā. 37/18).

⁵³ *iha vidyāmantramudrāmaṇḍalātmatayā catuṣpīṭhaṃ tāvacchāstram* (T.Ā, Vol. XIb), p.114. Mark observes that the order is slightly different in *Svacchandatantra*.

mudrā maṇḍalapīṭhaṃ tu mantrapīṭhaṃ tathaiva ca /
vidyāpīṭhaṃ tathaiveha catuṣpīṭhā tu samhitā // Vol. I, p.10.

⁵⁴ He is visualized as "white, five faced (the embodiment of the five *brahmamantra*-s) and eighteen armed. He is worshiped with his identical consort *Aghoreśvarī*, surrounded by eight lesser *Bhairava*-s within a circular enclosure of cremation grounds. He stands upon the prostrate corpse of

Sadāśiva, the now transcended Śiva-from worshipped in the *Śaivasiddhānta*. Alexis Sanderson, *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, p.6.

55 See Mark, Appendix C. pp.107-110. for more information on details of these *tantra*-s.

56 *svacchandabhairavascaṇḍaḥ krodha unmattabhairavaḥ /*
granthāntarāṇi catvāri mantrapīṭhaṃ varānane // I.4-7//

57 See Sanderson, *History Through Textual Criticism*, fn. 24, p.20.

58 *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, p.670.

59 *ibid.*

60 *The Śaiva Age- The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period*, p. 49.

61 *daṃpatyayogataḥ pūjā yāmaleti nigadyate*. Cited from *Bramayāmala* (I. xxxiii. 25b) by Shaman Hatley, see fn., p. 238; at another place *Brahmayāmala* explains clearly why it is a *yāmala* as it encompasses within itself a variety of oppositions (*yāmala*): those of liberation and supernatural attainment (*mukti and bhukti*); ritual and doctrine (*kriyā and jñāna*); and teachings of both 'pure' and 'impure' way, as well as the 'mixed' and 'unmixed' ritual paths. *ibid.*, p. 242.

62 Shaman Hatley, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

63 *ibid.* 237.

64 The name and numbers of *yāmala*-s slightly vary in accordance with scriptural sources. For example, *Brahmayāmala* (XXXVIII. 25cd-27ab) provides the list of eight of them;

rudrayāmalaṃ anyañca tathā vai skandayāmalam /

brahmayāmalaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalamameva ca //

yamayāmalaṃ cānyaṃ vāyuyāmalamameva ca /

kubera yāmalaṃ caiva indrayāmalamameva ca //. cited by Hatley in footnote 10, p. 240; see also Mark, pp. 114-19.

65 *ibid.*, p.239.

66 For better understanding of distinguishing feature of *Kaulism* Hatley's observation (following the lead of Sanderson) will be worth quoting. "In the domain of ritual the *Kaula* tradition attenuated the mortuary or *Kāpālīka* dimension of the *Vidyāpīṭha*, shifting the primary locus of ritual from the cremation ground to the body and consciousness itself. This shift involved

internalization and simplification of ritual processes, increasingly interiorized conceptions of divine agencies, disavowal of the outer trappings of the *Kāpālīka* ascetic, emphasis on ecstatic experience in erotic ritual, development of comparatively sophisticated systems of *Yoga*. The *Kaula* tradition hence transforms the *Vidyāpīṭha* emphasis on the potency of 'impure' ritual substances, the cult of spirits and visionary, transactional encounters with deities, although these dimensions persist to some degree. In addition, on the social level; the *Kaula* opened up new possibilities for the engagement of practitioners maintaining conventional social identities and kinship relations." *op.cit.*, pp.156-57.

⁶⁷ Sanderson observes that three Goddesses *Parā*, *Parāparā* and *Aparā* who were worshiped externally on red cloth upon the ground, in circle filled with vermilion powder and enclosed with a black border, on a coconut substituted for a human skull, a vessel filled with wine or other alcohol, or on a *maṇḍala* later on started to be worshipped within vital energy (*prāṇa*) or in thought (*saṃvidi pūjā*). In the ritual system of external worship the *Kaula Trika* also emphasized on spontaneity and intensity of immersion (*tanmayībhāva*, *saṃāveśa*) over elaborate ritual. *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, pp.679-81.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.11.

⁶⁹ *Kiss of the Yoginī*, p.37.

⁷⁰ It is an unpublished thesis submitted to the University of Pennsylvania in 2007.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp.11-17.

⁷² Alexis Sanderson observes that "the kaula form of the cult of the three goddesses of the trident was well established among the Kashmir by the beginning of the ninth century; and our first detailed exegesis of Kashmiri Trika, at the end of the tenth century, shows that there had long existed a hierarchical distinction between the lower, Tantric form of the cult (*tantra-prakriyā*) and the new Kaula tradition". See *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, p.681.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.687.

⁷⁴ Sanderson points out two more peculiarities viz., the scriptures of this tradition consider themselves above *Vidyāpīṭha* and external worship is looked upon as inferior to mental worship. One more noteworthy point is unlike in the other

tantra-s of *Vidyāpīṭha*, the Goddess teaches the Bhirava here in the texts of this tradition. *ibid.*, p.684.

75 *Manthānabhairavatantra*, Vol.II, p.96.

76 *trikoṇamanākhyātam*. P.64.

77 *ibid.*, Vol.III, p.1.

78 *madhumatyā mahādevyā stādādmyaṃ kādisaṅjñakam /*
kālīmataṃ tu mālinyā stādātmyaṃ tāntrikā viduḥ // Śrīvidyārṇavatanaṃ, I.
4.//

79 *saṃpradāyo hi nānyo'sti loke śrīśaṅkarād bahiḥ /*
kādiśaktimate tantraṃ tantrarājaṃ sudurlabham // ibid., I. 98 //

māṭṭrākṛṇavasāṅjñam tu tripurārṇavasāṅjñakam /
yoginīhṛdayaṃ caiva khyātaṃ grantha catuṣṭayam // 99//

80 *Tantra Illuminated-the Philosophy, History and Practice of a Timeless Tradition*, pp.284-85.

81 There is a difference of opinion regarding the authorship. Kṣemarāja upholds the view that it was authored by Vasugupta himself whereas, Utpalavaiṣṇava believed that it was written by Kallaṭa. see K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta – An Historical and Philosophical Study*, pp.154-55; Kamalakar Misra, *Kashmir Śaivism- the Central Philosophy of Tantrism*, introduction , pp.60-61.

82 See K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 156.

83 He is also said to have written a *vivṛti* on the same and a commentary on *Parātriṃśikā* called *Parātriṃśikāvivṛti*, *ibid.*, p.162.

84 *ibid.*, p. 289.

85 *ibid.*, p.163-64.; Kamalakar Misra, p.62.

86 See Gerard Colas, *History of Vaiṣṇava Traditions*, pp.230-33 for inscriptional evidences of the presence of sect in early period.

87 Dvivedi speaks of three divisions of scriptures of Vaiṣṇavism by including the *Bhāgavata* as the third one. There he lists the names of eight *Bhāgavata* Texts. See *Vaiṣṇavāgamavimarśaḥ*, p. 15.

88 Sanderson notes "*Vaiṣṇavism* gained ground again only towards the end of our period, and in subsequent centuries. Before that happened, while it remained in the shadow of *Śaivism*, it gave rise to a new literature of scriptural texts known collectively as the *Pāñcarātra*, that was probably composed in an around Kashmir. A form of *Vaiṣṇavism* bearing this name is already

mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It is very probable, therefore, that it was in existence well before the *Śaiva Mantramārga*. "*Śaiva Age*, p.61.

89 Mitsunori Matsubara, *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and Early Vaiṣṇava Theology*, Introduction, p.2.

90 Dvivedi, *op. cit.*, p.24.

91 See Mitsunori Matsubara, pp.7-11; F.O. Schrader, pp.27-29. for the extensive meaning of the word *Pāñcarātra*.

92 *rātram ca jñānavacanam jñānam pañcavidham smṛtam /*

tenedaṃ pāñcarātram hi pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ // Nāradapāñcarātra. 1.44 //

93 This does not find mention in *Lakṣmītantra* and *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*. And *Svabhāva* is the term used in the *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā* instead of *antaryāmin*. *ibid.*, p.29.

94 *Pāñcarātra*, *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, Vol. III. P. 446.

95 see pp.6-12.

96 *sātvataṃ pauṣkaraṃ caiva jayākhyam tantramuttamam /*

ratnatrayamiti khyātam tadviśeṣa ihocyate // Jayākhyāsaṃhitā (JS). I. 80.

97 The ritual injunctions of these texts are practically applied in the three south Indian temples namely Melkote in Mysore, Srirangam and Kancipuram. Gonda. p.61.

98 *ibid.*, p.95.

99 Schrader notes that the texts mentioned him by name are *Jayākhyā* (*Srījaya* / *Jayā*), *Haṃsapārameśvara*, *Vaiḥyasa* and *Śrīkālpara*. p.21.

100 Sanderson also makes the reference of the same texts as early ones. His list of early texts is as follows: *Svāyambhuvapāñcarātra*, *Devāmṛtapāñcarātra*, *Vāsudevakalpa* of the *Mahālakṣmīsaṃhitā*, *Jayottara*, *Jayākhyā*, *Sātvata* and *Pauṣkara*. He further states that "Now, of these, three, namely the *Jayottara* and *Jayākhyā*, and the *Sātvata*, are very unlikely to have been produced before the ninth century, that is to say, at a time when *Śaiva Mantramārga* had been flourishing under widespread royal patronage for at least two centuries and had been existence in some form by a time no later than the middle of the sixth and perhaps as early as the middle of the fifth. For all three focus on the worship of a form of Vāsudeva, called *Vaikuṇṭha* in the *Jayākhyā* and *Jayottara* and *Śaktyātman* or *Śaktīśa* in the *Sātvatasāṃhitā*, in which the principal anthropomorphic face is flanked by the faces of *Narasimha* and

Varāha, with a fourth face, that of the sage Kapila at the rear. "*The Śaiva Age*, p.62.

101 Scharder, p. 21, 110; Matsubara , p. 17.

102 pp.17- 33.

103 *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, Vol.I, Introduction, p.80.

104 *taccaturdhā sthitam śāstram ṛgādivadanekadhā /*
ekaikaṃ bhidyate tantraṃ śākhābhedenā bhūyasā //
prathamam mantrasiddhāntam dvitīyam cāgamāhvayam /
ṛtīyam tantrasiddhāntam turyam tantrāntaram bhavet // *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* , p.
 9.

105 Sanderson points out that the *Pāñcarātra* corpus available today are "product of a thorough reformation in which Vaiṣṇavas followed the example of the already flourishing *Śaiva Mantramārga* in order to provide themselves with a substantially new ritual system that would enable them to compete more effectively with their rivals." *The Śaiva Age*, p. 61.

106 *trividhena prakāreṇa paramam brahma śāśvatam /*
ārādhayanti ye teṣāṃ rāgastiṣṭhati dūrataḥ // I.23 //

107 *śāṭṭṛya vigrahaṃ devaṃ bhāsvajjvalanatejasam /*
sarvataḥ pāṇipādaṃ tat sarvatokṣi śiromukham // *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā*, .6. 25;
 the six qualities are *jñāna* (omniscience), *aiśvarya* (qualities of lordship), *śakti* (potency), *bala* (Force), *vīrya* (virility) and *tejas* (brilliant energy).

108 According to the principles of *Pāñcarātra*, the creation of the universe proceeds through five different stages namely *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcā*. It is the Supreme Being, Puruṣa or Vāsudeva awakens his energy Śakti / Lakṣmī. The Śakti along with her two aspects that foster the process of creation namely, Kriyāśakti (force of acting) and *Bhūti* (force of becoming) flashes up as an aftermath of her awakening. Then the six qualities emerge in two pairs of which three of them are connected with Kriyāśakti and rest three is connected with Bhūti. The real process of creation starts with emergence of three *vyūha*-s namely Saṃkarṣaṇa (soul), Pradyumna (intellect) and Aniruddha (ego), of which each constitutes the six qualities but only two of them are said to be dominating at a time viz. *jñāna* and *bala*, *aiśvarya* and *vīrya*, *śakti* and *tejas*. (gonda p.65). All these processes commence from

Vāsudeva who is the fourth Vibhava, possess within the six qualities with equal dominance.

These four *vyūha*-s appear almost same in all *Pāñcarātra Āgama*-s except In *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*. According to it the four *vyūha*-s consist of Acyuta, Satya, Puruṣa and Ananta.(JS.IV.4-7)

109 From the each *vyūha* springs forth the three sub-*vyūha*-s (or *vyūhāntara*-s) named after the twelve epithets of Viṣṇu.

110 There are forty manifestations beginning with *Padmanābha*. see *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, Intro, pp.104-5. for the entire list; the early texts viz., *Jayākhyā*, *Ahīrbudhnya* and *Lakṣmī* do not deal with the *Vibhava*.

111 *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, intro. p.14.

112 Gerard Colas, *History of Vaiṣṇava Traditions*, pp.235-36; Brill's *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, p.590.

113 Brill, p.591; Blackwell, p. 236.

114 Brill, p.591.

115 Out of his nine disciples viz.,

kāśyapo atrir marīciśca vasiṣṭho āṅgirasas hyaham /
pulastyaḥ pulahaścaiva kratuśca navasaṅkyakāḥ //

ete vikhanasaḥ śiṣyāḥ lokānugrahakāriṇaḥ / only four were known as the authors of *Samhita*-s.

116 Dvivedi, *Vaiṣṇavāgamavimarśaḥ*, p.59.

117 *Gonda*, p.150.

118 Brill, pp-595; Blackwell, p.244.

119 Brill, p.596.

120 *ibid.*

121 Sanderson observes that 'By the 8th century CE the Buddhists had accumulated a hierarchy of Tantric revelations roughly parallel in its organization and character to that of *Mantramārga*.' *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, p.678.

122 In another system of classification *Yogottaratantra*-s and *Yogānuttara tantra*-s are grouped together and designated as *Anuttaratantra*-s.

123 Sanderson, *Śaiva Age*, p. 157.

124 Cristopher Wallis, *Buddhism*, p.12.

125 "thus most of the material in the *Abhidhānottaratantra* and *Samputodbhavantra* listing the characteristics by which Yoginīs of different

sorts may be recognized, and the sign language and syllabic codes with which they must be addressed (*chommā*), has been lifted with some Buddhist overwriting from such *Vidyāpīṭha* texts as the *Yoginīsamcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmālatantra*, the *Picumata- Brahmayāmālatantra* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*." *Śaivism and Tantric Traditions*, p.679.

¹²⁶ Sanderson, *Vajrayāna —Origin and Function*, pp.94-5.

¹²⁷ *Buddhism and the Issue of Co-functionality with Śaivism in the Early Medieval Period*, pp.18-20.

¹²⁸ For a detailed discussion on these authors and tantras see S.C Banerji, *Tantra in Bengal- A Study in its Origin, Development and Influence*, pp.77-87.

