

A HISTORY  
OF INDIAN LITERATURE

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JAN GONDA

MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS  
LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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EDITED BY JAN GONDA

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Jan Gonda

## MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

### CHAPTER I

#### GENERAL INTRODUCTION. THE ĀGAMAS

The subject of this fascicle, medieval religious literature in Sanskrit, is varied and wide in scope, including an almost countless number of mainly Viṣṇuite and Śivaite hymns, treatises, ritual manuals, commentaries and ancillary writings. A considerable part of these works has not yet attracted the attention which they deserve; regrettably enough, most Indologists are not, or not much, interested in these important sources of knowledge of India's living religions. Many texts have not even found an editor; translations are few in number. That is why the following pages can hardly be expected to offer the reader more than a survey of this literature so far as the publication of texts, the limited number of translations, and the books and other studies written by predecessors and obtainable in Europe have made it known to the present author. Attention will be focussed mainly on the contents of the works discussed, their significance, influence and position both from the point of view of the historian of Sanskrit literature and from the angle of the student of Indian religions. These texts are in fact first and foremost documents of religions which in many respects differ from the ideas formed by students in the West under the influence of their one-sided interest in the ancient periods of the Indian religious history. Whether Śivaite or Viṣṇuite these ritual handbooks, legends, hymns, eulogies, mythology and philosophies reveal a Hinduism that essentially concentrates upon devotion, sacrificial cult, pilgrimage and adoration of images and symbols and a belief in Divine grace.

Although it is not possible exactly to delimit the various genres of literature dealt with in this fascicle *bhakti* texts, hymns of praise and some other categories will, as far as feasible, be treated separately. However, a good many of the works studied belong to or are more or less dependent on the so-called Āgama literature of the Hindu period.<sup>1</sup> This class of writings should therefore be characterized first.

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<sup>1</sup> J. FILLIOZAT, Nouvelles recherches sur l'Hindouisme et son expansion, Journal

Constituting, beside the epics, *dharma* texts and *purāṇas*, one of the most important bodies of Hindu tradition couched in Sanskrit the *āgamas* mainly teach *sādhanā*, that is, how to realize practically the truths of religion. Religious devotion being up to the present day strong among the masses and religious practice being a constant part of village life the influence of these works has been profound. They govern, to a large extent and in various ways, temple and household ritual of all traditional religious communities and life and behaviour of their members.<sup>2</sup> Since religion comprises the whole of a community's belief and practice toward the supernatural these works include also chapters on the theoretical foundations of their ritual institutions, on origins and on various philosophical concepts. Far from being a uniform and homogeneous collection they embody doctrines of several religious currents. In a narrower sense the term *āgama* ("tradition" or "sacred traditional doctrine") is especially applied to Śivaite works (*śaiva āgama*). Whereas the *śākta āgamas*, āgamic books of the Śāktists or worshippers of Durgā—which will not be included in the following chapters—are better known as *tantras*<sup>3</sup>—a term which is however not foreign to the two other religions to denote their own literature—the Viṣṇuite texts of this category are often called *saṃhitā*.<sup>4</sup> It is true that this enormous literature, sometimes also comprehensively known as *tantra* writings,<sup>5</sup> included similar works of some minor currents, those of Brahmā, the Sun, Skanda-Kumāra (e.g. ViS. 2, 20); the vestiges left of these religions do not however belong to this class.<sup>6</sup>

The subject-matter of the *āgamas* is generally held to be dealt with under

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des savants 1962, p. 193 is a good introductory article. See also H. BRUNNER, Importance de la littérature āgamique pour l'étude des religions vivantes de l'Inde, in *Indologica Taurinensia*, 3. For this class of writings in general see FARQUHAR, R.L.I., esp. p. 182ff.; GONDA, R.I. I, p. 223; II, p. 353 (Index); BHANDARKAR, V.Ś.; D.CH. SIRCAR, J. SINHA, K.R. VENKATARAMAN, V. RANGACHARYA, in C.H.I. IV, p. 108 etc. RENOU(-FILLOZAT), I.C. I, p. 423; 631; 648; DIEHL, I.P., p. 42. For an incomplete bibliography: HAJIME NAKAMURA, Religions and philosophies of India, III Hinduism, Tokyo 1974.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. also P.T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, History of the Tamils, Madras 1929, p. 103; J. WOODROFFE, Shakti and Shākta, Essays on the Shākta Tantra Shāstra, Madras 1951, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. P.T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, Outlines of Indian philosophy, Benares 1909, p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> For the application of the term *āgama* to their own scriptures by Viṣṇuites see VAN BUITENEN, Y. Ā.P., p. 5; 36.

<sup>5</sup> Or *āgama* is said to be the name for 'scripture' of all the three currents and this is constituted of scriptures called *tantras* (Arthur Avalon, pseudonym for J. Woodroffe). Compare also GONDA, R.I. II, p. 27. Mbh. 13, 133, 60 "āgamas are the established usages of the popular religions ordained in the past" (*āgamāl lokadharmāṇām maryādāḥ pūrvanirmītāḥ*). The term *tantra* is often preferred in the North, *āgama* in the South.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 148; 151; 388.

four heads or rather is theoretically divisible into four categories:<sup>7</sup> higher knowledge (*jñāna*) which gives access to final emancipation (*mukti, mokṣa*); the doctrine and practice of concentration (*yoga*); 'action', that is all activities in connexion with the building of temples, from their foundation to their completion as well as the installation of the images according to prescribed rules (*kriyā*); and the performance of daily worship and other rites, festivals etcetera (*caryā*). However, statements about the distinction between *kriyā* and *caryā* are often vague. Sometimes *kriyā* is defined as the ritual activities proper, *caryā* as the attendance at temple worship and auxiliary service;<sup>8</sup> it is conventional behaviour as a means of shielding one's life from external disruptions and of regulating it in such a way that it appears to men and divine powers as predictable. Elsewhere *kriyā* comprises worship in general and *caryā* ethics, customs and conventions as well as caste distinctions, the place of the worshipper in society and his ritually correct behaviour.<sup>9</sup> There is moreover considerable variation in these works in respect of the stress laid on and the space devoted to the four subjects. In many books, it is the practical portion (*kriyā* and *caryā*) that is dealt with at greater length and many works focus attention exclusively on ritual practice. Moreover, those which do discuss all the four categories are usually arranged in other ways and under other aspects.<sup>10</sup> One of the very few works which actually consists of the above four sections,<sup>11</sup> the Viṣṇuite Pādma-Saṃhitā or Pādma-Tantra, shows what was the proportion of interest taken in each of the four branches: in a printed edition (Mysore 1891) these occupy 45, 11, 215 and 376 pages respectively. To judge from the number of pages *kriyā* is often the most important section and it has even been said that this subject contains the other three and therefore is the most important one.<sup>12</sup> The division into four parts does not indeed fit most texts very well, sometimes not at all. The theoretical parts are as a rule treated by way of introduction or digression.

These works are, on the other hand, almost self-sufficient and in a way encyclopaedic in their special field. Just as the Veda was already at an early date held to be "endless in extent" and the Mahābhārata prides itself on containing all traditional lore and being the source of all stories found on earth, the Śivāgama pretended absolute comprehensiveness in all matters dealt with

<sup>7</sup> Cf. e.g. ViS. 1, 34 *jñāna-caryā-kriyā-yoga-śubhapādacatuṣṭayām (viṣṇusamhitām)*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also DIEHL, I.P., p. 50; ViS. ch. 29.

<sup>9</sup> Suprapētākamam, Madras 1907, quoted by DIEHL, I.P., p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> See also DIEHL, I.P., p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> Among those authors who were incorrect in suggesting that the fourfold division is proper to all works of this class was R. W. FRAZER, Śaivism, in ERE XI, p. 95.

<sup>12</sup> SANMUKA CUNTARAR, Preface to the Kāmikāgama (Kāmikam), I, Madras 1889.



in other authoritative treatises.<sup>13</sup> Actually, however, they show little interest in myths and legends which are so frequent in the *purāṇas*. It is an erroneous belief that all *purāṇas* are older than the *āgamas*—some *purāṇas* have indeed absorbed much āgamic subject matter—although most works of the āgamic variety are no doubt younger than many *purāṇas* with which they have, on the other hand, a number of striking characteristics in common. However, all āgamic schools accept the doctrine of the “three realities” (*tattvatrayam*), viz. the Supreme Being, the individual souls, and the objective universe. That means that they do not take the point of view of Śāṅkara’s monism. Some elements of their philosophical convictions are distinct from those of the six *darśanas* (the so-called orthodox philosophical schools). Another feature—pronounced, it is true, especially in the scriptures of the Viṣṇuites—of this literature is *bhakti*.<sup>14</sup> Although a thorough and comparative study of all āgamic texts is far from being completed and it is therefore difficult to say to what extent these writings differ from each other in detail<sup>15</sup> the present state of our knowledge seems to allow of the opinion that “they are largely variant aspects of the same general ideas and practices”.<sup>16</sup> In any case, the three great currents—Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta—have all the chief elements of their cult, to which we shall have to revert, in common and base these—it is true not without interesting differences—largely on the same theoretical foundations.

A problem which must be touched upon at greater length in some of the following sections concerns the position of the āgamic literature in the religious traditions of the Hindus. It has often been said that their ‘orthodoxy’ is, generally speaking, dubious. One should rather speak of and ask about their affirmative or negative attitude towards the Vedic and brahminical traditions. Because of their attachment to the non-Vedic tenets of their scriptures the adherents of the āgamic systems were often stamped as deviating from Vedic truth and tradition. Indian authors of repute even discarded not only the Buddhists and the Jains, but also the Pāñcarātras<sup>17</sup> (Bhāgavatas) and the Śivaite Pāśupatas as being outside the true Vedic tradition, because their teachings are contrary to the contents of the Veda.<sup>18</sup> In many purāṇic texts the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātras are, for instance, described as “destitute forms of

<sup>13</sup> TB. 3, 10, 11, 4; Mbh. 1, 2, 238; 240. The text quoted from the Vāyusamhitā by Mrs BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. VI, n. 2 is obviously an imitation of Mbh. 1, 56, 33 “Whatever is here on *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* is found elsewhere; but what is not here is nowhere else”.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 192.

<sup>16</sup> WOODROFFE, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>17</sup> The texts are called Pāñcarātra, the doctrines, cult and devotees Pāñcarātra.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. IV, p. 7; KANE, H.Dh. II, p. 736; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. IV; GONDA, R.I. II, Register, s.s.v.v.; S. PADMANABHAN, Śrīpraśna Samhitā, Tirupati 1969, p. XIII; H. H. WILSON-HALL, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, V, London 1870, p. 379.

*dharma*". Others however were more in favour of the āgamic doctrines and distinguished between Vedic and non-Vedic Pāñcarātras and Pāsupatas. Up to the present day part of the adherents of these *śaiva* and *vaiṣṇava* religions are irrationally convinced of the authority of the Veda and the unity of the Hindu tradition to the point that they deny the presence of any non-Vedic addition to their systems.<sup>19</sup> Others prefer to explain the occurrence of the non-Vedic elements of their religion by the supposition of an oral esoteric tradition of Vedic origin which in due course was revealed by the compilers of the āgamic literature. Generally speaking, the Viṣṇuites claim recognition of their orthodoxy because they profess allegiance and regard themselves as true to the principles of the Vedic-brahminical tradition.<sup>20</sup> Part of the Śivaites of the South, however, regard their *āgamas* as a sanskritization of an originally Dravidian (Tamil) tradition which they believe to have been transmitted orally before disappearing. This cannot however be shown demonstrably.

It is warranted to assume that some of the elements which the writings discussed in this fascicle have in common with traditional Brahmanism have developed from ancient Vedic and upaniṣadic lore. Other elements must however be rather regarded as being incorporated in the course of time. These cults and doctrines were 'sanskritized'<sup>21</sup> and held to be based on and to be in harmony with, the Veda.<sup>22</sup> The followers of the āgamic currents sought to prove their 'orthodoxy', their loyalty to the brahminical tradition, by interpreting the *upaniṣads* in accordance with their own doctrines. The natural bent of the Indian mind for assimilation, the ample room left for completion and amplification of the brahminical tradition and the many possibilities of interpretation and reinterpretation of the ancient authorities contributed much to facilitating this process. Some communities, especially the Viṣṇuite Vaikhānasas, were strongly inclined to stress the Vedic elements of their tradition, whereas their Pāñcarātra co-religionists preferred to propagate the 'āgamic' way to be followed in worship services and installation of their images.

Notwithstanding its extent and importance as a source of knowledge of the two main religious currents of Hinduism these āgamic writings are, outside the circles of the Indian experts, comparatively little known. For many years only

<sup>19</sup> BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. IV.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. GONDA, V. L., p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> For the incorporation of outsiders into the fold of Hinduism basing itself on Sanskrit texts and the 'homologation' of their traditions etc. see e.g. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 363 (Register); V. Ś., p. 62; 173 (n. 10).

<sup>22</sup> In this connexion the Veda and (or) the works auxiliary to and explanatory of the Veda are also called *nigama*. Sometimes the opinion is expressed that both *nigama* and *āgama* are derived from a common "root" (*mūla*) Veda (see G. SRINIVASA MURTI, Introduction to Ś. P. R., p. XII). For the term *mūlavēda* see also BhS. 3, 45; par. 1, 12 comm. Remarkably enough Hārīta, an ancient authority on *dharma* (quoted by Kullūka, on Manu 2, 1) went so far as to say that the 'revealed texts' (*śruti*) are of two kinds, viz. the Vedic and the Tantric.

a meagre literature was available in Western languages on these religions, the life of their followers, their teachings and literary traditions. This scarcity of information sprang partly from a certain seclusiveness of the adherents of these religions themselves who, being afraid of misunderstanding and lack of sympathy on the part of outsiders, made little effort to reach a wider reading public.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, many Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas belonging to the younger generation do no longer care for their literature. There are, however, successful undertakings of 'revivalists',<sup>24</sup> for instance a monthly magazine (1947) on Vedic Dharma in Tamil which, while basing itself on the old traditions, is not without value for a better understanding of present-day Hinduism.<sup>25</sup> In the West the study of the *āgamas* and *saṃhitās* has been a badly neglected field<sup>26</sup> far into the present century.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. also F.S. GROWSE, Mathurā, <sup>3</sup>Allahabad 1883, p. 289; N. HEIN, The miracle plays of Mathurā, New Haven-London 1972, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> DIEHL, I.P., p. 54; 58.

<sup>25</sup> Vaitika Tarma Varttiṇi, Madras.

<sup>26</sup> In 1908 G. A. GRIERSON (IA 37, p. 262) could write that the Nārāyaṇiṇya section of the Mahābhārata is the only fairly full account of the Pāñcarātra doctrines that we possess. Scholars have long been so ignorant of the contents of these works that they mistook them for the writings of Tantrism or even denied the existence of ritual handbooks of the Hindu religions. All information given by WINTERITZ, G.I.L. III, p. 634 consists of a note of thirteen lines on some Pāñcarātra texts. A. A. MACDONELL, A history of Sanskrit literature, London 1900, New-Delhi 1961, does not mention the *āgama* literature at all.

## CHAPTER II

### VIṢṆUISM

Although a regular account of the main relevant historical facts relating to the history of those currents of religious thought which are collectively known as Viṣṇuism would be a superfluity<sup>1</sup> some introductory observations on those aspects of this religion which are essential to a better understanding of the literature described in the following sections can not be omitted. Devout Vaiṣṇavas are generally speaking inclined to emphasize God's omnipotence and the effects of His grace. They attach much value to *ahimsā*, and to God's praise and the commemoration of His deeds as a means of self-realization. Positions of religious leadership often fall to non-brahmin householders or to devout *sādhus*, who by birth can be of any caste or origin. The religion of many Viṣṇuites is inclusive in spirit,<sup>2</sup> allowing them to render a secondary worship to Śiva. For them the belief that Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme Deity does not imply that the other gods are worthless fictions.

It seems safe to assume that in the centuries preceding the Bhagavadgītā (probably 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.) various cults and beliefs, presumably tending towards some more or less distinct forms of monotheism, contributed to the rise of this multiform religion. In the ancient works belonging to the Viṣṇuite tradition, the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad (approximately 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.)<sup>3</sup> and the Bhagavadgītā, Viṣṇu himself is only mentioned in passing, in contradistinction to Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa<sup>4</sup> who in the course of time came to fuse

<sup>1</sup> See J. GONDA, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, <sup>2</sup>Delhi 1969; Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, London 1970; R. I. I, p. 216 etc.; II, p. 366 (Index); in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15<sup>th</sup> ed. (1974), s.v. Hinduism, p. 891; and compare, *inter alia*, BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 1; S. KRISHNASWĀMI AIYANGAR, Early history of Vaishnavism in South India, Oxford 1920; J. E. CARPENTER, Theism in medieval India, London 1921, p. 370; CH. ELIOT, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, London 1921, <sup>3</sup>1957, p. 136; T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Madras 1923; D. CH. SIRCAR and J. SINHA, in C. H. I. <sup>2</sup>IV, p. 108; 146; D. CH. SIRCAR, in H. C. I. P. <sup>2</sup>II, p. 431; III, p. 414; S. CHATTOPADHYAYA, The evolution of theistic sects in ancient India, Calcutta 1962; S. JAISWAL, The origin and development of Vaiṣṇavism, Delhi 1967; B. V. RAMANUJAM, History of Vaishnavism in South India up to Rāmānuja, Annamalai Univ. 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. HACKER, Religiöse Toleranz und Intoleranz im Hinduismus, Saeculum 8 (1957), p. 167; 177.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. VARENNE, La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, Paris 1960, II, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The origin of these figures need not detain us. For the former see GONDA, R. I. I, p. 238; 246f. etc.; about the latter GONDA, R. I. I, p. 233; 237 etc.; in general, N. CHAUDHURI, in IHQ 20, p. 275; JAISWAL, O. D. V., p. 62; 76.

with the Vedic figure who was to give his name to the amalgamation. How the three cults succeeded in combining is for lack of textual evidence largely shrouded in mystery. Nevertheless, the unmistakable tendency to identify various ideas of the Highest is already evidenced by ŚB. 13, 6, 1, 1, where the Puruṣa of ṚV. 10, 90, the Primeval Person and Ultimate Reality, is called Nārāyaṇa. According to the ancient tradition (*anukramaṇī*) this figure is the seer (poet) of this Ṛgvedic 'hymn':<sup>5</sup> in all probability one of those cases in which an historical or legendary founder of a religious movement was identified with the god he preached. In the same and other Vedic texts<sup>6</sup> the Puruṣa and the creator god Prajāpati, the lord of creatures (or of his offspring), tend to fuse, and the latter is described as becoming and as imitating, that is identifying himself with, Viṣṇu.<sup>7</sup>

Another phenomenon which manifested itself already at an early date is the incorporation of adherents of particular cults into the fold of the traditional brahmanic community. An attempt in this direction was already made in the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad, a work which is also handed down as the tenth book of the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.<sup>8</sup> In its central section (st. 201–269) it praises Nārāyaṇa as the Supreme Lord of the Universe, Brahman, the world ground, Prajāpati, the Puruṣa, Hari, the Highest Light, which on the other hand is also Viṣṇu (cf. 471 f.), "the chief of the gods" (st. 113). In the two accounts of Nārāyaṇa's teachings in the Mahābhārata (12, a. 322 ff.<sup>9</sup>) the brahmanic tendency is clear from the references to traditional, so-called orthodox ideas, brahmanic saints and sages as sponsors of Nārāyaṇa's theology, respect betrayed for asceticism (*tapas*) and the brahmanic sacrificial rites notwithstanding the recognized superiority of *bhakti*.<sup>10</sup> It is, indeed, in the same epic that Nārāyaṇa, expounding his own nature, appears as the founder of a religion of devotion (*bhakti*) and at the same time as the Puruṣa, the Universal Spirit, the eternal, immeasurable, omnipresent ultimate source of the world and all its inhabitants. The Nārāyaṇīya (the section 12, 321–339 of the Mahābhārata, of uncertain date<sup>11</sup>)<sup>12</sup> gives us very welcome information on an earlier—most probably, not the 'pure' initial—stage of the religion and cult described in the Viṣṇuite *āgamas*. It is a curious reconciliation of upaniṣadic monism, yogic tendencies,

<sup>5</sup> See GONDA, V. L., p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> For details see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 5; 6, 7, 2, 12 ff.; 6, 7, 4, 7.

<sup>8</sup> See GONDA, V. L., p. 429.

<sup>9</sup> Critical edition, Poona 1933–1966. See MRINAL DAS GUPTA, Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyaṇīya worship, in *IHQ* 7 (1931), p. 93, 343, 655; 8 (1932), p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Mbh. 12, 326, 7 f. where Nārāyaṇa is described as uttering the Sāvitrī (the Vedic *mantra* ṚV. 3, 62, 10).

<sup>11</sup> But later than the Bhagavadgītā from which it differs in important respects.

<sup>12</sup> For a survey see S. SØRENSEN, An index to the names in the Mahābhārata, London 1904, <sup>2</sup>Delhi 1963; G. A. GRIERSON, The Nārāyaṇīya and the Bhāgavatas, in *IA* 37 (1908), p. 251; and especially 373; BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 4; H. JACOBI, Mahābhārata, Bonn 1903, p. 155;

quasi-Sāṃkhya dualism and brahmanic ritualism with a devotional worship of a personal god, inadequately and even incongruously founded on a consistent philosophic system but profusely couched in the style of mythological imagery.

In the Nārāyaṇīya the name of Kṛṣṇa is not much in prominence—he is one of the forms of Nārāyaṇa born as Dharma's son (12, 321, 9; cf. 18)—but the bearer of the name Vāsudeva, his patronymic, is the central figure of a religion which was explained to his true *bhakta* (cf. 12, 332, 1 ff.) Nārada by Nārāyaṇa himself in Śvetadvīpa.<sup>13</sup> Vāsudeva is the Supreme Soul, the internal ruler of all. His religion is the monotheistic (*ekāntika*) Bhāgavata faith. In this connexion mention is also made of the Sātvata religion.<sup>14</sup> Kṛṣṇa, though in the Bhagavad-gītā—which teaches another form of Bhāgavatism—God incarnate, was also a local prince, head of the Vṛṣṇi tribe of the Yādavas, and said to belong to the people or tribe of the Sātvatas.<sup>15</sup> It has been surmised<sup>16</sup> that the Bhāgavata faith originated with the Yādavas in the Mathurā region—“where monotheism is perfect”<sup>17</sup>—and afterwards spread to western India, the northern Deccan and other regions. Whereas the Nārāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata religions probably were of different origin<sup>18</sup> they were in the course of time amalgamated. When this ‘combined’ *bhakti* religion was secondarily absorbed by the broad current of Viṣṇuism, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa were, like Kṛṣṇa of the Bhagavad-gītā, identified, and sometimes replaced by Viṣṇu.<sup>19</sup> It is also in the Nārāyaṇīya that Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Soul pervading the entire universe, who may be seen in all religious doctrines, is considered the promulgator and preceptor of the Pāñcarātra system.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In the Nārāyaṇīya it is suggested (cf. Mbh. 12, 331, 13; 16; 30, etc.) that this ‘island’ in the Milk Ocean (12, 322, 8), inhabited by monotheistic devotees of dazzling beauty but without sense-organs, was the cradle of Pāñcarātra worship. There is no reason whatever for assuming that the name Śvetadvīpa points to the origin of this religion in a Christian country, to solar associations (as was argued by H. RAYCHAUDHURI, Materials for the study of the early history of the Vaishnava sect, Calcutta 1936, p. 114; 130), or to Central Asiatic provenance (CHATTOPADHYAYA, p. 65).

<sup>14</sup> *sātvato dharmo*, Mbh. 12, 336, 31; cf. 27; 78. In Pāñcarātra literature the term Sātvata is sometimes synonymous with the socio-religious practice (*dharmā*) of the Bhāgavatas (cf. e.g. SanS. I. 3, 81; LT. 1, 21); in later works, however, it is generally used to denote the doctrines of the authoritative Sātvata-Samhitā (cf. LT. 1, 59; 11, 60 etc.). The explanation of the name given by Parāśara Bhaṭṭārya, Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāmahāṣya and others (*sat* “real” or *sattvam* “true essence” = *brahman*, hence “*brahman*-knower”) is of course a pseudo-etymology, though for the worshippers far from senseless. At Mbh. 1, 210, 12 Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is given the name Sātvata. See also S. KRISHNASWĀMI AİYANGAR, 2 AIOC, Calcutta 1922 (1923), p. 351.

<sup>15</sup> See also SIRCAR, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. SIRCAR, op. cit., p. 116; 118.

<sup>17</sup> BBS. 1, 5, 104 referring also to Vṛndāvana.

<sup>18</sup> See also M. DAS GUPTA, in IHQ 7, p. 665. In MatsyaP. 96, 21 the Bhāgavatas and the Vaiṣṇavas are distinct denominations.

<sup>19</sup> GONDA, V. Ś., p. 49.

<sup>20</sup> Mbh. 12, 337, 63 ff.; see also 12, 322, 24; 326, 100. On the spread of Viṣṇuism see K. G. GOSWAMI, in IHQ 31 (1955), p. 131.

## CHAPTER III

### BHAKTI

All five names, Nārāyaṇa, Bhagavān, Sātvata, Ekāntin, and Pañcarātra occur not only in the Nārāyaṇīya,<sup>1</sup> but also in the scriptures produced by those who continued in its faith and doctrines. That is why we must for a moment invite attention to two of them. The religious books of the Bhāgavatas, devotees of the Bhagavān, are never weary of asserting that the true worshipper must be an *ekāntin*, a monotheist who, being immersed in single-minded devotion (*bhakti*) to the Supreme Lord adores him incessantly.<sup>2</sup> In contradistinction to the cult of the gods (*deva*) which serves only for the daily needs of phenomenal life, worship of the Īśvara, the Lord, essentially aims at salvation, final liberation from rebirth.<sup>3</sup> Says the Bṛhad-Brahma-Saṃhitā 1, 7, 27 ff.:

“Disregarding another god, seeking refuge with Śrī-Viṣṇu, without desires, desirous of final emancipation, his heart always fixed on Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavas, following for the sake of purification of thought and feeling the Pāñcarātra religion, he practises in accordance with his station in life the *dharma* taught in *śruti* and *smṛti*, avoiding actions that defile or make him incur blame . . .”<sup>4</sup>

In the *saṃhitās* and other works, which frequently refer to those who have entrusted themselves to one God, Ekāntin is beside Bhāgavata another name for an adherent of the Pāñcarātra<sup>5</sup> doctrines.

As to Bhāgavata, this term denotes the one who worships the High God—in the oldest sources mostly Vāsudeva—under the name Bhagavān. This word has been translated in English by “holy”, “the Adorable”, or “the Blessed One”, in German by “erhaben, herrlich, heilig, verehrungswürdig” etc.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See M. DAS GUPTA, in IHQ 7, p. 357 and e.g. Mbh. 12, 322, 19; 24; 324, 1; 336, 1ff. etc., and compare places such as ViśvS. 9, 90 where these names except Nārāyaṇa combine with other terms for Viṣṇu’s devotees, viz. *sūri*, and *pañcakālīka* “who observes the five daily observances”.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. BhāgP. 6, 9, 39 *paramabhāgavatā ekāntino bhagavati*; 7, 1, 15; 33; 7, 6, 27 *ekāntinām bhagavataḥ*; 7, 10, 11; 8, 3, 20 *ekāntino . . . bhagavatprapannāḥ*; BBS. 1, 4, 21; NārS. 3, 75; 25, 388; LT. 1, 54; 48, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Compare e.g. LT. 17, 17; 41, 68ff.; BBS. 1, 5, 105; 2, 2, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. also JS. 22, 11ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. PāS. 4, 2, 88 mentioning also *sūrin* “sage” (see e.g. also LT. 2, 1; 50, 202).

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion (by G.A. GRIERSON, A. GOVINDACARYA SVAMI, V.V. SOUVAN, F.O. SCHRADER, E.W. HOPKINS) in JRAS 1910, p. 159; 861; 863; 1911, p. 194; 483; 727.

worshippers themselves explained it either as the complement of *bhakti*<sup>7</sup>—with which it indeed is etymologically related—as the “one towards whom *bhakti* is directed”<sup>8</sup> or as the one who is characterized by that majesty or excellence which is called *bhaga*, the possession of innumerable good divine qualities.<sup>9</sup> “I (the Bhagavān) do not desire the highest bliss without my devotees (*bhakta*) of whom I am the supreme refuge and happiness” (BhāgP. 9, 4, 64).

*Bhakti*,<sup>10</sup> literally “participation” (of the soul in the divine),<sup>11</sup> is devout and emotional<sup>12</sup> worship, intimate adoration, of a personal deity in a spirit of love and deep affection for Him, involving selfless devotion, amounting to self-surrender and the resignation of the individual to God.<sup>13</sup> A life of *bhakti* is not necessarily a life of inaction. Listening to the accounts of God (and reading the

<sup>7</sup> It cannot be proved that *bhakti* was borrowed from non-Aryan religious thought. This is however not the place to dilate upon origins.

<sup>8</sup> See DevīP. 45; and cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 286, 1; 4.

<sup>9</sup> ViṣṇuP. 6, 5, 69ff., where *bhaga* is said to comprise lordship (*aiśvarya*), duty, justice, morality (*dharma*), glory (*yaśas*), highest dignity (*śrī*), knowledge or wisdom (*jñāna*) and indifference to all worldly desires (*vairāgya*).

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. L. D. BARNETT, Some notes on the history of the religion of Love in India, Trans. 3<sup>rd</sup> Int. Congress for the Hist. of Religions, II, Oxford 1908, p. 48 (abstract); G. A. GRIERSON, Bhaktamālā of Nābhādāsa, in JRAS 1909, p. 607; 1910, p. 87; 269; The monotheistic religion of ancient India and . . . the Hindu doctrine of faith, in The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review 3–28 (1909), p. 115; M. DAS GUPTA, in IHQ 6, p. 315; 487; 7, p. 345; A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, Nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāva in South-Indian religion, in 4 AIOC I (1927), p. 194; J. SINHA, in C. H. I. 2<sup>IV</sup>, p. 146; A. M. ESNOUL, in Renou-Filliozat, I. C. I, p. 661 and in BEFEO 48 (1956), p. 141; GONDA, Bhakti, in Tijdschrift voor Philosophie 10, Louvain 1948, p. 607; R. I. I, p. 358 (Index); II, p. 354 (Index); V. Ś., p. 220 (Index); J. FILLIOZAT, La dévotion vishnouite au pays tamoul in Conferenze Ismeo, Rome, 2 (1954) (= Laghu-Prabandhāh, Leiden 1974, p. 353); K. C. VARADACHARI, Aspects of bhakti, Mysore 1956; S. BHATTACHARYA, The cult of devotion, in ALB 25 (1961), p. 587; R. C. ZAEHNER, Hinduism, London 1962, p. 164; KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 950; MINORU HARA, in IJ 7 (1964), p. 124; M. SINGER (ed.), Krishna. Myths, rites, and attitudes, Chicago-London 1966; 2<sup>1968</sup>; W. EIDLITZ, Die indische Gottesliebe, Olten-Freiburg Br. 1955; Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, esp. p. 158; Der Sinn des Lebens. Der indische Weg zur liebenden Hingabe, Olten-Freiburg B. 1974; CH. VAUDEVILLE, in WZKSA 12–13 (Vol. E. Frauwallner, 1968–1969), p. 403; A. GAIL, Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Wiesbaden 1969; T. J. SOLOMON, Early Vaiṣṇava bhakti and its autochthonous heritage, Hist. of Religions 10 (1970), p. 32; M. BIARDEAU, Clefs pour la pensée hindoue, Paris 1972, p. 124; K. ZVELEBIL, The smile of Murugan, Leiden 1973, p. 364. See also the bibliography in KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 957 and M. P. SRIVASTAVA, Society and culture in medieval India, Allahabad 1975, ch. III.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. BhagG. 9, 29 “those who commune with Me in love’s devotion (abide) in Me, and I in them” (R. C. ZAEHNER, The Bhagavad-gītā, Oxford 1969, p. 284).

<sup>12</sup> According to BhāgP. 1, 2, 6 also unmotivated.

<sup>13</sup> There will be no use in quoting definitions proposed by Indian philosophers and theologians (e.g. “attachment to God with detachment from all fruits”, see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. IV, p. 355). Attention will be focussed mainly on those characteristics which are emphasized in the literature under discussion.



Bhāgavata-Purāṇa), his praises, etc. (*śravaṇa*), singing his songs, name and eulogies (*kīrtana*), meditation on his name, form, and deeds (*smaraṇa*),<sup>14</sup> serving his feet, i. e. worshipping his image (*pādasevana*), praise and worship (*arcana*; *pūjā*), prostration (before the image, *vandanā*), subservience (*dāsya*),<sup>15</sup> friendship (*sakhya*) and surrendering one's self to him are essential in a true *bhakta*.<sup>16</sup> Or, according to a Pāñcarātra authority: ParS. 4, 71 ff.:

“Worship (*pūjana*) offered without *bhakti* is as good as not offered. *Bhakti* is described as consisting of eight parts, especially when it is Viṣṇu-*bhakti*<sup>17</sup> by attaining which one gains the highest perfection (*siddhi*, i. e. final emancipation) in a short time: the daily worship (*ārādhana*)<sup>18</sup> of God,<sup>19</sup> the preservation of the conventions of the community (*samaya*), confidence in (the doctrine about God) as befits a devotee of Viṣṇu, great zeal for (Viṣṇu's) worship (*pūjā*), effort at one's own performance of worship, eagerness to hear stories relating to Him, absence of desire to hurt others; finally, one should not make Viṣṇu-worship a means of supporting life”.

*Bhakti*—regarded as the only way which leads to the realization of God<sup>20</sup>—should be founded on the firm conviction (*śraddhā*) that it leads to salvation: worship is to be performed with *śraddhā* and *bhakti*.<sup>21</sup> Worship with *bhakti* leads to Viṣṇu's heaven; *śraddhā*, *bhakti* and profound meditation (*samādhi*) on God result in that good that is His grace (*prasāda*).<sup>22</sup> The *bhakta* seeing himself struggling in the sea of *saṃsāra* realizes his situation (ParS. 30, 37–62):

“I have come into existence alone; I am here alone, I certainly pass on to another body alone. Whether I be long-lived, whether my life be of middling length, whether I be short-lived, this life of mine is not identical with that of another . . . This place is not mine; neither the wealth nor the power; these servants, these wives, these sons, and these friends, all these live for themselves . . . This disease gives me trouble; this old age gives me trouble; other sufferings are also mine, as also the sorrow that results from them. Whatever was seen in the previous year is seen again this year. Whatever work has then been done has now to be done over again . . . In the same manner live birds, cattle and other creatures.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also places such as ParS. 2, 3 “contemplate God's sport (*krīḍā*) with *bhakti*”; ViS. 10, 60 *dhyātvā devaṃ harim bhaktiyā*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also places such as ViS. 10, 5.

<sup>16</sup> BhāgP. 7, 5, 23; see e. g. also 1, 5, 35; 3, 25, 22. For *bhakti* in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa: P. HACKER, *Prahlāda I*, Mainz Acad. 1959, p. 106; 116; 138; GAIL, op. cit.; T. S. RUKMANI, A critical study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (with special reference to *bhakti*), Varanasi 1970, p. 151; 174.

<sup>17</sup> Hence expressions such as “Vaiṣṇavas, *bhaktas* of (the) Bhagavān” (VksS. 3, 53).

<sup>18</sup> Literally “gratifying, propitiating” but including also ideas such as “homage, adoration, (service, worship)”; see e. g. DIEHL, I. P., p. 284.

<sup>19</sup> For ritual acts etc. performed with *bhakti* see e. g. ViS. 11, 65; 19, 52; 20, 6; 24, 73; 27, 69.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. e. g. BhāgP. 1, 2, 6.

<sup>21</sup> E. g. SS. 17, 13; PS. 1, 53; 15, 34; 23, 7; 26, 2; ParS. 1, 11; NPR. 3, 10, 13; 3, 14, 9.

<sup>22</sup> E. g. VksS. 21, 9ff.; ParS. 1, 84; 30, 35.

I do not see any difference between them and myself . . . Birth may be good or bad; both are alike to me. Therefore I have no confidence in birth or death. As a bird resides in its hole in a tree and gives it up, so my existence in this body is not to be relied upon. Therefore, I desire that refuge which is the destiny of the Ekāntins. Otherwise the fear of death will not go away from me . . . Therefore I take refuge with thee, who art kind to thy *bhaktas* . . .”.

In course of time *bhakti* literature came to be truly folk literature dealing with living human figures such as Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Rāma, and Sītā. The themes, subject-matter and characteristic motifs were often taken from the life of the common people. Realistic descriptions of nature alternate with true expressions of human feelings and criticism of religious orthodoxy.

The most important Sanskrit works which embody the chief *bhakti* doctrines are, apart from the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata and the Bhagavad-gītā, several *purāṇas*, among them the Viṣṇu and especially the Bhāgavata<sup>23</sup> as well as some texts traditionally ascribed to the figures of Nārada<sup>24</sup> and Śāṅḍilya who are recognized by the modern Bhāgavatas as great teachers of their religion.

The former, now a mythical, now a legendary sage, is mentioned several times in the Atharvaveda.<sup>25</sup> Occurring also in the Yajurveda as an authority he functions as the adviser of a king, as a teacher and a priest in the Aitareya-Bṛāhmaṇa, to appear as a pupil of Bṛhaspati, the domestic priest of Indra, in the Sāmavidhāna-Bṛāhmaṇa.<sup>26</sup> In the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, chapter 7, he receives instruction from Sanatkumāra—whom we shall meet again—after informing him that he knows already all the Vedas and many other branches of knowledge but not the ‘Soul’ (*ātman*). That means that he is unable to discover the Supreme Reality that is set forth in the Vedas and their auxiliaries.<sup>27</sup> Like Pariśiṣṭa 71 of the Atharvaveda<sup>28</sup> which presents itself as communicated by the mythical seer Uśanas to Nārada who here also desires to be instructed, this Upaniṣad passage is a prototype of a very well-known structure of the Hindu puranic and didactic types of literature. In episodes of this variety—as a rule couched in the *śloka* style<sup>29</sup>—Nārada remains an interesting personage, acting as a messenger between gods and men and gaining in impor-

<sup>23</sup> The former may date from about the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., the latter, usually regarded as having been written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, may be somewhat earlier (according to GAIL, op. cit., p. 16 even ± 750).

<sup>24</sup> J. HERBERT, Nārada, Lyon 1949; GONDA, Aspects, p. 221; 224; EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 557 (Index).

<sup>25</sup> AVS. 5, 19, 9; 12, 4, 16; 24; 41 (always in connexion with a cow).

<sup>26</sup> MS. 1, 8, 2: 117, 2; AiB. 7, 13; 7, 34, 9; 8, 21, 6; SVB. 3, 9, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. also J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, Yāmuna’s Āgama Prāmānyam, Madras 1971, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> See GONDA, V. L., p. 308.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. P. HORSCH, Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur, Bern 1966, p. 368; Vālmiki Rām. 1, 1, 1 ff.

tance in the Mahābhārata where he is treated as a divine seer (*devarṣi*). In that epic he maintains various relations with Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu whom he worships and declares to be the Supreme God,<sup>30</sup> and who on his part recognizes Nārada's high rank as a *devarṣi*: "among the celestial seers (I am) Nārada" (BhagG. 10, 26).<sup>31</sup> In the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 2, 9, 32-35) Brahmā communicates to Nārada, his son, the four eternal sound vibrations of the original stanzas of the Bhāgavatam, which he had learnt himself, before the creation of the Universe, from Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa, i. e. God, had manifested himself to him in his Vaikuṅṭha heaven because of his perfect *bhakti*.<sup>32</sup> The stanzas, words of divine omnipotence and identical with God's essence, were to develop into the essence of the Veda, i. e. the Bhāgavatam (the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa). They state the eternity of Nārāyaṇa and his identity with Brahman irrespective of whether the universe exists or not; anything perceptible—God and what is perceived in the *ātman* excepted—is *māyā*,<sup>33</sup> shadow of Reality. God is inside and outside everything. The last stanza deals with "that which is everywhere and at all times, i. e. God's *premabhakti*" (*bhakti* through and as ardent love<sup>34</sup>); this must be the only 'knowledge' which those who endeavour to understand Reality in their own souls should desire to attain. Brahmā's instruction, together with the faculty of that love which being based on *bhakti* produces higher knowledge, makes Nārada the second link in the chain of the uninterrupted Bhāgavata tradition which, beginning with God himself, continues up to the present day. Nārada imparts the four stanzas and *premabhakti* to Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vedas who then already had transmitted this body of literature as well as the *upanīśads* and *purāṇas* without attaining the highest divine peace.<sup>35</sup> Both Nārada and Vyāsa are henceforth "ewige Mitspieler des verborgenen göttlichen Spiels",<sup>36</sup> showing by the example of their devotional life the way of salvation to other creatures. As a perfect adorer and *bhakta*, an interpreter of God's intentions, a teacher<sup>37</sup> and a guide to the Ultimate Unity of every man who aspires to the highest goal Nārada comes to be the centre of an ever-increasing number

<sup>30</sup> Mbh. 5, 81, 27; 6, 32, 13 (= BhagG. 10, 13); cf. 7, 59, 440\*, 7; 12, 200, 44f.

<sup>31</sup> For Nārada's relations with Kṛṣṇa and some other Nārada episodes see W. RUBEN, Krishna, Istanbul 1943, p. 325 (Index).

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed résumé see EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. e. g. GAIL, op. cit., p. 11. For an orthodox vindication of the authority of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa see G. N. MALLIK, The philosophy of Vaiṣṇava religion, I, Lahore 1927, p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> "Ihr Wesen ist das unendliche Glück des . . . immer neuen und tieferen Gottesdienens und Gotterfreuens" (EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 187; see also Index, p. 557). Compare also the definition proposed by Gopeśvara (first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), Bhaktimārtanda, p. 79: *śrikrṣṇaṇaviṣayakapremapūrvakakāyikavyāpāratvam*. Cf. also GAIL, op. cit., p. 74; 92.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the above passage in ChU. 7.

<sup>36</sup> EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 65; cf. also p. 148.

<sup>37</sup> It may also be recalled that at Rām. 1, 2, 31 Brahmā asked Vālmiki to compile the Rāmāyaṇa as he had heard it from Nārada (cf. 1, s. 1).

of mythical tales.<sup>38</sup> He is also, after the Puruṣa<sup>39</sup> and the Varāha (the popular Boar Avatāra of Viṣṇu<sup>40</sup>), regarded as the third in a series of twenty-two *avatāras* of the great god (BhāgP. 1, 3, 8)<sup>41</sup> and in this quality the expounder of the Sātvata doctrine (*tantra*) which leads to the state in which every 'work' (*karma*) has been transcended. He is also regarded as the 'author' of the Nārada-Purāṇa which proclaims the Viṣṇuite *bhakti* faith.<sup>42</sup>

The other great authority credited with the systematization of *bhakti* is Śāṅḍilya. Already a famous man in Vedic antiquity<sup>43</sup> he is the sage who revealed the doctrine of the identity of the individual soul with the infinite Brahman:<sup>44</sup> the whole universe is Brahman, which should be worshipped as that from which we come forth, as that into which we will be dissolved and as that in which we breathe. The soul within the heart which is smaller than a grain of rice, is greater than the earth; this is Brahman. Appearing in an interpolated verse of the Mahābhārata (12, 47, 5+) as one of those who surrounded Bhīṣma on his arrow-bed, he was in Śaṅkara's (8<sup>th</sup> century) days supposed to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra doctrine (*śāstra*), because he did not find the highest bliss in the four Vedas.<sup>45</sup> This view was combatted by those who, upholding the 'orthodoxy' of this system, believed that his opinions implied the incompatibility of Veda and Pāñcarātra.

The *bhakti* doctrines<sup>46</sup> of the Bhāgavatas are briefly codified in the Nārada (or Nāradiya)-bhakti-sūtras<sup>47</sup> (perhaps 10<sup>th</sup> century), consisting of 84 *sūtras*—short sentences or aphoristic rules—and the compendium of the same name attributed to Śāṅḍilya (100 or 102 *sūtras*). Both works are composed in the style of the *sūtras* of the six 'orthodox' philosophical schools and were probably meant to be committed to memory by ascetics. They are clearly dependent on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. Neither mention Rādhā, Viṣṇu's favourite beloved who was not recognized by the Bhāgavatas, although the *gopīs* (cowherdresses) do

<sup>38</sup> Or a figure in such tales, e.g. BhāgP., book 7.

<sup>39</sup> Primeval man of RV. 10, 90.

<sup>40</sup> GONDA, R. I. I, p. 251; II, p. 115.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 45.

<sup>42</sup> See L. ROCHER, in Vol. II of this History.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. GONDA, V. L., p. 337; 353.

<sup>44</sup> ŚB. 10, 6, 3; ChU. 3, 14; cf. e.g. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, The principal upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 392.

<sup>45</sup> Śaṅkara, on BS. 2, 2, 45. For another view see Rāmānuja, quoted by VAN BUITENEN, YĀP., p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. WINTERNITZ, G. I. L. III, p. 444; H. I. L. III, p. 498 (only a few lines); FARQUHAR, R. I. L., p. 233 etc.; J. SINHA, in C. H. I. IV, p. 146; DARSHAN SINGH, Indian Bhakti traditions and Sikh gurus, Bhopal 1968, p. 27. See also R. K. DVIVEDI, The nature of bhakti in the Nārada-Bhakti-Sūtras, QJMS 59 (1968), p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Edited and translated by E. T. STURDY, London 1896; N. L. SINHA, in SBH, Allahabad 1911, reprinted New York 1974; with a comm.: SW. TYĀGĪŚĀNANDA, Madras 1943; SW. SADANANDA SARASWATI, Rishikesh 1952; transl. and comm.: HARI PRASAD SHASTRI, The philosophy of love, London 1947; with a Hindi transl.: Ś. N. BHĀVE, Varanasi 1964. See also KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 956; 958.

occur (NBS. 21). The former work which abounds in more or less clear reminiscences of the *Bhagavadgītā* is exclusively used by the *Bhāgavatas* of the South.<sup>48</sup> It is simple both in thought and language.

After the introductory *sūtra* "Now, therefore, we will explain *bhakti*" which, in the usual way, indicates that, after the fulfilment of the preliminary conditions (viz. the aspirant's fitness to receive instruction), a new topic commences,<sup>49</sup> *sūtra* 2 gives a definition: "It (*bhakti*) is of the form of intense love (supreme devotion: *preman*) for that (or, Him)" (the author often avoids<sup>50</sup> using names or other definite indications of the Supreme which would stamp his treatise as 'sectarian') to add, in 3: "It is also of the nature of *amṛta*" (continuance of life and the draught of 'immortality').<sup>51</sup> "Having obtained it a man becomes 'perfect' (he has achieved his object: *siddha*), 'immortal' (or rather, he has conquered death), and satisfied" (4). That means that "after attaining it he does not crave for anything whatever, does not grieve, does not hate or rejoice and does (no longer) exert himself (in selfish pursuits)" (5). "By knowing that (Him) he (the devotee) becomes intoxicated (*matta*), firmly fixed,<sup>52</sup> and filled with delight in the *ātman*" (6). *Sūtra* 8 explains the important concept "self-restraint, total abandonment" (*nirodha*) mentioned in 7: "It (*bhakti*) does not consist in desire, because it is of the nature of *nirodha*". In a similar way, 10 and 11 explain terms occurring in 9. In 15ff. the author briefly mentions the characteristics of *bhakti* according to various opinions, quoting Vyāsa<sup>53</sup> who emphasized *pūjā*, Garga<sup>54</sup> who regarded it as consisting in (fondness of the sacred) narratives etc. (of the Lord), and Śaṅḍilya. In *sūtra* 19 (cf. 65) the author states his own opinion: "*Bhakti* is the dedication of all outer and inner actions (behaviour) to it (Him) and extreme perplexity if it (He) is forgotten". There follows an example, the *gopīs*<sup>55</sup> (21). Of the following *sūtras* some deal with the result of *bhakti* and here the author disagrees again with other authorities (30: it constitutes its own reward); others with the means of realizing (*sādhana*) *bhakti*: renunciation of attachment to the objects of the senses, uninterrupted devotion (*bhājana*), listening to and singing of (*kīrtana*)<sup>56</sup> the excellent qualities of the *Bhagavān*, and especially the compassion (*kṛpā*) of the (spiritually) great or of a small part of *Bhagavān*'s compassion; the difficulty of attaining the association with the great; the necessity of avoiding evil company (43; 63); on going beyond *māyā*,<sup>57</sup> *inter alia* by renouncing the fruit of one's actions<sup>58</sup> (48; 62) and by an absolute

<sup>48</sup> P.K. GODE, in ABORI 4 (1921-22), p. 63; FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 233f.

<sup>49</sup> For "now" (*atha*) which is also auspicious and the functions of *sūtras* in general see e.g. J.H. WOODS, The Yoga-system of Patañjali, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>50</sup> But see *sūtra* 27 *īśvara*; 37; 38 *bhagavat*.

<sup>51</sup> For the use of *amṛta* compare e.g. BĀU. 1, 3, 28; ŚvetU. 6, 19 (cf. 23); BhagG. 13, 12; 14, 20; 27; BhāgP. 1, 1, 3.

<sup>52</sup> For *stabdha* compare e.g. ŚvetU. 3, 9.

<sup>53</sup> For Vyāsa who received the four original stanzas of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* from Nārada (which make him obtain *premabhakti* and divine peace) see e.g. BhāgP. 1, 5 etc.; EIDLITZ, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, p. 65ff.; 168ff. etc.

<sup>54</sup> The domestic priest of Kṛṣṇa's parents; see BhāgP. 10, 8, 7ff.

<sup>55</sup> The milkmaids of Vṛndāvana, companions of Kṛṣṇa's juvenile sports.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. e.g. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 358 (Index); EIDLITZ, op. cit., p. 555 (Index).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. e.g. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 359 (Index); EIDLITZ, op. cit., p. 556 (Index).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. BhagG. 4, 20; 5, 12; 12, 12; and BhāgP. 1, 2, 6; 1, 7, 10; 4, 20, 9; 6, 18, 74.

absorbing love (*anurāga*)<sup>59</sup> for (the Lord); on *bhakti*'s being an easier path to the goal than other ways<sup>60</sup> (58). Among the last 25 verses which, not without some repetition, give an idea of the nature of *bhakti* (peace and supreme bliss: *śānti*,<sup>61</sup> *paramānanda*, 60), its merits or results and the behaviour of the *bhaktas* is also the statement that the most eminent of them are those who are exclusively monotheistic (*ekāntin*).<sup>62</sup>

The *sūtras* attributed to Śāṅḍilya<sup>63</sup> have been regarded as an earlier work,<sup>64</sup> but the fact that Nārada's *sūtras* include references to the former authority (18; 82) has no conclusive force because the words quoted (in 18) do not occur in our Śāṅḍilya text. Likewise presenting the material in the outward form of the *sūtras* of the basic texts of the philosophical *darśanas* it is written under the influence of the doctrine of *bhedābheda*—"unity and difference": Brahman (or God) is different as well as non-different from the world and the souls (cf. 93f.)—which is also the dominant view of most of the *purāṇas*. It makes explicit mention of the Lord (Īśvara) and the two published commentaries are thoroughly Viṣṇuite in tenor.

After an initial definition: "In its highest form *bhakti* is absorbing love for Īśvara" it reads: (2) "on the strength of the teaching about the immortality awaiting the one who abides in Him" (3).<sup>65</sup> *Bhakti* is not identical with higher knowledge (*jñāna*) "because the *jñāna* of him who hates Him is not an abiding in Him"<sup>66</sup> and "because of the inferiority of *jñāna*" as a way to final liberation (4f.). Moreover, the *gopīs* (milkmaids) of Vṛndāvana who had no 'knowledge' attained liberation through *bhakti* to the Lord (14). *Bhakti* is not an action because it does not presuppose (depend on) effort. After dwelling on the difference between *bhakti*,

<sup>59</sup> Cf. EIDLITZ, op. cit., p. 204.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. BhagG. 18, 55f.; BhāgP. 3, 29, 11ff.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. BhagG. 12, 12; 18, 62 etc.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. BhāgP. 11, 14, 14ff.

<sup>63</sup> The text (and Svapneśvara's commentary) were edited by J. R. BALLANTYNE, Calcutta 1861 and JIVANANDA, Calcutta 1876; (with Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Bhakti-candrikā* and appendices, containing *inter alia* the *Bhaktimīmāṃsā*); by GOPINATH KAVIRĀJ, in the *Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā*, 9, Benares 1924, <sup>2</sup>1967. Translation of the *sūtras* and Svapneśvara's commentary: E. B. COWELL, Calcutta 1878, <sup>2</sup>1965; (with the text and S.'s comm.) by M. N. PAUL, Allahabad 1911. See also KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 957. Nārāyaṇatīrtha's (17<sup>th</sup> century) commentary *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālā* was edited by A. SH. PHADKE, Allahabad 1938 (editor of the *Bhakti-candrikā* at Allahabad 1938). For Muralidharadāsa's (16<sup>th</sup> century) commentary (published in Bombay 1917) see G. H. BEATT, in Vol. Kavirāj, p. 72 (Muralidharadāsa interpreted the *sūtras* in the light of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Brahmasūtras*, the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* etc.).

<sup>64</sup> GODE, op. cit., p. 64; RENOU(-FILLIOZAT), I. C. I, p. 641; WINTERNITZ, H. I. L. III, p. 498; Littérature sanskrite, Paris 1946, p. 113; D. SINGH, op. cit., p. 23. Compare also GALL, op. cit., p. 42. "They appear to be not older than about the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D.", ELIOT, H. B. II, p. 182, n. 1.

<sup>65</sup> This is a reference to ChU. 2, 23, 1 which however speaks of *brahman*.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. also J. SINHA, in C. H. I. IV, p. 149.

*jñāna* etc. the author proceeds to explain that there is a secondary form of *bhakti* which is a means and requires some effort (cf. also 56). Thus *bhakti* towards a god (*deva*) is not the higher *bhakti* (18) but the lower form which also produces meditation (20). After defining the meaning of the latter more precisely and expatiating on the nature of the Highest the author informs his readers about the means of attaining *bhakti*, refuting other authorities and arguing in the well-known style of the philosophical treatises: "if it is said . . ., not so, because . . ."; "exertion with regard to the causes of the knowledge (of the Supreme is to be continued) until purification (is reached), just as in threshing" (a conclusive parallel from the phenomenal reality), and so on. In 43 he returns to his original subject: "The purity of *bhakti* is to be inferred from characteristics" (signs, *lakṣaṇa*), "as we do in common life". (That means, it can be manifested through symbols of the physical world). These signs are defined in the *smṛti* (epics, *dharma* texts, *purāṇas*): respect, honouring (those who evoke God's remembrance), joy (in meeting Him), forlornness etc.<sup>67</sup> Manifestations such as *avatāras* are also objects of *bhakti* (46). No rebirth awaits the one who knows births and actions of the Lord (47; cf. 84) whose chief object is compassion. In the next section the author endeavours to demonstrate that the inferior (secondary) form of *bhakti*, such as the recitation of God's names—which spring from previous good works (71)—are conducive to purification; that worship (*yaj-*) means *pūjā* (and not the Vedic sacrificial rites). In the *bhakti* of the afflicted remembering (God's names), reciting, hearing or telling the history (of God) have the nature of expiation (*prāyaścitta*, 74); even a little act destroys great sins (76). Those of blamable descent (*caṇḍāla*) are by means of mediate teaching not excluded from practising *bhakti* (78), but great sinners are competent only for the *bhakti* of affliction (82; see above). The highest *bhakti* is devotedness to only One (*ekānta-bhāva*, 83), since this is "remembered" in the Bhagavadgītā.<sup>68</sup> In the last sections some fundamental tenets are formulated: the Oneness of the Supreme (85), his *māyā* power known from the totality of the inanimate creation (86); according to Bādarāyaṇa<sup>69</sup> the fruits of actions are from the Supreme. "The (continued) mundane existence (of the individual souls) arises from want of *bhakti*" (98).

Both *sūtra* works were most powerful as an impulse in popular religion, although their philosophical importance was small. They complement each other in a felicitous way. Whereas Nārada "has dealt with the subject from the point of view of sentiment alone",<sup>70</sup> Śāṅḍilya provides his readers with a theoretical examination of the essence of *bhakti*, of the means of attaining it and the relation between the religious subject and the object of *bhakti*.

A brief account of some other *bhakti* texts will not be out of place here. A third work, compiled by Viṣṇu Puri, an ascetic who belonged to Tirhut and probably lived in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, is a collection of representative and often beautiful stanzas found in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. This compiler of the Bhaktiratnāvalī "jewel-necklace of

<sup>67</sup> Svapneśvara quotes places such as Mbh. 7, 57, 3; NṛsiṃhaP. 25, 22; Mbh. 5, 417\*; ViP. 5, 18, 22 etc.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. BhagG. 5, 17; 18, 66.

<sup>69</sup> The reputed author of the Vedānta- or Brahmasūtras; see 3, 2, 38.

<sup>70</sup> N. SINHA, op. cit., Introduction.

*bhakti*”<sup>71</sup> or Bhagavadbhaktiratnāvalī obviously was a follower of Śrīdhara (±1380), the well-known author of a commentary on that most influential *purāṇa* who made an attempt to harmonize Śankara’s Advaita with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavatas. The Bhaktiratnāvalī, composed in the spirit of this master, has up to the present day been considered the best introduction to the *bhakti* doctrines of the latter religious current. It consists of thirteen chapters, called “strings”, viz. 1: *bhakti* in general; 2: causes of *bhakti* such as social intercourse with virtuous people; 3: particulars concerning the way of *bhakti*; 4: merits earned by those who listen to the Lord’s praise; 5: praise; 6: the spiritual concentration upon the Lord; 7: the adoration of His feet; 8: worship; 9: homage; 10: subservience; 11: friendship towards God; 12: devotion for him; 13: refuge to his feet.<sup>72</sup> The anonymous editor of this work is right in observing that the reader, “having been initiated into the subject of *bhakti* in the abstract in (Nārada’s and Śaṅḍilya’s) *sūtras*, will here find its application to the devotion of Viṣṇu, of his *avatāras* and of the Vaiṣṇava saints who have become one with Viṣṇu”. The book is, moreover, ‘catholic’ in that its contents are very well applicable to the *bhakti* of other religious communities.

On other *bhakti* works the following remarks may suffice, the more so as this genre of literature is amply commented upon in other parts of this History. Mitramiśra (who lived in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) wrote (in prose) a Bhaktiprakāśa.<sup>73</sup> Being part of a larger work, viz. the vast digest Vīramitrodaya, which embraces almost all branches of *dharmaśāstra*,<sup>74</sup> it explains at great length (175 pages in print) the nine modes of *bhakti* (p. 30–128) mentioned in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa<sup>75</sup>—hearing about God, repeating his name, meditation upon him, worship, *pūjā*, homage, subservience, friendship, surrendering one’s soul to Him—and taken over by other authors also. The pertinent chapters are interspersed with quotations from authorities (*upanīśads*, *purāṇas*, among them of course the Bhāgavata, and some other works), explanations, *mantras*, prayers, sections on ritual applications or procedures (*prayoga*), breath-control, and expatiations upon allied subjects, for instance on various forms of *nyāsa* ritual, e. g. *māṭṛkanyāsa*, the mental invocation of God or deities etc. to occupy parts of the body in order to render it pure and a fit receptacle for worship and purification, for instance by means of Māṭṛkā, i. e. the alphabet,

<sup>71</sup> Edited and translated by a “Professor of Sanskrit (retired)”, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad 1912. On the author and the transmission of the work see S.K. DE, Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1942, <sup>2</sup>1961, p. 18 (with some bibliographical references). For a discussion of this compilation from religious and philosophical points of view: GONDA, Bhakti (see n. 10 above), p. 642.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. BhāgP. 7, 5, 23.

<sup>73</sup> Edited by PT. PADMA PRASĀDA UPĀDHYĀYA, Benares 1934; 1936 (Ch. S.S. 443; 444).

<sup>74</sup> I refer to KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 440; J.D.M. DERRETT, Dharmaśāstra, in vol. V of this History, p. 19 etc.

<sup>75</sup> BhāgP. 7, 5, 23; see above.



the mother of the *mantras* (p. 88ff.). There follows a section (p. 129ff.) on subordinate forms of *bhakti*: each of the nine modes of *bhakti* is threefold, the lowest form being motivated by a desire to hurt others by ostentation or religious hypocrisy or by jealousy; the middlemost by the wish to acquire worldly objects (a realm, kingdom), renown, or power; motives of the highest *bhakti* are annihilation of (bad) *karman*, securing the favour or affection of the Highest Lord, complete attainment of one's goal (final emancipation, *siddhi*). The last section of the text (p. 134ff.) is devoted to the object of *bhakti*, i. e. the Lord.

Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva,<sup>76</sup> was the author of the Bhaktinirṇaya<sup>77</sup> "Demonstration of *bhakti*" or Bhagavadbhaktinirṇaya (third quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

Special mention must however be made of the (Hari-)Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu<sup>78</sup> and two other Sanskrit works written by Rūpa Gosvāmī († 1591), and of the Haribhaktivilāsa<sup>79</sup> by Sanātana († 1591), who worked in collaboration with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the latter acting as the editor. These two scholars, followers of Caitanya (1458–1533), were destined to become the theologians of the religion preached by this Bengal reformer.<sup>80</sup> The Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu (1541), divided into four books,<sup>81</sup> distinguishes three types of *bhakti*, viz. *sādhana-bhakti*, the different means enabling the mental emotion to emerge in a natural way as *bhāva-bhakti* (the second kind of *bhakti*). *Bhāvabhakti* evolves into ever more intense forms; when it deepens it is called *prema* (the third kind); then it

<sup>76</sup> Cf. KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 447.

<sup>77</sup> Edited by MANGAL DEVI SHASTRI (ANANTAŚĀSTRĪ PHADKE), Benares 1937. The Bhaktimimāṃsā (of unknown date) represents the views of the Bhāgavatas (edition: G. KAVIRĀJ, in Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies II, Allahabad 1923, p. 65).

<sup>78</sup> Edited by HARIDĀSA DĀSA, with three commentaries, Navadvīpa 1948 (in Bengali script); vol. I also separately (in Devanāgarī script), with an English translation of the text and the commentaries by B. H. BON, Vṛndaban 1965; with a Hindi commentary by D. NĀGENDRA and D. VIJAYENDRA SNĀTAKA, Delhi 1963. Cf. S. CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Philosophical foundation of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Calcutta 1969. See also DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 170. For Rūpa Gosvāmī see also S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, A history of Sanskrit literature. Classical period I, Calcutta 1947, passim and especially S. K. DE, in NIA 9 (1947), p. 158.

<sup>79</sup> Published by the Rādhāramāṇa Press, 2 vol., 21889; 1891 (in Bengali script). For Gopāla Bhaṭṭa see S. K. DE, Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1942, p. 104; J. FILLIOZAT, in R. V. JOSHI, Le rituel de la dévotion kṛṣṇaite, Pondicherry 1959, p. VII. Joshi's book is largely based on the Haribhaktivilāsa and other texts of the Caitanya school.

<sup>80</sup> See D. Ch. SEN, Chaitanya and his companions, Calcutta 1917; M. T. KENNEDY, The Chaitanya movement, Calcutta-Oxford 1925; S. CHAKRAVARTI, Chaitanya et sa théorie de l'amour divin, Paris 1933; EIDLITZ, K. C.; D. ZBAVITTEL, Bengali Literature, in Vol IX, 3 of this History, p. 172; KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 287; FARQUHAR, R. L. I, p. 308; BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 82; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. IV, p. 384; 432 etc.; A. K. MAJUMDAR, Bhakti renaissance, Bombay 1965.

<sup>81</sup> Jiva Gosvāmī, a nephew of Rūpa wrote a commentary, Durgamasamgama; other commentaries by Mukunda Dāsa and Viśvanātha Cakravartī.

is associated with a sense of possession in God and absolute detachment from all other things. Being the highest good, *bhakti* cannot be produced by any effort or course of conduct. It is eternal and exists already in the devotee's heart; the function of *sādhana-bhakti* is merely to make it manifest. As to Rūpa's views on *bhakti* it may be comprehensively noticed that in accordance with the Bhagavadgītā tradition it is defined as the mental state and the associated physical actions for yielding satisfaction to Kṛṣṇa without any further desire, motive or object. Such a *bhakti* has six characteristics: it destroys sins and ignorance; it is good or holy; it is so satisfactory that emancipation has no longer attractions for the devotee; its attainment is extremely difficult; its joy is infinitely superior to the joy of emancipation through knowledge of Brahman; this *bhakti* induces God to render service to his devotee. Neither ritual work, nor higher knowledge, nor asceticism can be regarded as useful. Rūpa, who was a meritorious poet, describes in his greatest work, the Ujjvalanilamañi,<sup>82</sup> the various conditions of lovers and *bhaktas*, and the several stages and modes of their affection. One of the interesting aspects of this book is that it illustrates the transition from ordinary devotion to deep amorous sentiment: as represented in the lives of Rādhā and the *gopis* this deeper phase of *bhakti* is secured by sympathetic imitation akin to the sympathetic interest displayed by the spectators of dramatic actions. This work, in principle a treatise on poetics, is, like the Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, profusely illustrated with stanzas in praise of Kṛṣṇa. The Padyāvali<sup>83</sup> "Series of stanzas" by the same author is an anthology of stanzas on Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*, naming the authorities quoted. These songs have rightly been called "the most successful reproduction of the spirit of Jayadeva". They contain also the only stanzas—eight in number—left of Caitanya himself, which give expression of his simple but vivid and passionate faith.

The Haribhaktivilāsa (± 1540) is a detailed manual for the devotee, explaining right conduct and behaviour, which include not only such simple daily ritual acts as teeth-cleaning but also the erection of temples and other complicated activities. It still regulates the religious rites of the Bengal Viṣṇuites. Some subjects, e.g. the so-called sacraments (*saṃskāra*) and *śrāddha* rites, are however omitted. It is a voluminous work of twenty chapters in verse, small prose lines introducing extracts quoted from other books.

<sup>82</sup> Published in the Kāvya-mālā Series, Bombay 1913. See also DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 203. See also D. ZBAVITEL, Bengali Literature in this History, Vol. IX, 3. A certain Śrīmuni or Nārāyaṇamuni (after 1550) rewrote this work so as to eulogize Rāma, the process of adaption very often consisting in a simple replacement of names etc., and that despite the pretensions of his Raghupatirahasya-pradīpikā to be an independent composition. (See H. G. NARAHARI, in ALB 5, p. 190).

<sup>83</sup> Edited by S. K. DE, Dacca 1934. Cf. DE, in NIA 9, p. 158. See L. STERNBACH, in Vol. IV of this History, p. 23f. In the Padyāvali a number of successful stanzas ascribed to Lakṣmaṇasena and his contemporaries (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) has been preserved; see also KEITH, H. S. L., p. 219.

Rūpa and Sanātana were the most prominent and prolific authors among six Bengali scholars—the other Gosvāmins (authoritative religious leaders) being their nephew Jīva, Raghunātha Dās, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, all of them being companions of Caitanya—who produced a vast amount of Viṣṇuite literature in Sanskrit.<sup>84</sup> Like the others they lived mostly in Vṛndāvana which came to be a centre of Viṣṇuite learning and to monopolize all literature of the Caitanya movement.<sup>85</sup> Among Rūpa's other works are the *Stavamālā*,<sup>86</sup> a collection of eulogies (*stava* or *stotra*) describing the amorous amusements of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; it is characterized by a picturesque devotionism saturated with erotic emotion and remarkable both for its impressive command of the metrical form and the expression of feelings of devout adoration but has "more wealth of words than fervour of faith, more artistic than human appeal" (these sixty hymns were collected and commented upon by Jīva Gosvāmin); a few dramas on the amorous sports (*līlā*) of the divine couple, in which the Kṛṣṇa legend is modified in accordance with the views of the followers of Caitanya, viz. *Vidagdhamādhavam* (finished in 1532)<sup>87</sup> and *Lalitamādhavam* (1546), in ten acts and more complicated in plot, less dramatic than narrative in conception and execution,<sup>88</sup> as well as the *Dānakelikaumudī*, on the love affairs of the divine couple; and the *Gaṇadveśadīpikā* in which Caitanya's companions are described as the *gopīs* (milkmaids in Kṛṣṇa's surroundings) incarnate. In these works the more artificial forms of the traditional Sanskrit style are often prevalent.

His brother Sanātana is also the author of the *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛtam*<sup>89</sup> which, like his other work, resulted from the tuition imparted by Caitanya to

<sup>84</sup> For some other works (dramas etc.) in Sanskrit written by followers of Caitanya see also EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 546 and DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 111.

<sup>85</sup> For Vṛndāvana—on the Yamunā some six miles to the north of Mathurā—as a religious centre see e.g. DINESCHANDRA (D.C. or D.Ch.) SEN, *The Vaiṣṇava literature of medieval Bengal*, Calcutta 1917, p. 15; for Caitanya's teaching: JADUNATH SARKAR, *Caitanya's pilgrimages and teachings*, London 1913.

<sup>86</sup> Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, Bombay 1903. See DE, *Vaiṣṇava faith*, p. 153; 658 and N. S. SHUKLA, *Le Kārṇānanda de Kṛṣṇadāsa*, Pondicherry 1971, p. 69. Four other works of this author belonging to the collection are the *Aṣṭā-daśachandas* (on prosody), *Utkalikāvallārī*, *Govindabirudāvalī*, and *Premendusāgara*. Some titles mentioned in handbooks are separate parts of the *stotra* collection, handed down singly. Rūpa Gosvāmin is also credited with some other works of this genre, a *Yamunāstotra*, a *Gandharvaprārthanāstotra*, as well as with a *Mathurāmahimā* and a dialogue between Rādhā and her friend about Kṛṣṇa, entitled *Ujjvalacandrikā*. (For some particulars about manuscripts see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 288).

<sup>87</sup> Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series 81, Bombay. Among the subjects dealt with are Kṛṣṇa's flute, Rādhā's toilet, the meeting of the couple etc.; for particulars and other works see SEN, *Vaiṣṇava literature*, p. 30.

<sup>88</sup> Published (in Bengali alphabet), at Berhampur Mursidabad, and (with Nārāyaṇa's commentary) B. ŚUKLA, Varanasi 1969.

<sup>89</sup> Edited by NITYASVARŪPA BRAHMĀCĀRĪ, Vṛndāvana 1904.

the writer at Benares and deals *inter alia* with devout subservience, the interpretation of Vedic and other ancient texts in the light of the master's Viṣṇuite *bhakti*, visions of Kṛṣṇa's sports (*līlā*) with the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa's miraculous deeds, with his nature and that of his *bhaktas* as well as the essence of *bhakti*, etc.

Jīva Gosvāmin (± 1523–1618) wrote an abridgment, called *Laghu* ('Concise')-*Toṣiṇī*, of Sanātana's commentary on the tenth book of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, the Vaiṣṇava-*Toṣiṇī*. His great work *Ṣaṭ-Sandarbha* "The Six Compositions" founded a new philosophical school. In the six parts of this book Jīva elaborated the instruction imparted by Caitanya to his uncles Rūpa and Sanātana. Parts I–IV deal with Kṛṣṇa as the foundation of everything existing and his aspects, part V with the way leading to Kṛṣṇa, that is *bhakti*; VI with the goal, that is *prema-bhakti*.<sup>90</sup>

Leaving aside the philosophical aspects of Jīva's doctrine it may for a better understanding of the *bhakti* poetry produced by those who underwent his influence be recalled that in his (and their) views God can directly manifest any form, appearance or phenomenon and that his inconceivable power can explain all contradictory phenomena. That means, *inter alia*, that Kṛṣṇa, the *gopīs*, Vṛndāvana and its trees and cows are believed to be physically existent in limited forms and at the same time be unlimited and spiritual as a manifestation of God's essential nature. It is also their conviction that Lord Kṛṣṇa is the manifestation of the entire godhead, and that *bhakti*, conceived as a transcendental process producing proximity to God and identical with emancipation, really means "to live with God".

Another work of considerable length by the same author is the *Gopāla-Campū*.<sup>91</sup> In about 3950 printed pages the scene of the principal narrative (the frame story) is laid in Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's endless celestial realm Goloka. In that heavenly kingdom two bards, Snigdha-kaṇṭha and Madhukaṇṭha by name, give by turns an account of Kṛṣṇa's birth in the mundane world and of all events following this incarnation. Their audience, the principal figures of these events, hear their narrative with rapt attention and as if they had been dreaming, because now they are in heaven Kṛṣṇa's earthly sports appear to be different from the eternal *līlā* they experience and witness in their present abode. To what extent these authors were obsessed by their ideals and by the aspiration to transmit the instruction they had received and the path they had found

<sup>90</sup> Published, I–III at Murśidābād 1911; IV by PRĀNAGOPĀLA GOŚVĀMI, Navadvīpa 1925; V by ŚYĀMALĀLA GOŚVĀMI, Calcutta 1900; VI, Calcutta n.d.; I (Tattva-sandarbha) ed. by SITANĀTH GOŚVĀMI, Jadavpur Univ. Calcutta 1967. For the philosophy of Jīva Gosvāmi see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. IV, p. 396 and J. SINHA, Jīva Gosvāmin's conception of God, Vol. Kavirāj, p. 224. See also DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 156; 254.

<sup>91</sup> Edited (with the commentary of Viracandra) by RASAVIHĀRĪ SĀMKHYATĪRTHA, 5 volumes, Berhampur 1908–1913; also by NITYASVARUP BRAHMĀCĀRI, 2 vol., Bṛndāvan 1904; also Bṛndāvan 1969. A *campū* is an elaborate composition in prose and verse.

to others appears from the Sanskrit grammar, composed by Jīva with the view to propagate the *bhakti* way. In this Hari-Nāmāmṛta-Vyākaraṇa ("Grammar of the ambrosia of Kṛṣṇa's name") all examples are borrowed from *bhakti* texts and all concepts centre round the name of God. Among the many other writings of the same author<sup>92</sup> are a work on ritual (worship of Kṛṣṇa), Kṛṣṇārcanadīpikā, and commentaries on the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (Kramasandarbhā) and the Brahma-Sūtras.

Passing mention may also be made of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī's Caitanya-candrāmṛta "a remarkable contribution to the *stotra* literature of the sect" in which this "emotional ascetic" voices his feelings of adoration for his teacher Caitanya.<sup>93</sup> The Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta ascribed to the same poet "is nothing more than a series of lavish description and reflection on the romantic associations of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his various sports". A third work of which he is held to be the author, the Saṃgīta-mādhava, deals with the Vṛndāvanalīlā of the couple Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

Kṛṣṇa Dās Kavirāj was the famous author of the standard life of Caitanya (Caitanyacaritāmṛta, written in Bengali mixed with Hindi). One of the many Sanskrit works of the same author, who lived in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, is the admired Govindalīlāmṛta ("The Nectar of Kṛṣṇa's divine play") which deals with the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in the usual way poetically described: although their love is in this work, just as in other poems of this class, sometimes presented in a more or less sensuous garb, it is essentially spiritual.<sup>94</sup>

Attention may also be drawn to the existence of various other literary compositions dealing with ritual, *bhakti* and written for the propagation of Caitanya's ideas in Sanskrit. Because they circulate in Bengali characters they are hardly known outside the community in which they were produced. Attesting to the desire of the followers of Caitanya to create an independent and encyclopaedic literature for themselves<sup>95</sup> and embodying the belief and rituals of a religion which still has an immense hold on a considerable number

<sup>92</sup> For a brief survey see SEN, Vaiṣṇava literature of medieval Bengal, p. 40. For some *stotras* see below, chapter XIV.

<sup>93</sup> Edition (with a commentary) Murshidabad 1926. The Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta was partially edited at Vṛndāvan 1933-1937. See DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 129; 131; 652, also for other works of this poet. The *stotra-kāvya* Rādhārasasudhānidhi, 2 parts, Hugli 1924, 1935 is wrongly ascribed to him.

<sup>94</sup> Edited by SACHINANDAN GOŚVAMI, Brindaban 1903 (Bengali characters) and Mathurā 1964. For this author see SEN, op. cit., p. 58; the same, History of Bengali language and literature, Calcutta 1917, p. 477; S.K. DE, Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta, Dacca 1938, p. LV; DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 333; D. ZBAVITEL, Bengali literature, in this History, IX, p. 173ff.

<sup>95</sup> For some particulars see CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Sanskrit literature of the Vaiṣṇava of Bengal, ABORI 10 (1929), p. 114.

of Bengalis<sup>96</sup> they would deserve a much more careful consideration of indologists and students of religion.

By its ardent faith as well as its successful devotional poetry the Viṣṇuite movement inaugurated by Caitanya exerted a considerable influence upon the poets and theologians of the following centuries. The Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu and the Haribhaktivilāsa were raised to the rank of authoritative doctrinal works (*śāstra*). The influence of ideological and literary as well as terminological and phraseological peculiarities of the great exponents of this *bhakti* faith is especially perceptible in the religious ideas and poetic art of Kṛṣṇadāsa. This poet was born (1531<sup>97</sup>) in a period in which—notwithstanding, but probably also in consequence of, the pressure of the political circumstances—various religious movements were gaining ground. He was the son of (Hīta)Harivamśa<sup>98</sup> (born 1502? in the neighbourhood of Mathurā) who founded, at Vṛndāvana, the Viṣṇuite denomination of the Rādhāvallabhīs.<sup>99</sup> Placing Rādhā as the queen of the world above Kṛṣṇa, whose favour is to be won by worshipping his Śakti and spouse, the Rādhāvallabhīs are one of those religious movements which spread almost independently of the philosophical schools and of theoretical speculation on *bhakti*. Neither Hitaharivamśa nor his son expressed philosophical opinions on *brahman*, *māyā*, world, soul or deliverance. Much indebted to the Viṣṇuite groups of the Mādhvas and the followers of Nimbarka and Caitanya, Hitaharivamśa wrote, beside two books in Hindi, the 170 stanzas of the Rādhāsudhānidhī<sup>100</sup> in Sanskrit. Although tradition has it that he was still a child when he recited this collection it has up to modern times remained an admired work of value for the adherents. These were strongly influenced by the followers of Caitanya, the main point of difference being the predominant place given by them to Kṛṣṇa's beloved Rādhā. As God's Śakti Rādhā is the divine energy which eternally penetrates the universe, she is at the same time an

<sup>96</sup> Vaiṣṇava works of the pre-Caitanya period are few in number. Other Sanskrit texts of a more or less ritual character however did appear in Bengal, for instance two works by Vallālasena (Ballālasena), the learned king of Gauḍa, viz. a *Dāna-sāgara* (completed in 1169), dealing with festivities and gifts of various objects, and an *Adbhutasāgara* (edited by MURALI DHARA JHA JYAUTISHACARYA, Benares 1905), a book on good and bad omens as well as various astronomical phenomena. See CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature, ABORI 11 (1930), p. 235; WINTERNITZ, G.I.L. III, p. 572; K. K. DUTTA, Bengal's contributions to Sanskrit literature, Calcutta 1974 (profuse bibliography). Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature is vast and varied.

<sup>97</sup> This date is given by SHUKLA, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>98</sup> I refer to F. S. GROWSE, Statistical, descriptive, and historical account of the North Western Provinces of India (1884), Mathurā, I, p. 103f.

<sup>99</sup> "Those who view Kṛṣṇa as the lover of Rādhā". Cf. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 155. For an orthodox view of the 'philosophy' of Rādhā see G. N. MALLIK, The philosophy of Vaiṣṇava religion, I, Lahore 1927, p. 135. Cf. also A. K. MAJUMDAR, in ABORI 36 (1955), p. 231.

<sup>100</sup> For the text and an English translation of twenty-six stanzas see F. S. GROWSE, Mathurā, Allahabad 1883, p. 204. *Sudhānidhī*: "treasure of ambrosia".

exalted deity spreading love and joy by her continuous playful behaviour. Kṛṣṇa, while being the 'source' of this joy and this sport, is her adorer. As his eternal partner she inspires him with love: the theme was already central in Jayadeva's masterpiece, the *Gitagovinda*<sup>101</sup> (12<sup>th</sup> century) and was readily adopted by later Bengal poets.

In propagating their views among the masses the Rādhāvallabhī poets were much inclined to conform to the rules and traditions of refined literary Sanskrit. In his until recently little known principal work *Karṇānanda* "Delight of the ears"<sup>102</sup> (in praise of Rādhā) as well as in his other productions,<sup>103</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa evinces his special competence for this genre of poetry which in his time was no longer the usual vehicle of devotional thought. Abstaining from subtle discussions<sup>104</sup> and basing themselves on the incontestable authority of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* the Rādhāvallabhīs regarded *sakhya-bhakti*<sup>105</sup> as the most appropriate religious attitude. Like other medieval Viṣṇuite theologians and poets Kṛṣṇadāsa eulogized the relations between Kṛṣṇa and his beloved in the light of the ideal manner in which the hero and the heroine of a dramatic or other poetic composition affect each other mutually (*nāyaka-nāyikā-bhāva*). In order to make the erotic play of the divine couple intelligible<sup>106</sup> and to gain acceptance for their conviction that God is a loving and lovable person, these poets—from the psychological point of view rightly and successfully—made this intimate human relation a stepping stone to the superhuman. The belief in the inseparable union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā—who in point of fact are eternally one, the Lord and his Śakti, but for the sake of their amorous experiences are represented as two persons—modified the devotees' adoration of the divine couple so as to enrich their *bhakti*—a source of perfect happiness and the only way to final emancipation—with devout but non-egoist, non-sexual love and of the 'sweetness' (*mādhurya*) on which it is based.<sup>107</sup> That the idea of 'sweetness' was given prominence cannot be kept separate from the Viṣṇuite belief that Viṣṇu's

<sup>101</sup> See e.g. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, *A history of Sanskrit literature*, 3Oxford 1948, p. 190. For Śrīdhara-dāsa *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, which was compiled in the same time, see L. STERNBACH, *Subhāṣita*, in vol. IV of this History, p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> Edited with the author's prose commentary, a French translation and long introduction by SHUKLA, op. cit.

<sup>103</sup> All his works are in Sanskrit, except the *Padāvali* which is written in Braj-bhāṣā (the local dialect).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *Karṇānanda*, st. 4ff.

<sup>105</sup> According to the degree of intensity of their *bhakti*, Kṛṣṇa's Vṛndāvana associates are in the opinion of Caitanya and his followers divided into four classes, viz. that of the loving servants, that of the comrades (*sakhī*) who consider themselves equal to Kṛṣṇa, that of his parents, and that of the beloved youthful maids, the *gopīs*, the chief of whom is Rādhā.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. e.g. *Karṇānanda*, st. 77; 145f.; 154; 170; 182f. For love symbolism see also CH. VAUDEVILLE, in *JAOS* 82 (1962), p. 31.

<sup>107</sup> In the Viṣṇuite theology of the followers of Caitanya, Nimbārka and Vallabha and in that of the Rādhāvallabhīs *mādhurya* is the principal of the five *rasas* which form roughly the five degrees of the realization of *bhakti*.

spouse—his Śakti as a goddess—accompanies him, every time under another name (Lakṣmī, Sītā, etc.), in every incarnation as his faithful companion. The earthly love of a lover and his beloved being intelligible to almost everybody Rūpa Gosvāmin had stated *bhakti* in the terminology of aesthetics presenting it in the form of *rasa*—that untranslatable term—“flavour, relish, sentiment, mood, aesthetic pleasure” which is almost equivalent to such ideas as that blissful feeling that is higher than worldly joy. *Rasa* is a condition in the mind of the hearer or reader of a poem or of the spectator of a drama produced by the emotions (*bhāva*) of the characters and evoking in him the same emotions. The *bhakta* who—symbolically represented by the *gopis*—as a ‘comrade’ witnesses the sport (*līlā*) of the divine couple may succeed in experiencing the *rasa*, the indescribable joy created by their eternal union.<sup>108</sup> Or, to put this idea into other words: the individual soul—which plays the part of Rādhā’s girl friends (*sakhī*)<sup>109</sup>—should desire to obtain a vision of Rādhā absorbed in the highest joy and of her playful relation with her lover, and through this vision become able to participate in that eternal joy. Devout love owes its sublimity to this *rasa* which is the highest goal of the soul. In order to become qualified for this devotion the incarnated soul must abandon its mundane limitations and become able to behold the amorous sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa:<sup>110</sup> Karṇānanda 55:

“I do not want to stay here, O Lord. Nor do (I want) to be sent into exile because of a change in my feelings. Let that forest which is (the place of) thy most secret presence really shine in my heart”.

While basing, just as the followers of Caitanya do, their *bhakti* completely on *rasa*, the Rādhāvallabhī poets are not, with Rūpa Gosvāmin, inclined to emphasize the feeling of separation (of the lovers). Nor do they neglect such aspects of devout adoration as affection, service<sup>111</sup> and self-renunciation. In combining pure devotion and descriptions of the divine *līlā* the poet of the Karṇānanda focusses his thoughts on those ideals and emotions which lead to a complete understanding of the devout love, st. 23:

“I do not notice in the hidden path of the Veda either what is proper or what is improper.<sup>112</sup> I do not know something else than the devout service of Govinda’s feet . . .”

<sup>108</sup> Cf. e.g. Karṇānanda, st. 141; 143. It should be remembered that not only ecstatic experience but also music, dance and the predominance of aesthetic ritual are characteristic of the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa cult. However, while introducing this *bhakti-rasa* as an independent *rasa* the Bengal Viṣṇuites refused to accept that this could be one of the eight or nine *rasas* distinguished by the authors on Sanskrit poetics.

<sup>109</sup> For these girls and young women see e.g. Karṇānanda, st. 87; 102; 104; 111; 113; 118.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. also Karṇānanda, st. 70; 112; 137; 141; 182 etc.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Karṇānanda, st. 19; 33; 35; 129; 152.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. also st. 4ff.; 16; 60. The contents of the Veda are not rejected, but regarded as inadequate for the true *bhakta*; in st. 115; 138 the poet even appeals to its authority while being at variance with these contents. For Veda and *āgama(s)*: st. 138.



Indifferent to the circumstances into which the Lord will bring him<sup>113</sup> he prays only for continued *smaraṇa*, i.e. for his ability to remember God's name while fixing his thoughts on His figure or sport (st. 11 ff.). He is neither afraid of endless rebirths, nor desirous of emancipation as long as he is a happy devotee of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (st. 93). There is no hope of *bhakti* for those who do not merge their thoughts in Kṛṣṇa (st. 15). Life, a wife, children, property—, they are transitory and useless if one does not serve Hari's lotus feet (st. 29).<sup>114</sup> Thus he always reverts to the glory, majesty and sublimity of the divine couple, the only object of his emotional interest. A prayer addressed to Rādhā is introduced by a long description of her beauty: a refined form of the ancient and traditional praise as a confirmation of the deity's power and replenishment of his resources<sup>115</sup> (st. 50).

In consonance with the classical tradition the poem begins with invocations and homage addressed to his father and preceptor, st. 1:

“His face shines like a lotus; the splendour of his body is like that of the summit of a mountain; he is a treasure of perfect happiness and good fortune; he is a fount of unprecedented honour and is accomplished in taking delight in the sweetness of the feet of Vṛṣabhānu's daughter (i.e. Rādhā), who is accompanied by Kṛṣṇa . . .”;

to Rādhā, who in st. 2 is described as the personification of bliss (*ānanda*), as the energy of the Lord's eternal blissfulness which enables him to bring his devotees to a state of beatitude;<sup>116</sup> and to the son of Nanda, i.e. Kṛṣṇa, whose only elixir of life is Rādhā and who disports himself in the forests of Vṛndā (Vṛndāvana; st. 3):<sup>117</sup> the only object of the poet's continuous meditation (st. 4).<sup>118</sup> Stanza 7:

“ . . . Let every devotee adore his Lord according to his predilection; our heart must plunge into Kṛṣṇa who enjoys the petal of Rādhā's neck”.

Kṛṣṇadāsa very aptly, but in consonance with a general trend of his time, uses no less than 127 different metres for the 190 stanzas of his poem. They range from four times one to four times thirty-nine syllables the shortest stanza of four syllables being *vande rādhām* “I salute Rādhā” (62). While expounding the principles and main ideas of his community the poet knows how to move his readers profoundly. Though following, in style, the ideals of *kāvya* he guards against ambiguous expressions, too complicated compounds and pedantic formulations and applies the poetical ‘embellishments’ mainly to lend grace

<sup>113</sup> Cf. also st. 26; 31.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. also st. 39f.; 144.

<sup>115</sup> See e.g. GONDA, V.L., p. 105.

<sup>116</sup> For descriptions of Rādhā's beauty and virtue see e.g. st. 7; 44; 50; 52; 71; 133; for Kṛṣṇa e.g. st. 53f.; 58; 61; 73; 101; 109; 159.

<sup>117</sup> For Vṛndāvana see also st. 9; 43f.; 46f.; 51; 81; 89; 119; 128; 131; for the Yamunā st. 47; 56; 104; 118; 132; 132; 160ff. etc.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. also st. 64; 67f.; 77; 92.

to his verses.<sup>119</sup> His imagery, though largely traditional, is derived from nature and human relations, enhancing the comprehensibility of the poem.

Besides the Karmānanda Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote thirteen other works.<sup>120</sup> One of these is the likewise successful Upasudhānidhi, seventy stanzas describing Rādhā's beauty with much religious fervour. The Rādhānūnayavinodakāvya deals, in accordance with its title, with the endeavour to conciliate Rādhā whose anger was excited by jealousy. In canto I of this much-prized poem the poet expatiates on the scene of the divine sport in Vṛndāvana; in the following divisions—of which there are five—he describes the attempts of a (female) messenger to propitiate the divine beloved.<sup>121</sup>

Lilāśuka's Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta (or Kṛṣṇalilāmṛta) is a devotional anthology of mediaeval lyric and passionate stanzas in honour of Kṛṣṇa,<sup>122</sup> handed down in various versions (Bengali, South Indian) which are markedly different in the number and sequence of verses and consisting of three centuries which, in fact, usually include 101 to 112 stanzas. Like many other collections of this genre, these stanzas are composed in a great variety—no less than some thirty-four—of metres. The most frequent metre is the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (four times nineteen syllables) which provides space for more dramatic episodes or elaborate descriptions. Although generally speaking every verse is a unit and, except for the common subject of all stanzas, Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* and the poet's ardent longing for a vision of his god, unrelated to the next, cases of identical closing words connecting in a way a group of stanzas<sup>123</sup> are not entirely absent. Various forms of assonance, alliteration, repetition etc. are, like long compounds, proper to this—not too complicated—*kāvya* style. With most *bhakti* poems this collection has in common that it will not impress many modern Westerners as varied and exciting reading matter—the poet does not deviate from his only subject, devotional adoration of Kṛṣṇa, the *avatāra* of God, Brahma incarnate,<sup>124</sup> and

<sup>119</sup> In addition to the poet's own commentary (see above, n. 102) there are two commentaries in Brajabhāṣā, written by Rasiklal Gosvāmin and Candralal Gosvāmin.

<sup>120</sup> According to the Sāhityaratnāvali, quoted by SHUKLA, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>121</sup> The other titles are: the *stotra* Āśāstava, Hṛdārāmavaiṣṇavakāvya, Śrīrādhīkāhṛdaya "Secret knowledge of Rādhā", Vyāsanandāṣṭaka (in praise of the poet's father who was the son of Vyāsa), Aṣṭapadī, Arthakaumudī, Bṛhadrādhābhakti-mañjūṣā "The great basket of Rādhā bhakti", Mānāṣṭapadī (two parts), Navaratnastotra and Sārasaṃgraha. While focussing on the figure of Rādhā these works give, in their generality, a good idea of the *bhakti* religion of the Rādhāvallabhis.

<sup>122</sup> The Kṛṣṇa-karmāmṛta edited by S. K. DE, Dacca Univ. 1938; edition, English translation, introduction, critical notes etc.: F. WILSON, The love of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛta of Lilāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, Philadelphia (Univ. of Pennsylvania) 1975; for a bibliography see p. 447. There are seven or eight commentaries. See also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 386; and in NIA 9, p. 150. The Assamese version was edited by M. NEGOG, Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇa-Stotra, Gauhati 1962.

<sup>123</sup> See 1, 51 ff.; 2, 35 ff.; 59 ff.; 87 ff.; 3, 2 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. st. 2, 21; 51; 3, 49.

repetitions of the same motifs and images are no less numerous<sup>125</sup> than the descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's outward appearance, his cloud-dark body, his yellow garments shimmering like streaks of lightning, his cherry lips anointed with the nectar of smiles, his honey-like breath, his lotus-face and lotus-eyes, the jeweled anklets of his feet which are sunbeams.<sup>126</sup> But, like all true *bhakti* poetry, the poem, though recalling the essential character of the *avatāra*, viz. its being God or the Absolute, continually appeals to the hearts and imagination of the devout readers. "Whatever the manner of expression—narrative, lyric, dramatic—it is rarely accomplished without a vivid pictorial reminder of Kṛṣṇa".<sup>127</sup> In various parts of India the Kṛṣṇakarnāmr̥ta is a favourite and authoritative work, familiar among gesture-dancers, although the followers of Caitanya in Bengal recite and quote only stanzas from the first and Southerners only parts of the second century,<sup>128</sup> many verses being "quoted even by those with just the usual store of Sanskrit verses remembered from childhood" and "fond fathers repeating a stanza from century II over the cribs of their baby sons".<sup>129</sup> In short, it is an important document of medieval *bhakti*.

The on the whole eulogistic<sup>130</sup> work can be regarded as a collection of short Kṛṣṇa hymns of the *stotra* genre alternating with lyric expression of the soul's love and longing for Kṛṣṇa,<sup>131</sup> elaborately introduced prayers for protection or blessings,<sup>132</sup> references to particular incidents and minor episodes of Kṛṣṇa's childhood<sup>133</sup> as well as stories of his loves and female companions. References to traditional mythology or epic history are not strikingly frequent,<sup>134</sup> not even Kṛṣṇa's life and sports are regularly described. Cases of personification are rare; 1, 107:

<sup>125</sup> E.g. Kṛṣṇa's flute and playing this instrument are mentioned at 1, 4; 7; 9; 15; 18; 19; 23; 26; 29; 34; 79; 2, 11; 13f.; 3, 8; 13; 75f. etc.; his "peacock plume hair ornament": 1, 4; 5; 8; 20; 24; 31; 57; 2, 1f.; the (jar-like) breasts of Kamalā (Lakṣmī), or the milkmaids (the beautiful girls of Kṛṣṇa's environment 1, 87): 1, 9; 18; 22; 77; 87; 90; 2, 57 etc.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. 1, 1; 3; 5ff.; 12; 15; 16; 18ff.; 24; 26; 44f.; 47; 49; 54f.; 58; 70; 95ff.; 106; 2, 7; 12; 18ff.; 26; 58; 3, 5; 7; 11f.; 18; 21; 28 etc.

<sup>127</sup> WILSON, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>128</sup> In the South—where some stanzas used to be part of a Bhāratānāṭyam dancer's repertoire—the poem includes all three centuries but is not authoritative for any religious community. In West India and elsewhere it does not seem to be very popular, although individual stanzas are well known. However, from northern manuscripts it appears that it was popular in the West and Madhyadeśa between about 1400 and 1700.

<sup>129</sup> WILSON, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. e.g. 1, 86; 2, 45; 3, 13f.; 18.

<sup>131</sup> E.g. 1, 40ff.; 48; 54; 63.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. e.g. 1, 29f.; 62; 2, 1f.; 46; 93; 95f.; 103; 3, 85.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. 1, 21; 106; 2, 8 (Kṛṣṇa taking away the clothes of a bathing girl); 26 and 73 (Govardhana mountain); 29; 33; 53 (Kṛṣṇa stealing); 54; 60; 65 (reminiscence of BhG. a. 11); 71; 81 etc.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. 1, 87 (Arundhatī, the faithful wife of Vasiṣṭha); 2, 47; 59; 66.

“If we have most firm devotion (*bhakti*) to Thee, O Venerable One (*bhagavan*), then thy celestial child-form will bestow good faith on us, and Mukti (Final Emancipation) herself will fold, bud-like, her hands and attend upon us . . .”

There are some references to other *avatāras*.<sup>135</sup> Rādhā—who does not appear in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and older texts—has come on the scene, e. g. 2, 25:

“May Rādhā purify the world who, all her thoughts given up to the Eternal Lord, Kṛṣṇa, kept churning in a vessel empty of curds . . .”<sup>136</sup> (transl. Wilson)

Markedly sensuous passages are rare,<sup>137</sup> but erotic expressions and imageries are constantly subservient to religion. The mood of semi-amorous self-surrender and pathetic supplication, as well as the central figure of the youthful sportive Kṛṣṇa show that the old type of *bhakti* has been completely replaced by a spirit of mystic and emotional ‘theology’ which is easily enraptured by divine babyhood and the sportive loveliness of divine adolescence. Such preliminaries as *jñāna* and moral and ritual merit recede into the background, worship becomes a subtle form of emotional realization, salvation is sought through a blissful enjoyment of the divine sports. *Bhakti* now is the loving contemplation of a benign god of divinely human qualities, but according to the philosophy of these Viṣṇuites everything other than Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, the sole male principle, is related to him as the female principle.

The Vedas, and authoritative scriptures in general, are not infrequently—and mostly contrary to fact—referred to in substantiation of Kṛṣṇa’s miraculous power or incomprehensible divinity;<sup>138</sup> 2, 51:

“I take refuge with Brahman come to earth . . . who is beyond the ken of the Vedic tradition, whose limbs everywhere bear the marks of enjoyment with the skilled and sportive wives of the cowherds.” (transl. Wilson)

The identity of the author or compiler presents a problem. There are many legends and many scholarly conjectures about this Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala.<sup>139</sup> The earliest firm date for the collection is about 1367 in Gaṅgādevī’s Madhurāvijaya (1, 12).<sup>140</sup> The date of the author is uncertain; if he belongs to the 14<sup>th</sup> century some stanzas quoted by earlier poets may have been included afterwards. Or—and this is the translator’s hypothesis<sup>141</sup>—stanzas composed by a wandering poet-saint Bilvamaṅgala may have been collected by the 14<sup>th</sup> century grammarian (Kṛṣṇa-)Līlāśuka. It is worth mentioning that Caitanya

<sup>135</sup> See 2, 70.ii.; 79.

<sup>136</sup> See also 2, 70; 3, 1; 24; 57.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. e. g. 2, 69; 105. See also DE, in NIA 9, p. 149.

<sup>138</sup> See 2, 6; 10; 17f.; 21; 28; 31; 79; 3, 10; 40.

<sup>139</sup> For “a selection of the most telling information and theories” see WILSON, op. cit., p. 16. See also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 387.

<sup>140</sup> This is an historical *kāvya* edited by G. HARIHARA SASTRI and V. SRINIVASA SASTRI, Trivandrum 1924.

<sup>141</sup> WILSON, op. cit., p. 20.

obtained the first century of this anthology while on a pilgrimage in South India and brought it to Bengal.<sup>142</sup>

We now proceed to discuss the works of the great *bhakti* poets of the Śivaite persuasion. Not, however, without the preliminary observation that in Kashmir Śivaism *bhakti* is mainly spiritual devotion of the contemplative mind for Śiva as the only Reality.

Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, who may have been a disciple of Vasugupta, wrote his poem *Stavacintāmaṇi*—'Thought-gem in praise (of Śiva)'<sup>143</sup>—probably in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of king Avantivarman of Kashmir. The poem (120 stanzas)—possibly conceived immediately after the poet's returning from the state of complete absorption—was commented upon by Kṣemarāja whose annotations are a help in understanding its structure and the train of the poet's thought which is expressed in a concise style, swarming with assonances, double entendres and other devices. The main theme is the union of Śiva and his Śakti, that is, more exactly, the union of the Light of undifferentiated Consciousness (*prakāśa*) and that energy (called *vimarśa*) which, consisting in a free pulsation of the will, brings about the becoming conscious of one's self as identical with the Universal Self and constitutes with the *prakāśa* a pair of complementary poles.

Utpaladeva or Utpalācārya (± 900) was a disciple of Somānanda, the founder of the Pratyabhijñā school, of which he became—next to Abhinavagupta—the greatest exponent. He was not only a mystic and philosopher<sup>144</sup> but also a great poet. His poem *Śivastotrāvalī*<sup>145</sup> (± 925) is no coherent whole but a collection of stray verses in twenty chapters, which for the greater part—with the exception of the chapters XIII and XIV—were conceived immediately after ecstatic experiences. Hence, perhaps, their uneven style. Notwithstanding a certain simplicity of style and vocabulary these stanzas—the most beautiful and representative expressions of Śivaite *bhakti*—make difficult reading because they continually allude to flashes of personal intuition and spiritual experiences.

<sup>142</sup> DE, op. cit., p. IX. For other collections of similar stanzas of very doubtful authenticity ascribed to the same author (Sumaṅgala-Stotra, Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra, Bālagopala-Stotra etc.) see DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit., p. 386; DE, in NIA 9, p. 152. As late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Acintyaṅanda extolled the life of Nārāyaṇa in a Sanskrit *kāvya* work, entitled Śriharisambhavamahākāvya (ed.: ŚRĪ-HARIPRAKĀŚA ŚĀSTRĪ, Benares 1968).

<sup>143</sup> Edition: The *Stava-Chintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa with commentary by Kṣemarāja, edited by Pt. MUKUNDA RĀMA SHĀSTRĪ, K.S.T.S. 10, Srinagar 1918; the text has also been published, translated into French and commented upon by L. SILBURN, *La Bhakti (Études sur le Śivaïsme du Kaśmīr, I)*, Paris 1964, p. 91 ff.

<sup>144</sup> His philosophical works—partly lost—cannot be discussed here. See also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 662.

<sup>145</sup> Edited by VISNUPRASAD BHANDARI; RĀJĀNAKA LAKṢMAṆA, *Śivastotrāvalī* by Utpaladevācārya with the commentary of Kṣemarāja, Benares 1902; 1964. Chapter XIII was translated by DURGAPRASAD KACHRU in Utpala, *The saint mystic of Kashmir*, Poona 1945. See also S.K. DE, *Sanskrit poetics*, I, Calcutta 1923, p. 119.

After Utpaladeva's death the verses were collected by Śrī-Rāma and Ādityarāja and arranged into twenty chapters.

While the *bhakti* of these great Śivaite poets<sup>146</sup> is an intense love for God, combined with contemplation, respect and adoration, it is free from any reliance on *yoga* technique, instead of which its adepts consider their spontaneous élan as the only successful method. Says Utpaladeva, 12, 1:

“There is no need to have any support for him who wants to know Thee, nor is there any obstacle. Everything indeed is submerged by the more than abundant wave of Thine existence”.

They adore a god of whose presence they were very much conscious and whose many aspects distinguished in traditional mythology—Śiva the lover of Umā (Umāpati), the herdsman of the souls in *samsāra* (Paśupati), the king of dancers who by his rhythmic movements creates and annihilates the universe (Naṭarāja) and so on—they eulogize in ecstatic wordings. Their religion was first and foremost a mysticism, and as mystics they endeavoured to know, and to come into contact with, the divine and Ultimate Reality conceived neither as the impersonal absolute of many Vedāntins nor as the personal god of the theistic dualists. Their ideal was to be absorbed by a rich and deep feeling of unity with the Centre of all existence which at the same time is the beloved and most gracious God Śiva. The poetry of Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa and Utpaladeva, and after them of the Kashmirian poetess Lallā (14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>147</sup> whilst always and everywhere evincing their *bhakti*, leads the reader again and again to that fundamental Reality and makes him participate in their manifold emotions. Among the striking characteristics of their poetry is their disinclination to display that traditional solemnity which is so typical of many devout mystics, their aversion to ostentation and the mild derision in which they hold those ascetic practices which in their eyes are redundancies. That is not to say that all devout *bhaktas* are men of the same stamp: although knowledge, bliss, love and liberty are in Śiva one and undifferentiated, the mystic who gives his concentrated attention to knowledge will meet Śiva through intuitive knowledge (*jñāna*), the loving devotee experience his love.

This love for Śiva is possible because he manifests himself as the Self, the very essence of all creatures, and these are irresistibly inclined to love their selves (themselves).<sup>148</sup> Perfect love consists in loving Śiva with the same love with which he loves himself, and that love is personified by his Śakti and spouse Umā; compare Utpaladeva 1, 9:

“Just as the goddess whose ‘flavour’ (feeling of love, *rasa*) is that of an endless beatitude and who is most dear to Thee cannot be separated from Thee thus my love (*bhakti*) for Thee must be one with me”.

<sup>146</sup> For a detailed study see L. SILBURN, *La bhakti*.

<sup>147</sup> Lallā-vākyāni, edited with translation etc. by G. GRIERSON and L. D. BARNETT, London 1920.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. BĀU. 4, 5, 6 and Maheśvarānanda, *Mahārthamañjarī* 55.

However, man's love and the grace of God on which it depends form an endless circle: Utpaladeva 16, 21:

"Thou art only satisfied, O Lord, by love and there is no love when Thou art not satisfied. Thou alone knowest how to break this vicious circle".<sup>149</sup>

But *bhakti* is, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa says (88):

"the best eye-salve to make the eye of Wisdom, blinded by the impurity of the evil of delusion, sighted".

To those that have reached the object of their desires the great and indescribable secret (*rahasya*), the mysterious and concealed (*guhya*) Reality, will appear to be self-luminous and eternally manifest. It reveals itself in the heart of the successful adept as an intense and vibrant energy, as a torrent of ambrosia: Utpaladeva, 1, 6:

"They know, O Lord, thy Reality very well, that ocean of infinite beatitude, those who have plunged into the happiness of an intense love which resembles that very ocean".

These poets like to dwell upon the discrepancies between the perfection of Divine Reality and the imperfection of the phenomenal world and to express their thoughts in the outward form of paradoxes: Stavacintāmaṇi 6:

"Undifferentiated even in the differentiated (phenomena), undivided in the things that are divided—we pay homage to the Highest Lord, that essence common to all",

and Utpaladeva, 10, 22; 18, 18; 18, 5:

"Thou art my very essence, viz. immortal bliss. Thou art indivisible. Nevertheless, it is only the characteristics of mortality that exist in me". "Here nothing is separated from Thee. There is nothing that is no beatitude, because it has been fashioned by Thee. Nevertheless, differentiation and grief are prevailing everywhere . . .". "Although this world rests always in the abode of thy body, it is incessantly consumed by the fire of sorrow".<sup>150</sup>

Not infrequently their stanzas are a harmonious whole of elegantly worded expression of mystic experiences, felicitous metaphors, and references, for instance by means of epithets, to the traditional Śiva imagery and mythology: Stavacintāmaṇi 68:

"Now Thou hast been caught with the clenched hand; now Thou hast been seen (distinctly). Where canst Thou escape us?" (With these words) the blessed, inflamed by the feeling (emotion, delight, *rasa*) of love run towards Dhūrjaṭi".<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Cf. e.g. also Utpaladeva, 15, 13; 17, 28; 20, 8; 19.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. also Utpaladeva 4, 25.

<sup>151</sup> The person speaking who sees Śiva, Ultimate Reality, intuitively (in his heart) possesses, so to say, the deity, who is unable to conceal his true nature from the one who is identical with him and who has, like the god "with matted hair like a burden", Dhūrjaṭi i.e. Śiva the ascetic, renounced everything. For *rasa* cf. also st. 22; 111. *Rasa*: "savour mystique qui accompagne le sentiment de la présence divine" (SILBURN, La bhakti, p. 110).

God's names, aspects of His essence and nature are indeed no matter of indifference; the name of the Lord, pronounced or heard only once, can bring about a person's emancipation.<sup>152</sup>

The intimate relation between the *bhakta* and Śiva induces the former not only to commemorate God's aspects, power and high qualities but also to celebrate him;<sup>153</sup> to implore his protection; to urge him to show his kindness and bestow his grace; to express his admiration for God's energy which maintains the universe.<sup>154</sup>

The production of *bhakti* poems continued. Many eulogistic works of this genre are, by Indian authors, classified under the heading *laghukāvya*, i. e. minor *kāvya* written in a polished style that is conform to certain standards regulated by elaborate rules about figures of speech and so on. The spirit of devotional adoration that from an early period had been a theme of Indian religious poetry and was, in the post-Gupta period, gradually becoming, as *bhakti*, the fundamental concept of Indian religion was indeed nearly related to the basic tone and emotional appeal of the secular forms of stanzaic lyric poetry. One of the later works is the Viṣṇubhaktikalpalatā "The creeper supposed to grant all desires of *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa" by Puruṣottama, consisting of eight 'bunches' (*stabaka*) totalling 329 stanzas in various longer metres. The poet (15<sup>th</sup> century), whose work<sup>155</sup> was commented upon by Mahīdhara (±1700), more than once<sup>156</sup> emphasizes such positive effects of *bhakti* as a feeling of safety, peacefulness and serenity of mind. His verses, though often strongly alliterative, are on the whole uncomplicated.

An author belonging to Tamilnad, Veṅkaṭeśa by name, produced not only several *stotras* but also a Bhaktavaibhavaprakāśikā "Illumination of the glory of the devotees" in which he gives, *inter alia*, the dates etc. of the *ālvārs*<sup>157</sup>.

The Āryāśataka of Appaya Dikṣita<sup>158</sup>—whether he was the famous scholar (±1600) or one of his relatives remains uncertain—may be quoted as an example of those centuries which were utilized by well-informed exponents of various Indian faiths of later times—as well as by poets and scholars who were not associated intimately with a particular cult—to express their profound thoughts and deep emotions in the garb of a limited series of coherent and often witty devotional *kāvya* stanzas. Whereas in the first half of his work the poet

152 Stavacintāmaṇi 79; cf. 19; 24; 67 and also instances such as st. 13; 30; 36.

153 Cf. e.g. Stavacintāmaṇi 69ff.; 83ff.; 93; 97.

154 Ibidem, 72; 78; 80; 89.

155 It has been published at Bombay 21917 (Kāvya-mālā series, 31).

156 E.g. 2, 38; 3, 4; 19; 8, 36.

157 See Triennial catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras, II, 2010. Among his many other works (ibidem II, 2025–2052) are several *stotras*.

158 Edited by N.A. GORE (with a Sanskrit commentary by V. RAGHAVAN), Poona 1944; text, French translation and notes: P.S. FILLIOZAT, in JA 253 (1965), p. 51.



complains to Śiva of the latter's injustice, he dwells in the second part on his own shortcomings and his attachment to the world to conclude the poem with an appeal to Śiva's grace and a prayer for the gift of *bhakti* (st. 88) and a happy and peaceful state of mind and for that successful contemplation of Śiva which may lead to the interruption of the cycle of rebirths. It is the very evolution of the poet's sentiments and his continued attempts to enter into a personal relation with the god which determines the structure of the poem and the order of its stanzas.

The widespread *bhakti* movement gave also occasion for the production and performance of devotional plays. Thus Jivadeva, who lived at the court of Orissa about 1500, composed an allegorical play *Bhaktivaibhava* "The glory of *bhakti*" and a *Kṛṣṇabhaktirasāyana* "The elixir of *Kṛṣṇa bhakti*". Dhūrjatiprasāda Kāvya-tīrtha wrote a play, called *Bhaktivijaya* "Victory of *bhakti*".

The poems which can be classed among the *bhakti* texts include also short hymns in honour of a revered teacher, attesting to feelings of *bhakti* towards the *guru*. A specimen is the *Guruttattvamālikastotra* consisting of twenty-eight stanzas and composed in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanzas. It was written in praise of a *saṃnyāsin*, his family *guru* Gīrvāṇayogīndra, a devotee of Devī, by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita<sup>159</sup> who in stanza 26 expresses the opinion that thinking of this ascetic, "Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī, is the supreme means of crossing the *saṃsāra*".

It is not surprising that *bhakti* stanzas were often collected so as to form anthologies. There exist, on the one hand, compilations of verses belonging to authoritative works but independent of each other and arranged according to divisions—how the divisions were made depended on the compilers—and on the other hand collections of stray verses of known or unknown origin.

An ascetic of the Mādhva tradition of Viṣṇuism named Viṣṇupurī, who has already been mentioned on one of the preceding pages of this chapter, left us a selection of the best and most representative utterances on *bhakti* in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* which he arranged according to subject in thirteen groups. Each of these was called 'a string of gems' so that the whole collection became the *Bhaktiratnāvalī* "Necklace of *Bhakti* gems".<sup>160</sup> The work—a collection of expressions of a living religious experience—is a favourite and held to be the best introduction into *Bhāgavata bhakti*.

<sup>159</sup> Studied and for the greater part edited and translated by P.S. FILLIOZAT, *JOR* 34-35 (1973), p. 95; see also the same, *Oeuvres poétiques de Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita*, I, Pondicherry 1967, p. 25.

<sup>160</sup> Edited and translated (by A.B.) in *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, vol. 7, Allahabad 1912, 1918, reprinted Delhi n.d.; ed. (with a Sanskrit commentary) by R.M. LAHIRI BAHĀDUR, Calcutta 1921 etc. Early in the 15<sup>th</sup> century this collection was translated into Bengali by Lauriya Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. For Madhva's view of *bhakti* see H. VON GLASENAPP, *Madhva's Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens*, Bonn and Leipzig 1923, p. 91. See p. 18 above.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a Nambudiri *brahman* from Kerala and the poet of the well-known eulogy on Kṛṣṇa (Nārāyaṇīya)<sup>161</sup> and a philosophical work Māna-meyodaya on the means of valid knowledge according to Kumārila's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, produced towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century also a compilation for religious purposes, called Bhaktisāgara<sup>162</sup> in which he quoted from *purāṇas* and the Yogavāsīṣṭha, which, traditionally regarded as an appendix to the Rāmāyaṇa, consists of an exposition of Advaita Vedānta and Yoga in the form of a dialogue between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha.

A few words may finally be said on a number of *bhakti* works composed or compiled, partly by less-known religious leaders, partly by obscure or anonymous authors. Muralīdharadāsa wrote a Bhakticintāmaṇi to teach the saving efficacy of *bhakti*. A Bhaktihetunirṇaya "Demonstration of the causes (means) of *bhakti*" deals with the means that promote the growth of *bhakti*.

The late and laboured imitation of Jayadeva's and Līlaśūka's poems on Kṛṣṇa's sports, the Kṛṣṇalīlataṅgini by Nārāyaṇatīrtha, who lived in the Godāvārī district about 1700, may be mentioned as an instance of an, it is true, ambitious production—it deals with the whole life of Kṛṣṇa and includes songs with specified musical modes—which never attained more than limited currency.<sup>163</sup>

A considerable number of treatises are especially concerned with that form of devotion and self-surrender which is called *prapatti*, sticking firmly to the attitude of absolute dependence on God, associated with seeking His protection and a sense of helplessness, or, according to another ancient definition,<sup>164</sup> a state of prayerfulness of mind to God, associated with the deep conviction that He alone is the saviour and that there is no way of attaining His grace except by this self-surrender. The true *prapatti* is indeed characterized by complete self-surrender (*nikṣepa*): hence the title of a treatise on the elements of *prapatti* Nikṣepacintāmaṇi "Philosopher's stone of self-surrender" and treatises on the correct behaviour of the *prapanna*, i.e. the one who gives himself voluntarily and completely to the Lord. Short poems, entitled for instance Ātmanivedanam "Dedication of oneself" point out the value of surrendering oneself to the will of God as a means of realizing salvation.

Other works inculcate the idea of *nīrodha* i.e. the inhibition of all desires, and provide their readers with a definition of this religious ideal. Others again propagate the doctrines of particular groups, such as the followers of Vallabha (1479–1531)<sup>165</sup> who strive for the realization of salvation by a life of piety and devotion called *puṣṭimārga*.

<sup>161</sup> See chapter XIV, p. 263.

<sup>162</sup> Published in the periodical Paṇḍit N.S., vol. 33–35. Compare also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 774.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 345; S. K. DE, in NIA 9, p. 156.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 86; cf. p. 90; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 139.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 161.

The impact of Western ideas and the borrowing of fragments of modernity could not, in the last two centuries, bring the literary activity in this field to an end nor reduce the circulation of hymns and eulogies to something like exhausted relics of tradition. Collections of *bhakti* verses are no obsolete genre of literature. The widespread Indian bent for religious and philosophical discussion, for tracing solutions of the riddles of existence, for discoursing on the properties of the divine and the problems of the relations between human existence and the ultimate ground of all reality and, last but not least, the innate zeal for everything religious and devotion to religious practices have contributed much to the preservation of this genre of literature even when clad in Sanskrit garb. Even in the last centuries new additions have been made to the innumerable Sanskrit books and collections produced in former days. Such a modern work is the *Bhaktimañjarī* "Cluster of *bhakti* blossoms" by H. H. Svāti Śrī Rāma Varma, Mahārāja of Travancore (1813–1897),<sup>166</sup> a poet of princely birth who had an admirable command of Sanskrit.<sup>167</sup> A more philosophical poem on *bhakti*, entitled *Bhaktisārodaya* "Advantage (excellence) of the essence of *bhakti*", was, probably about 1800, written by Vīrarāghava from Madras.<sup>168</sup> Rāmasubramanya Śāstrī, a learned authority on śāstric literature from the region of Tanjore († 1922), wrote not only many commentatorial works on *upaniṣads* etc. but also a treatise on *bhakti*, called *Bhaktiyānandaprakāśa* "Elucidation of the bliss of *bhakti*".<sup>169</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

<sup>167</sup> Among his other works (see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L. p. 258) is a *Padmanābhaśataka*.

<sup>168</sup> See KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 624.

<sup>169</sup> For a list of publications on modern Sanskrit literature—among them V. RAGHAVAN, *Modern Sanskrit writings*, Adyar-Madras 1956, and the same, in *JASB*(engal), 9, 9 (1957), p. 212—see DUTTA, op. cit. (fn. 96 above), p. 76.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS: INTRODUCTION, NAME, CHRONOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY

It is far from surprising that the rise of theistic religions<sup>1</sup> preaching salvation by devotion (*bhakti*) to a particular deity found expression in a copious literature, Viṣṇuite as well as Śivaite. Of this literature the enormous collection of writings containing the body of doctrines, practices, and traditions known as Pāñcarātra is not the least interesting. While there is much to be said for the supposition that the literary tradition of this denomination is older than the oldest texts preserved, there is no denying that the works available—either in manuscript or in printed form—constitute in a sense a bond of union between the older forms of Viṣṇuism known from the Mahābhārata and the older purāṇas<sup>2</sup> including the Bhāgavata and the more modern stages of that religion.

Those Pāñcarātra works<sup>3</sup> which will be our main concern are the so-called *samhitās* (systematically arranged collections of texts, compendia)<sup>4</sup>, metrical treatises dealing, in chapters (*adhyāya*, *paṭala*), if not with the whole of their system, with a number of subjects and especially, with their rituals and liturgies. Tradition has it that there are one hundred and eight *samhitās*, but Schrader was no doubt right in surmising that this 'sacred' number is open to suspicion. Yet, although other sources give either more titles or less, a few works actually enumerate about this number, and the Viśvāmitra-Samhitā, obviously inaccessible to Schrader, gives it exactly (2, 16ff.). Four lists of names which are found in some *samhitās* as well as a fifth enumeration occurring

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<sup>1</sup> For a general characterization of these religious groups, schools or traditions (*sampradāya*) see L. RENOU, Religions of ancient India, London 1953, p. 91; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 66; 156; 181 etc. It may be recalled that it is always a minority of the population that belongs to *sampradāyas*, and that it is in many cases for the average Indian difficult exactly to determine the differences between these.

<sup>2</sup> For the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa see GONDA, R.I. II, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also SCHRADER, I.P., p. 1; FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 240; DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 21. A Bibliography of the Pāñcarātra Āgamas prepared by H. DANIEL SMITH has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series, Baroda 1975 after the completion of this book; Dr. Smith's work describes, in a condensed form but chapter-by-chapter, the contents of the printed Pāñcarātra texts.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *samhitā* the term *tantra* ('system') is often used, e.g. ParS. 20, 5; 62; 22, 69. See also SCHRADER, I.P., p. 2.

in the Agni-Purāṇa<sup>5</sup> were collated by Schrader and arranged in alphabetical order.<sup>6</sup> All told there are two hundred and ten names in this list and in addition to these there exist some texts which are not included in enumerations or only quoted or mentioned by name.<sup>7</sup> H. D. Smith was able to add several more titles gleaned from four texts.<sup>8</sup> Over thirty of the texts extant remain in manuscript form, but many works survive only in fragments; others have not been found or recovered.<sup>9</sup> There are no doubt many works still surviving in libraries yet to be identified with at least some of the titles occurring in the lists. Part of these treatises are called after the sages who received the revelations, others after disciples who dispersed the teachings, others again after some aspect of the deity. Basing ourselves on the average numbers of stanzas in the printed texts the sum total of all *saṃhitās* extant must be over a million *ślokas*. According to tradition the 'original' Pāñcarātra amounted to fifteen million stanzas,<sup>10</sup> representing the divine revelations received and transmitted by the sages. Although the contents of these works are, as will be shown in the following sections, not identical, and they may even differ in nuances, that is in theoretical or practical particulars, they are largely homogeneous.<sup>11</sup> In many cases they supplement or elucidate each other and not infrequently one of them discusses the same topics more elaborately and at greater length than others.<sup>12</sup> But their main purport is the same: teaching how to serve and

<sup>5</sup> KapS. (106 names), PāS. 1, 1, 96ff. (112), ViT. (141); HP. 1, 2, 2ff. (34); AgniP. a. 39, 2ff. (25). For different names see also GOVINDACARYA, in JRAS 1911, p. 955.

<sup>6</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Occasionally two or more different works bear the same name, or the same work is indicated by two—mostly synonymous—titles. It is moreover questionable whether all works mentioned are Pāñcarātra.

<sup>8</sup> H. D. SMITH, in ALB 27, p. 1: from MārKs. 1, 43ff. (91 names); BhS. a. 1 (103 names); PrmS. 10, 376ff. (17 names) and the Śivaite Maheśvara-Tantra J. 26, 17ff. (25 names). For another list see LT., edition, p. 10 (225 names). It is of course dubious whether all works mentioned have actually existed. There are in any case apocryphal texts.

<sup>9</sup> Manuscripts, even of the chief works are often rare. Most of them are kept in South Indian libraries. For a non-exhaustive list see JS., edition, p. 73. For editions, SanS., edition, p. VI; bibliographical references in JS., edition, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> JS. 1, 75; ŚPS. 2, 41; ViTil. 1, 140; 145; cf. also ViśvS. 2, 34ff.

<sup>11</sup> For exceptions see e.g. H. D. SMITH, in ALB 30, p. 37 on differences in the appreciation of the significance of certain rites, and a tendency to transform and isolate favoured rituals; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. XXVII, n. 1; p. 60, n. 1. Whereas the Pāñcarātra system recognizes seven types of ablution, the Lakṣmi-Tantra mentions only three of them (LT. 34, 92ff.). According to ParS. 1, 32f. "this work is in the course of time and because of its vastness transmitted in various forms . . ., even contradicting one another". It is self-evident that sometimes a version is clearer than a parallel text (cf. JS. 16, 360ff.: LT. 41, 62f.).

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. SS. 6, 167-179; LT. 40, 91-93; JS. 15, 110-130; LT. 40, 61ff.; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 248, n. 3; 4.

propitiate God (*samārādhana*). As a field of research they are still largely neglected.<sup>13</sup>

Some information on the length of the main *saṃhitās* will be given in one of the following sections,<sup>14</sup> but it is worth recalling that according to the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā<sup>15</sup> any work of the Pāñcarātra school extending to 12000 *granthas* (*ślokas*) can be called a *saṃhitā*.

Although there is some difference of opinion with regard to a classification of this mass of literature, mention may be made of the four groups distinguished by some authorities, viz. the *āgama*(*siddhānta*), the *mantra*(*siddhānta*), the *tantra*(*siddhānta*) and the *tantrāntara*(*siddhānta*).<sup>16</sup> When attention is focussed on the four *vyūhas* the work is regarded as an *āgama* (e.g. the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā); when nine or twelve forms of Viṣṇu are worshipped, a *mantrasiddhānta* (e.g. the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā); when a single form of Viṣṇu is worshipped, a *tantra* (e.g. the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā); when worship centres on a non-anthropomorphic form of Viṣṇu, a *tantrāntara* (e.g. the Hayagrīva-Saṃhitā). This distinction is of course of ritual importance, Vedāntadeśika recalling the four-fold division of the Veda.

Commentaries on the *saṃhitās* are comparatively few in number. Three of them are preserved in Śrīraṅgam, viz. a *bhāṣya* (an elaborated word by word commentary) on the Sāt(t)vata by Alaṅgarabhaṭṭa (1836 A.D.), a *vyākhyā* (explanation) on the Īśvara entitled Sātvatārthaprakāśikā<sup>17</sup> by the same, and a *vyākhyā* on the Pārameśvara by Nṛsiṃhasūri.<sup>18</sup> A Telugu commentary by Peddaṅārya, called Pradīpikā or Mantradīpikā, explains a work entitled Pāñcarātrāgama, mostly dealing with material contained in the Pādma-Saṃhitā. The printed edition of the Bhāradvāja contains a *ṭīkā* (sub-commentary) composed by Sarayūprasādamiśra and there is, in manuscript, a *vyākhyā* on the Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā. On the other hand, there exist many other works which, if they were printed, could contribute much to a better understanding of the Pāñcarātra traditions.<sup>19</sup> Many of these are, or are called, "precepts or rules guiding the performers of (particular) rites" (*vidhi*), "practical manuals

<sup>13</sup> The first editions to appear of the *saṃhitās* were with rare exceptions in the local South Indian scripts (Telugu, Grantha). This fact has no doubt contributed to their obscurity.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 87 ff.

<sup>15</sup> As quoted from a manuscript (a. 40), by B. BHATTACHARYYA, JS., edition, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. ĪśvS. 21, 560f.; PāS. C. 21, 80; PS. 38, 297; LT. 40, 100; and especially Vedāntadeśika, P.R., p. 3ff.; for a different enumeration see also B. BHATTACHARYYA, JS., edition, p. 11 and especially S. GUPTA, LT., p. XVIII. The term *siddhānta* is here used for "established doctrine".

<sup>17</sup> The Īśvara-Pārvatī-Saṃvāda (14 chapters) is a different work.

<sup>18</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 20, n. 2; N.C.C. II, p. 279.

<sup>19</sup> A 'List of important *prayoga* works and commentaries based on the *saṃhitās*', containing eighty-one titles can be found in the edition of the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā, p. 75.

dealing with performance or application" (*prayoga*), "memorial condensations" (*kārikā*), "compendia" (*saṃgraha*), works containing the "essence, summary" (*sāra*: *Sāttvatāmṛtasāra*), "commentaries" (*prabandha*), "guide-book" (*pad-dhati*), "elucidation" (*pradīpa*, *candrikā*), "discussion" (*nirṇaya*) etc. In contradistinction to the *saṃhitās* these *vidhīs*, *prayogas*, digests, extracts and 'studies' are traditionally held to be of human authorship.<sup>20</sup>

Since the authors of the Pāñcarātra texts remain anonymous there are in these chapters neither biographical passages nor discussions of the factors that determined individual creation. On the other hand, sufficient consideration must be given to the conditions under which this literature in its entirety has been produced; to the main determining factors residing in the socio-religious environment, the history of ideas, theology, and the 'climate of opinion' prevailing in the authors' milieu—authors to be taken collectively—and to the setting and antecedents of this literature as a whole.

The body of Viṣṇuites who call their literary and doctrinal heritage Pāñcarātra<sup>21</sup> did not object to referring to their traditions by other terms. Thus they used to speak of themselves as monotheists (*ekāntin*, *ekāntika*),<sup>22</sup> no doubt, as the monotheists par excellence.<sup>23</sup> This term is one of the obviously synonymous names enumerated at PāS. 4, 2, 88:

"Sage worshipper (*sūri*),<sup>24</sup> friend (*suhṛd*), Bhāgavata, Sātvata,<sup>25</sup> Knower of the five moments (*pañcakāla*),<sup>26</sup> monotheist, identical with That (Him)<sup>27</sup> and also Pāñcarātrika".<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Among these works there probably existed also 'building guides' used in constructing edifices (ŚPS. 6, 2). For a distinction between divine (*dīvyā*) literature, works pronounced by sages (*munibhāṣita*) and 'work of man' see V. VARADACHARI, in ALB 35, p. 231, n. 1.

<sup>21</sup> For general and bibliographical information see G. BÜHLER, IA 18 (1889), p. 189; 23 (1894), p. 248; P. T. ŚRĪNIVĀSA IYENGAR, Outlines of Indian philosophy, Benares 1909, p. 174; A. GOVINDACARYA SVAMIN, in JRAS 1911, p. 935; BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 38; SCHRADER, I. P.; FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 379 and p. 431 (Index); WINTERNITZ, G. I. L. III, p. 634; M. DASGUPTA, in IHQ 7, p. 355; SMITH, Ppp. and V. I.; E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Jayākhya-Saṃhitā, edition, Baroda 1967, p. 69. H. NAKAMURA, Religions and philosophies of India, Ch. III, Hinduism, Tokyo 1974, p. 7. See also the publication series of the Pāñcarātra Pariśodhana Pariśad entitled Pāñcarātra Nūl Vilakkam ("Panorama of Pāñcarātra Literature"), I, Madras 1967 etc. (in Tamil).

<sup>22</sup> E. g. LT. 41, 70.

<sup>23</sup> The authors use also the term *ekāyana* "the only way", because in their opinion there is no other way to emancipation (see e. g. ĪśvS. 1, 18; ŚPS. 2, 38f. *vedam ekāyanam*).

<sup>24</sup> In a narrower sense a terme of respect applied to the Ālvārs.

<sup>25</sup> Compare SanS. I. 3, 80.

<sup>26</sup> See below, p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> This name was borrowed from the upaniṣadic tradition: cf. ŚvU. 5, 6; 6, 17; MaiU. 6, 34; MuU. 2, 2, 4 etc.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also GOVINDACARYA SVAMIN, in JRAS 1911, p. 935; RAYCHAUDHURI, M. H. V. S., p. 21. ViśvS. 9, 90 mentions the same names minus *suhṛd* and *tanmaya*.

In addition to these the texts use terms such as Vaiṣṇavasiddhānta<sup>29</sup> “the settled Viṣṇuite doctrine” or Yogatantra<sup>30</sup> “Yoga-system”, “original religion” (*ādya dharmah*).<sup>31</sup>

The name Pāñcarātra has presented a problem not only to modern scholars but also to the ancient authors belonging to this denomination themselves.<sup>32</sup> According to the Pādma-Tantra, which in 1, 1, 68 calls this literature a “department of knowledge, a great esoteric doctrine” (a *śāstra* called *mahopaniṣad*), it is currently known by this term because the five other traditional schools—Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Buddhism, Jainism, the Śaivas (Kāpālikas, Śuddha-Śaivas, Pāsupatas)—are, in the presence of this system, like night or darkness (*rātriyaṅte*). Compare 1, 1, 71: “As when the sun rises the nights die, so others die in the vicinity of this (literary tradition)”.<sup>33</sup> This product of imagination can hardly have entered the head of an author who had access to the smallest piece of authentic information. However, this place cannot be disconnected from Mbh. 12, 326, 99ff. informing us that Nārada went to the hermitage of Nara-Nārāyaṇa at Badarikā where he heard “this *mahopaniṣada* connected with the four Vedas and relating to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga and therefore named Pāñcarātra”.<sup>34</sup> The Parama-Saṃhitā, after arguing that the Pāñcarātra doctrine taught, or the literature contained in this treatise, is known as the supreme *yogatantra*, because it is the work of the Highest Puruṣa himself (1, 33f.); that it conveys the truth and is not open to counter-argument, expresses the opinion that the name is due (1, 40ff.):

to the fact that “the five qualities (*guṇa*) of the gross elements (*mahābhūta*) are traditionally known as the *rātris* of the embodied soul”;

and

“either to the union, or to the dissociation of the five primary elements (*bhūta*), the subtle elements (*tanmātra*), the principle of individuation (i.e. *ahamkāra*),

<sup>29</sup> The last colophon of the Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. ParS. 1, 33: “The Pāñcarātra taught in this treatise is the highest Yogatantra”.

<sup>31</sup> PāS. 1, 1, 85; ViT. 1, 146.

<sup>32</sup> H.D. SMITH, A typological survey of definition; the name ‘Pāñcarātra’, JOR 34–35 (1973), p. 102 presents a survey of the definitions of the name in the Pāñcarātra texts; from the variety of evidence it appears that their authors “seem long since to have lost touch with the original, common understanding of the term—if there ever was one”. On the other hand, most of the explanations proposed by Westerntrained indologists “have little or nothing to do with the way the term is understood and used today by Pāñcarātrins” (p. 116). See also Pt. M. DURAI SWAMI AIYANGAR, Sanskrit introduction to the Pāñcarātra-Rakṣā, edition, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> See also PāT. 1, 47ff.; AnS. 1, 37f. VāmanaS. 33, 57f. even couples *rātri* with what is illusory (*tāmasa*) to explain Pāñcarātra as “other than the five *tāmasa* schools (viz. the Buddhists, three Śivaite persuasions and the worshippers of Gaṇapati).

<sup>34</sup> RADHAKRISHNAN, I.Ph. I, p. 496 unconvincingly suggests: “The name, perhaps, may be due to the fact that the system combines five different doctrines”.



intelligence (*buddhi*) and the principle from which the material world is to develop (*avyakta*), these five (well-known Sāṃkhya principles) being described as the five 'bodies' (?) or 'gifts' (*rātris*) of the Puruṣa; hence it (this doctrine) is traditionally called *pañcarātra*".<sup>35</sup>

As to the meaning of *rātri* the author of the ViS., 2, 49ff. gives his readers the option between "objects of the senses" and "primary elements", which in any case were destroyed by the supreme light of the Pāñcarātra doctrine annihilating all ignorance. According to HP. 1, 4, 2 *rātri* is a term for the five elements space, air, fire, water, earth; "when one realizes the unstained Reality (Truth, *tattva*) beyond these nights, one is liberated"; compare AgniP. 39, 7f. where Viṣṇu, identifying himself with Brahman or Brahmā (*brahmāham*) says that he is free from these five nights which abound in darkness; "the man who knows this is the spiritual teacher".

The 'etymological' connexion with *rā-* (= *dā-* "to give")<sup>36</sup> is in fact upheld at ViśvS. 2, 3ff. This work, after referring to the five organs of sense and the five primary elements, bases its fantastic argument on the derivative *ādāna* "taking, seizing", to contend that *pañcarātra* means protecting (*trā-*) against the *pañcarās*, i.e. those who seize the organs of sense etc.<sup>37</sup>

No attempts at semantic or etymological explanation are made by the compiler of the (late and apocryphal) Nāradya-Pañcarātra who—emphasizing the fivefold presentation of the subject-matter (2, 1, 12)<sup>38</sup>—(1, 44) takes *rātra* to mean "knowledge", the fivefold knowledge (*jñāna*) imparted by this literature being that which blesses one with the ultimate reality; that which bestows final emancipation; that which produces *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa, and instils service to the Lord; that which leads to mastery in *yoga*, and that which relates to mundane knowledge. However, very few of the extant works con-

<sup>35</sup> The view that *rātra* means "element" was more widely spread: AgniP. 39, 7 states that the five elements (*pañca bhūtāḥ*) (which form Brahmā's body) are known as *pañcarātra*. See also T. P. BHATTACHARYA, in JBRS 40 (1954), p. 368; 373. On the strength of HP. 1, 4, 2 (see below) R. C. HAZRA, in OH 17 (1969), p. 64ff. draws the conclusion that a follower of this system, considering the material body to be the cause of nescience and bondage, aims at attaining deliverance from the bonds of the five elements (*rātri*), and that this endeavour explains the name of the system; moreover, Brahmā was, in his opinion, the god of the earliest Pāñcarātrins, his cult becoming in course of time associated with the worship of Vāsudeva.

<sup>36</sup> SMITH, Ppp., p. 78 speaks of "one current interpretation of the name" suggesting that "the whole system is concerned with the five forms of the Lord's self-giving (*rātra*, from *rā-*), and especially with his . . . *arcā* form". For the fivefold manifestation see below.

<sup>37</sup> The compiler does not corroborate his statement by following in the footsteps of many Indian commentators and adding two other explanations, viz. that given in the Pādma-Tantra and "just as the nights are killed in the proximity (of daylight), the other religious treatises (are killed) in the proximity of the Pañcarātra".

<sup>38</sup> See below, p. 102.

form to this scheme of subjects<sup>39</sup> and it is very uncertain whether it rests on any good tradition.<sup>40</sup> Other explanations may strike a modern reader as products of despair: *rātri* is said to mean “nescience” (*ajñāna*) and *pañca* “to destroy”, hence Pañcarātra “the system which destroys ignorance” (ŚPS. 2, 40).

Another view of the problem is that the Pāñcarātra system owes its name to the fact that it dwells upon the five duties of the Vaiṣṇavas, viz. *tāpa*, *punḍra*, *nāma*, *mantra* and *yāga*,<sup>41</sup> to the five parts into which the day is divided for ritual purposes (the five daily obligations), or to the fivefold character of its central dogma, “which was the . . . fivefold self-manifestation of God by means of his *Para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin*, and *arcā* forms”.<sup>42</sup> Neither hypothesis makes the use of the term *rātra* (*rātri*) intelligible.<sup>43</sup> It is moreover open to serious doubt whether the theory of the fivefold manifestation existed already when the name was given to this school of religious thought.<sup>44</sup>

Other authors,<sup>45</sup> while judiciously taking *pañca* in its usual sense, connect the name with the origin and divulgation of the philosophy and literature: according to ĪśvS. 21, 579ff. the Lord himself taught the doctrine to five sages—Śaṅḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauñjāyana, Kauśika, and Bhāradvāja, said to be manifestations of the five weapons of the Lord—“one by one and day and night”, i. e. in five successive days. A similar view of the problem<sup>46</sup> is presented in other works: the Vihagendra-Saṃhitā 1, 33f. likewise mentions five expositions of the traditional doctrines by Keśava (Viṣṇu) in five ‘*rātras*’

<sup>39</sup> See also V. RAGHAVAN, The name Pāñcarātra, in JAOS 85 (1965), p. 73; JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> As was supposed by SCHRADER, I.P., p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> This explanation and the following are mentioned by KANE, H.Dh. V, p. 954, n. 1546 among the “guesses put forward”. Cf. PR., p. 180.

<sup>42</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 25, referring to AhS. 11, 62ff.: Viṣṇu himself framed out of the original doctrine system (*tantra*) called Pañcarātra, describing his nature as *Para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava* etc. This fivefold nature is also mentioned by the Ālvārs; see K.C. VARADACHARI, Some contributions of Ālvārs to the philosophy of *bhakti*, ABORI 23 (Silver Jubilee Vol.), p. 621. See also SMITH, in JOR 34-35, p. 116. For these manifestations see below, p. 91f.

<sup>43</sup> Schrader’s opinion was subscribed to by B. BHATTACHARYYA, Foreword to Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā, edition, p. 9; B. KUMARAPPA, The Hindu conception of the deity, London 1934, p. 91 and others, but rejected by JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 43.

<sup>44</sup> For other guesses (the five Vṛṣṇi heroes, viz. Saṃkarṣaṇa etc. and Sāmba; or “the five seasons of the year”) see JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 42ff.

<sup>45</sup> Among them ELIOT, H.B. II, p. 195.

<sup>46</sup> Stamped as ‘tell-tale references’ by RAGHAVAN, op. cit., p. 75. According to AnS. 2, 12: the Pañcarātra system is the fifth Veda; cf. Śeṣa-S. 1, 4. Or it includes all that is set forth in the *purāṇas* and four philosophical systems (Utsavasamgraha, III, p. 15), etc.

to five persons, viz. Ananta, Garuḍa (Vihagendra), Viṣvaksena, Brahmā, and Śiva, adding that the instruction comprised the four subjects *jñāna*, *yoga*, *kriyā*, and *caryā*.<sup>47</sup> Now, the Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā actually consists of five<sup>48</sup> books called *rātra* each of which is said to have been divulged by an ancient authority of divine rank, viz. Brahmā-, Śiva-, Indra-, and Ṛṣirātra, the fifth, which is not found in the manuscripts, being that of Bṛhaspati.<sup>49</sup>

After Schrader<sup>50</sup> had been inclined to admit that this interpretation may “rest on good tradition”, *rātra* “night” having come to mean—“how, we do not know”—“both a central doctrine of a system as well as the chapter or work dealing with that doctrine” Raghavan<sup>51</sup> tried to show that the Pāñcarātra school really derives its name from the five nights during which five discourses were given, associated with five divine persons (including the ṛṣis).<sup>52</sup> He does not however appear to have been acquainted with the solution of this problem proposed by Van Buitenen,<sup>53</sup> who, rightly emphasizing that the oldest Pāñcarātra adepts probably were seekers after wisdom and enlightenment settling down in semi-retirement, drew attention to the use of the terms *pāñcarātrika* and *rātripañcatram*<sup>54</sup> in connexion with an ascetic custom, viz. “the wandering of five nights” (one night in a village, five nights in a

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> The predilection for the number five is obvious: there are five daily observances, five ‘focuses’ or ‘components’ of obscuration (LT. 12, 20), there is the term *pañca-brahman* (Satya and the four *vyūhas*: LT. 19, 16), and so on; see also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 171.

<sup>49</sup> RAGHAVAN, op. cit., p. 75; cf. SanS. R. 2, 98. In the 1905 edition of the Bhāradvāja-Saṃhitā I have not found the passage replacing the name of Bṛhaspati by Nāga which is quoted by Raghavan. See also MärkS. 1, 19; PuruṣottamaS. 1, 6f. etc. ParS. 31, 19 made an attempt to combine the instruction in the course of five “nights” (days) with another tradition about the divulgation, viz. through the intermediary of the four mind-born sons of Brahmā Sanatkumāra etc. For an attempt to explain the word as “system of worship among five families” see SMITH, JOR 34–35, p. 115. According to one interpreter (ĪS. 21, 519) the name derives from the fact that the principles of the system were taught by five authorities, viz. Śaṅḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauñjāyana, Kauśika and Bhāradvāja, according to another (Pāñcarātraraksā, 2p. 180) from the five daily obligations or five parts of a Vaiṣṇava’s day.

<sup>50</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> RAGHAVAN, op. cit., p. 76. He was followed by Mrs. PADMANABHAN, Introduction to Śrīpraśna-Saṃhitā, edition, p. V.

<sup>52</sup> As to “nights” instead of “days” he rightly refers to the ancient custom to count natural days from sundown to sundown; cf. expressions such as the English *fortnight*.

<sup>53</sup> J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, The name ‘Pāñcarātra’, in History of religions 1, Chicago 1962, p. 291.

<sup>54</sup> Budhasvāmin, Brhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha 21, 59ff.; Vijñāneśvara, Mitākṣara on Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3, 58.

town).<sup>55</sup> Although I am strongly inclined to regard this meaning of the term as more original than that of “fivefold doctrine or five chapters” I would not exclude the possibility of a higher degree of influence exerted upon the spread of the term by the oft-discussed<sup>56</sup> “five-day sacrifice” (*pañcarātram yajñakratum*) mentioned in ŚB. 13, 6, 1, 1, where Nārāyaṇa, identified with the Puruṣa (of R̥V. 10, 90), is said to have found (‘beheld’) this rite and to have sacrificed with it with the result that he surpassed all beings and became this world. It may be true that association of *pañcarātra* and the name of Nārāyaṇa in this passage is incidental, true also that in early Pāñcarātra there are no characteristic pentads which would have invited the association with *pañca* in the name, the Viṣṇuites of later times can certainly be expected to have been in favour of the name *pañcarātra* indicating an ascetic practice because in the Veda Nārāyaṇa is described as the originator of a *pañcarātra* rite.

The plurality of terms used in the texts<sup>57</sup> has not failed to cause confusion, some modern authors<sup>58</sup> being obviously of the opinion that Pāñcarātra and Bhāgavata are completely synonymous names. Although the origin of the Pāñcarātra school and its historical relations to the Bhāgavatism of the Bhāgavadgītā are not clear,<sup>59</sup> the assumption seems warranted that the adherents of that denomination—whose monotheistic doctrines, referred to in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, are held to have been revealed by Bhāgavān Nārāyaṇa himself<sup>60</sup> and promulgated by Nārada,<sup>61</sup> and who adored

<sup>55</sup> One might add that the (Bṛhan-)Nāradiya-Purāṇa 1, 21 (1, 19) mentions a *pañcarātrivrata* to be observed by those who wish to adore Viṣṇu, in five nights beginning with the eleventh of the bright half of *mārgaśīrṣa*. Compare also the Śivaite MāT. 19, 11 *naḡare pañcarātram tu trirātram pattane tu vai | grāme 'pi caikarātram tu sthivainam vidhim ācaret*.

<sup>56</sup> BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 31; SCHRADER, I. P., p. 25 (referring to ŚB. 12, 3, 4); S. K. DE, in Our Heritage 1 (Calcutta 1953), p. 15; VAN BUITENEN, op. cit., p. 292; JAISWAL, O. D. V., p. 44 (not quoting van Buitenen and venturing the opinion that the name originally meant the five-day's human sacrifice mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa); GONDA, V. Ś., p. 26.

<sup>57</sup> See e.g. SaṅS. I. 3, 80ff. where those who follow the Lord's religion are called *sāttvata*, “but some people speak of Sāttvata, some of Bhāgavatas, some of Vaiṣṇavas, some of Pāñcarātrikas”. Compare also A. GAIL, *Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. GOVINDACARYA SVAMIN, op. cit.; cf. also BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 38; P. G. LALYE, *Studies in Devī-Bhāgavata*, Bombay 1973, p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. J. E. CARPENTER, *Theism in medieval India*, London 1921, p. 220; RENO (and FILLIOZAT), I. C. I, p. 647; KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 961; B. BHATTACHARYYA, JS., edition, p. 13; VAN BUITENEN, Y. Ā. P., p. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Mbh. 12, 337, 63ff.; 322, 24; 326, 100; cf. e.g. ELIOT, H. B., II, p. 202. The traditional belief is put into words by L. NARASIMHA BHATTA, *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā*, edition, Sanskrit preface. For the oral tradition see V. M. APTE, *The spoken word in Sanskrit Literature*, in Bulletin Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute 4 (1942-43), p. 277.

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 8f. Mbh. 12, 326, 101 *nārāyaṇamukhodgītām nārādo 'srāvayat punah*, and, e.g., NārS. 1, 16; 74ff.; 2, 2 etc. In ĪśvS. 1, 10 this doctrine is called *sāttvata*, in Mbh. 12, 326, 100 *pañcarātra*.

Vāsudeva<sup>62</sup> as the Highest Being—were a group of ascetic ritualists that was only secondarily absorbed by the broad current of Viṣṇuism.

The monotheistic doctrines of this school are sometimes attributed to a reputed Sāṃkhya-Yoga authority, named Pañcaśikha Kāpileya.<sup>63</sup> In an epic stanza this figure is described as being versed in the Pañcarātra, being also “acquainted with (the) five” (*pañcajñā*), and as “having bathed in the five streams”—*pañcasrotas*: he is said to have held a long sacrificial session in a place named Pañcasrotas. In the Mahābhārata (12, 337, 59) these Pāñcarātras<sup>64</sup> are mentioned together with Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Vedas and the Pāsupata doctrine, the five ‘systems’ which are the theme of Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā 12, 1 ff., where Sāttvata (see st. 3) is identical with Pāñcarātra.<sup>65</sup> In the seventh century Bāṇa, recounting a visit of king Harṣa to a Buddhist ascetic, describes the latter as being surrounded by devotees of diverse denominations, Jains, Bhāgavatas, Pāñcarātras, Lokāyatikas and so on.<sup>66</sup> In view of these places the conclusion is inevitable that Bhāgavata and Pāñcarātra are not exactly synonymous.<sup>67</sup> The latter may be regarded as a subdivision of the former. Many Pāñcarātras would accept the name Bhāgavata—Bhagavaddharma is in fact among the names of their religion, Bhagavaddharmasaṃhitā a designation of their scriptures (LT. 1, 11 f.)—but not all Bhāgavatas are Pāñcarātras.<sup>68</sup> Whereas all Bhāgavatas<sup>69</sup> are monotheist Viṣṇuites, believe in and worship Viṣṇu’s *avatāras*, observe rites in temples (with images etc.) and, though accepting the brahminical social order, are inclined to admit also non-twice-born<sup>70</sup> persons to their communities, the Pāñcarātras have in addition to these characteristics a literature and a ritual of their own. They emphasize Viṣṇu’s *vyūha* emanations, distinguish also the thirty-nine *vibhavas*<sup>71</sup> etc., are less inclined to adapt the many Sāṃkhya influences to the Vedānta system;

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. JS. 4, 2ff.: Vāsudeva identified with Brahman. It is difficult to say what kind of ritual observances went with the epical Pañcarātra.

<sup>63</sup> An interpolated stanza of the Mahābhārata, 12, 211, 612 (after 11), (and cf. 12, 211, 16) and 12, 307, 3ff. For Pañcaśikha and this passage see E. W. HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, New York and London 1902, p. 142; 144.

<sup>64</sup> Authors use also the form Pāñcarātrins.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. also SCHRADER, in ZDMG 68, p. 101; I.P., p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, ch. 8, section 5.

<sup>67</sup> See e.g. also G. A. GRIERSON, in IA 37 (1908), p. 258; J. N. BANERJEA, *Paurāṇic and tāntric religion*, Calcutta 1966, p. 40; JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 212; GAIL, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Non-Pāñcarātra Viṣṇuites often assert that the Pāñcarātra brahmins are less regarded in society notwithstanding their following Vedic rites and having all external marks of brahminhood (DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 14).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also KANE, H.Dh. V, p. 963.

<sup>70</sup> The three higher orders, brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas.

<sup>71</sup> See below, p. 61.

they accept the *bhedābheda* doctrine<sup>72</sup> and tend towards incorporating tantric<sup>73</sup> practices<sup>74</sup> so that their scriptures are permeated by traditional (Vedic) ideas propagated by the brahmins as well as by non-brahminical doctrines and rites.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the Pāñcarātra practices were probably comparatively widespread among the lower social classes,<sup>76</sup> but since our sources reflect the point of view of the intelligentsia, it is very difficult to estimate the extent of the popularity they enjoyed among the masses.

It is therefore not surprising that the Pāñcarātras, because of their attachment to the non-brahminical tenets of their scriptures, have been stamped as deviating from Vedic truth and tradition.<sup>77</sup> One of the chief causes of their being included among the 'heterodox'<sup>78</sup> lies in the distinction<sup>79</sup> made between the Veda and the inferior systems on one hand and their own system on the other, a contrast which has so much deepened that adherents of the Veda (*vaidika*) are actually described as despisers of the Lord.<sup>80</sup> Their own 'orthodoxy', that is, their being in accordance with Vedic-brahminical traditions, is decidedly vindicated. "The Pāñcarātra is Vedic; it originates in the *śruti*, and is an authority, so that its precepts and practices are to be followed by all those who own allegiance to the Veda".<sup>81</sup> Or as ŚPS. 2, 38f. has it:

<sup>72</sup> See below, p. 154; 224.

<sup>73</sup> Considering body and mind to be interdependent and interpenetrating and the former to be of primary importance; infusing the human with the divine and the divine with the human, and being first and foremost praxis centring on man. Tantrism tries to solve the problem of what man can make of his life so as to realize the supreme values which mundane existence affords. See e.g. H. V. GUENTHER, *The Tantric view of life*, Berkeley-London 1972; J. EVOLA, *Le yoga tantrique*, Paris 1971; *Catalogue of the Tantric exhibition*, Hayward Gallery, London 1971.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. SanS. R. 5, 37ff.; NārS. 2, 63 *vaidikāiḥ tāntrikair mantraiś cārcanam mīśram uttamam*; ViS. 1, 9 *sāṅgeṣu triṣu vedeṣu tanreṣu ca . . .* and places such as LT. 26, 15; 32, 58; 42, 11ff.

<sup>75</sup> "Während im BhāgP. Brahmanenzüchtigung gewaltigen Frevel darstellt und nur durch scheußliche Höllenstrafen abgebußt werden kann (5, 26, 16; cf. 5, 5, 22f.), wird sich ein des Brahmanenmordes schuldiger Pāñcarātrin nach . . . JS. 25, 23ff. durch rituelle Handlungen schmerzloser entschöhnen" (GAIL, op. cit., p. 9).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. JAISWAL, O.D. V., p. 45; 152.

<sup>77</sup> For the objections raised by Śaṅkara and Bhāskara to the lack of conformity of specific points of their doctrines see VAN BUITENEN, Y.Ā.P., p. 22. Most medieval dharmasāstric experts were of the opinion that the Pāñcarātra, like the Pāsupata doctrine, is authoritative only so far as it is not opposed to the Veda (see KANE, H.Dh. V, p. 962).

<sup>78</sup> See SCHRADER, I.P., p. 97.

<sup>79</sup> Which is based on that in the Bhagavadgītā between those who cling to the Vedas and those who worship the Lord. Cf. also BhG. 2, 42ff.; 6, 44; 8, 28; 9, 20ff.

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. a *śloka* quoted by SCHRADER, I.P., p. 97.

<sup>81</sup> PāS. 1, 1, 88. See also AgniP. ch. 20ff.

“The Veda called the monotheistic (*ekāyana*) that stands far above the (other) Vedas—, the Pāñcarātra (which) grants final emancipation to those who perform the rituals it teaches, has the same object (meaning, purpose: *artha*) as these”.<sup>82</sup>

It is argued that both Brahmā—from whose mouths the Veda had proceeded—and Viṣṇu are the expounders of the *dharma* (ViS. 2, 21), that means that ‘Viṣṇuism’ is essentially identical with ‘Vedism’.<sup>83</sup> Attempts are also made, on one hand to show that the different versions of the doctrine correspond to the branches (*śākhā*) of the Veda<sup>84</sup> (2, 22), and on the other that the typically Pāñcarātra features, and especially the tantric elements are complementary to the Veda and that the combination of ‘Veda’ and ‘Tantra’ is recommendable.<sup>85</sup> It is even their pretension that their doctrine is the ‘Root-veda’ (*mūlaveda*), ĪśvS. 1, 24ff.:

“(inasmuch) as it is an exposition of Vāsudeva who is the root of the universe. Their doctrine is the root of the Veda-tree of which the Ṛgveda etc. are trunk and branches. It is the original Bhāgavata dharma which was observed by worthy men in the first age (*kṛtayuga*) of the world”.

Basing himself on the well-known principle that in this degenerate age the Veda is difficult to understand Rāmānuja ( $\pm 1100$ ) states, Śrī-Bhāṣya 2, 2, 43:

“The incontrovertible fact is as follows: The Lord who is known from the Vedānta scriptures . . . , recognizing that the Vedas are difficult to penetrate by all beings other than himself . . . composed with a view to enabling his devotees to understand the true meaning of the Veda, the Pāñcarātra-Śāstra”, and “As the highest Brahman or Nārāyaṇa himself is the promulgator of the entire Pāñcarātra . . . none can disestablish the view that in the Pāñcarātra all the other doctrines are comprised”.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. also ĪśvS. 1, 43 “This monotheist (cf. also 1, 38ff.) Veda is famous everywhere on earth”, and see e.g. ViS. 2, 11f.; 19.

<sup>83</sup> Those who worship Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa teach that the latter’s cult is the essence of the Veda (NPR. 1, 2, 31).

<sup>84</sup> Compare GONDA, V.L., p. 29. “Characteristically, Yāmuna’s first argument concerns the Vedic affiliation of the Bhāgavatas who observe Pāñcarātra ritual. They belong, he emphasizes, to the Ekāyanaśākhā (not one of the recognized Vedic *śākhās*, however) of the Vājasaneyins, who themselves represent the White Yajurveda. And ‘when one sees learned people, who day after day study the Ekāyanaśākhā of the Vājasaneyins, wear prominently their sacred threads and upper garments and hair tufts, impart teaching, offer sacrifices, and receive priestly stipends (note the orthopraxy; not a word about their dogma) does one not know instantly that they are Brahmins?’”, J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN, in Krishna, edited by M. SINGER, Chicago-London 1968, p. 30. Cf. e.g. PrmS. K. 1, 32f. *vedam ekāyanābhīdham | mūlabhūtas tu mahato vedavṛkṣasya yo mahān* . . . On the Ekāyana-Veda see also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 21. According to NPR. 2, 1, 18 the Pāñcarātra is the essence (*sāra*) of the Veda. On the other hand, a passage such as LT. 49, 69 speaks of studying “sacred texts of the Vedas and the Sāttvata with pure brahmins who are scholars of religious texts”.

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. NārS. 2, 63; ViS. 2, 16; 4, 19.

The same argument had already been brought forward by Yāmuna (10<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>86</sup> “the first apologist of a Vaiṣṇava theology”,<sup>87</sup> who, while basing his philosophy not only on the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā but also on the Pāñcarātras (and other Viṣṇuite writings), claimed an authority equal to that of the Veda for this class of literature which hitherto had been denied recognition.<sup>88</sup> His thesis is that God who had created the Veda to direct mankind to the performance of such actions as lead to mundane and heavenly happiness had also produced the Pāñcarātra literature as a complement for the benefit of those devotees who, unwilling to execute the elaborate rites, aspire to final emancipation. Similar arguments are brought forward by Pāñcarātra authors.<sup>89</sup> Vedāntadeśika—whose work is a vigorous vindication of the fundamental doctrines of the Pāñcarātra school—(P.R., p. 65) accordingly subscribed to the opinion that the Pāñcarātra is an alternative to the Veda.

The chronology of this literature remains a vexed problem. “Not until the extant *saṃhitās* as well as the later literature have been thoroughly examined, will it be possible to fix approximately the century of each of the former . . .”.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless various attempts have been made to determine the dates—and in most cases this hardly means more than the relative dates—of the main works, and in doing so scholars have based their arguments on a variety of criteria. Inferences have been drawn from the occurrences of names and titles that belong or may belong to the Pāñcarātra tradition. For instance, from the fact that Vedāntadeśika in his Pāñcarātrarakṣa (14<sup>th</sup> century) mentions the Jayākhyā, Pārameśvara, Pauṣkara, Pādma, Nāradiyā, Sāt(t)vata, Ahirbudhnya and some other Saṃhitās<sup>91</sup> it may be concluded that these works existed already before ±1400. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Kashmir author Utpala (Vaiṣṇava) mentions the Jayākhyā, Haṃśapārameśvara, Vaiḥyasa and Śrīkālaparā Saṃhitās which must therefore have existed, in some form or other, in that period.<sup>92</sup> The Sāttvata-Tantra spoken of at BhāgP. 1, 3, 8 is, according to some authors,<sup>93</sup> “apparently the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā”: the identical work or

<sup>86</sup> On Yāmuna see e.g. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 131. On the years of his birth and death (966/7–1038) see R. MESQUITA, in WZKSA 17, p. 177.

<sup>87</sup> VAN BUITENEN, Y.Ā.P., p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> See VAN BUITENEN, Y.Ā.P., including the text and an English translation of Yāmuna’s Āgamaprāmānya. For the authoritativeness of Pāñcarātra see also SEETHA PADMANABHAN, ŚPS., edition, p. XI.

<sup>89</sup> For the Pāñcarātra as God’s work see also ParS. 1, 34ff. (*nirmitaṃ paramaṇaiva puruṣeṇa*); cf. e.g. ViśvS. 1, 77; 2, 18ff.

<sup>90</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 14. See also JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 22.

<sup>91</sup> For more particulars see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 18; cf. PR. (edition Adyar 1942, 21967), p. 183ff. (Index).

<sup>92</sup> Utpala, Spandapradīpikā, p. 9; 11; 33; 34 of the Vizianagaram edition; cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 18. On Utpala see also B. BHATTACHARYYA, Foreword to JS., edition, p. 6.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. ELIOT, H.B., II, p. 188, n. 3.



another work of the Sāttvata tradition? There are also internal references—for instance, AhS. 5, 59 makes mention of the Sāttvata (*sāttvate śūsane*), and the latter, at 9, 133, of the Pauṣkara, Vārāha and Prājāpatya Saṃhitās; AhS. 19, 64 appears to be acquainted with the Jayākhyā; LT. 2, 59 mentions the Sāttvata; SanS. R. 1, 20 the Śatasāhasrika and 6, 6 the Māhendra-Saṃhitā. These references can furnish us with valuable indications with regard to the mutual chronological relations of these works. Of special interest are in this connexion the traditions regarding the so-called “three gems” (*ratnatraya*) or principal, oldest or most authoritative Saṃhitās, viz. the Sāttvata, Pauṣkara, and Jaya or Jayākhyā,<sup>94</sup> which through the centuries have been accorded special honour.<sup>95</sup> At ŚPS. 49, 473 they are said to have been the first three works that proceeded from the primary source (*mūlaveda*). Accordingly, the Īśvara-Saṃhitā (1, 54ff.), dividing the Pāñcarātra literature into two classes, viz. the “revealed” (celestial or divine) and “traditional” (handed down by sages), considers these three the most prominent among the former class. Three other works, the Īśvara, Pārameśvara, and Pādma are, moreover, respectively regarded as ‘expansions’ of these three. According to PāS. 4, 33, 197 there are six gems, produced out of the “ocean of Bhāgavata literature”, viz. Pādma, Sanatkumāra, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, and Kāṇva. It is however not absolutely certain that all such references—especially those to texts that are regarded as the oldest—point to these works in their present form.<sup>96</sup>

Conclusions have been drawn also from such internal evidence as references to doctrines, rites, customs and other religious peculiarities, to occurrences of geographical and other names.<sup>97</sup> Thus, AhS. 45, 18 distinguishing between higher and lower knowledge (*vidyā parā . . . aparā*) has been considered<sup>98</sup> a reminiscence of Śaṅkara’s advaitic system. But even if we take for granted that the great philosopher was born in 788 and if we would reject the far

<sup>94</sup> ĪśvS. 1, 64; PrmS. 1, 19 (known to Śāṅḍilya). See also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 20; the editor’s Sanskrit preface to PS., edition (1934), p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> From the editor’s foreword to the Pauṣkara, p. 3: “(The) devotion (of the monotheists (*ekāntīn*)) generally assumes a twofold shape, viz. absence of allegiance to any other than Lord Vāsudeva and having no other end in view than His service; and it is this peculiar feature of the Sāttvatadharmā that accounts for the special distinction . . . and the place of honour . . . (of these works)”.

<sup>96</sup> Schrader’s (I. P., p. 20) ‘provisional chronology’ (cf. e.g. also ELIOT, H. B., p. 195, n. 6; V. RANGACHARYA, in C. H. I. IV, p. 165) based on internal references (the earliest *saṃhitās* are the Pauṣkara, Vārāha and Brāhma, which were followed by the Sāttvata, Jayākhyā, Ahirbudhnyā, Pārameśvara, Sanatkumāra, Parama, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, Kāṇva, Pādma, and Īśvara) is in my opinion very uncertain. — Colophons do not afford any help worth mentioning. The colophons of chapters dealing with recensions of the same subject-matter do not always give the same titles etc.

<sup>97</sup> See e.g. B. BHATTACHARYYA, JS., edition, p. 26.

<sup>98</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 97.

from imaginary—and in fact more acceptable—possibility that this place does not, by means of advaitic terminology, allude to a usual Pāñcarātra distinction between traditional Vedic and Vaiṣṇava-Pāñcarātra doctrines, the question may be put, as to whether a solitary passage such as this cannot be an ‘interpolation’.<sup>99</sup> A similar question may arise in connexion with single passages which seem to point to early dates because they deal with subject-matter that, while occurring in Saṃhitās which are assumed to be among the older works, are not found in other texts that otherwise impress us as being evidently young.<sup>100</sup> And if for instance we would attempt to derive chronological information from more or less systematical surveys of ritually important facts—e.g. the *mudrās* in JS. ch. 8—we would have to establish the chronology of all relevant parallel texts before being able to arrive at reasonable conclusions. It is clear that passages referring to, for instance, definite philosophical schools cannot have been written before these schools had become known or recognized outside their own circles, but a conclusion such as “composed after e.g. 300 A. D.” is of little avail. A similar remark can be made with regard to astronomical arguments.<sup>101</sup> Nor do structural peculiarities<sup>102</sup> help us much farther. More or less isolated references of this kind often fail to carry conviction because in many Hindu religious texts there is much community of traditional matter<sup>103</sup> and much mutual borrowing—not always clearly distinguishable from one another. There are, for instance, some hundreds of ‘parallel lines’ in the Śrī-Praśna and Pādma Saṃhitās and many others in the former and the Īśvara.<sup>104</sup> And as to the presence, absence or relative preponderance of certain features or elements,<sup>105</sup> how can we know for certain that these elements have developed in other milieus and in other regions in a chronologically parallel way? A ‘palaeographical’ clue,<sup>106</sup> though in itself interesting, is far from being reliable: the descriptions of the letters in JS. 6, 26ff. allow, it is true, of a comparison with their epigraphical counterparts, but the argument leading to the conclusion that the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā and the two other

<sup>99</sup> There are, of course, interpolations in some of the manuscripts of printed texts. LT. a. 51ff. are a spurious supplement found in one manuscript. Moreover, the older editions are as a rule very uncritical; so-called variants often appear to be ‘emendations’; corruptions, gaps, or confusions have been left unnoticed. The 163 interpolated stanzas after JS. ch. 1 are in fact a minor text eulogizing the Varadarāja temple at Kāñcīpuram; according to K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, JOIB 17, p. 71 it was probably added in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>100</sup> See e.g. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 98; cf. AhS. 8, 1ff.

<sup>101</sup> See e.g. PS. 3, 25 (zodiac); cf. G. THIBAUT, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik* (Grundriß), Straßburg 1899, p. 25.

<sup>102</sup> KRISHNAMACHARYA, JS., edition, p. 26.

<sup>103</sup> For ‘mutual borrowing’ etc. see also RAGHAVAN, ŚPS. edition, p. 13 etc.

<sup>104</sup> See the lists in Mrs. Padmanabhan’s edition (1969), p. LXVII.

<sup>105</sup> See e.g. CHATTOPADHYĀYA, E. Th. S., p. 150 on *yoga*.

<sup>106</sup> B. BHATTACHARYYA, Foreword to JS., edition, p. 30.

gems were composed in about 450 A. D. ignores the possibility that the author's expositions are not based on contemporary script used in his part of India. It may be recalled that other scholars also are inclined to include the Pauṣkara, Sāttvata, and Jayākhyā among the very oldest *saṃhitās*.<sup>107</sup> Recently however a study of the architectural material contained in chapter 20 of the Jayākhyā<sup>108</sup> seems to warrant the conclusion that the period between 600 and 850 is more probable. The oldest *saṃhitās* are sometimes held to date back to about 600 A. D.

The chronological problem is indeed intricately interlaced with geographical considerations. From—partly negative—internal evidence it appears that the Pāñcarātra school must have originated and promulgated in the North of India—including Kashmir and Orissa—and subsequently spread to the South.<sup>109</sup> From the above architectural portion of the Jayākhyā it may, for instance, be inferred that this work has been composed in Central India or the Upper Deccan, where both the southern and the northern style of temples were in concurrent vogue. The supposition that there existed some kind of Pāñcarātra literature at the time of the final redaction of the Mahābhārata<sup>110</sup> and its corollary, that this literature originated in the same region as the Nārāyaṇīya cannot be substantiated. That a vast amount of this literature was produced in the later Gupta age and the centuries following it seems very probable. In the Dravidian countries new *saṃhitās* were produced. The oldest of these seems to be the Īśvara-Saṃhitā which contains an account of the peculiar virtue (*māhātmya*) of Melkote in Mysore and enjoins inter alia the study of the so-called Tamil Veda (*drāmiḍi śruti*), that is the scripture ascribed to Śaṭhakopa (Nammālvār) which is traditionally held to contain the essence of the Vedas.<sup>111</sup> Since this great *ālvār* must have lived between about 880 and

<sup>107</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 20; JAISWAL, O. D. V., p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, in JOIB 17, p. 79. Cf. also A. M. ESNOUL, Padma Tantra, in Indologica Taurinensia 3.

<sup>109</sup> See also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 16; ELIOT, H. B., II, p. 195; S. C. MUKHERJI, A study of Vaiṣṇavism in ancient and medieval Bengal, Calcutta 1966; J. N. BANERJEA, Paurāṇic and tāntric religion, Calcutta 1966, p. 49. Compare also BhāgP. 11, 5, 38ff. "Men devoted to Nārāyaṇa are thinly scattered here and there, but in the Drāviḍa land they are found in some numbers". The Pāñcarātra tradition also spread to Nepal; see e.g. PRATAPADITYA PAL, Vaiṣṇava iconology in Nepal, Calcutta 1970, p. XXVII (Index).

<sup>110</sup> JAISWAL, O. D. V., p. 23; more cautiously SCHRADER, I. P., p. 15 "The allusion to Sāttvata-vidhi (Mbh. 6, 62, 39) could hardly refer to anything else than a *saṃhitā* of the very character of those extant".

<sup>111</sup> ĪśvS. 11, 235; 252; 8, 175ff. I refer to ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (Handbuch), p. 161. See Anantācārya's Prapannāmṛta, canto 106f. and the résumé in DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 95. According to tradition (see GOVINDACARYA, in JRAS 1911, p. 944) the succession of authorities (*guruparamparā*; cf. e.g. SS. 1, 18; and see also NārS. 13, 367; LT. 57, 27ff.) is Nārāyaṇa, Nārada, Śāṇḍilya etc., Śaṭakopa and others "who became incarnate on earth to save creatures" (ĪśvS. 8, 175ff.),

930, the supposition that the Īśvara-Saṃhitā (in its entirety) reaches back to about 800 A.D. because it is quoted as an authority by Yāmuna and must in his time "have been in existence some centuries"<sup>112</sup> is not tenable.

Some texts contain clear references to their southern provenance. At BBS. 1, 3, 93 it reads:

"Having taken birth in the Drāviḍa country where My (i.e. the Bhāgavata) religion (*dharma*) prevails, mostly My devotees come in existence here, by enjoying the water of My feet",<sup>113</sup>

which alludes to the southern origin of a great exponent of the doctrine. This work made its way to the north-west of India, where it is "popularly known"<sup>114</sup> in Gujarat as the Nārada-Pāñcarātra. That the Śrī-Praśna-Saṃhitā was at least redacted in Tamilnad appears from references to the Ālvārs and to the recitation of their Tamil hymns (*drāviḍagāthā*) in temples.<sup>115</sup> Acquaintance with the names of famous holy places<sup>116</sup> situated in the north cannot be considered an argument in favour of a northern origin: the Bṛhad-Brahmā-Saṃhitā mentions not only Śrīraṅga, but also, *inter alia*, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Ayodhyā, Dvārakā.<sup>117</sup> Occasional reminiscences of 'puranical geography'<sup>118</sup> cannot supply trustworthy information either, but the fact that the Upendra-Saṃhitā enjoins the leading of a virtuous life in Śrīraṅgam is a reliable indication of southern provenance.

The northern origin of other works can be demonstrated or made acceptable by references such as are contained in the Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra which, while excluding any South Indian script, makes mention of Kashmir<sup>119</sup> and *nāgarī* alphabets. The same work excludes inhabitants of a number of regions with prevailing *śākta* and *śaiva* systems from officiating in consecrations; as these regions surround central parts of North India,<sup>120</sup> the enumeration suggests a northern origin. This Saṃhitā has indeed so far been found in Orissa. A similar statement is found in the Agni-Purāṇa, 39, 6f.: "Only a brahmin of Madhya-

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others up to one's own preceptor. Compare also J. FILLIOZAT in (Conférence ISMEO Rome 1954), *Laghu-Prabandhāḥ*, Leiden 1974, p. 353.

<sup>112</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 16; ELIOT, H. B., II, p. 195.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. also BBS. 1, 3, 4 *vaiṣṇavākhya mahākṣetre drāviḍeṣu*.

<sup>114</sup> GOVINDACARYA, in JRAS 1911, p. 956, n. 4.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 17, 56; 40, 34; 42, 116.

<sup>116</sup> For the holy rivers see ŚPS. 42, 8; SanS. R. 6, 158; NārS. 9, 147f.; 15, 141; for *tīrthas* 9, 150ff.; cf. also SanS. R. 4, 1ff.; B. 10, 2ff.

<sup>117</sup> BBS. 1, 5, 104; 1, 7, 77; 2, 7, 60ff.; 2, 4, 91; 93; 180; 2, 7, 1; 2; 73; 3, 2, 57f. See also ParS. 25, 16ff.

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. ParS. a. 26.

<sup>119</sup> For Viṣṇuism, and possibly, Pāñcarātra in Kashmir see A. PADOUX, *Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certains textes tantriques*, Paris 1963. There are several references to Viṣṇuism in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (e.g. 3, 263).

<sup>120</sup> HP., Saṃk. ch. 31; 1, 3, 1ff.

deśa<sup>121</sup> and such places shall officiate in and perform the consecration ceremony . . .”.

As to the Ahirbudhnya, the fact that Utpala(vaiṣṇava) who lived in Kashmir reproduces one stanza of this work<sup>122</sup> and an allusion to snow has, in my opinion, more conclusive force than references to the story of Śvetadvīpa being the cradle of the religion<sup>123</sup> and to birch-bark, the writing material of that country, references which were or may have been traditional.<sup>124</sup> The same Utpala quotes also profusely from the three gems Sāttvata, Pauṣkara and Jayākhya.

According to Schrader<sup>125</sup> the southern class of *saṃhitās* is much smaller than the northern one. He is certainly right in stating that the composition of these works did not necessarily cease in the North when it began in the South, and in distinguishing a third group, fewer in number, of ‘apocryphal’ *saṃhitās* connected with a cult of comparatively modern origin (that of Rādhā, Rāma etc.).<sup>126</sup>

The Pāñcarātra form of worship came to be followed in the majority of Viṣṇuite temples of the South.<sup>127</sup> Nowadays it survives in a limited number of sacred places, the three gems guiding the practice of worship in Melkote in Mysore, Śrīraṅgam and Kāñcīpuram (Conjeeveram).<sup>128</sup> These temples have also had an important function in the preservation of manuscripts which often are in the possession of temple-priests some of whom are well-known ritual experts. It has not always been easy to procure these manuscripts,<sup>129</sup> although on the other hand information gathered and advice sought from these functionaries has proved very helpful in editing and explaining the texts. It is a Central Sanskrit Institute (Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyāpiṭha)<sup>130</sup> established by the Government of India at the famous temple-centre of Tirupati which in the last decade has undertaken the publication and study of this literature, in the hope of preserving the sacred knowledge, the art and architecture and faith in God—the threefold purpose of the Āgamas.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>121</sup> The land between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, the confluence of the Ganges and Jumnā and the place where the Sarasvatī river disappears.

<sup>122</sup> AhS. 15, 71, quoted by Utpala, Spandapradīpikā, ed. p. 41. See also 39, 23; 26, 75; 45, 53 and compare SCHRADER, I. P., p. 16; 18; 96.

<sup>123</sup> See e.g. also ParS. 31, 4; 7; 11; and cf. e.g. ELIOT, H. B., III, p. 426.

<sup>124</sup> Both the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras are known also in Nepal.

<sup>125</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 17; 19.

<sup>126</sup> Additional remarks on chronological and geographical questions pertaining to individual texts may be found in chapter VI.

<sup>127</sup> For the application of the ritual injunctions—for instance the disposition of the deities in the temple precincts etc.—see especially the long introduction to the edition of the Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā.

<sup>128</sup> See e.g. RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 99.

<sup>129</sup> Another factor contributing to the inaccessibility of these works is the use of Grantha or Telugu script.

<sup>130</sup> An Āgamakośa (thesaurus) is under preparation.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. ŚPS. 49, 468f. and V. RAGHAVAN, in ŚPS., edition, Foreword, p. M.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS: CONTENTS

Entertaining the up to now unrealized hope that each of the principal topics treated in these works would in the course of time be made the subject of a monograph Schrader<sup>1</sup> distinguished the following ten: philosophy; theory of *mantras*; theory of *yantras*; so-called *māyāyoga*; *yoga*; temple-building; image-making; domestic observances; social rules; festivals. For practical reasons this list can give a lead in presenting a general survey of the contents of the *saṃhitās*.

It will however be necessary to preface a discussion of the first subject, 'philosophy', by briefly recalling the almost continuous insistence on the Viṣṇuite character of their rules and doctrines, on the importance of the traditionally Viṣṇuite practices<sup>2</sup> and on the preferableness of the Viṣṇuite religion which is so characteristic of this literature.<sup>3</sup> Vaiṣṇavas should always associate with co-religionists;<sup>4</sup> give preference, among learned brahmins, to Vaiṣṇavas; feed other Vaiṣṇavas, for instance in performing expiatory rites;<sup>5</sup> always honour them—for then "one honours the whole universe"—, acquit themselves of their ritual duties together with other Vaiṣṇavas and in accordance with Viṣṇuite customs; be constant in their devotion, for "Kṛṣṇa is the life-breath of the *bhaktas* and the *bhaktas* are Kṛṣṇa's life-breath";<sup>6</sup> Viṣṇuite barbarians and outcastes are better men than twice-born Hindus who are deficient in Kṛṣṇa-*bhakti*; "food eaten by such a Hindu without offering to Hari turns to excrement".<sup>7</sup> Vaiṣṇava doctrines,<sup>8</sup> the worship of Viṣṇu and obedience to the traditional rules of conduct are permanently inculcated, the ideal behaviour of

<sup>1</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇu's cult is based on the six ritual practices (*ṣaḍ aṅgāni*): NPR. 2, 2, 10f. (cf. BhāgP. 7, 9, 50).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. ParS. 3, 32; 41ff.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. JS. 22, 13; ParS. 3, 63; SanS. B. 4, 60; 6, 62f.; cf. also JS. 16, 342; 21, 98; ViśvS. 9, 37; 10, 160 etc. and passages such as PS. 2, 25 (ground in the shape of one of Viṣṇu's emblems is suited for ritual purposes).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. NPR. 2, 2, 10f.; AhS. 38, 35; JS. 25, 12; ViS. 18, 2; 26, 73; NPR. 1, 6, 36; ViS. 18, 37f.; 19, 2.

<sup>6</sup> For *bhakti* see e.g. BBS. 2, 2, 86; 96; 2, 5, 16; 71; 2, 7, 17; NārS. 4, 8; cf. also LT. 15, 14; 50, 216.

<sup>7</sup> NPR. 1, 2, 36; 40; 43; AhS. 48, 36; NārS. 11, 71.

<sup>8</sup> "Established Viṣṇuite doctrine" (*vaiṣṇavasiddhānta*) BBS. 1, 5, 9; cf. 1, 7, 10; *dharmam bhāgavatam* 2, 5, 69.

a true devotee and the characteristics by which he is—or should be—recognizable often emphasized. Yet a complete and systematic articulation of Pāñcarātra theology is in these texts nowhere offered, notwithstanding the fact that it is a homogeneous, but implicit, theological background which gives a considerable number of otherwise disparate rites and liturgies sense and context.

Viṣṇu is God in all His divine aspects; pre-existent, beginningless and infinite; he is higher in rank than Brahmā whom he produces and orders to create the world and the living beings.<sup>9</sup> He is pure bliss, self-conscious in himself, the ultimate reality beyond all, and as such self-existent and the support of everything. He is omniscient and omnipresent,<sup>10</sup> but cannot be perceived by the senses; he can, however, be intuited directly just as the fragrance of flowers (JS. 4, 76). He pervades all conscious and unconscious existence just as the sap pervades the plants (JS. 4, 93). Philosophically, however, the speculations on the relation between God and the world had already at an early date given rise to a complicated system which can be sketched here only in outline.<sup>11</sup>

As the philosophy of the Pāñcarātras, like that of other Hindu systems, is inseparably bound up with their views of creation and the cyclical world process<sup>12</sup> it may, to begin with, be observed that, although the life or existence of the Supreme Being,<sup>13</sup> the Puruṣa, is eternal and beyond measure, he “ac-

<sup>9</sup> E.g. AhS. 41, 11 etc.; JS. 4, 60ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 2, 56f.

<sup>11</sup> For the results of a minute investigation: SCHRADER, I. P., p. 27–93. For a general survey of Pāñcarātra philosophy: ELIOT, H. B., II, p. 196; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 24 (JS. and other *samhitās*); p. 34 (AhS.); RENOUD-FILLOZAT, I. C., I, p. 648; GONDA, R. I. I, p. 247; II, p. 120 etc.; S. GUPTA, S. T., p. XXIII; S. R. BHATT, The philosophy of Pāñcharātra. An Advaitic approach, Madras 1968. Among the other works which give information the Tattvatraya(culukasamgraha) deserves mention. It was composed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Venkaṭanātha's son Kumāra Vedāntācārya or Varadārya (Varadanātha). In this book in Sanskrit prose he summarized Venkaṭanātha's Tamil Tattvatrayaculuku, which describes the fundamental Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrines regarding the three *tattvas*, viz. soul, matter and God. It contains many extracts from the Viṣvaksena-Samhitā and has been commented upon by Varavara.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. ParS. ch. 26 (“The world”, *loka*), explaining, in answer to the question as to what is the root of mundane existence, the structure of the universe and giving information on the transcendent Supreme Being, who, while being the ultimate creator and the sole dispenser of grace—which man must try to deserve—remains “as it were sporting” (st. 64ff.).—For subterranean regions and hells—which are not much in prominence—see e.g. ParS. 26, 61f.; BBS. 2, 3, 22ff. For the significance of the purāṇic cosmogony and cosmology, the part played by Nārāyaṇa in the cosmic drama etc. see the important studies by M. BIARDEAU in BEFEO 54, p. 19; 55, p. 59; 58, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> For some aspects and names of the Highest Being see e.g. ParS. 2, 32f.; 90ff. and a. 17, passim; for his relation to the gods (*deva*, of specialized and ‘parochial’ functions, helpers in cases of earthly and immediate need) 2, 88ff.; 30, 7f.: “a worshipper should not pray to God for food, wealth, children . . . If He is pleased, He grants all these without being asked”. For his worship ParS. a. 3. Compare

cepts” the life-period of Brahmā as his day.<sup>14</sup> In the last part of the Cosmic Night he awakens his ‘energy’ or Śakti<sup>15</sup>—Lakṣmī, identical with and yet distinct from the Lord, the former being active in the world, the latter transcendent;<sup>16</sup> God’s ultimate supreme dynamic power into which all other powers resolve themselves. The Śakti suddenly flashes up, with an infinitely small part of herself, in her dual aspect of acting (*kriyā*), i. e. force, and becoming (*bhūti*), i. e. matter,<sup>17</sup> otherwise called Agni and Soma.<sup>18</sup> The *kriyā-śakti* is identical with Viṣṇu’s resolve to become active (*saṃkalpa*, inseparable from wisdom) represented or ‘symbolized’ by his discus Sudarśana,<sup>19</sup> which is said to be the support of everything (AhS. 2, 5). Since Viṣṇu’s transcendent aspect (*paraṃ brahma* “the Highest Brahman”) remains in the background Pāñcarātra philosophy is mainly concerned with the one force (Lakṣmī), which as *bhūti* is *causa materialis* and as *kriyā* *causa instrumentalis* of all existence, vitalizing and governing the world.

In the first phase of Lakṣmī’s manifestation (called “pure creation”) God’s six ideal qualities or attributes (*guṇa*)—not to be mistaken for the well-known three *guṇas* of all material existence, from which God is completely free<sup>20</sup>—make their appearance.<sup>21</sup> These six *guṇas* make up, in their totality, the

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R.N. DANDEKAR, God in Hindu thought, in ABORI, 48–49 (1968), p. 433. For the Highest, called Vāsudeva, as Brahman: NārS. 9, 203ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 28.

<sup>15</sup> For the idea of Śakti (God’s efficacious energy by which he can perform creative deeds and produce objects in a way unaccountable by empirical methods, and considered to be his eternal consort): P. C. CHAKRAVARTI, Doctrine of Śakti in Indian literature, Calcutta 1940; GONDA, R. I. I, p. 366 (Index); II, p. 36; 237 and 362 (Index); V. Ś., p. 48; 55ff.; 59 etc.; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. XXIV; J. WOODROFFE, Shakti and Shākta, Madras-London 31929; H. C. I. P. IV, p. 572 (Index); C. H. I. IV, p. 764 (Index); PUSHPENDRA KUMAR SHARMA, Shakti cult in ancient India, Varanasi 1974. For Śakti in Pāñcarātra literature: SCHRADER, I. P., p. 30; 53; 102 etc.—In essence, Lakṣmī is unchanging, but in her *prakṛti* aspect, which is merely a phase, she is changeable. Since her transformations are inscrutable, she is also referred to as Māyā (see e.g. JS. 6, 82; LT. 2, 31f.).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 3, 44f.; 5, 7ff.; 6, 3f.; 59, 55ff.; LT. 2, 11ff.

<sup>17</sup> As to the Śakti see e.g. AhS. a. 3; LT. a. 14, for an account of creation AhS. a. 5ff.; on *kriyā-* and *bhūti-śakti* LT. a. 29. In particulars—such as the order of the events—the texts differ from each other; see e.g. JS. a. 2ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 16, 21; 18, 1; LT. 4, 37; 31, 10; SanS. B. 7, 59ff.; JS. 6, 10; 15, 127; ViS. 8, 19; see J. GONDA, The dual deities in the religion of the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, ch. XII.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 29, 45; AhS. 3, 30; 39; 11, 14f.; 48; 56; 59; 12, 17f.; 49; 13, 5; 14, 14; 16, 3f.; 51, 73ff.; 79f.; 57, 5; 58, 2 etc.; 59, 56f.; 63; 76; ŚPS. 46, 17; BBS. 1, 2, 55ff.; 1, 3, 61; 77ff.

<sup>20</sup> AhS. 2, 55 and compare e.g. LT. 3, 2ff. For the three *guṇas* of the Sāṃkhya system see e.g. ParS. 1, 71f.; 2, 7ff.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. LT. 2, 24ff.; AhS. 2, 56ff.; BhS. Par. 3, 45. Cf. also GONDA, V. Ś., p. 55ff.; J. B. CARMAN, The theology of Rāmānuja, New Haven-London 1974, p. 330 (Index).



'body' of the Highest Personal Being—then usually called Vāsudeva<sup>22</sup>—as well as that of Lakṣmī. They are omniscience (*ñāna*), activity based on independent lordship (*aiśvarya*), potency or ability (*śakti*), force (*bala*), unaffectedness, virtue, virility (*virya*) and brilliant energy or self-sufficiency (*tejas*). In their totality and by pairs these six *guṇas* are the instruments or material of pure creation, three of them being connected with the *bhūti*, three with the *kriyā* aspect of Śakti. The apparition of the pairs means the beginning of a process of emanation which is represented as a chain, each link of which is a flame proceeding from another flame.<sup>23</sup>

The first beings which come into existence are the *vyūhas*,<sup>24</sup> the term indicating that these figures are regarded as representing an effective arrangement of the parts of a coherent whole.<sup>25</sup> Each *vyūha* is Viṣṇu himself with his six *guṇas*, of which however two only, in each case, become manifest, viz. *ñāna* and *bala*, *aiśvarya* and *virya*, *śakti* and *tejas*. Including Vāsudeva<sup>26</sup> there are four of them—notice this 'cosmic' number<sup>27</sup>—the other three being named after Saṃkarṣaṇa (or Balarāma, Baladeva),<sup>28</sup> Kṛṣṇa's elder brother, Pradyumna, his son, and Aniruddha, his grandson. This *vyūha* doctrine may be considered another attempt at maintaining the fundamental monotheistic starting-point whilst incorporating some adorable doubles or manifestations of the Highest Being, and at assigning to these positions and functions in a systematic explanation of the universe. At the same time it is an attempt at conceiving God as the unaffected and changeless One who nevertheless is the cause of all change; an attempt also at harmonizing theology with mythology and some elements of evolutionist philosophy. Some later *saṃhitās* make mention of *śaktis* of the *vyūhas*. Thus Vāsudeva creates from his mind the

<sup>22</sup> AhS. 2, 28; 5, 29; 6, 25.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. PāS. 1, 2, 21.

<sup>24</sup> For the *vyūhas* see e.g. AhS. 59, 2ff. (cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 143); 1, 12; LT. 2, 40ff.; 3, 18; 4; 10, 54ff.; 20, 10ff. etc.; JS. 16, 76ff.; 20, 199; 23, 115ff.; ViS. 3, 56; BBS. 1, 13, 106ff.; 2, 2, 93; 4, 4, 3; ŚPS. 2, 54f.; BhS. Par. 2, 86ff.; NārS. 1, 33ff. For some particulars see also K.C. VARADACHARI, in NIA 6 (1943-44), p. 112; V.M. APTE, in H.C.I.P. II, p. 447; S. JAISWAL, The origin and development of Vaiṣṇavism, Delhi 1967, p. 265 (Index); M. DASGUPTA, in IHQ 8, p. 68; H. RAO, Religion in Āndhra, Tripurasundari 1973, p. 244; S. GUPTA, L.T., p. XVIII and in ALB 35 (1971), p. 189.

<sup>25</sup> GONDA, V.Ś., p. 50f.; 165. Translations such as "expansion", "emanation", "conglomeration" etc. are inadequate.

<sup>26</sup> Writing on the Pāñcarātra system Rāmānuja (ŚrīBh. 1, 2, 2; cf. 2, 2, 41) does not distinguish between the Lord's 'subtle' supreme state and Vāsudeva as the first *vyūha*.

<sup>27</sup> GONDA, V.Ś., p. 38; 51; 58.

<sup>28</sup> For the history of the worship of Saṃkarṣaṇa etc. see e.g. GONDA, V.Ś., p. 49; 51; 56 etc.; R.I. II, p. 116; RAYCHAUDHURI, M.H.V.S., passim; BHANDARKAR, V.Ś., p. 3; S. PADMANABHAN, Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā, p. IX; XIII; J. FILLIOZAT, in Arts Asiaticques 26 (1973), p. 113; Saṃkarṣaṇa is assumed to carry in himself the whole universe in an unmanifested form.

goddess Śānti and together with her Saṃkarsaṇa etc.<sup>29</sup> Each *vyūha* has a creative and a moral activity.<sup>30</sup> The latter consists of the teaching of monotheism (*ekāntika-mārga*), of its translation into practice and of the gain resulting by the practice by Saṃkarsaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha respectively.<sup>31</sup> In addition to their creative and protective functions the *vyūhas* are indeed believed to lend assistance to those devotees who aspire to final emancipation.

In the course of the creative process the duality of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*—well-known Sāṃkhya concepts—as well as the cosmic egg or eggs make their appearance.<sup>32</sup> Other Sāṃkhya concepts are made use of: the *vyūhas*, viz. Saṃkarsaṇa etc., are declared to be ‘superintendents’ of the embodied soul (*jīva*), ‘mind’ (the physical central organ, *manas*) and the organ of self-consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*). From each *vyūha* descend three sub-*vyūhas* (or *vyūhāntaras*) named after aspects (epithets) of Viṣṇu.<sup>33</sup> They are the tutelary deities of the twelve months and important elements of *yantras*; for the purpose of meditation they are iconographically kept distinct one from the other. To this pure creation belong also the ‘manifestations’ (*vibhava*) or ‘descents’ (*avatāra*) of God, his *vyūhas* or sub-*vyūhas* as terrestrial beings.<sup>34</sup> The significance attached to these ‘eternal aspects’ of Viṣṇu lies mainly in their helpfulness when they are properly meditated upon. There is, moreover, the *antaryāmin avatāra*, i.e. Aniruddha as the ‘Inner Ruler’ of all souls<sup>35</sup> and the *arcā avatāra*, the incarnation, for purposes of worship, in cult images. Generally speaking, the Pāñcarātra *avatāra* doctrine was adapted to the *vyūha* theory. Thus part of Viṣṇu’s *avatāras* are said to be incarnations or emanations of Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Saṃkarsaṇa.<sup>36</sup> Whereas the *vyūhas* explain God’s emanatory aspect and his cosmic nature, the *vibhavas* emphasize his incarnatory aspect.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. SanS. I. a. 6 (Saṃkarsaṇa identified with Śaṅkara-Śiva, 6, 6). Cf. also RAGHAVAN, in JAOS 85, p. 78.

<sup>30</sup> For particulars see LT. a. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. AnS. 5, 21 ff.; LT. 4, 15 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 6, 4; 21 ff.; 50, 58 ff.; AhS. 9, 14; ParS. 26, 63. For the concept of an egg-formed universe and the purāṇic term *brahmāṇḍa* see W. KIRFEL, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 4\*; 55.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. e.g. PS. 36, 126; AhS. 5, 45; BBS. 1, 13, 112 ff.; LT. 4, 27 ff.

<sup>34</sup> For the principal thirty-nine enumerated at AhS. 5, 50 ff.—among whom e.g. Kapila, the founder of Sāṃkhya (cf. also PāS. 1, 1, 23 ff.)—(cf. SS. 9, 76 ff.; LT. 11, 19 ff.) see SCHRADER, I. P., p. 42; for a discussion, p. 43. For various particulars and difference of opinion: DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 39. See also SS. ch. 12; for Nṛsiṃha, Kapila, Varāha: JS. ch. 29. (In the Gupta period, the Boar incarnation was the most popular manifestation, and next to it, Nṛsiṃha; for particulars: CHATTOPADHYAYA, E. Th. S., p. 147). For their iconography: SMITH, V. I., p. 123; cf. e.g. NārS. 13, 248 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. BĀU. 3, 7.

<sup>36</sup> SanS. I. a. 3. The *avatāras* enumerated here are (in this order): Varāha, Narasiṃha, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, Hayaśirṣa, Kapila, Jāmadagnya, Kākutstha (i.e. Rāma), and Sāttvata (i.e. Kṛṣṇa). In JS. a. 5 they are: Matsya, Kūrma,

Together with the *vyūhas* comes into existence Viṣṇu's highest heaven Vaikuṅṭha<sup>37</sup> with all the beings and objects contained in it. It is a manifestation of God's transcendent three-fourths (*tripādvibhūti*) and has nothing to do with the temporal or phenomenal heavens in the cosmic egg, created by God's immanent one-fourth.<sup>38</sup> According to some texts it is withdrawn at the time of the Great Dissolution, according to other, probably later, authorities it is imperishable. In Vaikuṅṭha God resides in his highest (*para*) form,<sup>39</sup> adorned with his nine<sup>40</sup> chief ornaments and weapons, which symbolically represent the principles of the universe, viz. the well-known breast-jewel *kaustubha* (the souls), the sword (knowledge), etc. As the Highest, God is sometimes identified with Vāsudeva<sup>41</sup> and always accompanied by Śrī (Lakṣmī), or by Śrī and Bhūmī (Earth)<sup>42</sup> and Nilā,<sup>43</sup> the former view being preferred by those who regard Lakṣmī, the Śakti, as a real philosophical principle.<sup>44</sup> There are two classes of individual souls existing in Vaikuṅṭha, viz. the more exalted 'eternal ones' (*nitya*) or 'sages' (*sūri*)<sup>45</sup> and the 'liberated' (*mukta*).<sup>46</sup> The purpose of the pure creation is indeed to facilitate the release of living beings from the miseries of mundane existence by providing them with objects of worship and meditation and holding out to them a prospect of eternal beatitude.<sup>47</sup>

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Varāha, Nṛsiṅha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Jāmadagnya, Dāśarathi (i.e. Rāma), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, and Kalkin. See also VksS. a. 21.

<sup>37</sup> See GONDA, Aspects, p. 107f.; VŚ. p. 14; 98; 129; SCHRADER, I.P., p. 49; 58; 106; EIDLITZ, K.C., p. 55 etc. and BBS. 3, 2, 79ff.

<sup>38</sup> For this ancient view of God's transcendence and immanence which dates back to Vedic times (cf. RV. 10, 90, 4) see J. GONDA, Triads in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 121ff.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. PāS. 1, a. 2; ViTil. 2, 10.

<sup>40</sup> For the significance of the number nine see GONDA, Aspects, p. 94f. etc.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also PāS. 1, 2, 16ff.; LT. 2, 51 and SCHRADER, I.P., p. 53.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 10, n. 4; for Bhūmī, GONDA, Aspects, p. 116, 141f. etc.

<sup>43</sup> For differences of opinion in the texts see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 54. Some *samhūtas* mention eight or twelve (SS. 9, 85) *śaktis*; eight names are often referred to but seldom enumerated (cf. VihagendraS. 3, 5; Kīrti, Śrī, Vijayā, Śraddhā, Smṛti, Medhā, Dhṛti, Kṣamā); SS. 9, 85 enumerates twelve of them: Lakṣmī, Puṣṭi, Dayā, Nidrā, Kṣamā, Kānti, Sarasvati, Dhṛti, Maitrī, Rati, Tuṣṭi, Mati, who play a part in the *avatāra* doctrine and elsewhere; PS. 21, 2ff. mentions a considerable number of *śaktis*: Lakṣmī, Puṣṭi, Kānti, Prabhā, Mati etc. For a long exposition (two, four, six, eight, twelve etc. manifestations): LT. 8, 20ff. For Lakṣmī, Kīrti, Jayā, Māyā see JS. 6, 77; LT. 44, 62; 45, 2 (Lakṣmī's fourfold manifestation).

<sup>44</sup> AhS. 6, 25; 9, 31; 36, 55; LT. 7, 9f.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 2, 1: "the supreme state (*param padam*) of Paramātman realized by *sūris* alone". There are three categories of living beings, viz. those who are in the *samsāra*, those who are released, and those who, like Kapila and Nārada or other great sages or devotees, are never subjected to the bondage of *karman*. Cf. e.g. LT. 26, 23.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. AhS. 6, 27ff.

<sup>47</sup> At BBS. 1, 2, 34 Nārāyaṇa explains that he has created the world in order to give the souls a body and to afford them an opportunity to settle up their *karman*.

Based on this creation but performed with no more than “one myriadth part of the infinitely small portion of divine energy employed in it”<sup>48</sup> is another, different manifestation of the *bhūti śakti*, the so-called Kūṭastha<sup>49</sup> Puruṣa and his *māyā śakti*—both of them arising from Pradyumna—with their developments: intermediate creation or second stage of evolution. The nature of this creation is mythological: the origin of the Kūṭastha agrees with the Vedic Puruṣa-Sūkta in that he consists of four couples, viz. the ancestors of the four social classes; there are Manus, Fathers etc.; the traditional divine triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra make their appearance, Viṣṇu is together with Lakṣmī floating on the cosmic waters etc.<sup>50</sup> However, the Pāñcarātra system incorporates not only traditional mythological concepts such as the Golden Germ (Hiraṇyagarbha),<sup>51</sup> but also a number of philosophical ideas, among them the concepts of time (*kāla*) and destiny (*niyati*) and the three *guṇas* of the Sāṃkhya philosophers<sup>52</sup> which are regarded as evolving from the unconscious power (*śakti*) showing itself as destiny and time. Whereas time is the mysterious power which urges on all existence, destiny is the subtle regulator of everything existent.

The lower creation or third stage of evolution agrees in the main with the only evolution known to the Classical Sāṃkhya.<sup>53</sup> However, the development which sets in at the beginning of this stage is said to result from the combined activity of three (not two) principles, ‘matter’ (*prakṛti*), ‘soul’ (*puruṣa*) and time (*kāla*).<sup>54</sup> Its first product is ‘the Great (Principle)’ *mahat*, also denoted by many synonyms. According to the Lakṣmī Tantra however it is the lotus

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. AhS. 6, 7; 3, 27; LT. 4, 35; compare also JS. ch. 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Kūṭastha* “standing at the top, sublime” is at BhG. 6, 8; 12, 3; 15, 16 a qualification of the Self as detached from what is other than the Self and of Brahman as a static and timeless principle. For the term see also NārS. 9, 206.

<sup>50</sup> For the significance (‘symbolism’) of the primeval waters see e.g. M. ELIADE, *Traité d’histoire des religions*, Paris 1949, p. 170 (=Patterns in comparative religion, London-New York 1958, p. 188); *The sacred and the profane*, New York 1961, p. 129.

<sup>51</sup> And also traditional cosmogony and mythology: Once at the end of a world period the Bhagavān wished to create and produced primeval matter (*pradhāna*) and *puruṣa* (AhS. 41, 4f.); there follows the purāṇic story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha who wrested the Veda from the demiurge Brahmā (see below). For Pāñcarātra accounts of creation see e.g. SanS. I. a. 6; ParS. 1, 49ff. (Viṣṇu’s *yoga* sleep; as a *yogin* he created the seed of the universe in the form of a white lotus, springing out of his navel); 2, 25ff.; ViśvS. a. 5; NārS. 15, 97ff.—For Hiraṇyagarbha (the Golden Germ) see GONDA, R. I. I, p. 180f.; Background and variants of the Hiraṇyagarbha conception, in *Raghu Vira Comm.* Vol. III, New Delhi 1974, p. 39.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. E. FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I, Salzburg 1953, p. 398.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 6, 16; 59ff.; 7, 1 etc. In 60, 17 this Saṃhitā claims to have “considered the method of the Sāṃkhya-yoga in its entirety”. See also SCHRADER, I. P., *passim*; for influence of an older form of Sāṃkhya, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> For time see e.g. AhS. 4, 48; 6, 49ff.; ParS. 2, 66ff.

bearing Hiranyagarbha, Hiranyagarbha himself and his *śakti* and consort Trayī (the threefold Veda) who regulate the activities of the evolving primordial nature, and are transformed into *mahat*<sup>55</sup> which is said to consist of the cosmic life-principle, the cosmic intelligence and the cosmic Person. *Mahat* evolves into *ahamkāra* and from this principle onwards<sup>56</sup> the process differs not much from both the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta<sup>57</sup> doctrines of creation. It will be noticed that the principles according to which creation is developed, while resembling those of Sāṃkhya, are more complicated because it was necessary to connect the Viṣṇuite belief in a personal God and a purely spiritual Supreme being with a theory of evolution. Thus while primordial matter (*pradhāna*) is according to Sāṃkhya independent, it is in the Pāñcarātra system subordinate.<sup>58</sup>

When, at the end of the evolution, the so-called Gross Creation is to take place there springs from the navel of Padmanābha "who is a portion of God himself" a golden egg containing the principles (*tattva*) in a subtle condition. Then Aniruddha creates Brahmā, the demiurge, who in his turn generates, among others, the six 'lords of offspring' (*prajāpati*), viz. Marīci etc.<sup>59</sup> The numberless souls which during a cosmic night are sleeping in the 'womb' of Viṣṇu who as a babe is floating on the waves of the waters of infinity, enter into the 'cycle of births' when God obscures their divine nature through reducing their omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence.<sup>60</sup> According to the Pāñcarātras God (or Lakṣmī) has not only the three powers of creation, preservation and absorption or dissolution, but also the *śaktis* 'restraint'

<sup>55</sup> For a deviation from Classical Sāṃkhya see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 72.

<sup>56</sup> For the twenty-five principles (*tattva*) of the Sāṃkhya system: JS. 16, 29ff. (cf. e.g. 33, 7). For Hari as the twenty-sixth: BBS. 1, 7, 52; at NPR. 4, 3, 17 Viṣṇu is Ṣaḍvīmśaka.

<sup>57</sup> The eclectic character of this philosophy is also indicated by places such as LT. 13, 12ff.; AhS. 6, 4 (*tantravedānta*); 16, 9 (*vedatantra*); 14, 39 (*sāṃkhyayoga*); ŚāṅḍS. 1, 1, 5 (*sāṃkhyayogādyāih*); BBS. 4, 6, 3 (see also PāS. 1, 1, 44ff.). Although for instance the account of the evolution of various categories in AhS. a. 7 is described as Sāṃkhya philosophy it is only a Pāñcarātra supplement to the Sāṃkhya doctrine. For Sāṃkhya ideas see e.g. ParS. 2, 3ff.; ViS. 3, 78; 82; 4, 1 etc. Other concepts—e.g. *paramātman* (LT. 2, 1); *antaryāmin* (AhS. 59, 36)—date back to the early *upaniṣads*, or to the Bhagavadgītā. In many places influence of the Advaita philosophy is unmistakable.

<sup>58</sup> For particulars see e.g. JS. ch. 3 and B. BHATTACHARYYA, Foreword to the edition of the Jayākhya-Saṃhitā, p. 19; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 26.

<sup>59</sup> The texts are at variance as to the number and names of the Prajāpatis as well as to other particulars. Also in other respects there are conflicting statements in the sources. The beginning of individual life has become a puzzle to the commentators; see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 82. For concepts such as 'collective creation' (*samaṣṭisrṣṭi*) and 'individual creation' (*vyasṭisrṣṭi*) see e.g. BBS. 1, 8, 42. Marīci is in epic and purāṇic mythology one of the seven great sages of antiquity and a son of Brahmā.

<sup>60</sup> For the idea of God's sport (see e.g. EIDLITZ, K.C., p. 556, Index, s. v. *līlā*): BBS. 2, 1, 3; 2, 5, 16; 2, 6, 56; 3, 1, 10 (*krīḍā*).

(*nigraha*) or 'removal' (*tirodhāna*)—also called *māyā*—and 'grace' (*anugraha*), by which this 'obscuration' and its opposite, the cancelling of the above restrictions, are assumed to take place.<sup>61</sup> Being freed from the three limitations of space, knowledge and power the soul is liberated.<sup>62</sup> He blissfully enters into God, becomes one with Him<sup>63</sup> without becoming Him or the same as Him,<sup>64</sup> absorbed into Him, or he is said to enter Viṣṇu's world (Viṣṇuloka), Vaikuṅṭha or his "highest place".<sup>65</sup> As a denizen of the highest heaven "he will behold that form of (God) to which he has been attached in his mundane existence".<sup>66</sup>

What strikes us here and elsewhere is the tendency to Visnuization. Just as the four social orders are said to have proceeded, not from the Puruṣa, but from the body of Viṣṇu (who is the Puruṣa),<sup>67</sup> Vedic personages are represented as devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, various manifestations of the goddess Pārvatī become Viṣṇuite figures—in Vṛndāvana Pārvatī rests as Rādhā on Kṛṣṇa's breast and in Vaikuṅṭha she serves his feet as Lakṣmī—, and it is Viṣṇu who is thrice a day worshipped, that means also in the morning and evening *saṃdhyā* rites.<sup>68</sup> Although the Vedic sacrifices were in the course of time largely superseded by forms of āgamic worship certain elements of the ancient brahminical ritual came, in a modified form, to be incorporated in the temple cult and domestic rites of the post-Vedic Hindus: hence various reminiscences and references to Vedic rites or ritual concepts.<sup>69</sup> In NPR. 1, 9, 1 (Śiva) Mahādeva is described as honouring Nārada, his guest, according to the Vedic ceremonial. One should observe the *dharma* in order to propitiate God (ViS. 4, 16).

In India there has always been manifest a strong tendency to combine what in the West is called philosophy and what is known as religion. Or, rather

<sup>61</sup> Compare e.g. GONDA, V. Ś., p. 60 and see also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 88; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. XXVI. ParS. 1, 63, stating that all embodied beings have two activities, knowledge (*jñāna*) and action (*kriyā*); when the latter is developed the result is life in the *samsāra*; in the other case, final emancipation. For a theory of God's *śaktis* as expounded in ViS. 4, 27ff. see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 31 f.

<sup>62</sup> For some particulars e.g. ParS. 2, 34; 3, 22; 3, 32; 30, 96ff.; PS. 30, 7; NPR. 2, 7, 2f. (cf. BhāgP. 3, 29, 13).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. e.g. ParS. 1, 69. PS. 13, 13 "he enters into the Highest Brahman" (*paramam brahma*).

<sup>64</sup> Philosophically, this is the *bhedābheda* doctrine: "difference-and-non-difference".  
<sup>65</sup> See e.g. AhS. 14, 3f.; 41; 6, 29f.; SanS. R. 6, 156; 9, 44; 10, 3; and compare SCHRADER, I. P., p. 58; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. XXXI. For the term *goloka* "Cow-world" used in this connexion: NPR. 1, 4, 9; 2, 2, 19; 2, 3, 20; 2, 4, 7 (emphasizing the Kṛṣṇa aspect).

<sup>66</sup> A non-Viṣṇuite cannot "escape the enemy called *samsāra*" (ParS. 26, 76), but see 2, 115.

<sup>67</sup> See the passage BBS. 1, 12, 74ff. (cf. 1, 13, 146).

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. SanS. B. 5, 2; NārS. 1, 1 *bhṛguṃ . . . viṣṇubhaktiparam*; NPR. 1, 12, 55; SanS. B. 5, 95f. *viṣṇuś copāsyate prātaḥ saṃdhyāyām* (cf. RANGACHARI, Ś. V. B., p. 60; 97).

<sup>69</sup> E.g. PS. 30, 4 (*aśvamedha* and *rājasūya*); ViśvS. a. 16 (*cāturmāsya-pūjana*); SS. 15, 6 (*darbha*); JS. 15, 186 (*svāhākāra*).

philosophy is the theoretical substructure of the doctrine of final emancipation and the intellectual argumentation of the possibility of emancipation as well as the right method of realizing it. That which leads to the supremely blissful and beneficial (*hīta*), the way to it, the performance of religious practices and the spiritual endeavour (*sādhana*) is twofold: there is the way of *dharma*, i.e. socio-religious duties and all that pleases the Lord and 'knowledge' (*jñāna*).<sup>70</sup> *Dharma* is the cause of knowledge, and is of two kinds: indirect *dharma* (self-offering or self-abnegation with reference to God) and direct *dharma*, i.e. the way in which a devotee as *yogin* directly realizes God. Knowledge also is twofold, viz. inferential and direct intuition (*sākṣātkāra*). Whereas the path of Sāṃkhya leads only to indirect knowledge of God, Yoga and Vedānta make a direct intuition of Him possible.<sup>71</sup> The so-called *jñānayoga*, the effort to control all inclinations of the senses, including also breath-control and deep concentration (*samādhi*) with God alone as object,<sup>72</sup> enables the devotee to detach himself from all worldly bonds and "to gain the supreme happiness of emancipation".<sup>73</sup> It is self-evident that this *yoga*<sup>74</sup> is tinged with Viṣṇuism: it is characterized as worship of the heart<sup>75</sup> and self-sacrifice—meditative devotion and as such a counterpart of external sacrifice (*bāhyayāga*)—as *yoga* related to the Adorable One (*yogo bhāgavataḥ*)<sup>76</sup> and said to be taught in the Sāttvata doctrine.<sup>77</sup> Works and *yoga* are of no avail if one is not a monotheist, a Vaiṣṇava.<sup>78</sup> The influence of *yoga* theory and practice was on the other hand so strong that *bhakti* by itself was not regarded as a sufficient method to attain salvation.

With reference to *yoga* it must be observed that the Pāñcarātra, like other systems, admitted the possibility of using the supranormal power acquired

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. ParS. 12, 3 (a. 12 deals with *dharma*); cf. also NārS. ch. 11 (on conventional behaviour); AhS. 13, 12ff.; LT. 4, 20; JS. 12, 34; and cf. e.g. also ParS. 1, 16. For *jñāna* and *bhakti* see e.g. BBS. 2, 2, 90. For *jñāna*, e.g. ParS. 31, 53ff. Compare also S. GUPTA, L.T., p. XXXI.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. also LT. 16, 29ff.

<sup>72</sup> For contemplation or meditation (*dhyāna*) see e.g. BBS. 2, 5, 28ff.; ParS. 3, 45; ŚPS. 3, 12.

<sup>73</sup> ParS. ch. 10, 2 (ch. 10 deals with Pāñcarātra *yoga*); 2, 34; 4, 8ff.; 26, 68; ŚPS. a. 3. For particulars: ParS. 10, 4 (twofold *yoga*); LT., passim; BBS. 1, 3, 50ff.; JS. ch. 4f., passim, and see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 27 etc.

<sup>74</sup> For yogic technicalities (e.g. *recaka*, the ducts *susumnā*, *idā*, and *pingala*, *kuṇḍalinīśakti* etc.) see LT. 38, 6ff.; 50, 143ff.; ViS. 8, 23f.; VksS. 20, 49; SanS. R. 1, 13ff.; BBS. 3, 3, 16ff. The term *yoga* is variously explained, e.g. BBS. 1, 3, 53 "suppression of the operation of the mind"; otherwise ParS. 10, 6: the peaceful union of the mind with any particular object. For the term *haṭhayoga*: ŚPS. 3, 17; for *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, 3, 19; SanS. R. 1, 14, etc.

<sup>75</sup> Compare, e.g., AhS. 31, 15; LT. 28, 47ff. and passim; SCHRADER, I.P., p. 163 (Index).

<sup>76</sup> ViS. ch. 30; SanS. R. a. 3, esp. 96ff. (Nārāyaṇa, 3, 93); LT. 28, 40ff. (meditation on Lakṣmī).

<sup>77</sup> For this term see e.g. LT. 13, 12ff.; 49, 69; 145; Vks. 39, 277; 281; AhS. 5, 59; sometimes (e.g. LT. 1, 21) the Bhāgavata religion (*dharma*) is described as Sāttvata.

<sup>78</sup> BBS. 3, 6, 57ff.

during the yogic process for earthly purposes. In combination with *māyā* in the sense of wonderful creative power or the capacity to work miracles<sup>79</sup> the term denotes what in modern books is often called 'practical magic'.<sup>80</sup>

The translation of the terms rendered above<sup>81</sup> by theory of *mantras* and of *yantras* (*mantrasāstra* and *yantrasāstra*) by "linguistic occultism" and "theory of magical figures"<sup>82</sup> is misleading. *Mantras*<sup>83</sup> are formulas (consisting of one or more words) of superhuman origin, manifestations of eternal and fundamental transcendent power—*brahman* appearing as sound (SanS.B. 11, 3)—received and 'translated' into human speech—or at least into sounds of human speech—which when properly recited are believed to be extremely potent, because they can realize the ideas of which they are a 'sound manifestation' or influence the unseen powers and produce religiously or 'magically' important effects.<sup>84</sup> They play a very important part in all Indian religions. In the Hinduist period the ancient Vedic *mantras*,<sup>85</sup> part of which were retained, were supplemented by formulas of later origin, the so-called tantric formulas.<sup>86</sup> Generally speaking Pāñcarātra authors pay much attention to them,<sup>87</sup> their cultivation being exalted as the greatest knowledge. They are said to be the basis of the religious rites, consecrate the manual acts, are the root of the whole universe, even of the Lord himself who "consists of *mantras*"; without them nothing can be done or achieved.<sup>88</sup> Attention is also invited to the *mātṛkās*, the "mothers" of the *mantras*, i. e. to the power residing in the alphabet.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. GONDA, R.I. I, p. 362 (Index); II, p. 359 (Index); *Māyā*, in Tijdschrift voor Philosophie 14, Louvain 1952, p. 3. For *māyā* see e.g. ViS. 3, 2f.; ŚPS. 2, 1, 4; 3, 2; Viṣṇu's *māyā*, e.g. ViS. 1, 7.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 4, 47.

<sup>81</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>82</sup> Thus SCHRADER, I.P., p. 26.

<sup>83</sup> See J. GONDA, The Indian *mantra*, in Oriens 16 (1963), p. 244; V.Š., p. 223 (Index); M. V. JHAVERY, Comparative and critical study of Mantrasāstra, Ahmedabad 1944. Compare also L. RENOU, Études védiques et pāninéennes, VI, Paris 1960, p. 11; A. PADOUX, Recherches sur la symbolique et l'énergie de la parole dans certains textes tantriques, Paris 1963, esp. p. 297. The traditional, but etymologically incorrect explanation of the word is adopted: JS. 13, 203 "a *mantra* rescues, saves (*trā-*) by meditating on it (*man-*)".

<sup>84</sup> For instance, they are supposed to impart omniscience (AhS. 51, 6f.), to produce any enjoyment in the threefold universe (AhS. 54, 2f.); to win the hand of a woman (NārS. 5, 15ff.); to gain a village, kingdom etc. (3, 98; 5, 25ff.); to free from every form of evil or sins (3, 42ff.); BBS. 1, 6, 85 etc. Although scepticism about the meaning of *mantras* is very ancient in India, there are still Indians who believe that some people can for instance make fire by reciting Vedic *mantras*.

<sup>85</sup> For a list of Vedic *mantras* occurring in the ViśvS. see the edition, p. 298; for those occurring in the NārS., p. 521 of the edition; in the VksS., p. 441; in the LT., p. 391 of the translation.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. NārS. 2, 63 *vaidikāih tāntrikair mantraiḥ*.

<sup>87</sup> See especially PāS. C., ch. 23–33 (also on their composition and uses); SS. in ch. 2–5; 8f.; 16; 23 etc.; AhS. a. 16–19; 51–59 and passim; LT. a. 18–26; 42–50; 52 etc. ParāśaraS. ch. 7–20; 23–31; ParS. a. 6; 16; NārS. a. 2ff.

<sup>88</sup> SanS. B. 11, 1ff.



Gods, *avatāras*,<sup>89</sup> Śrī-Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's attendants, weapons etc. have their own *mantras* in which their essence and power is believed to be present. Among the concepts which manifest themselves in the form of *mantras* is the Sudarśana or Kriyā Śakti; this so-called *mantramayi kriyāśakti* or 'Sound-body of Lakṣmī' is one of the topics treated in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā.<sup>90</sup> The man who knows<sup>91</sup> can ensure the presence of the deities inherent in these formulas and stimulate them to a display of their strength, influence, helpfulness. Often a *mantra* is appropriate to a definite occasion, or we might say, well-chosen: Varuṇa *mantras* are used in bathing; a water *mantra* pronounced in invoking the holy places near the bank of a river;<sup>92</sup> a formula beginning with "stand up" accompanies an elevation. Of special importance for the believers are of course the special *mantras* of the community. To us the explanation of the Viṣṇuite *mantras* in AhS. a. 51-59 and similar passages elsewhere furnish many interesting pieces of information on their doctrines. Says the SanS., Ś. 3, 2ff.:

"The eight-syllabled *mantra* (i.e. *Oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*),<sup>93</sup> the twelve-syllabled *mantra* (*Oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*)<sup>94</sup> and, as the third, the Viṣṇugāyatrī (*Oṃ nārāyaṇāya vidmahe, vāsudevāya dhīmahi, tan no viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt*)<sup>95</sup> are the triad of *mantras*. With these the gods can be made obedient to one's will, (become) frightened, terrified. When they end in *svāhā*<sup>96</sup> or *namaḥ* ("homage") this triad is a means of subjugating. Ending in *phaṭ* it inspires fright, ending in the syllable *huṃ* it kills; it ruins one's enemies, when it ends in *ḥ* (*visarga*, aspiration), when in *vauṣaṭ*<sup>97</sup> it brings pain; when in *ṃ* (*bindu*, *anusvāra*) it produces affection (satisfaction, pleasure) and is absolutely the best means of worshipping (adoring)".

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. the enumeration of the pertinent *mantras* occurring in NārS., p. 525 of the edition; for Lakṣmī e.g. LT. 28, 52; 46, 9.

<sup>90</sup> AhS. a. 16-19; see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 118; for the above terms see AhS. 16, 9f.; 44; cf. LT. 17, 107.

<sup>91</sup> Such a man is, so to say, another Viṣṇu (NārS. 4, 14).

<sup>92</sup> BBS. 1, 5, 16 (Varuṇa is the god of the waters); ParS. 22, 32; see also 27, 13f.; NārS. 15, 80.

<sup>93</sup> See e.g. ViśvS. a. 6.

<sup>94</sup> See e.g. ViśvS. a. 7. For the 'majesty' of this *mantra* see NārS. 3, 22ff. It is so potent that it enables Brahmā and Śiva to acquire their functions (st. 31). For 'majesty' see e.g. also 4, 70.

<sup>95</sup> Traditionally interpreted as follows: "Let us make Nārāyaṇa the aim of our knowledge; let us contemplate (meditate on) Vāsudeva; Viṣṇu must stimulate us with regard to that". This is one of the so-called sectarian variations (cf. e.g. NārS. 15, 149; ŚPS. 26, 25 (with the Lakṣmīgāyatrī); also SanS. B. 11, 8; Ś. 2, 14; 11, 94; 242) on the so-called Gāyatrī (GONDA, V.L., p. 68), RV. 3, 62, 10 *tāt savitūr vāreṇyam bhārgo devāsya dhīmahi dhīyo yó naḥ pracodayāt* (cf. LT. 24, 45). Cf. J. GONDA, The Indian mantra, in Oriens 16 (1963), p. 244, esp. p. 284ff.; K. BHATTACHARYA, in JA 255, p. 219 (other references).

<sup>96</sup> A (Vedic) exclamation used in making oblations to the gods, "may a blessing rest on . . ., hail!" or something to that effect. Cf. also JS. 15, 186ff.

<sup>97</sup> Another ancient ritual exclamation.

The *mantras*—which are often indicated by names or mentioned in an abbreviated form—are explained<sup>98</sup> and variously classified.<sup>99</sup> Of special significance are the seed-*mantras* or basic *mantras* (*bija*, “germ; primary principle”), the potent syllables assumed to constitute the essential part (‘soul’) of definite *mantras* and to be correlated with the very essence of a divine power.<sup>100</sup> For instance *hrīm* is the *bija* of the Tārikā *mantra*.<sup>101</sup> The study of these elements led to speculations on the individual sounds and their graphic symbols<sup>102</sup> which were given names: thus, *jrah* is a combination of the components called *ajāta*, *anala*, and *sarga* (*ja*, *ra*, *h*). The sounds are identified with the thirty-nine *avatāras*.<sup>103</sup> In short, the interpretation of *mantras* is one of the favourite subjects of these authors. Special attention is invited to the so-called *mantra-uddhāra* “the extraction or developing of *mantras*”<sup>104</sup> by which they are said to acquire their special virtue and to grant the objects desired (ViS. 5, 1). A sufficient knowledge of these formulas is part of the spiritual equipment of the initiated. The understanding of definite *mantras* is said to be a great instrument that grants success, i.e. complete accomplishment, supreme perfection.<sup>105</sup> Their complete mastery is one of the prerequisites for the function of a spiritual guide and teacher (*ācārya*), on whose qualifications,<sup>106</sup> position of honour,<sup>107</sup> relations with his ‘pupils’<sup>108</sup> or clients—the Vedic term ‘sacrificer’ (*yajamāna*) is still in use<sup>109</sup>—, and

<sup>98</sup> See e.g. AhS. a. 51–59 (SCHRADER, I.P., p. 141); LT. a. 18ff.

<sup>99</sup> See e.g. AhS. 19, 1ff.; SanS. Ś. a. 2; NārS. a. 3ff.

<sup>100</sup> See e.g. LT. 21, 17ff.; a. 30; 41, 20; 44, 6ff. etc.; NārS. 3, 8; 11; 83 etc. and in general, J. WOODROFFE, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, Madras 1952, p. 86; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 33 etc.

<sup>101</sup> Representing Śakti’s original state of being as Viṣṇu’s I-hood. See e.g. S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 378 (Index).

<sup>102</sup> See e.g. LT. a. 26; 30, 1ff.; a. 44. It may be recalled that the mystery of speech is an ancient tradition in India and that transcendental and phenomenal forms of speech as well as the association of word form and meaning were often speculated upon. In the *āgama* literature a systematic attempt was made to relate sound to reality.

<sup>103</sup> AhS. a. 56; SCHRADER, I.P., p. 143.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. e.g. SS. ch. 23; ViS. ch. 5; AhS. a. 18: the *uddhāra* of the Śakti-*mantra* and the Saudarśana-*mahāmantra*, both of them containing as their chief constituent the word “thousand-spoked” (*sahasrāra*) expressed respectively through the “*śākta* and the *vaiṣṇava* alphabet”. At 18, 33 the Vedic Puruṣa-sūkta (RV. 10, 90) and the Śrisūkta (see GONDA, V.L., p. 36) are said to have arisen from the *śakti-mantra*.

<sup>105</sup> JS. 28, 1 *sādhanaṃ siddhidam mahat*.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. ViS. 27, 74; AhS. 20, 1ff.; LT. 21, 30ff.; PāS. K. 1, 21; ParS. 7, 22f.; AnS. a. 3; NārS. 9, 320; 10, 3; 19; 13, 368; ŚPS. 4, 16ff.; HP. 1, 2, 12ff.; JS. 16, 307; for disqualifications HP. 1, ch. 3.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. ŚS. 21, 3ff.; 22, 21; VksS. 8, 25; 16, 84; ViS. 26, 72 (*dakṣiṇās*); NārS. 10, 9; 20; 20, 126.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. NārS. 7, 88; 9, 32; 10, 27; ViS. 2, 1ff.; 10, 93; ParS. 7, 16; AhS. 20, 8ff.; ŚPS. 5, 30ff.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. ViS. 13, 3; 16, 12; 19, 57; VksS. 3. 2.

various activities<sup>110</sup> these texts furnish us with interesting information.<sup>111</sup> Special mention must be made of his duty to supervise, in the capacity of a religious director, temple-building enterprises, where his opinion is decisive and the success at every stage depends on him.<sup>112</sup> The pertinent Pāñcarātra works are written from his, i.e. from the ritual, point of view, most of the directions given and all of the ceremonies described in them being foreign to the handbooks of architecture proper. The *ācāryas*, in fact the elders of the denomination, constitute the highest class of initiates—qualified to initiate others<sup>113</sup>—, the lower ones being the *samayins*, *putrakas* and *sādhakas*.<sup>114</sup>

Everybody who approaches for initiation (*dīkṣā*),<sup>115</sup> even a woman or a child, should be initiated, because “the whole world should be initiated”.<sup>116</sup> It is expressly stated<sup>117</sup> that “all are eligible for *dīkṣā*; there is no distinction of descent or social class”. The postulants “should be unconcerned about fruits other than final emancipation”. Since the Viṣṇuites in general assert that initiation is a prerequisite to admission to a religious order or community, the Pāñcarātras commit the postulant to a confession—a form of purification—and a probationary period.<sup>118</sup> Viṣṇuite *dīkṣā* consists of the fivefold sacraments (*pañcasamskāra*),<sup>119</sup> viz. the branding of God’s symbols on the postulant’s shoulders (*tāpa*),<sup>120</sup> the application of the distinctive mark on the forehead (*puṇḍra*), the reception of a devotional name (*nāman*) and of the distinctive *mantras* of the community (*mantra*) and, finally, the presenting of an image of God for worshipping (*yāga*). In the relevant chapters also prescriptions of a practical character alternate with references to the theoretical

<sup>110</sup> E.g. VksS. 1, 39; 20, 273; NārS. 7, 88; 11, 16; 15, 136; 195; 16, 19; 20, 24 etc.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. VksS. 3, 1ff.; NārS. a. 10f. passim.

<sup>112</sup> For references etc. see SMITH, Ppp., p. 7, and cf. p. XVIII. See e.g. NārS. 13, 37ff.; ViS. 14, 32; VksS. 1, 48f.; 5, 79; ŚPS. 5, 2.

<sup>113</sup> For particulars: ParS. 7, 17ff.; a. 8.

<sup>114</sup> PS. a. 1; JS. ch. 17; SanS. B. 5, 119ff.; LT. 41, 8 (and the note by S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 269). See also ViS. 2, 36ff.; 11, 1ff.; ParS. 3, 36ff.

<sup>115</sup> On *dīkṣā* in general: J. GONDA, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, ch. X; KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 1116; GONDA, VŚ., p. 65; for the Pāñcarātras esp. GONDA, Change, p. 398ff. See e.g. JS. ch. 16; SS. ch. 18f.; ViśvS. a. 9; ViS. ch. 10f.; ParS. 7, 25ff.; a. 8; ŚPS. 16, 18ff.; VksS. a. 37; LT. 41, 4ff. See also G. U. THITE, in ABORI 51, p. 163.

<sup>116</sup> JS. 16, 2; 10.

<sup>117</sup> ĪśvS. 8, 179; 21, 40f.; PāS. 4, 23, 113ff.; cf. BhS. 1, 13ff.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. AhS. a. 20.

<sup>119</sup> See e.g. ViTil. 4, 189f.; ŚPS. 16, 109. For the traditional ‘sacraments’ (*samskāra*) see e.g. NārS. 29; SanS. B. 4, 38ff. It is interesting to notice that some of these rites are described in greater detail than others.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. ĪśvS. 8, 179 (discus and conch-shell); the importance of the discus (*cakra*) is especially emphasized, AhS. 36, 65 asserting that Viṣṇu is essentially of the nature of this emblem.

foundations and the ideas underlying the rites as well as magnifications of the institute.<sup>121</sup>

The *mantra* received from his preceptor must be repeated by the initiate in all later rites including meditation on the deity to be worshipped,<sup>122</sup> worship (*pūjā*), the performance of the thrice daily duties of muttering prayers (*japa*),<sup>123</sup> offering oblations thrown into the consecrated fire (*homa*), sprinkling with water (*abhīṣeka*),<sup>124</sup> satisfying the deceased ancestors with libations of water (*tarpaṇa*)<sup>125</sup> and feeding brahmins. The collective term for these repetitions of *mantras* is *puraścaraṇa*.<sup>126</sup>

It is not surprising to find, in these works, innumerable references to a variety of rites and observances.<sup>127</sup> It cannot be part of my task to discuss these in detail. Some random observations must suffice. Many passages on ritual and a devout life find their proper context in theological expositions that are to justify the practical rules and precepts. The paramount importance, significance, purposes, results and merit of the performance of rites is of course duly emphasized.<sup>128</sup> Distinctions are made between categories and functions<sup>129</sup> as well as various types of sacrificial rites;<sup>130</sup> directions given with regard to specified times and occasions;<sup>131</sup> statements and warnings inserted with regard to competent and incompetent performers of rites;<sup>132</sup> to consistency in

<sup>121</sup> Thus NārS. a. 7 begins with a *dikṣāmāhātmya*. A *vaiṣṇava* initiate (*dikṣita*) is even said to be a *jīvanmukta*, a person liberated before death from all liability to future births (NārS. 9, 306).

<sup>122</sup> E.g. ParS. 24, 1ff.; LT. 17, 12; 39, 35; AhS. 33, 92. For *pūjā* see also F. NOWOTNY, Das Pūjāvidhinarūpaṇa des Trimalla, IJ 1, p. 109.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. e.g. JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 144; LT., passim (see S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 378, Index).

<sup>124</sup> E.g. JS. ch. 18; NārS. a. 10; ViśvS. 20, 41ff.

<sup>125</sup> See RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 59; NārS. 2, 115ff.; VksS. 14, 105.

<sup>126</sup> For particulars see KANE, H.Dh. V, p. 1107; LT. a. 42; JS. 19, 13ff.

<sup>127</sup> For general information see e.g. GONDA, R.I. II, passim; V.Ś., passim; DIEHL, I.P., passim; RANGACHARI, S.V.B. See e.g. PS. 28; 31; ParS. a. 3; 4; ViS. ch. 26f.; ŚPS. a. 16 passim; a. 24; a. 29.

<sup>128</sup> ViśvS. 2, 37f.; ParS. 20, 64; 21, 42; 45ff.; 52; NārS. 10, 52f.; NPR. 3, 13, 27; SanS. Ś. 9, 47; 10, 42ff.; I. 1, 14ff. The rites produce purification, lead the devotee to the stage of meditation and concentration on God, to *bhakti* etc., but are in daily life often undertaken for worldly objectives. There are rites performed in order to cure diseases (AhS. a. 38), to counteract various manifestations of evil (a. 39), to produce rain (48, 34ff.), etc. etc. A distinction is made between an exterior (visible) and an interior sacrifice; the latter, which is regarded as superior, is an offering of one's own soul in its original purity (AhS. 31, 4f.; cf. JS. ch. 12f.; LT. a. 36f.; ParS. 4, 70f.).

<sup>129</sup> E.g. between Vedic and tantric rites (SanS. B. 4, 69; 5, 54; 6, 29; NārS. 2, 63); between *nitya* "regular" and *naimittika* "occasional" (VksS. 20, 270).

<sup>130</sup> E.g. NārS. 11, 18ff.; ViS. 29, 4; "yāga, stoma, mahāyāga, adhvara, stava, kratu, haristoma" are the seven sacrificial ceremonies (*yāga*).

<sup>131</sup> E.g. ParS. 21, 38ff.; NārS. 18, 69ff.; ViśvS. a. 16.

<sup>132</sup> E.g. ParS. 20, 57ff.

the execution of statues or buildings;<sup>133</sup> or to ritually correct behaviour and special forms of worship,<sup>134</sup> customs and ceremonies, most of which are proper to Hinduism in general. Certain particulars are over and over again impressed upon the reader: at definite moments a circumambulation must be made from left to right (*pradakṣiṇa*);<sup>135</sup> the ritual acts must be performed with *bhakti*, *śraddhā* and an unconditional acceptance of the scriptural doctrines (*āstikya*).<sup>136</sup> Very often the significance of ritual particulars is explained or a motive of a definite act added. E.g. LT. 37, 60f.:

“(Thereupon) one should (mentally) bring to one’s eyes that eternal supreme majestic state of the couple called Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, the dweller in the heart and, identifying oneself with that one should look at all (the ingredients of the worship) with a steady gaze . . .”<sup>137</sup>

Or (NārS. 19, 29) it is stated that rites with sprouts (*anīkurārpaṇa*) must take place at night because then the combined influence of Soma, the moon—who, essentially immortality, is the lord of the trees and plants—and the herbs will promote the undertaking.

Special emphasis is also laid on the necessity to observe the five moments of the day, that is to perform the so-called *pañca kālas*, the five acts of worship the execution of which during a day divided into five parts is regarded as obligatory.<sup>138</sup> These acts are approaching the temple with one’s mind, speech and body concentrated on God (*abhiḡamana*),<sup>139</sup> collecting the materials for worship (*upādāna*),<sup>140</sup> the performance of worship (*ījyā*),<sup>141</sup> hearing, contemplating, discoursing or investigating the meaning of the scriptures (*svā-dhyāya*)<sup>142</sup> and meditating on the image of the Lord and thinking one has laid down one’s head at His feet.<sup>143</sup> Particulars in connexion with the daily ritual

<sup>133</sup> E.g. NārS. 25, 332ff.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. NārS. 25, 5ff.; SanS. B. 5, 134ff.; AhS. 28, 3 (bathing); PrmS. K. a. 8 (worship of Garuḍa etc.); ViS. ch. 23; ViśvS. ch. 20; NārS. 2, 13 (*digbandhana*); 14, 31ff. (ritual ploughing); SanS. R. a. 8; many passages in JS. and elsewhere.

<sup>135</sup> E.g. ParS. 22, 28; 27, 9; 29, 61.

<sup>136</sup> E.g. NPR. 3, 10, 13; 3, 11, 1.

<sup>137</sup> The gazing effects identification with the divine couple. Cf. J. GONDA, *Eye and gaze in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969, e.g. p. 21. Cf. e.g. also JS. 24, 39.

<sup>138</sup> The history of this term and the custom cannot be considered here. For some uncertain suggestions see JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 142. The importance attached to the five (*pañca*) proper times has no doubt something to do with the name Pañcarātra and its traditional explanations (cf. JS. 16, 9; 22, 3; ViśvS. 3, 6; 9, 90; PrmS. 1, 21). Some texts are: JS. 21, 104; 22, 66ff.; PāS. C. ch. 13; 4, 13, 4; SS. 20, 5; BhS. a. 3; SanS. R. 1, 1ff.; NārS. 30, 1ff.; ŚPS. 17, 1ff.; ViśvS. 27, 60. The subject is treated at length in the Vṛddha-Hārīta-Smṛti (an authority on the Bhāgavata religion) and the Śaṅḍilya-Smṛti.

<sup>139</sup> For some particulars see e.g. DIEHL, I.P., p. 85; RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 49.

<sup>140</sup> See e.g. DIEHL, I.P., p. 85; 86; 88; RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 49; 84.

<sup>141</sup> DIEHL, I.P., p. 87; 88; RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 49.

<sup>142</sup> RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 97.

<sup>143</sup> RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 98.

(*pūjā*)<sup>144</sup> and the sixteen acts or attendances<sup>145</sup> of worship of which it consists are of course not wanting. One of its distinctive characteristics—viz. that in essence it is a personal form of worship rather than a communal or congregational performance—appears also clearly from these sources.<sup>146</sup> Attention is invited also to *bali* offerings (gifts of a portion of one's daily food etc. to all creatures)<sup>147</sup> and many other varieties of sacrificial rites;<sup>148</sup> to special sacrificial substances such as rice mixed with sesamum or peas.<sup>149</sup> Mention is made of fixed or formulaic prayers, eulogies or consecratory formulas to be pronounced by the worshipper at definite moments;<sup>150</sup> e.g. ViS. 21, 46ff. and 26, 11:

“Let all the gods who inhabit this temple hear us; let them favour us with that which is made known by us . . .”; “Let these waters be propitious, auspicious, pure, undefiled, purifying, cool, purified by the rays of the Sun”.

Or SS. 8, 7f.:

“Bending his knees and head he orders his disciple to address the Lord: ‘That one, desirous of propitiating thee, wishes to undertake an observance. O adorable one, fulfil his wish, that his ambitions may be realized’”.

The practice and significance of *mudrās*,<sup>151</sup> definite ritual finger and hand positions expressing ideas and ‘symbolizing’ the transformation effected by a *mantra*, are a frequent theme.<sup>152</sup> The Nāradiya-Samhitā (6, 2ff.) for instance describes a number of more or less complicated postures called after the *vyūhas*, God's emblems or weapons, *avatāras* etc. or the parts of the body where the *mudrā* is to be made. In this Viṣṇu milieu the technical description is

<sup>144</sup> See GONDA, R. I. I, p. 244f.; 334f. etc.; II, p. 361 (Index); S. CH. VASU, The daily practice of the Hindus, Allahabad 1909; 3<sup>rd</sup> enlarged edition by ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VIDYĀRṆAVA, Allahabad 1918; DIEHL, I. P., p. 391 (Index); R. N. DANDEKAR, in ABORI 48–49, p. 459; some texts: e.g. ViśvS. 9, 92; NārS. a. 27.

<sup>145</sup> NPR. 2, 4, 12. For the number sixteen see J. GONDA, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 115.

<sup>146</sup> For some particulars see e.g. ParS. 24 “worship by the learned” (*vidvatpūjā*); offerings of flowers: NārS. a. 21; the objects required for *pūjā*: ParS. a. 5 (flowers acceptable to Viṣṇu 5, 33ff.).

<sup>147</sup> GONDA, V. Ś., p. 219 (Index); see e.g. ViS. ch. 22; HP. 1, ch. 9.

<sup>148</sup> E.g. *mahāvahis* (NārS. a. 26); *mānasayāga* “mental sacrifice” (PrmS. K. a. 5); *kāmyayāga* “sacrifice performed for a particular object” (ParS. a. 13). ViśvS. 21, 3 alludes to the merit earned by a horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*).

<sup>149</sup> See e.g. JS. 16, 5f. and compare places such as NārS. 12, 40; VksS. 5, 61; ViśvS. 18, 77.

<sup>150</sup> E.g. JS. 15, 228f.; 21, 69ff.; NārS. 18, 64ff.; 23, 68ff.; ViS. 10, 39f.; 20, 32f.; 27, 26; SanS. R. 6, 40ff.

<sup>151</sup> See e.g. E. DALE SAUNDERS, *Mudrā*, New York 1960; M. ELIADE, *Le yoga*, Paris 1954, p. 390 (a bibliographical note); S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, in QJMS 35, p. 12; J. GONDA, *Mudrā*, in *Ex orbe religionum. Studia G. Widengren, II*, Leiden 1972, p. 21; DIEHL, I. P., p. 69; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. 373; NārS. edition, p. 573ff. (illustrations).

<sup>152</sup> See e.g. LT. a. 34; SanS. R. a. 2; ViS. ch. 7; ViśvS. 13 (with a long enumeration); ParS. a. 14; cf. also NārS. edition, p. XLIV.

prefaced by the statement that Hari (God) will confer good upon the performers. The occasions requiring such gestures and their good results are specified, e.g. at LT. 34, 2ff.:

“The adept who knows the *mantras* should make such a *mudrā* at the time of bathing in the (holy) water; when he consecrates himself by means of *nyāsa*;<sup>153</sup> at the end of a (particular) *pūjā*, when rites connected with a *maṇḍala*<sup>154</sup> are performed; when *mantras* are ‘placed’ on an image . . .; for purposes of destroying hostile persons . . . one should keep the hands in front (of one’s body), joined together and fully stretched, the two arms being so posed that these (the hands) remain facing each other, while all the (other) fingers touch the pair of middle fingers. This (*mudrā*) is called *mahāśrī*; (in accordance with its name) it grants all good fortune, frees from all evils, hastens the fulfilment of desires, and embodies the awakening of knowledge in the ignorant”.

Another element of the daily rites discussed in the *saṃhitās* is *nyāsa*,<sup>155</sup> which, though tantric in character, was adopted by Śivaites as well as Viṣṇuites. It consists in assigning, by means of special *mantras* and the simultaneous imposition of fingers, various divine powers to different parts of the body<sup>156</sup> in order to make it a fit receptacle for worship and meditation.<sup>157</sup> The term *nyāsa* is however also used in the sense of “giving over, consignment, renouncing” and hence to be understood as an equivalent of *bhakti*<sup>158</sup> and *śaraṇāgati* or *prapatti* “taking refuge with God, self-surrender”.<sup>159</sup> The no doubt old doctrine of the mental attitude called *prapatti*<sup>160</sup> is, together with the behaviour and manner of life of those who surrender themselves to God, *mantras* and characteristic features elaborately discussed in the Bhāradvāja-Saṃhitā.<sup>161</sup>

*Maṇḍalas* are another favourite topic.<sup>162</sup> These circles, squares or diagrams are of the character of “psycho-cosmogrammata which may lead the neophyte, by revealing to him the secret play of the forces which operate in the universe

<sup>153</sup> See below.

<sup>154</sup> See below.

<sup>155</sup> See GONDA, R.I. II, p. 36; 43; 233; V.Ś., p. 82; ELIADE, *Le yoga*, p. 215f.; KANE, H. Dh. II, p. 319; V, p. 1120.

<sup>156</sup> The own body or that of the deity (image). E.g. JS. ch. 11; 28; 16, 350; 23, 94; PṛmS. K. a. 4; SanS. Ś. 1, 353; 3, 63; NārS. 2, 12.

<sup>157</sup> For *tattvanyāsa* (cf. GONDA, V.Ś., p. 82 and Haribhaktivilāsa 5, 60ff.) see NārS. 15, 173ff.; ViśvS. 14, 178; VksS. 17, 15.

<sup>158</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 128; AhS. 37, 29ff.; LT. 17, 75.

<sup>159</sup> See e.g. LT. 17, 60ff.; 75; 99ff.; 28, 9ff.; 41, 71; ŚPS. 53, 31.

<sup>160</sup> See e.g. KANE, H. Dh., V, p. 960; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 55; 379.

<sup>161</sup> See e.g. BhS. 1, 11 (with *śraddhā*); 17 (sixfold); 21 (three forms); 49ff. (*mantras*); 58 (*ācārya*); 1, 91; 3, 22; 29 (results); 3, 5; 21; 30; 36; 43; 63 etc. (way of living etc.); 3, 10f. (worship of Hari etc.); LT. 49, 148 etc.

<sup>162</sup> Another term is *yantra* which on the one hand is wider in meaning, comprising also three-dimensional devices serving similar ends and on the other hand indicates a *maṇḍala* of greater linear simplicity. Both may be permanent or provisional.

and in us, on the way to the reintegration of consciousness".<sup>163</sup> The *maṇḍalas*—in their simplest form *yantras* 'diagrams'—are used as 'support' for meditation, as weapons against mental distraction and temptation. The Lakṣmī-Tantra, devoting a chapter (37) to the so-called external sacrifice, describes inter alia the delineation of the *maṇḍala* of the nine lotuses<sup>164</sup> and the ritual acts performed in connexion with it. For instance, st. 20 ff.:

"When he is for some reason worshipping (the deity), the possessor of the *mantra* should, on a flat surface made of flowers, or on (one made of) a piece of unwashed (new), wholly white, incensed and perfumed cloth, or on a level sand-platform that has been besmeared, recall to his mind the (*maṇḍala*) of nine lotuses. In conformity with the prescripts of the scripture (he may) also carve an image of the deity in his meditation. He may (even) propitiate (the deity) in a pitcher (instead of an image) made of gold or silver . . .".

In view of the very developed state of tantric practices known to the compiler of the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā it is not surprising to see that it is among those works which include many references to *maṇḍalas*, their varieties and rites performed in connexion with them.<sup>165</sup>

No more than passing mention can be made here of chapters and passages dealing with other rites and ceremonies, such as fire offerings<sup>166</sup> (*homa*, *agnikārya*)—a ritual with a great many details, which *sūdras* are not allowed to perform—;<sup>167</sup> ritual bathing or ablutions;<sup>168</sup> the characteristics of the ground appropriate for the performance of rites and so on.<sup>169</sup> The ritual acts to atone for 'sins' of omission or commission, transgressions (*prāyaścitta*)<sup>170</sup> purpose, in

<sup>163</sup> G. TUCCI, The theory and practice of the *maṇḍala*, London 1961, p. VII. See e.g. also DIEHL, I.P., p. 388 (Index); GONDA, R.I. II, p. 45; 48; the diagrams in S. GUPTA, L.T. See also M. ELIADE, Patterns in comparative religion, Cleveland 1958 (1963), p. 373; 381 ff. and Images and symbols, London 1961, p. 53 distinguishing two main functions of the *maṇḍala*, "an *imago mundi* and a symbolic pantheon": like the labyrinth it "is equivalent to an initiation ritual" and it protects, wards off dangers, enhances concentration and helps the individual "to find his own centre". Some texts are: ViS. ch. 9; 11, 3f.; ViśvS. a. 15 (*maṇḍalayāga*); VksS. a. 31; NārS. a. 8; SanS. Ś. a. 10.

<sup>164</sup> See also the diagram in JS., edition (foreword).

<sup>165</sup> JS. 13, 41 ff.; 107; 16, 216; 20, 343 etc.; AhS. a. 25; 38, 21; for meditation: 26, 67 ff.

<sup>166</sup> I refer to GONDA, V.Ś., p. 79; DIEHL, I.P., p. 124.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. ParS. 27, 31; in general and its connexions with *pūjā*; its requisites etc.: Par. a. 20; NārS. a. 4; 9; 12; 24; 25 passim; 19, 42 ff.; ViśvS. a. 11; 27 passim etc.; LT. 47, 9 ff.

<sup>168</sup> E.g. JS. ch. 9; LT. 34, 92 ff.; ViśvS. a. 10 and see RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 53.

<sup>169</sup> PS. a. 2; ViS. ch. 12; cf. e.g. AhS. 48, 40 ff. (*bhāsmahoma*, *sānti* etc.). For *dakṣiṇās*: NārS. 15, 143; 20, 127.

<sup>170</sup> E.g. NārS. a. 25; ViśvS. a. 27; ĪśvS. 19, 290 ff.; KapS. 31, 1 ff.; PrmS. K. 12, 606 ff.; a. 19; 21; 22; SanS. Ṛ. a. 8; ViS. ch. 28 passim; MärkS. ch. 26; 28, 1 ff.; LT. 17, 88 ff. and see H.D. SMITH, Prāyaścitta in the canonical works of the Pāñcarātrāgama, ALB 30 (1966), p. 23.



this theistically oriented and largely liturgical literature, the removal of separation and alienation between devotee and deity due to an imperfect maintenance of flawless and uninterrupted worship of God in his image (*arcā*) form. Those who are lacking in *bhakti* and thus separate themselves from God's love and grace should avail themselves of the possibilities residing in the *prāyaścitta* rites. Among the situations demanding expiatory acts are various errors made in the celebration of festivities, mistakes committed in worship, lapses, omissions and carelessness in the liturgies, pollution, profanation etc. The pertinent practices consist of confession and repentance, but mainly of internal and external purification (by means of breath-control and sprinkling water), expiatory austerities, fire-offerings, utterance of formulas, fasting, gifts and a pilgrimage. These rites are sometimes simplified.<sup>171</sup>

Passing on now to some peculiarities of their temple worship<sup>172</sup>—which, as is well known, reveals a religious life considerably different from that recommended in the Veda—it may be observed that these texts reflect the rather 'advanced' ideas put into practice by the Pāñcarātras. Mention is of course made of the *arcakas* (those qualified for temple worship) and the rites which are their concern,<sup>173</sup> worship (*arcana*) and the images intended to be worshipped (*arcā*),<sup>174</sup> either individually or in the domestic circle, or also in communal observances. Says PāS. 3, 26, 2 ff.:

"Although Hari (God) is the soul (*ātmā*) of all beings born, he draws near (specially) to dwell in images (*pratimā*) by the virtue (*vīrya*) and the greatness (*māhātmya*) of the *mantras* and the *guru* of the founder (*sthāpaka*).<sup>175</sup> People entreat Hari in this form for all their wishes. Hence the significance of this consecration rite (*pratiṣṭhā*). Just as fire permeates (objects) without burning (them) but appears, burns and becomes otherwise useful when evoked by attrition of two pieces of wood, so does Viṣṇu, the All-Pervader, though invisible to uncultivated men, become visible in the statue ('symbol', *pratīkṛti*) by the authority (*gaurava*) of the holder of the *mantra*. Install therefore Viṣṇu by means of statues made by sculptors according to the rules laid down by the *śāstras*".

<sup>171</sup> Cf. e.g. ViS. 25, 16–21 and 21–38.

<sup>172</sup> For the Indian temple in general see S. KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu temple*, Calcutta 1946; K. FISCHER, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Köln 1959, p. 51; 153 (with a bibliography); RANGACHARI, S.V.B., ch. 16. The daily worship in temples according to the Pāñcarātra system, p. 134; T.V. MAHALINGAM, *Studies in the South Indian temple complex*, Dharwar 1970; GONDA, R.I. I, p. 326; 334; II, p. 124; V.Ś., p. 75 etc. For *pūjā* see above, p. 71; 73.

<sup>173</sup> E.g. NārS. 25, 343 ff.; VksS. 31, 7.

<sup>174</sup> E.g. NārS. 2, 74; a. 13; 15, 55 etc.; ŚPS. 2, 55; a. 5, 11–13, 18; LT. 2, 59; on the six kinds of images (*bera*)—the large and immovable image in the centre of the temple and smaller icons used for various liturgical and festive activities such as processions, bathing rites, annual festivals etc.—ŚPS. 14; ParS. a. 23; PrmS. K. a. 6; 10 ff.; VksS. a. 17; 36 etc. A study of the significance of icons, holy places etc. is in preparation: Miss K.K. YOUNG, *The concept of divine place (divyadeśa) in Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.*, Univ. of Montreal.

<sup>175</sup> The man who founds a temple or erects a cult image.

No wonder that not only the iconography of the images<sup>176</sup> but also the consecration and installation ceremonies<sup>177</sup> receive the attention which they deserve. Only after the *pratiṣṭhā* by which the spirit of God is infused into the image, is this fit for worship; the power which quickens the icon is moreover supposed to animate the whole temple in which it is erected. Among the particulars of this rite that are of interest for the student of the phenomenology of religion is the statement that the images ensure the stability of the world (NārS. 13, 174) and the direction that an icon to be installed should be placed in water over which appropriate *mantras* are pronounced with the result that the image by soaking up the power inherent in the formulas becomes infused with life.<sup>178</sup>

It has already been intimated that in the chapters on the erection of temples<sup>179</sup> the architectural technicalities<sup>180</sup> are not in focus because these authors turn mainly to the liturgies that accompany the construction. This deficiency is more than counterbalanced by their importance from the ritualist and religious points of view. They are a mine of information on the religious motives that led the devotees to undertake these enterprises, on the spirit which animated and directed their execution, the merit earned by the patrons of the enterprise<sup>181</sup> and of the significance of the materials used<sup>182</sup> and the activities carried out. Nevertheless the various stages of the enterprise<sup>183</sup> and the types, dimensions or indispensable parts of these buildings,<sup>184</sup> the choice,<sup>185</sup> testing

<sup>176</sup> For an anthology of the pertinent texts (untranslated) and succinct introductions in English see SMITH, V. I.; on the materials used see ch. II, on iconometry ch. III, on pedestals ch. IV, on iconography proper ch. Vff. See e.g. also A. A. MACDONELL, in JRAS 1916, I, p. 125; G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, Iconography of Southern India, Paris 1937, p. 57; J. N. BANERJEA, The development of Hindu iconography, Calcutta 21956.

<sup>177</sup> See RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 114; SMITH, Ppp., p. 46; 65. Some texts: ViS. ch. 15–20; HP. I, ch. 33–39; KapS. 12, 1 ff.; ParS. a. 19; ŚPS. a. 4; 10; 18; NārS. a. 15; a. 17; a. 18 passim; ViśvS. a. 14. For the preliminary rites known as *adhivāsana* see e.g. ParS. a. 18; ViS. ch. 17. For *pratiṣṭhā* etc. see also HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, Descr. Catalogue Skt. Mss. Gov. Coll. III, Calcutta 1925, p. XLIX; 521.

<sup>178</sup> I refer to RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 122f. Cf. e.g. PāS. K. 4, 12.

<sup>179</sup> For a survey see H. D. SMITH, The temple-building activities of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in South India according to available extant Pāñcarātrāgama texts, (unpublished) thesis Yale 1960; K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, Kaustubha prāsāda, JOIB 17 (1967), p. 71; SMITH, Ppp., passim; for some interesting references—e.g. to a hospital within the temple (ŚPS. 31, 50), types of temples (a. 9; 23, 193), renovation etc.—see V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to ŚPS., edition.

<sup>180</sup> See e.g. S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 229; 231 on the use of a gnomon and a compass. See also PS. a. 3; HP. ch. 7 and 8; JS. 13, 31; PāS. K. a. 7.

<sup>181</sup> E.g. NārS. 14, 138; ViS. 13, 1f.

<sup>182</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 6, 1ff.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. e.g. Ppp., passim.

<sup>184</sup> E.g. ŚPS. a. 8 and 9; NārS. a. 14; VksS. a. 34; ViśvS. a. 21.

<sup>185</sup> For instance, villages, banks of rivers, mountains, forests; cf. e.g. ŚPS. 5, 5ff.; VksS. 34, 1ff.; PāS. K. 1, 15.

and preparation of the site<sup>186</sup> as well as the measures to be taken in case of dilapidation<sup>187</sup> are, though often defective<sup>188</sup>, no less objects for consideration than a variety of rites and customs to be observed.<sup>189</sup> There are also chapters and passages on other buildings such as temporary tents or halls erected on ceremonial occasions (*mandapa*),<sup>190</sup> incidentally also on town- and village planning.<sup>191</sup>

Most important are the festivals. Worshippers are still aware of the original significance "generation, stimulation or production (of power)"<sup>192</sup> of the Sanskrit term which is usually translated by this equivalent, viz. *utsava*: according to a *śaiva* authority<sup>193</sup> the word means "creation arisen or produced" (*udbhūtasṛṣṭi*). Festivals<sup>194</sup> indeed do no less belong to the regular course of life than the daily rites. There is a fixed festival calendar for the week, the parts of the lunar months (full moon day, the eighth day and the new moon day),<sup>195</sup> the month, different months and the so-called "great festivals" (*mahotsava*). These are festivals that occur at regular intervals, but the "daily or permanent festivals" (*nityotsavas*)<sup>196</sup> are performed in the order of daily worship of which they form part, both *pūjā* and *utsava* being intended to sustain the universe.<sup>197</sup> In AnS. 25, 1 ff. five annual festivals are conjoined and regarded as obligatory, viz. Kṛṣṇa's birthday, the lamp festival, the harvest festival, scriptural recitations and the *pavitrāropana*, to which we shall have to revert.

Several descriptions of festivals are in accord with what is nowadays observed in Tamilnad and other regions of the South, for instance the ceremonies on the occasion of the 'floating festival' (*plavotsava*) described in ŚPS. 39, 21 ff. or those of the Vaikuṅṭha Ekādaśī, the eleventh of the bright half of the month Mārgaśīras (46, 15 ff.). In other cases the festival described represents a coalescence of a 'brahminical' ceremony belonging to the great or Sanskritic

<sup>186</sup> E.g. PS. 42, 1 ff.; VksS. a. 1; AnS. 11, 25 ff.; ĪśvS. 16, 14 ff.

<sup>187</sup> E.g. NārS. a. 17.

<sup>188</sup> E.g. in the many chapters of VksS. dealing with this subject; PāS. K. a. 9.

<sup>189</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 6, 29 ff.

<sup>190</sup> E.g. VksS. 1, 20; ch. 2; NārS. a. 16.

<sup>191</sup> E.g. PāS. K. a. 2; AnS. a. 11; KapS. ch. 9; see SMITH, Ppp., p. 16.

<sup>192</sup> J. GONDA, *Utsava, in India Antiqua* (Vol. J. Ph. Vogel, Leiden 1947), p. 146.

<sup>193</sup> *Pūrva Kāraṇam*, ed. Madras 1922, p. 654. PāS. 10, 6; AnS. 20, 1 explain *utsava* as "remover of inauspicious things", *PuruṣottamaS.* 23, 5 as "that which takes away *samsāra*".

<sup>194</sup> See e.g. S. M. NATESA SASTRI, *Hindu feasts, fasts and ceremonies*, Madras 1903; M. SINCLAIR STEVENSON, *The rites of the Twice-born*, London 1920; M. M. UNDERHILL, *The Hindu religious year*, Calcutta 1921; P. V. JAGADĪSA AYYAR, *South Indian festivities*, Madras 1921; W. FILCHNER and D. SHRIDHAR MARATHE, *Hindustan im Festgewand*, Celle 1953; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 269; DIEHL, I. P., p. 158.

<sup>195</sup> Compare e.g. the enumeration at ViS. 20, 2 ff.; NārS. 11, 48 ff.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 149; 152; DIEHL, I. P., p. 130; 136 etc.

<sup>197</sup> Other distinctions are possible also. ParS. 22, 2: festivals for the purpose of a holy ablution (*tīrthābhīṣeka*) and for consecration of the temple (*vāstusiddhi*).

tradition<sup>198</sup> and indigenous ceremonies celebrated in the South.<sup>199</sup> A case in point is the 'descent of the Gaṅgā' by taking the deity to the riverside and worshipping him there as the source of the flow of that river;<sup>200</sup> it celebrates at the same time the yearly rising of the waters of the Cauvery. Some works pay much attention to festivals; for instance, AnS. ch. 21 is an elaborate description of the 'Great Festival' (*mahotsava*), and other chapters deal with periodical ceremonies. ŚPS. ch. 45 furnishes us with an interesting description of the 'Swing festival' (*dolotsava*);<sup>201</sup> ch. 26 with an account of the wedding ceremonies of the Bhagavān and Lakṣmī; ch. 38 with the annual Spring festival (*vasantotsava*);<sup>202</sup> 41 with the ceremonies on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's birthday;<sup>203</sup> ch. 46 with the festival that gives release (*mokṣotsava*). Elsewhere the reader is given more comprehensive directions applicable to festivals in general; thus ViS. 20, 6ff.:

"The one whose only resort is Viṣṇu should, with *bhakti*, have Viṣṇu's festival celebrated. At the beginning of the festival he should hoist a flag bearing (the image of) Garuḍa and in the eight directions according to rule splendid pennons.<sup>204</sup> When the flag(staff) has been erected no obstacle, no superior power is to be feared. Then the raising of the flag must take place together with (the placing of) a piteher, after one has, as aforesaid, made a (temporary) hall . . ."<sup>205</sup>

Of special importance is the garlanding of an image of the Lord in this sanctuary (*pavitṛāropana*). Regarded as validating all other regular ceremonies throughout the liturgical year and providing an ending to the cycle of five annual festivals of which it is the last, it is also a *prāyaścitta* rite that enables the performer to atone for mistakes in his *pūjā* and for various personal 'sins'.<sup>206</sup>

The cult of sacred places, a typical feature of both Śivaite and Viṣṇuite *bhakti* in the South, and probably one of its most popular elements, contributed much to its spread. Attention is in this literature of course also invited

<sup>198</sup> For this term (as opposed to the little tradition of villages, castes, regions) see e.g. M.N. SRINIVAS, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of S. India*, Oxford 1952, p. 254 (Index); R. REDFIELD, *Primitive world view and civilization*, in *The primitive world and its transformations*, Cornell Univ. 1958; E.W. HARPER (ed.), *Religion in S. Asia*, Seattle 1964, p. 197 (Index); GONDA, R. I. II, p. 12.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, *Foreword to Śrīpraśna-Samhitā*, Tirupati 1969.

<sup>200</sup> E.g. ŚPS. ch. 42. Ch. 30-48 are serially devoted to *utsavas*.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. MEYER, *Trilogie*, I, p. 160; 190; II, p. 264; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 273.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. MEYER, *Trilogie*, I, p. 12; 187; P. JASH, *Ancient Indian spring festivals*, VIJ 10, p. 102. On Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa see D.C. SIRCAR, *Studies in the religious life of ancient and medieval India*, Delhi 1971, p. 221.

<sup>203</sup> For the Śrāvaṇakṛṣṇāṣṭamī see e.g. also ViśvS. 16, 64ff. For the birthday: HARIMOHAN DAS, *Janmāṣṭamī and the bhakti cult*, 18 AIOC (1955-58), p. 436.

<sup>204</sup> For the flag and flagstaff—an important feature of the festivals proper (*utsava*)—see e.g. also the detailed account (213 *ślokas*) in VksS. a. 26; NārS. a. 18; and compare MEYER, *Trilogie*, III, p. 295 (Index); DIEHL, I.P., p. 161; 164.

<sup>205</sup> For some other references to *utsavas*, chosen at random: NārS. 15, 247f.; a. 19; VksS. a. 27-30; PrmS. a. 17; NPR. 1, a. 11; 1, 12, 5ff.

<sup>206</sup> For particulars see SMITH, in ALB 30, p. 34. See e.g. SS. ch. 14f.; AnS. a. 24; ĪśvS. ch. 14; PrmS. K. a. 12; ŚPS. 2, 8, and GaruḍaP. ch. 42f.

to those religious festivities which are called *yātrā*, pilgrimages, processions, festive trains, or (in general) festivals.<sup>207</sup> There are ablution festivals (*snānayātrā*), festivals of circular dance (*rāsayātrā*), car festivals (*rathayātrā*), and pilgrimages to holy places on the bank of a river etc. (*tīrtha*); cf. e.g. ParS. 22, 16ff.:

“. . . (then) one should bring the image of God for the purpose of a *yātrā*, (an image) made of gold, silver, copper, no other material being prescribed on this occasion. It must be provided with conch and discus, be small of body, beautiful in features. One should also bring a chariot or an elephant as the vehicle (for God) for the *yātrā*. The *guru* should, at an auspicious hour, bring together experts in various musical instruments,<sup>208</sup> numerous servants, umbrellas, flags and canopies . . . , artisans, harlots,<sup>209</sup> dancing-girls of God and, accompanied by four of his disciples, obtain the permission of the brahmins. Then, performing a *pradakṣiṇa* round (the image of) God and bowing respectfully (to it) he should announce quietly: ‘Let the procession to the bathing-place take place’ . . . He should bear the image in his right hand, be restrained in speech and, accompanied by the four disciples, go out of the sanctuary of the temple. One of the disciples must carry a water-pot, one an opened umbrella, one the objects required for worship, and the fourth the cooked oblations . . .’.<sup>210</sup>

Many *mantras* are charms<sup>211</sup> or incantations, by which various gods or demigods can be subdued. In a collection of them, SanS. Ś. a. 3 it reads, for instance in st. 16:

“One should on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, after having abstained from food, on a place for burning dead bodies or on a crossway, facing the South,<sup>212</sup> oneself mutter at midnight the Mahāsudarśana-*mantra*; there can be no doubt that the demons (*rākṣasa*) will grant (all) objects desired”.

And among the many formulas to be used when serpents must by means of the Garuḍa-*mantra*<sup>213</sup> be “made tractable or kept in check”, influence can be exerted on the planets or one can protect one’s own person, e.g. 3, 80:

“*Oṃ* homage to the adorable Mahāviṣṇu, *culu*, O Kuṇḍā, *culu*, O Caṇḍā, *svāhā*”<sup>214</sup> is also a formula for making water solid, 3, 207:

“*Oṃ* homage to the adorable Vāyu (Wind); tread upon, crush, make solid, *jūli*, restrain, *thaṭha!*”

It should not however be forgotten that many *mantras* of this type are also prescribed in those chapters of these manuals which deal with the regular worship of the community.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. S. M. BHARDWAJ, Hindu places of pilgrimage in India, Berkeley 1973; AGEHANANDA BHARATI, Pilgrimage in the Indian tradition, in History of religions 3 (Chicago 1963), p. 135; also GONDA, R. I. II, p. 25; 153.

<sup>208</sup> References to music and dance occur e.g. ViS. 18, 73; 20, 49; 83; ParS. 22, 6; 13; NPR. 4, 11, 23f.; for details ŚPS. a. 34, 40ff. (on the melodies, dances etc. to be employed on various ceremonial occasions).

<sup>209</sup> Cf. MEYER, Trilogie, III, p. 308 (Index).

<sup>210</sup> See also ParS. 25; ViS. 21.

<sup>211</sup> For a protective formula called “coat of mail, amulet” (*kavaca*) see NPR. 1, 4, 81; 1, a. 5.

<sup>212</sup> The region of the demons and the deceased.

<sup>213</sup> See e.g. also LT. 36, 31.

<sup>214</sup> Kuṇḍā and Caṇḍā: names of manifestations of the Goddess.

Omina and symptoms of e.g. incantations and 'black magic' (*abhicāra*) aimed at a king and methods to neutralize their influence are another recurrent topic. Among the symptoms are, according to AhS. 22, 15f.:

"The unexpected death of horses, elephants, and ministers, a violent disease attacking the king himself; lightning of frightful appearance striking objects in his country, poor crops, a high mortality of cows . . . , the appearance of snakes and white ants at the door of the palace or near halls erected on festive occasions (*maṇḍapa*); the falling of great meteors . . ." <sup>215</sup>

and ParS. 11, 24ff. advises the wise man regularly to consult, alone, the calender of the solar month, in order to determine the length of his life and to learn his last hour, adding a list of the portents of death,<sup>216</sup> evil dreams and inauspicious signs<sup>217</sup> which render expiatory ceremonies unavoidable.

Many more or less passing remarks are made on what may be called correct and ceremonious behaviour and familiarity with the usages of the religious community and of good society in general. The observances used in social intercourse and the compliments paid by those who approach a highly placed person are rarely omitted even when the scene is laid in the abodes of gods or seers. Visitors honour their host with fruits and flowers; pupils throw themselves down before the man whom they invite to be their teacher who in his turn blesses them with the imposition of Viṣṇu's hand. Passages are devoted to the proper behaviour of the spiritual preceptor (*ācārya*).<sup>218</sup> The reverential salutations with the joined open hands (*añjali*) are no less worth mentioning than the obligatory circumambulation from left to right (*pradakṣiṇa*),<sup>219</sup> or the homage paid to God.<sup>220</sup>

Moralistic passages are not wanting, but they should be read and understood in their ritualistic and philosophical context. E.g. NPR. 1, 6, 40ff.:

"Hari (Kṛṣṇa) is satisfied by (pleased with) him who has satisfied his guest . . . When a guest remains in a house all the deities (reside) continually (with the host). When a guest is not worshipped . . . all merits, sacrifices, virtue, good conduct, righteous acts . . . depart from there with the guest who goes back without being honoured. And whence the guest goes away disappointed one's Fathers, the gods . . . food, a firm foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*), Lakṣmī (fortune)

<sup>215</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 131. For a long enumeration of omina: ParS. 9 (an examination of how the stick used for cleaning one's teeth has fallen st. 5ff.) see also ViS. 14, 32; 24, 2 (an image of Viṣṇu breaking); ch. 25; NārS. 7, 65ff. (the ritual fire); 13, 32ff.; KapS. 8, 21 (germination times of seedlings indicating the quality of the soil); cf. SMITH, Ppp., p. 66.

<sup>216</sup> For omina in general e.g. ParS. 22, 7; 23, 6ff.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. e.g. VksS. 7 (expected dreams as omina during the course of building a temple etc.); SS. 19, 27; 24, 68ff.; ĪS. 17, 67f.; ViS. 14, 40; VāsS. 3, 36); ParS. 8, 51; 9, 16; 19, 18. See KANE, H.Dh. III, p. 226; V, p. 728; J. VON NEGELEIN, Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva, Giessen 1912.

<sup>218</sup> E.g. SanS. I. a. 9; ViśvS. 3, 16 (cf. 3, 28); NārS. 10, 3.

<sup>219</sup> W. CALAND, Een Indogermaansch lustratie-gebruik, Amsterdam Acad. 1898.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. e.g. SS. 1, 4, 11f.; JS. 1, 35; 67f.; 2, 4; 20, 327; NārS. a. 1; ParS. 1, 2; 13; 16; 25f.; ŚPS. 1, 11ff.; BBS. 1, 13, 49; ViS. 15, 39.

leave one's house and abandon that sinful man. That man who does not duly worship a guest becomes like one who kills his wife or a *brahman*, who acts deceitfully, who is sinful, who sells his daughter, who gives false evidence, who steals a *brahman*'s property . . .”.

Like the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa which extended the advantages of *bhakti* also to the lower members of society the Pāñcarātra system admits even a *śūdra* as an initiate provided he is dedicated to Viṣṇu.<sup>221</sup> Men of all classes, including *śūdras* and even women should worship God with devotion and every devout Pāñcarātrin, whether he belongs to the higher classes or is an outcaste, a sinner, deformed or a member of a despised tribe is entitled to a place in Viṣṇu's heaven.<sup>222</sup> But, although there theoretically should be no social distinction among the members of the community because all of them are dependent on Viṣṇu's grace, the attitude towards class and caste varies among the texts discussing matters of religious practice, some of them even taking a strictly hierarchical stand.<sup>223</sup> Even when he is initiated (*dikṣita*) a *śūdra* is not authorized to read or hear the holy scriptures. For him tantric *mantras* are prescribed to consecrate the rites,<sup>224</sup> no Vedic texts. So-called *pratiloma śūdras* (those whose mother was of a higher social class than their father) were excluded from most religious activities. Says PāS. K. 2, 53f.:

“If by want of judgment such a *śūdra* should build a temple or install a god, king and kingdom would perish”.<sup>225</sup>

Besides, the well-known bans and customs with regard to *śūdras* and outcasts are not abrogated: one should neither touch them nor eat their food,<sup>226</sup> and not all classes are authorized to perform all sacrificial rites or to perform them in the same way.<sup>227</sup>

These tendencies did not prevent the authors either from discussing many rites and ceremonies intended to promote the welfare of the king and his realm, from giving, for instance, directions for miraculously destroying the army of

<sup>221</sup> E.g. LT. 21, 39; according to ParS. 7, 24 also “*śūdras* and women of good birth, character and qualities”.

<sup>222</sup> E.g. ParS. 3, 29f.; BBS. 2, 5, 11ff.; cf. 1, 13, 56f.; BhS. 1, 14f.

<sup>223</sup> According to HP. 1, 2, 16 (North India) any otherwise qualified man may conduct a ceremony on behalf of members of lower classes; that means that a member of a higher class is, as an *ācārya*, preferable to a lower one; “sometimes” a *śūdra* is regarded as competent. See also JS. 18, 3ff.

<sup>224</sup> E.g. ViS. 2, 8; ParS. 17, 13f. However, SanS. R. 9, 8ff. prescribes Vedic *mantras* for brahmins, Vedic and tantric *mantras* for *kṣatriyas* and tantric for the others, the latter category being allowed for anyone. A *śūdra* should be given a name ending in *dāsa* “servant” (ParS. 17, 14).

<sup>225</sup> As to the *pratilomakas* cf. PāS. K. 2, 16 (adding the opposite *anulomaja* to *śūdra* when regarding him as competent as a brahmin etc.); PāS. C. 1, 46ff.; ViS. 29, 72; SanS. B. 5, 3.

<sup>226</sup> E.g. ViS. 28, 43; HT. 1, 2, 15; cf. also NārS. 25, 248.

<sup>227</sup> NārS. 11, 33ff.; 20, 50f.; cf. also places such as VksS. 10, 56ff.; VāsS. 4, 89f.

an enemy.<sup>228</sup> Many narrative episodes deal with kings and other persons of high rank. Neither the time-honoured co-operation of king and *brahman* nor the belief in the former's divinity pass unnoticed.<sup>229</sup> On the other hand, poverty should not make worship impossible and in discharging his ritual duties a devotee should take full account of his financial situation.<sup>230</sup>

An ideal correlation of four principal modes of worship with the classes of men—distinguished from social and religious points of view—is proposed at SS. 2, 7 ff.:

“The *yogins* familiar with the eightfold *yoga*<sup>231</sup> and satisfied with the worship of the heart—they (alone) are authorized for (the worship) of the One who dwells in the heart.<sup>232</sup> The *brahmans* fond of mixed worship and versed in the Veda are authorized for the worship, with *mantras*, of the four Vyūhas; (they should) not (worship) God in any other way. Again, the three (other social orders, viz. the) *kṣatriyas* etc. who have seriously taken refuge (*prapanna*, with God), should also, but without *mantras*, perform the rites connected with the worship of the four Vyūhas. However, for (the worship of) the *mantra* diagram (*cakra*) relating to the (thirty-nine) *vibhavas* and for the ceremonies connected with this none are authorized but the seeing ones, who have completely cast off egotism, are satisfied with doing their duty and wholly devoted, in deed, speech and mind, to the Highest Lord”.<sup>233</sup>

Passing mention has more than once been made of theological aspects of the Pāñcarātra traditions. The passages dealing with God's *saṃkalpa*<sup>234</sup> are, for instance, among those which reveal some important theological tenets of this school. Among the other points discussed are the conceptions of God's qualities and omnipotence;<sup>235</sup> distinctions between Viṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu, Sa-dāviṣṇu;<sup>236</sup> the doctrine of the plurality of His manifestations and of the Viṣṇulokas and the origin of his manifold forms and embodiments;<sup>237</sup> of his being the Primeval One before the creation of the universe;<sup>238</sup> a description of his 'own state' (*svarūpa*) which is characterized by supreme bliss and happiness,

<sup>228</sup> JS. 26, 86 ff.; cf. 28, 23 ff.; ŚPS. 42, 1 ff.; AhS. 38, 20; 38 (curing diseases); 39, 3 ff.; 42, 14 ff.; 46; 47; 48, 3; cf. also NārS. 25, 356. The same remark applies to Śivaite āgamas: BRUNNER, in BEFEO 61, p. 132; 178 f. (NT. 17, 5 ff.; 19, 88 ff.).

<sup>229</sup> See AhS. 16, 13 ff. and compare e.g. Mbh. 3, 183, 22; cf. J. GONDA, Ancient Indian kingship, in Numen 3 (Leiden 1956), p. 59.

<sup>230</sup> ParS. 27, 10 ff.; SanS. Ś. 1, 31; 8, 11; I. a. 4; R. 6, 2; ViS. 26, 73; cf. NārS. 23, 73; VāsS. 4, 84.

<sup>231</sup> See e.g. M. ELIADE, Techniques du yoga, Paris 1948; GONDA, R. I. I, p. 311.

<sup>232</sup> See SS. 2, 13 ff. This mode of worship is connected with the 'diagram of sounds' (*varnacakra*); see e.g. also ŚPS. ch. 50.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. also LT. 10, 17 ff. and SCHRADER, I. P., p. 152, n. 3.

<sup>234</sup> The term *saṃkalpa* occurs frequently in the AhS.; see e.g. 2, 15; 3, 36; 4, 20 f.; 5, 27; 59; 6, 59; 7, 42; 8, 54; 10, 34; 38; 11, 48; 12, 40; 18, 6; 13; 16; 57, 2; 58, 16; 59, 56 f.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. e.g. ViS. ch. 3; AhS. 14, 13 f.; 18, 4.

<sup>236</sup> E.g. ViS. 27, 79; SanS. R. 1, 72; 3, 117; 7, 4, 12 etc.

<sup>237</sup> See e.g. SanS. I. a. 6 and 7; ViśvS. a. 4; NārS. 2, 21 (the sun); cf. also BBS. 1, 13, 39.

<sup>238</sup> E.g. NārS. 1, 28.



of his immaterial *tejas* (fiery energy) body;<sup>239</sup> his willingness to annihilate all sins.<sup>240</sup> Characteristic epitheta are of course not omitted: the Highest Being or Highest Principle (Paratattva) is eternal, imperishable, firm, omnipresent, all-pervading, lord and *guru* of the world . . . , the Highest Brahman.<sup>241</sup> He is the most exalted one, praised by Brahmā and others; the only help and resort.<sup>242</sup> Viṣṇu's many names reflect the plurality of his aspects as well as his syncretistic character,<sup>243</sup> but, while their identity is stated or intimated<sup>244</sup> a preference for one of them is by no means excluded in particular cases.<sup>245</sup>

In studying these—and not only these—texts the fact should not be overlooked that many medieval Sanskrit authors are Southerners—Tamil, Kanarese, or Kerala brahmins—who in many cases were strongly influenced by indigenous traditions and conventions. Did not even the great philosopher Rāmānuja, whose name has already been mentioned,<sup>246</sup> follow, in evolving his philosophical ideas, Yāmuna, the grandson and spiritual heir of Nāthamuni (who died in 920), who was the first of the great Vaiṣṇava teachers to follow the Tamil Ālvārs? This South Indian Vaiṣṇavism which had accepted non-Sanskritic religious literature claimed conformity with brahminical 'orthodoxy'. Moreover, the ideology of the *bhakti* texts has to a great extent remained, up to modern times, the ideology of the majority of the Tamils and other Southerners. Literary works which are inspired or influenced by *bhakti* are for them more than literature proper; they are appreciated as living religion, as ideology, as prayers and ritual texts for temple and home.<sup>247</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the indigenous *bhakti* cult and *bhakti* poetry should have left their traces also upon the Pāñcarātra works under examination. Mention is for instance made of the recitation in temples of Tamil hymns composed by Ālvārs.<sup>248</sup> The session held in the months Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa and devoted to the recital of these Tamil hymns for ten days is described in ŚPS. 46, 7–12 (cf. st. 59) and it is in this connexion that the text refers also to the worship of the images of their composers (*bhaktabimba*). In ŚPS. 17, 56 we hear of the religious reading (*pārāyaṇa*) of the poetical work of the Ālvārs (here called *sūris*)

<sup>239</sup> BBS. 2, 2, 3ff.; NPR. 2, 8, 34.      <sup>240</sup> See e.g. NārS. 24, 10.

<sup>241</sup> E.g. JS. 1, 14ff.; 61; 16, 323.

<sup>242</sup> E.g. ViS. 1, 41; ParS. 30, 60ff.

<sup>243</sup> For Mukunda see e.g. ParS. 21, 1; for Govinda 31, 10; for Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa Ahs. 52, 34.

<sup>244</sup> See BBS. 2, 2, 98f. and compare NPR. 4, 3, 3; 4, 8, 2.

<sup>245</sup> The Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā prefers Viṣṇu; according to NPR. 4, 3, 223 Rāma is the best name, equivalent to the thousand names enumerated in the preceding stanzas.

<sup>246</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>247</sup> I refer to K. V. ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature, in this History, X, p. 89; and the same, Tamil literature (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden 1975, ch. VIII; GONDA, V. Ś., p. 77.

<sup>248</sup> For copious information see V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to ŚPS., edition, p. D.—Compare e.g. ŚPS. 17, 56; 40, 34 (*divyadrāviḍaḡāthābhik*); 42, 110; 46, 3; 55; 69; 73 mentioning the devotees (*bhakta*) and their hymns (*gāthā*); KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Introduction to ParS., p. 12.

along with *purāṇa*, *dharmaśāstra*, Pāñcarātra work, Vedānta and *itihāsa*. In 42, 116 the compiler refers to Drāviḍa works beside the Ṛgveda and other texts.

These works impart also useful information on the mutual relations between Viṣṇuism and other religions,<sup>249</sup> especially Śivaism, on their friendly and unfriendly contacts and the opinions the former fostered of the latter. References to other gods, philosophical systems and religious currents are not rare. AhS. 33, 6ff., eulogizing Viṣṇu's Sudarśana as the Wheel of Time which has control over the whole world, states that the Highest Being—the One who turns it—appears as Brahmā, the creator, as Viṣṇu in the period of continuance, and as Rudra at the time of dissolution of the universe, as Buddha to the Buddhists (*bauddha*), as the “One who bears an unveiled form”<sup>250</sup> to the Digambaras (here called Śāmbara), as the Lord of the Jinas to the Cārvākas (the Materialists, meant are the Śvetāmbara Jainas), as the Yajñapurūṣa to the Yājñikas (Ritualists, the adherents of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā), as the Puruṣa to the Kāpilas (i.e. the followers of the Sāṃkhya system). In 51, 40ff. mention is made of some characteristic principles of those who are versed in the doctrines of the ‘*purāṇas*’ (*paūrāṇika*), the Pāśupatas and the Sāṃkhyas. In 8, 1ff.<sup>251</sup> of the same Saṃhitā Nārada complains that there are so many different opinions about creation; Ahirbudhnya answers that this variety of persuasions has different causes: human speech cannot express adequately truths concerning the Supreme; people often mistake different names for different things; men differ considerably in intellectual attainments and finally, God has an infinite number of different aspects one of which only is generally meant and taught by a philosopher. In this passage we find references, not only to some upaniṣadic and philosophical teachings but also to the Jainas, three Buddhist schools—the Skandhavādins (Sarvāstivādins), Vijñānavādins, and Śūnyavādins<sup>252</sup>—and doctrines of other teachers (Kakuda Kātyāyana).<sup>253</sup> Elsewhere<sup>254</sup> this variety is seen in another light: the Lord first established the ‘original religion’ (*ādya dharma*), i.e. the Pāñcarātra, but when it appeared that everybody was liberated, he started with the help of Brahmā, Kapila, and Śiva, and “for the bewilderment of men”, five more systems, viz. Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Buddhism, Jainism, Śivaism, conflicting with each other and the Pāñcarātra.

As to Śivaism,<sup>255</sup> its main currents were well known: Śiva is considered the author of three systems, viz. the Kāpāla (i.e. Kapālins), Śuddha Śaiva and Pāśupata (PāS. 1, 1, 50), but their doctrines are rejected and regarded as ‘non-Vedic’. When the Viṣṇu temple is in the centre of the village, Śiva’s

<sup>249</sup> For the *trimūrti* see e.g. BBS. 2, 2, 92; AhS. 51, 40.

<sup>250</sup> The cult images of the Digambaras are naked.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 104 and the notes.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 99.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. e.g. E. FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, II, Salzburg 1956, p. 27.

<sup>254</sup> PāS. 1, 1, 35ff.; ViTil. 1, 46ff.

<sup>255</sup> Compare also PR., p. 26ff.; ŚeṣaS. ch. 2; BhS. Par. 1, 25.

sanctuary is usually in the North-East.<sup>256</sup> Attaching an obvious meaning to name-giving Viṣṇuites of higher rank and station often avoid pronouncing the principal name of the rival god, and so Śiva is very often called by the name of one of his 'doubles', Śaṃkara.<sup>257</sup> He is on the other hand represented as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, on whom he depends, whose superiority he proclaims and whose religion he teaches.<sup>258</sup> Thus this god is as Ahirbudhnya the teacher of the true liberating knowledge in the Saṃhitā which bears his name. It may be recalled also that one of the five traditional *rātras* is called after Śiva, who for instance in the Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā is said to have expounded the second part of the work to Sanatkumāra.<sup>259</sup>

That the proximity of Muslims was regarded as causing pollution to the members of the Pāñcarātra community and to the processional deity appears from the expiations prescribed in such a case.<sup>260</sup> Persons who deny the authority of the Veda and revile the gods or brahmins should not witness the ceremonies.<sup>261</sup> "Keep in the company of devotees of Viṣṇu and avoid disputing with them" (ParS. 3, 63).

There are on the other hand many places attesting to the Viṣṇuite tendency to comprehend also non-Viṣṇuite gods, for instance as part of the sculptures of the temples and in the worship of secondary or attendant deities: Gaṇeśa, Viḡhneśa, Kumāra, Rudra, Vināyaka, Durgā. Even contemplation of Sadāśiva is recommended.<sup>262</sup>

As already observed, ritual tasks should however be performed (exclusively) by Viṣṇuites.<sup>263</sup> "Never resolve to practise other systems of worship".<sup>264</sup> Among the Viṣṇuites the Vaikhānasas<sup>265</sup> seem to be next best.<sup>266</sup> Although a cult image that has been touched by one of them must be purified (NārS. 25, 250) there may be some contact and borrowing of ritual peculiarities, but no intermingling, and the presence of non-Vaiṣṇavas, Śāktas and Kāpālikas at definite ritual acts is not allowed.<sup>267</sup>

<sup>256</sup> AnS. 11, 13; KapS. 9, 20; PāS. K. 2, 40; SMITH, Ppp., p. 25.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. GONDA, V.Ś., p. 14 etc. See e.g. SanS. B. 6, 50; 7, 61; BSS. 3, 8, 81; NārS. 25, 378; LT. 17, 18.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. BBS. 3, 9, 27 ff.; NPR. 1, 2, 7; 4, 3, 189 ff.; 4, 1, 5 Śiva and Pārvatī are the chief Viṣṇuites. See GONDA, V.Ś., p. 98. For Kubera worshipping Mahālakṣmī: AhS. 49, 32 ff.

<sup>259</sup> On places sacred to Śiva: NārS. 9, 156 ff.

<sup>260</sup> ŚPS. 49, 60; 306; 421.

<sup>261</sup> SanS. B. 6, 27 f.; NārS. 15, 12 f.; cf. 11, 36; cf. BBS. 1, 11, 18; ParS. 3, 47.

<sup>262</sup> See e.g. ŚPS. 5, 68; 9, 54; 82 ff.; 23, 42 ff.; 28, 163; 34, 54 f.

<sup>263</sup> SanS. Ś. 9, 50; R. 6, 40; BhS. Par. 1, 38 ff.

<sup>264</sup> PārS. 3, 43; see also BhS. 4, 4; 28; 32; 43.

<sup>265</sup> The Vaikhānasa doctrine is at VksS. 39, 272 mentioned together with Pāñcarātra and Śaiva (*tantra*); cf. 39, 275 f.; NārS. 25, 337: Vaikhānasa, Śaiva, Pāsupata *tantras* and the Pāñcarātra *mahātāntra*. For Vaikhānasas see also JS. 17, 54; 20, 266; 21, 78; 81; 22, 13 ff.; SanS. B. 5, 22. For the Pāñcarātra as the best of the Viṣṇutantras see SanS. B. 10, 53.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. SanS. B. 4, 30; NārS. 21, 25 ff.; 25, 338; ViS. 2, 29; and see PR., p. 20 ff.

<sup>267</sup> E.g. SS. 21, 15; BBS. 3, 7, 149.

## CHAPTER VI

### A SURVEY OF THE MAIN SAMHITĀS EXTANT

Tradition is no doubt right in holding 'the three gems' to be, or to belong to, the most ancient scriptures of the Pāñcarātra religion. These works are often quoted and occupy an authoritative position. The Pauskara-Samhitā,<sup>1</sup> held in high esteem in the great centres of Śrīraṅgam and Conjeeveram, consists of about 6000 stanzas and 43 chapters each dealing with a particular topic. It derives its name from the dialogue between Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā, the lotus-born (*paus̥kara*), in which the former expounds in great detail a considerable number of rites and ceremonies relating to temple cult; various forms of adoration by means of image worship; some philosophical topics, cropping up in chapters devoted to ritual expositions; and "peeps into the philosophical background which explain the rationale of the system and serve to enlighten the devotee by enabling him to realize the essential similarity between what is taught here and the final conclusions of the upanishads".<sup>2</sup>

Among the subjects touched upon are, in a. 1—which in the edition begins abruptly—the relation between a *guru* and a 'pupil', the former being indispensable to those who aspire to final liberation; 2: particulars about those places (forests, mountains, banks of rivers, places of pilgrimage) which are suitable for worship and sacrificial rites; the characteristics of the ground and the sacramental rites to be performed there; 3: characteristics of the regions of the universe; the shadow of the gnomon in different months; the foundation of towns and villages in conformity with the advantages which may be expected from these; 4: the measures etc. of the sacred place, the 'gate-keepers', the regents of the quarters of the universe as objects of meditation; 5: a long enumeration of the names etc. of the twenty-five *maṇḍalas*,<sup>3</sup> viz. *sarvatobhadra* etc.; 8: characteristics of the *cakrābjamaṇḍala*;<sup>4</sup> worship of the Bhagavān in human shape; 10: meditation (*dhyāna*) upon the 'mystic diagram' called *navapadma*<sup>5</sup> and the merits earned by the worshipper. The following chapters are devoted to various images (statues, *bimba*). 20: Worship of Viṣvaksena<sup>6</sup> and his retinue (*parivāra*); on the use of

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<sup>1</sup> Sree Poushvara Samhita (sic) . . . edited by His Holiness SREE YATIRAJA SAMPATHKUMARA RAMANUJA MUNI of Melkote, published by A. Srinivasa Aiyangar and M.C. Thirumalachariar, Bangalore 1934. This edition, now very rare, is incomplete and bristles with mistakes.

<sup>2</sup> T.E. Satakopacharya, in the Foreword to the edition, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. TUCCI, The theory and practice of the maṇḍala, London 1961; H. ZIMMER, Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization, <sup>2</sup>New York 1947.

<sup>4</sup> See LT. 41, 11 and S. GUPTA, L.T., Diagram IV.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. JS. 13, 11ff.; LT. 37, 3ff.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 95.

food and flowers presented to images. 21: On Lakṣmī and an enumeration of *śaktis*; 22: the so-called 'support-seat' (*adhārāsana*)<sup>7</sup> and the *ādhāra-śakti*;<sup>8</sup> Bhagavān in the form of a *mantra*. Chapter 23 is entitled imposition of definite deities on the body (in order to acquire their specific potencies: *nyāsa*). 27: *śrāddha* ceremonies, which are divided into three classes, viz. those to be performed on fixed occasions (*nitya*), those that are dependent on particular causes (*naimittika*) and those securing special rewards (*kāmya*).<sup>9</sup> 28: Ritual acts in connexion with the enclosed place for keeping the sacred fire (*agnikuṇḍa*);<sup>10</sup> 29: characteristics of the *kuṇḍa*; 30: the investiture with the sacred thread (*pavitṛāropaṇa*); 31: various occasions for ceremonious acts and behaviour collectively known as 'worldly *dharma*'; 32 etc.: domestic worship and a variety of other topics; 42 and 43 on rites pertaining to the erection etc. of temples etc.

The Sāttvata-Saṃhitā<sup>11</sup> contains 25 chapters (*pariccheda*) and 3492 stanzas. According to tradition<sup>12</sup> it is the best of the *samhitās* because the Bhagavān himself is the 'teacher', Saṃkarṣaṇa being the questioner. Like the Pauṣkara it is not infrequently diffuse.

Among the subjects discussed are, 1: the usual "descent of the scripture"; 2: the regulations concerning worship;<sup>13</sup> 3 and 4: definite *mantras*; 5: internal and 6: external worship of the *vyūhas*;<sup>14</sup> 7 and 8: observances (*vrata*); 9 and 10: the 'special existences' (*vibhava-devatā*);<sup>15</sup> 11: meditation supported by a *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍaladhyāna*); 12: *vibhava-devatā-dhyāna*; 13: *dhyāna* upon the divine weapons and ornaments of the Lord; 14: the investiture with the sacred thread; 15: bathing; 16, 18, 19: initiation (*dikṣā*) etc.; 17: the *mantra* of the *vibhava* Nṛsiṃha;<sup>16</sup> 20: consecration of the *ācārya*; 21: conventions of the community (*samaya*), correct moral behaviour etc.; 22 *mudrās*; 23 on the *pinḍa-mantras*<sup>17</sup> of the *vibhavas*; 24 and 25: the preparation and consecration of temples and images.

The range of subjects covered by the third 'gem', the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā,<sup>18</sup> is considerably wider than that of either of the other two. It has 33 chapters

<sup>7</sup> For particulars see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., I, p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> *Ādhāraśakti*: according to tantrist 'physiology' the basic *śakti* existing as the *jīvaśakti* in the lowest bodily region called *mūladhāra*. Cf. e.g. PS. 22, 7. See S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 374 (Index).

<sup>9</sup> For particulars see KANE, H.Dh. IV, p. 369.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 102. For *pavitṛāropaṇa* see n. 118 below.

<sup>11</sup> The Sathwatha-Samhitha (sic), edited by P.B. ANANTHA CHARIAR, Conjeevaram 1902 (the first edition of a *vaiṣṇava āgama* printed in *devanāgarī* script). In AhS. 5, 59 there is a clear reference to this work; cf. also AhS. 15, 22 (SCHRADER, I.P., p. 117). Cf. Sātwata-Tantram, ed. A.S. PADHATE, Benares 1934.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> For a translation of 2, 2–12 see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 150.

<sup>14</sup> For a translation of 5, 9–21 see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 152.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 43; for the twelve *śaktis* mentioned 9, 85 see SCHRADER, p. 55.

<sup>16</sup> For whom see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 48.

<sup>17</sup> A complete *mantra* consists of four elements one of which is the *pinḍa*. Each element is in itself efficacious as a *mantra*.

<sup>18</sup> Edited by EMBAR KRISHNAMACHARYA, Jayākhyasamhitā of Pāñcarātra Āgama, Baroda 1931, 21967; on p. 72 a list of published and unpublished *samhitās*. In the manuscripts this work is also known as Jaya-Samhitā and Jñānalakṣmī.

(*paṭala*), comprising 4600 ślokas. It is considered an authority by several other *saṃhitās* and some *tantras*.<sup>19</sup> It is quoted not only by Vedāntadeśika<sup>20</sup> but also by Utpala Vaiṣṇava (10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>21</sup> and must therefore be one of the oldest Pāñcarātra texts, older than the Ahirbudhnya which mentions it (19, 64). This is not to say that all arguments adduced in favour of a much earlier date—5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.—are completely convincing.<sup>22</sup> Although this work also essentially is a ritual handbook that takes special interest in *mantras* it starts with the statement that one cannot attain salvation merely by rituals such as the performance of sacrifices, gifts, study of the Veda, and expiatory penances without the knowledge of the ultimate reality (*para tattva*), Brahman, i.e. Viṣṇu, who is to be worshipped with *bhakti*.<sup>23</sup> It focuses attention mainly on domestic rites and personal piety. It is full of so-called tantric rites, and almost all topics which are usually discussed in a full-fledged compendium of the Tantra variety are touched upon<sup>24</sup>—“a tantric atmosphere permeates the whole work”—but it does not refer to *śākta* rites. The *vaiṣṇava* goddesses mentioned—Jayā, Kīrti, Māyā etc.<sup>25</sup>—have no cosmological functions.

The following is a survey of its contents:

Chapter 1: *śāstrāvatarana*;<sup>26</sup> 2: the creation of the world by Brahmā (*brahma-sarga*); 3: the intermediate creation (*pradhānasarga*), with deviations from the Sāṃkhya; 4: the first stage of creation (*śuddhasarga*):<sup>27</sup> the highest Brahman, being pure intelligence (*cit*) and bliss or supreme joy (*ānanda*, 4, 2) transforms itself into Acyuta,<sup>28</sup> who in his turn transforms himself into Satya (Reality, Truth), which becomes the Puruṣa. As the Puruṣa Vāsudeva resides (as *antaryāmin*)<sup>29</sup> in all beings. 5: The practice of *yoga* (concentration on *mantras*) is the only way of acquiring that knowledge which is not different from Brahman. 6: The selection of the principal *mantra*; *nyāsa*<sup>30</sup> on the body in order to derive success from the *mantra*. 7: The *mantras* of the assistants. Chapter 8 enumerates a number of *mudrās* and describes their form and making; 9: the method of the ritual of ablutions.<sup>31</sup> 10: The preparations for meditation etc. (*dhyāna, samādhi*). 11: *Mantranyāsa* by which the various parts of the body are assigned to the deities of the *mantras*. 12: Having come to “consist of Viṣṇu” the devotee must worship Him with a mental sacrifice which is described together with its pre-

Jayā “Victory” is a manifestation of the Śakti. She is elsewhere one of the *apsarases* (see GONDA, Aspects, p. 260, n. 128).

<sup>19</sup> See SMITH, P. N. V., p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Vedāntadeśika, Pāñcarātraraksā, see p. 184 (Index) of the Adyar edition.

<sup>21</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> See above, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. JS. 1, 21 ff.

<sup>24</sup> For a specification see B. BHATTACHARYYA, Foreword to the edition, p. 27.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. JS. 6, 77; 79; 81; 82.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 130.

<sup>27</sup> For particulars see BHATTACHARYYA, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>28</sup> One of the names of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, in the Pāñcarātra system a form of Viṣṇu as well as a name of Vāsudeva.

<sup>29</sup> *Antaryāmin*: the inner controller of BĀU. 3, 7 etc.

<sup>30</sup> See p. 19 above.

<sup>31</sup> For this topic compare S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 196, n. 2.

parations.<sup>32</sup> 13: External sacrifice.<sup>33</sup> 14: The so-called threefold *japa(yajña)*, the muttering of prayers and formulas as a sacrifice which is, in 15, followed by the fire-rite, from the preparation of the *kunḍa* (the enclosed place for keeping the fire) till the sprinkling of the fire and the eatables presented to the deity (*naivedya*) into the water. 16: A detailed discussion of the initiation (*dīkṣā*).<sup>34</sup> 17: The various classes of 'disciples' (*śiṣya*). 18: The ceremonies connected with the consecration (*abhiṣeka*). Chapter 19 deals with the characteristics of an efficacious performance of a rite. 20 is a long section on images, their measures, component parts, construction, types of substructures, etc., including a rite aiming at the rectification of mistakes committed by the artisans. 21: A meticulous description of the festive ceremonies in connexion with the investiture of the god's image with the sacred thread (*pavitṛāropana*). 22: The characteristics of a true Vaiṣṇava who is to be known by his behaviour according to the *dharma* of the Bhagavān. 23: A detailed description of the *śrāddha* rites in honour of the departed spirits of the dead ancestors. 24: The funeral rites (*saṃskāra* of a dead person) with a long appendix on how to perform these rites for those who have died beyond the range of sight. 25: Ritual acts to atone for various errors of commission and omission (*prāyaścitta*). 26: The so-called *mūlamantrasādhana*, i.e. the accomplishment of various acts by means of the basic *mantra* with a view to pursuing worldly objects such as the appeasement of evil spirits, counter-measures against poison, subjugation, incantations to effect somebody's destruction and so on. Chapter 27 deals with the results that can be obtained by means of the mantras of the Śaktis, viz. Lakṣmī etc. 28 and 29: The results obtained by the so-called *aṅgamantras*, i.e. the performance of *nyāsa* on parts of the body with special *mantras*, etc. 30: The so-called *parikarasādhana*, i.e. that which in a similar way can be achieved with the help of the *mantras* of God's decorations, weapons etc.<sup>35</sup> 31: The *mantras* of Vasudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna etc.; 32: *mantras* of Viḅhneśa and Vāgīśvari;<sup>36</sup> 33 the voluntary restraint of the breath during the mental recitation of *mantras* (*prāṇāyāma*) and other elements of *yoga* practice.

One of the most important works of this class, written in uncomplicated and reasonably correct Sanskrit, is also the Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā;<sup>37</sup> according to PāS. 4, 23, 197 it is one of the 'six gems' among the authoritative writings of the Pāñcarātras.<sup>38</sup> It is also the main text of which the sections are *rātras*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Cf. LT. ch. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. LT. ch. 37.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. LT. ch. 41.

<sup>35</sup> For an enumeration see SMITH, V.I., p. 276.

<sup>36</sup> Viḅhneśa, "the Lord of obstacles", another name of the god Gaṇeśa, the god of success and remover of hindrances. Vāgīśvari is one of the Śaktis (cf. e.g. LT. 20, 35; 37, 69).

<sup>37</sup> Edited by Pt. V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Adyar-Madras 1969. It is called after the expounder, the *ṛṣi* Sanatkumāra, in epic-purāṇic mythology—he is often mentioned in *purāṇas*—a mind-born son of Brahmā who is "always a youth"; in the Mahābhārata he is regarded as identical with Pradyumna. He figures as Nārada's teacher in ChU. 7, 1, 1 etc. (cf. 7, 26, 2). The Mahāsanatkumāra-Saṃhitā, mentioned by SCHRADER, I.P., p. 9 and SMITH, Ppp., p. 187 is the identical work. For a more detailed survey of the contents and preliminary remarks: V. VARADACHARI, in ALB 35 (1971), p. 227; on other texts of the same name, ibidem, p. 231.

<sup>38</sup> The other 'gems' being Pādma, Parama, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, and Kāṇva.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 43ff.; 86.

Each *rātra* is divided into ten chapters, except the first which is in eleven *adhyāyas*. However, one of the *rātras*, the Bṛhaspati, is only cited and not available.<sup>40</sup> The first three *adhyāyas* of the first section (*brahmarātra*) are lost. The colophons call the work a Mahāsaṃhitā; the last one adds that the number of its stanzas is 10.000. What we have is 3549 stanzas. The dialogue framework does not state that Nārāyaṇa revealed the contents of the Saṃhitā to Brahmā etc., but Brahmā, Śiva, Indra and the ṛṣis related these to Sanat-kumāra. The prevailing background of the treatise—which is “not very sectarian”<sup>41</sup>—and the nature and treatment of the topics point to some antiquity. The main subject-matter is, of course, Viṣṇu worship according to the Pāñcarātra traditions; the range of the subjects treated is comparatively large. The following résumé may give an idea of the contents:<sup>42</sup>

I, 4: The conventions of this Viṣṇuite community (*samaya*), viz. ‘civil’ and religious law, *dharma*, legal procedures, administration of justice etc. (*vyavahāra*); *saṃskāras*. 5: The behaviour of the social classes (*varṇācāra*). Chapter 6 comprehensively called *pratiṣṭhāvidhi* “ceremonies connected with the installation and consecration of halls, images” deals also with allied subjects; 7 with the images, the materials for them, defects in them and the distinction in placid or auspicious (*saumya*) and inauspicious (*āgneya*) images, those of the śivaite cult belonging to the latter category (7, 59ff.). 8: On temples (*prāsāda*), their erection, forms and so on. 9: On worship and propitiation of the divine powers including the use of *mantras* etc. 10: Gifts, after an enumeration attention is drawn to their results. Among these are “three gifts of knowledge”, viz. a secular one (Arthaśāstra), the Veda and one concerning the Ātman or Supreme Spirit (*adhyātma*), viz. Yogatantra, the best of which is Viṣṇutantra. 11: *Mantras* of several deities. II (Śivarātra), 1: The sacrificial ceremonies for the fifteen lunar days (*tīthi*) of the bright half of the month, with a detailed account of the preparations, the setting up of the images etc. 2 and 3: A classification and enumeration of *mantras*: those relating to Viṣṇu are *saumya* (see above), others are *āgneya* or mixed. 4: A short chapter on the 1008 *parivāra-devatās*, i.e. the attendant deities, the list being more or less an enumeration of Viṣṇu’s “thousand names”. 5: The ceremonies relating to the oblations of cooked rice. 6 and 7: The flowers and leaves used in worshipping. 8: The performance of the bathing ceremonies.<sup>43</sup> 9: The so-called *aṅkuraropaṇa* “the planting of sprouts”, the sowing of seeds in pots a little in advance so that they sprout at the time of the main function—rites with germinating seeds or sprouts are to promote a prosperous growth and successful performance of the ritual or to support the god’s potency<sup>44</sup>—and other ceremonies. 10: *Maṅḍalas*.<sup>45</sup> III (Indrarātra), 1: On materials used in making images. 2: *Mantrōddhāra*.<sup>46</sup> Chapter 3, called Purāṇa, deals with the stories of the manifestations, Varāha (the Boar), Narasiṃha,

<sup>40</sup> The *rātras* of this work contain mutual cross-references. The Bṛhaspatirātra (the fifth) is cited at Ṛṣiyātra (the fourth) 2, 98. For more particulars see V. RAGHAVAN, in JAOS 85 (1965), p. 77.

<sup>41</sup> To quote RAGHAVAN, l. cit.

<sup>42</sup> For a longer summary see RAGHAVAN, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 142.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. GONDA, Aspects, p. 259; 261; RANGACHARI, S. V. B., p. 115.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 74f. above.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 69.



Matsya (the Fish), Kūrma (the Tortoise), Tārksya (= Garuḍa), Vāmana (the Dwarf), Hayagrīva, Kapila, Jāmadagnya (= Paraśurāma), Rāma and Sāttvata (Kṛṣṇa).<sup>47</sup> 4: Seven different sacrifices. 5: The highest position of Viṣṇu accompanied by attendant deities such as Brahmā, Sadāśiva;<sup>48</sup> the seven Vaiṣṇava-mātarāḥ, i.e. the goddesses Vāgīśvarī etc. (st. 38f.); the positions (placements) of the images of these deities. 6: A section on the Vidyēśvaras, i.e. twelve divine figures descending from the Vyūhas<sup>49</sup> followed by a list of one hundred Viṣṇus for the 'worlds' of Vārāha, Rāma etc., called the leaders (*nāyaka*) of these different worlds (*loka*), a passage which is again reminiscent of the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotras. 7: A description of these worlds; the rivers, gates, gatekeepers etc. of the Varāhaloka and so on. 8: On (ritual) purity of seed and womb, their respective good and bad qualities, distinctions made on account of difference in social class. 9: The characteristics of a *guru*. IV (Rṣirātra), 1: The observances of the five moments (*pañcakāla*);<sup>50</sup> breath control and other references to *yoga*. 2: *Mudrās*. 3: *Yoga*. 4: Asceticism or austerities (*tapas*) and the places and times suited to it; muttering of formulas (*japa*). 5: Flower sacrifices. 6: *Bali* offerings (consisting of food thrown on the ground). Chapter 7 deals with the *ṛṣis*, the metres and the deities of the *mantras*. 8: Conventions (*samaya*) and atonements (*prāyaścitta*) for violation of rules of conduct. 9: Rules to be observed in connexion with the five products of the cow (milk, curds, clarified butter, urine, dung) which are to be consumed by the man who has to undertake the penance called *brahmakūrca*.<sup>51</sup> 10: The weapons (*āyudha*) of the deities.

The Śrīpraśna-Saṃhitā,<sup>52</sup> containing about 6700 ślokas in 53 chapters, gives the impression of an old work which in its present form is a recent redaction "produced in a prominent Vaiṣṇava temple centre in Tamilnad, most probably Kumbhakonam".<sup>53</sup> That the book was at least revised in the Tamil region appears from the references to the Ālvārs (*sūri* or *sūrin*).<sup>54</sup> Since the earliest mention of the practice of reciting their Tamil hymns in temples is probably in an inscription of Rājaraḥja the Great (985–1014) the terminus a quo seems to be ± 1000 A. D., but passages on Turuṣkas or Tuluṣkas "Turks", i.e. Muslims,<sup>55</sup> who are even said to live in villages along with the Hindu population, point to a much later date. There are however references in the text to the older form of the mark on the body of a Vaiṣṇava (*pundra*), to *yoga* practices and to an impersonal form of divinity<sup>56</sup> which may be regarded as betraying an ancient

<sup>47</sup> Notice the names and the order in which they occur. For the *avatāras* see p. 29f.

<sup>48</sup> One of the five 'faces' of Śiva, for which see e.g. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 205; V.Ś., p. 224 (Index).

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 60f.

<sup>50</sup> See p. 72.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. W. GAMPERT, Die Sühnezereimonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur, Prague 1939, p. 61; KANE, H.Dh. IV, p. 146.

<sup>52</sup> Editions: K. RĀMASWĀMI BHATṬAR (BHATṬĀCHĀRYA), Kumbakonam 1904 (Grantha script); SEETHA PADMANABHAN, Tirupati 1969. The book is called Śrīpraśna because of the question (*praśna*) put by Śrī and the reply given by the Lord on the subjects dealt with.

<sup>53</sup> V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to S. Padmanabhan's edition, p. I.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. ŚPS. 17, 56; 40, 34 (*divyadraviḍagāthābhīṣ . . . gāyanti*); 42, 116.

<sup>55</sup> ŚPS. 49, 60; 306; 421.

<sup>56</sup> ŚPS. 16, 134; a. 3; 1, 29; 3, 9; 23, 207; the beginning of a. 51.

background. The occurrences of the name Śrīpraśna in other Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*<sup>57</sup> may therefore refer to an older form of the work. As many other compilations of this class it is a derivative text, borrowing much from the Pādma-Saṃhitā and other works (Sāttvata and Īśvara Saṃhitās and Yogatattva-Upaniṣad).<sup>58</sup> This has not however prevented the author from composing a well-arranged and well-written book which is a welcome source of information, in the first place on *kriyā*, his speciality. While paying much attention to festivals (a. 30 ff.), different kinds of temples (*prāsāda*, a. 9) and halls (*maṇḍapa*, a. 10), music and dance, he presents different points of view on some important ritual details. However, he furnishes his readers in addition to these subjects with a lucid treatment of the initiation and equipment of the priests and allied subjects (a. 16 f.). Like the Pāñcarātra literature in general the Śrīpraśna makes also mention of non-Vaiṣṇava deities, concentration on Sadāśiva (28, 163 f.) etc. This work is up to the present day held in high esteem in the Śārṅgapāṇi temple at Kumbhakonam.

The Īśvara-Saṃhitā,<sup>59</sup> traditionally associated with the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā (from which it is held to derive), is in any case one of the oldest South Indian treatises of this class. It is quoted by Yāmuna<sup>60</sup> who died in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and since the Viṣṇuite *āgamas* quoted are important authorities for this author, this work must have been in existence at his time for at least three generations.<sup>61</sup> Being a long work (8200 ślokas divided into 25 chapters) this Saṃhitā is closely associated with the worship prevailing at the temple in Melkote, although the Pādma-Saṃhitā is here also the basic text. It excels in its attention to important particulars, the clearness and coherence of its descriptions and the detailed precision of a great many of its expositions. Being encyclopaedic in scope it contains sixteen chapters devoted to ritualistic worship (interspersed with philosophical doctrines), the others dealing with images, initiation, meditation, *mantras*, expiation, the methods of self-control and a description of the holiness of the Yādava hill. It is one of the most useful sources of knowledge of the Pāñcarātra doctrines and traditions.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kapiñjala, Puruṣottama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Viṣṇutantra, Hayaśirṣa Saṃhitās.

<sup>58</sup> See S. PADMANABHAN, Introduction to the edition, p. LXVII; SMITH, Ppp., p. 190. Many verses agree completely with the corresponding *ślokas* of the Pādma, of which some parts of the Śrīpraśna are, perhaps, even an abridgment.

<sup>59</sup> Editions: by PĀRTHASĀRATHI AIYYANGĀR, Mysore 1890 (in Telugu script); by ANNANGACHARYA, Sudarsana Press, Conjeeveram, 1923; see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Yāmuna, AP. (ed. VAN BUITENEN), § 135 (translation, p. 117).

<sup>61</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 20 surmised "before 800 A.D."; SMITH, Ppp., p. 186. "about 9<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.". This does not exclude the occurrence of younger interpolations (e.g. 20, 280 an allusion to Rāmānuja).

<sup>62</sup> For a very short (ca. 640 *ślokas*) and apparently incomplete other text called Īśvara-Saṃhitā, which is exclusively devoted to the Nṛsiṃha-mantra, see SMITH, V. I., p. 299 and Descriptive Bibliography (1975), p. 87.

The Parama-Saṃhitā<sup>63</sup> must be one of the older works of this literature because it was quoted by Yāmuna. The conclusion drawn by the editor<sup>64</sup> that it dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., if not earlier, is however not admissible. It is a “general handbook on the principles of the Pāñcarātra” and occupies a high place in the estimation of the preceptors and spiritual guides (*ācārya*). It consists of 31 chapters and some 2200 *ślokas*. In ch. 1, called “answer to questions”, it is told that Devala<sup>65</sup> once came to Mārkaṇḍeya<sup>66</sup> in order to learn the way to salvation. Mārkaṇḍeya taught him, in an abbreviated form, what he had, on the advice of Viṣṇu himself, learnt himself from Sanaka in Śvetadvīpa. These communications are identical with that which, immediately after the creation of the world, Brahmā, the demiurge, had heard from the Highest Being (Parama), the God of gods, who in the following chapters reveals the treatise (*tantra*).

The main subjects discussed are the emanation of the universe, the method of worship and rules of conduct to be adopted by Viṣṇu’s devotees; modes of worship; objects used in worshipping and disposal of various ritual articles; *mantras*; initiation (*dīkṣā*); omnia; *yoga* (explained as that which keeps the mind steady and composed; 10, 6); portents of death; *dharma* (defined as those deeds which please the Lord, 12, 3); worship for gaining the realization of one’s wishes; *mudrās*; purificatory rites; rites preliminary to consecration (*adhivāsana*); installation of the image of God in accordance with the prescribed rules; the fire ritual; sacred bathing (of the image); festivals (*yātrā*) which are said to be of two kinds, viz. one for the purpose of a holy ablation and one for the consecration of a temple (22, 2); the materials to be used by expert artisans in charge of the making of images; the sizes and measurements of images; the so-called worship by the learned (*vidvatpūjā*, 24: considering that the true form of the Supreme is unrealizable a wise man should offer worship to and contemplate upon that form of God which is intended for worship and our benefit: 24, 3ff.); pilgrimage; a description of the universe (the so-called purāṇic geography and cosmography in which all creatures move about in *samsāra*); acts of worship prescribed for periods of emergency; various ritual duties and performances; esoteric doctrines.

The Aniruddha-Saṃhitā,<sup>67</sup> a work of comparatively small compass (1800 *ślokas*, 34 chapters), deals with a wide range of subjects, viz. various rituals, methods of expiation, *maṇḍalas*, ritual behaviour, installation of images, rules regarding their construction, the characteristics of an *ācārya*, temple-building

<sup>63</sup> Edited and translated into English by S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Baroda 1940.

<sup>64</sup> KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>65</sup> (Asita) Devala: in a Ṛgveda *anukramaṇī* mentioned as the ṛṣi of RV. 9, 5ff., and frequently occurring in the Mahābhārata; living in the days of yore he observed the duties of a householder while practising the vow of religious studentship and celibacy (*brahmacarya*). He obtained great *yoga* powers in Ādityatīrtha (Mbh. 9, a. 50) eventually to adopt the religion of final emancipation (*mokṣa*), and to obtain the highest success (*siddhi*). See also BhāṅP. 1, 19, 10; 9, 4, 57.

<sup>66</sup> See below, p. 106 n.

<sup>67</sup> Edited and published by A. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, Mysore 1956.

etc. Its main concern is the performance of festivals (*utsava*) and various ceremonials, but even these sections are rather succinctly worded.

Special mention may be made of chapter 10: the characteristics of a king who is said to be the soul of his realm, his body; 11: the planning of villages etc.; 14: the so-called residence in water (*jalavāsa*): the images are in procession taken to a river or tank to be immersed;<sup>68</sup> 28: the offering of sesamum-seed (*tilādānam*);<sup>69</sup> 31: the *garbhanyāsa* rites to be performed, at the beginning of the building proper, for temples as well as for villages, towns etc.,<sup>70</sup> being part of the first liturgies for a temple (etc.)-to-be; 34: the *bhaktapraṭiṣṭhā* ceremony, i.e. the establishment of an image of eminent devotees such as Śaṭhakopa (i.e. Nammālvār, one of the Ālvārs).<sup>71</sup>

The main concern of the Viṣvaksena-Saṃhitā,<sup>72</sup> which consists of 39 chapters and circa 4250 stanzas, is *kriyā* and *caryā*. It claims to be based on the Veda (*śruti*), and to be no less an authority than the manuals of Vedic ritual (*kalpasūtra*); it destroys all evil and bestows health and a long life on those who study it (8, 6f.). The beginning is uncommon: Viṣvaksena, the narrator, announces that he will deal with the examination of the site (*bhūparikṣā*) on which a temple is to be erected. This seems to corroborate the supposition<sup>73</sup> that our text is only part of a considerably larger work, and that this old, or even "very old"<sup>74</sup> version was the text that has been utilized by Rāmānuja and others. Although this Saṃhitā "provides a thoroughly interesting and challenging source-material"<sup>75</sup> in matters of temple-building—a subject on which it is perhaps one of the earliest texts—the data which it contains must be carefully weighed and checked, because the treatment is defective and mistakes or

<sup>68</sup> Cf. RANGACHARI, S.V.B., p. 122; 151.

<sup>69</sup> For the ritual significance of sesamum see J.J. MEYER, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 319 (Index).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. SMITH, Ppp., p. 20; 79; 81; 91.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 130. In other Pāñcarātra passages also the term *bhakta* refers to these poets, whose images and worship in temples are referred to e.g. ŚPS. 24, 89; 25, 51; 46, 53f.; 79.

<sup>72</sup> Edited by LAKSHMI NARASIMHA BHATTA, Tirupati 1972. Recensions are preserved in Madras, Melkote, Mysore. This *saṃhitā* is called after Viṣvaksena, a legendary person who, according to Patañjali (4, 1, 114; see also B.N. PURI, India in the time of Patañjali, Bombay 1957, p. 187), bore a Vṛṣṇi name. He occurs several times in the Mahābhārata as a particular aspect of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and is often mentioned in the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*. He is to be worshipped as an attendant deity for the sake of protection against the powers of impediment (the obstacles, *vighna*) that try to nullify the efforts of the sacrificers (cf. e.g. PS. 20, 6ff.) and as such he is held in special honour in Viṣṇuite piety and practice and iconographically represented as a benign figure. His worship is enjoined in LT. a. 40 and other texts. He is also believed to preach the Pāñcarātra doctrine in the present Kali age. Cf. e.g. also ParS. 27, 24; 29, 61f.; BhS. 1, 84; LT. 38, 75; ViS. 11, 70; 19, 18; 21, 91 etc. etc. and for his story PāT. 3, 32, 113ff.

<sup>73</sup> SMITH, V.I., p. 304.

<sup>74</sup> DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 24. For Rāmānuja quoting Pauṣkara-, Parama-Saṃhitā etc. see VAN BUITENEN, Y.Ā.P., p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> SMITH, Ppp., p. 193.

omissions are numerous. It is interesting because “it has passed through the hands of an expert in *śilpa*”—not a very learned person, however—rather than a priest.

The Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā<sup>76</sup> is a long work (almost 8700 *ślokas*; 26 chapters) which is held to be an expanded continuation of the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā; but there is some internal evidence in favour of the supposition that it has been abbreviated in the course of time. It is of special interest because it describes—“reflects and dictates”<sup>77</sup>—the worship patterns at the famous Raṅganāthasvāmi temple at Śrīraṅgam.<sup>78</sup> Or, as a devotee<sup>79</sup> puts it: “The importance of this Saṃhitā is evident from the fact that Lord Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam—the foremost incarnation of the Lord—has ordained this Saṃhitā to be followed in worshipping Him”. The text demonstrates, *inter alia*, the application of the general rules to be observed in temple building to a specific place. It moreover adheres to the division in *jñānakāṇḍa* and *kriyākāṇḍa* (cf. 1, 95), although with the exception of 14<sup>1/2</sup> *ślokas* in a. 1 all chapters deal with the latter subject.<sup>80</sup>

Owing to Schrader’s pioneer work<sup>81</sup> the contents of the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā are, at least in the detailed survey published by this scholar in English, probably in the West the best known of all Pāñcarātra writings. I can confine my observations to the following. Written in fairly correct Sanskrit and consisting of 60 chapters (*adhyāya*) and about 3800 stanzas this important work<sup>82</sup> is no doubt one of the oldest *saṃhitās* extant.<sup>83</sup> Its remarkable ‘unsectarian’ character points to an early date (8<sup>th</sup> century), and there are almost no indications of a later origin.<sup>84</sup> Internal evidence may lead to the conclusion that it was composed in Kashmir.<sup>85</sup> It derives its name from Ahirbudhnya, i.e. a form of Śiva as the teacher of liberating knowledge. It deviates from the usual type of *saṃhitā* in being, first and foremost not a ritual compendium, but

<sup>76</sup> Edited by U. V. GOVINDĀCHĀRYA, Śrīraṅgam 1953. This edition, prepared by an eminent expert in the ritual as performed at Śrīraṅgam, is especially useful and valuable because of the many diagrams illustrating injunctions found in the text and passages on the disposition of the divinities throughout the temple precincts.

<sup>77</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 301.

<sup>78</sup> H. VON GLASENAPP, *Heilige Stätten Indiens*, München 1928, p. 80. For temples in general see e.g. K. FISCHER, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Köln 1961, p. 378 (bibliography).

<sup>79</sup> S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, Preface to the edition, p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> See also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 23.

<sup>81</sup> SCHRADER, I. P.; see esp. p. 94–146.

<sup>82</sup> Edited by PT. M. D. RAMANUJACHARYA under the supervision of F. OTTO SCHRADER, Adyar-Madras 1916; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised by PT. V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, 1966.

<sup>83</sup> SCHRADER, in ZDMG 68, p. 102; I. P., p. 96. S. JAISWAL, *The origin and development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi 1967, p. 42.

<sup>84</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 97.

<sup>85</sup> AhS. 26, 75 and 45, 53 mention birch-bark as writing-material (but the author may have only read of this frequently mentioned bark); 39, 23 snow-mountains.

an exposition of the theoretical part of the Pāñcarātra system. Schrader's evaluation:<sup>86</sup> "a work of unusual interest and striking originality" is no exaggeration: the prominence of the theoretical concerns,<sup>87</sup> which in the other works are subsidiary to the religious practice of the community, are an almost indispensable source of knowledge of Pāñcarātra philosophy.<sup>88</sup> As to its contents, 'philosophy', *mantras* and so-called *māyā-yoga* occupy each of them about one-fourth of the whole Samhitā; there is nothing about festivals, and only a few occasional references to image-making and temple-building. There is however a chapter (20) on initiation, one (15) on sociological subjects, two (31f.) on *yoga* and two on worship. The theory of *maṇḍalas* etc. is represented by no less than about eight chapters.

In the initial 'philosophical' section (ch. 1-14) the compiler deals with the Lord's protective (but also menacing) Discus Sudarśana<sup>89</sup> personified. Being highly honoured and worshipped by the Pāñcarātra in his own shrine for help, relief from disease and other benefits this figure is considered to denote God's will-to-be, on which everything in the world is believed to depend. Chapter 15 deals with the several goals of life (*puruṣārtha*),<sup>90</sup> the system claiming to guide its adherents to final emancipation, as well as castes and periods of life; 16-19: the manifestation of Sudarśana or God's *kriyāśakti* in the form of *mantras*; 20: initiation; 21-27: diagrams (*yantra*) and the method of meditating upon their deities; 28-29: worship or propitiation (*ārādhana*); 30: creation of primordial matter (*pradhāna*), *puruṣa*, Prajāpati and of Sudarśana and Viṣṇu's weapons (*astra*) as instruments against the wicked; 31-32: *yoga* theory and practice (worship of the heart); 33: the Mañisekhara episode;<sup>91</sup> 34-35 and 40: the weapons; 36: worship of the Sudarśana *yantra*; 37: construction and worship of an image of the sixteen-armed Sudarśana in times of war; *nyāsa* in the sense of taking refuge with the Lord; 38-39: on diseases, their origin and cure; 41: the first intervention of the Lord in order to fight evil; 42: two episodes; 43-44: the power of the great Sudarśana-mantra; 45: an "ancient story"; 46: the ideal *purohita*; 47: a royal ceremony called a Mahāśāntikarman; 48-50: stories; 51-59: Viṣṇuite *mantras*; 60: a résumé of the whole work.

There is an appendix (*pariśiṣṭa*) calling itself "Panegyric of the thousand names of Sudarśana", although it actually enumerates no more than 560 such names arranged in (incomplete) alphabetical groups. It opens with a dialogue between Nārada and Vyāsa.

The Lakṣmī-Tantra<sup>92</sup> contains 57 chapters (ch. 56 is missing) totalling over

<sup>86</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 94.

<sup>87</sup> The Samhitā characterizes itself (59, 70) as "equal to Sāṃkhya, Yoga etc."; cf. 60, 17.

<sup>88</sup> See DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 34.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. GONDA, Aspects, p. 96; SCHRADER, I. P., p. 162 (Index).

<sup>90</sup> See KANE, H. Dh. V, Index, p. 168.

<sup>91</sup> See p. 126f.

<sup>92</sup> Editions: by the Sadvidyā Press, Mysore 1888 (in Telugu script); Pt. V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, Lakṣmī-Tantra. A Pāñcarātra Āgama, Adyar-Madras 1959. For a complete translation with notes: SANJUKTA GUPTA, Thesis Utrecht 1972 (Leiden 1972).

3600 *ślokas*. The problem of locating its origin is still unsolved. It cannot be much earlier than the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.<sup>93</sup> It is the only Pāñcarātra work that is exclusively devoted to Lakṣmī, the Lord's spouse—a feature of Viṣṇuism that makes its appearance in the Gupta period (4<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent.)—the Viṣṇuite mother-goddess and Śakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa.<sup>94</sup> The author makes it his object to establish the supremacy of Lakṣmī as a philosophical principle ranking, if not higher than Viṣṇu, then at least as equal to him. That is why he emphasizes the doctrine of unity in duality accepted by the Śākta theorists.<sup>95</sup> He is moreover in sympathy with the particular practices aiming at salvation (*sādhanā*) of left-handed Tantrism that require a female partner, envisaged as identical with Lakṣmī, arguing that, “though not free from the moral danger involved in disregarding strict convention the practice is not sinful since the participants are lifted to a supra-mundane level”.<sup>96</sup> Since however the Pāñcarātra *āgamas* generally propagate the doctrine and worship of Nārāyaṇa in a single or multiple form, this treatise stands somewhat apart from the other<sup>97</sup> *saṃhitās*. Another striking feature of this work is the special attention it devotes to *mantras*, their composition, analysis and applications (cf. especially ch. 18–26; 33; 43f.; 46–50). Third in importance comes ritual worship. The predilection for these subjects is easy of explanation because the author concerns himself almost exclusively with the individual adept who desires to be released from *saṃsāra*. This can be achieved by the yogic *sādhanā* advocated in the text, which consists in worship of the Lord and meditation visualizing Him as the personification of a *mantra* that should be repeated.

These centres of interest have determined the disposition of the subjects treated. Although an attempt is made to follow the pattern of four divisions, the only part of the *kriyā pāda* that has received attention is the rite of installing a private image (ch. 37; 41).<sup>98</sup> The *caryā* section has been reduced. The ritualistic aspects of religion are much neglected; iconography is discussed only in sections on meditation (*dhyāna*) upon the most important divine figures. The *jñāna pāda*, on the other hand, occupies almost one third of the entire book (ch. 1–18). That means that the emphasis laid on Pāñcarātra philosophy

<sup>93</sup> Cf. S. GUPTA, L.T., p. XX and XXI.

<sup>94</sup> For Lakṣmī see e.g. GONDA, Aspects, p. 264 (Index); V.Ś., p. 59; JAISWAL, op. cit., p. 262 (Index); D. Ch. SIRCAR, in C.H.I. IV, p. 138; in H.C.I.P. III, p. 419; J. B. CARMAN, The theology of Rāmānuja, New Haven and London 1974, p. 238; SCHRADER, I.P., p. 29 etc.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. e.g. E. CONZE, Buddhism, <sup>3</sup>Oxford 1957, p. 191; D.L. SNELGROVE, Introduction to the Hevajra Tantra, I, London 1959, p. 22.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. L.T. 27, 44ff.; 42, 30f.; 43, 75ff. It is therefore not surprising that Śāktist authors mention and cite the Lakṣmī-Tantra (KRISHNAMACHARYA, Sanskrit Preface to the edition, p. 39).

<sup>97</sup> It is sometimes regarded as a 'secondary', though not less valuable, book.

<sup>98</sup> See also S. GUPTA, L.T., p. XXI: in ch. 53 the term *kriyā pāda* is even used in the unusual sense of *upāsana* and *ārādhana*.

is its most striking feature. Without following any particular philosophical system it is basically eclectic. While incorporating many earlier traditions of this Viṣṇuite religion and attempting to synthesize all the various concepts current among Pāñcarātras and Tantrists it is constantly preoccupied with establishing Śakti (Lakṣmī) as the supreme metaphysical principle. She is an integral part of the Lord, Nārāyaṇa, and the embodiment of His sovereign will as well as the instrumental cause of creation.<sup>99</sup> This does not mean that the author ignores such important Pāñcarātra tenets as the *vyūha* theory. On the contrary, while following the tradition of both the Sāttvata and Jayākhyā Saṃhitās, he elaborates on the philosophy of the former and states the metaphysical implications of the *vyūha* theory and their bearing on the *mantraśāstra* in a clear way (L.T. ch. 4). In regard to the ritualistic aspects of worship he follows the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā which accords a central position to the cult and adoration of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, emphasizing, as already stated, the worship of the latter,<sup>100</sup> which in his opinion is the way to obtain liberation (ch. 16).

The Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā,<sup>101</sup> a work of about 2700 stanzas divided into 30 chapters (*paṭala*), deviates in tenor and contents from the generality of Pāñcarātra literature in that it tends to abstractions and a philosophic treatment of the material discussed, interspersing its statements with 'philosophical symbolism'. Being much under the influence of the Sāṃkhya school of thought it holds the Puruṣa to be all-pervasive, investing him with dynamic activity by dint of which the *prakṛti* passes through evolutionary changes. The five powers of the five senses, on the other hand, are regarded as the power of Viṣṇu which in its transcendental form—that is, as Viṣṇu's subtle body—is power as consciousness, power as world-force and cause, as omniscience and omnipotence.<sup>102</sup> God's fivefold power has also a gross form by which He, though absolutely without qualities, reveals Himself through all the sensible qualities. The dynamics of *prakṛti* can therefore be said to exist in God—"the *prakṛti* and God exist together as it were in union" (4, 2). The *prakṛti*, i. e. the manifestation of God's power, produces and withdraws all existences within it in accordance with the directions of the Puruṣa (4, 6), God's power, although it creates the impression of being an independent agent (*svatantrā*). The description of human souls as all-pervasive is against the Śrīvaiṣṇava point of view. This *saṃhitā* is characterized by a good literary style, but its exposition of technicalities is rather unmethodical; the iconographical topics are generally better handled than the architectural sections. It is a source of the Tantrasamuccaya.

<sup>99</sup> For the philosophy of this treatise see S. GUPTA, L.T., p. XXIII. Cf. also AHS. 3, 2ff.

<sup>100</sup> Worship of Lakṣmī is indispensable: BBS. 1, 11, 52.

<sup>101</sup> Edited by T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, Trivandrum 1925.

<sup>102</sup> For some details see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph., III, p. 23; 31.



The longest of the published works of this class, the *Pādma-Saṃhitā*<sup>103</sup> (also *Pādma-Tantra*), traditionally associated with the Jayākhya of which it is held to be an expansion, is divided into four sections called *pāda* (and dealing with the four subjects *jñāna*, *yoga*, *kriyā*, and *caryā*),<sup>104</sup> and 82 chapters containing more than 9000 *ślokas*. It is one of the best Pāñcarātra works and an important source of information, stating many tenets and problems with unusual precision or in somewhat divergent formulation. Outstanding for its scope, detail, clarity and encyclopaedic range of interests, it is a very popular work enjoying an authoritative position and perhaps the most influential and as a guide to worship most widely-followed of the *saṃhitās* currently available.<sup>105</sup> The twelve chapters on doctrinal matter deal partly with purāṇic cosmography, partly with the traditional Pāñcarātra theory and its connexion with the Veda. The ten chapters of the *kriyāpāda*—a liturgical manual for the *ācārya* supervising the construction of the edifice—edited by Smith are unique in the whole collection of Pāñcarātra scriptures for temple-building injunctions. They deal, respectively, with such preliminary activities as the examination of the site, village-planning, the ritual ploughing and levelling of the ground, the construction of a miniature model of the edifice and the planning of the structure, the placement of the ‘first bricks’, the so-called seed-vessel, the placement of which is a sacramental act for the temple *in statu nascendi*, the construction of the substructure, the varieties of temple (*prāsāda*) structures etc.

Closely related to the *Pādma-Saṃhitā*<sup>106</sup> is the *Viṣṇutilaka*<sup>107</sup> of 3500 *ślokas*. It “is comprised of eight lengthy and rambling chapters”.<sup>108</sup> However, chapter 6 provides a good survey of injunctions on architecture and iconography; the long chapter 7 deals with various sanctification rites (*pratiṣṭhā* etc.).

The *Viśvāmītra-Saṃhitā*<sup>109</sup> is a ritual handbook consisting of 27 chapters and about 3000 stanzas. Since it is not quoted by those Pāñcarātra authors who may be assumed to have lived early in the period of its literary history, it

<sup>103</sup> Published: by the Sadvidyā Press, Mysore 1891 (in Telugu script); by the Ethiraj Jir Math, Melkote 1927 (Telugu script; this edition, mentioned by SMITH, V.I., p. 301, has not been available to the present author); by Y.S. RĀMĀNUJAMUNI, Bangalore 1927 (2 vol., Telugu script). Chapters 1–10 of the *kriyāpāda* were edited and annotated by SMITH, Ppp. See also A.M. ESNOUL, in *Indologica Taurinensia* 3 (an edition, translation etc. of the doctrinal chapters is in course of preparation). Vol. I (*jñāna* and *yoga*) also Mysore, n.d. (ca. 1965).

<sup>104</sup> See p. 3 above.

<sup>105</sup> SMITH, V.I., p. 301.

<sup>106</sup> And perhaps one of its sources, although the mutual relation between the two is not quite clear (SCHRADER, I.P., p. 92, n. 2).

<sup>107</sup> The text was published at Bangalore 1896 (in Telugu script).

<sup>108</sup> SMITH, V.I., p. 304.

<sup>109</sup> Edition: U. SHANKARA BHATTA, Tirupati 1970 (with copious indices etc.). *Viśvāmītra* is a famous Vedic *ṛṣi*, whose name is also frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in *purānas*. See B. KAPADIA, *Viśvāmītra* in the Vedic, epic and purāṇic literature, Vallabh Vidyanagar (Gujarat) 1971.

may probably be regarded as a later, in any case post-Rāmānuja, compilation. Its contents are said to have been revealed by Bhagavān to Brahmā, who communicated them to Viśvāmitra, who in his turn became the teacher of Kāśyapa. From the following survey which may give an idea of the subjects treated, it will appear that the work touches on just about all the topics usually dealt with in the Pāñcarātra literature.

Chapter 1: *Tantrāvatarāṇa*.<sup>110</sup> 2: Explication of the name Pañcarātra; its excellence; enumeration of the Pañcarātra *saṃhitās*; the merits of following the doctrines enunciated in the text. 3: The characteristics of *guru* and 'pupil' (*śiṣya*). 4: The 'origin' of the bodily shapes of Vāsudeva etc. 5: The emanation and dissolution of the world. 6 and 7: The eight-syllabled, twelve-syllabled and other *mantras*.<sup>111</sup> 8: The names and the significance of the sounds which compose *mantras*. 9: Initiation (*dīkṣā*). 10: Rules for the many ceremonious acts constituting a Viṣṇuite's regular worship. 11: The fire ritual. 12: Worship of those gods whose images are placed in the courtyards, Garuḍa (one of the attendant deities), the guardians of the temple-gates, as well as the gods who preside over the points of the compass (here named Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Soma, Tryambaka etc.).<sup>112</sup> 13: *Mudrās*: a long enumeration with brief explanations. 14: Installation ceremonies. 15: The ceremonious acts called *maṇḍalayāga*, worship of aspects of the Highest Being in a *maṇḍala*. 16: The four months' or seasonal sacrifices and the worship of Kṛṣṇa on the eighth day of the dark half of the month Śrāvaṇa (when Kṛṣṇa was born).<sup>113</sup> 17: Ceremonies in connexion with 'great festivals' (*mahotsava*), the description of the flag (*dhvaja*) on which the figure of Garuḍa is to be drawn; the ceremonies to be performed with it; the invocations of the gods; the *aṅkurārpaṇa* ceremony.<sup>114</sup> 18: On festivals (*utsava*). 19: The rites in connexion with the sacred bath (*snāpana*). 20: The rites of the bath with a thousand pitchers.<sup>115</sup> 21: Temple-building concerns, "but the treatment is not complete enough either in outline or in details to be followed by artisans in their work".<sup>116</sup> 22: Iconometry.<sup>117</sup> 23: Repairs of dilapidated sanctuaries, old images etc. 24: The *pavitārōpaṇa* ceremonies which every year are to neutralize all bad or injurious consequences of defects and mistakes committed in worshipping the Lord: the investment of the image of the deity with a sacred cord.<sup>118</sup> 25 and 26: The ceremony called *kahlārakusumārōpaṇa*: the worship of Viṣṇu with white water-lilies and the worship with leaves of the *damanī*.<sup>119</sup> 27: Atonements.

The Nāradiya-Saṃhitā,<sup>120</sup> a work of 3681 *ślokas* divided into 30 chapters, was known to Vedāntadeśika who quotes it (PR., p. 16 etc.) and to the com-

<sup>110</sup> See p. 195.

<sup>111</sup> See p. 68.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. SMITH, V. I., p. 209; 233; 237; 250; 256; 263 (in a different order).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. e.g. KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 128.

<sup>114</sup> See p. 72; 146.

<sup>115</sup> See p. 127.

<sup>116</sup> SMITH, Ppp., p. 193.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. SMITH, V. I., p. 61.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 339.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. MEYER, op. cit., I, p. 48.

<sup>120</sup> Edited by R. P. CHAUDHARY, Tirupati 1971.

pillers of other *saṃhitās*.<sup>121</sup> Since however the name of Buddha is repeatedly included in the number of the Lord's *avatāras*<sup>122</sup> the text cannot in its present form be much older than those texts, for instance the Matsya-Purāṇa,<sup>123</sup> which mention this incarnation. That it dates back to a period earlier than the 9<sup>th</sup> century is hardly probable. It derives its name from the fact that its contents are expounded by Nārada who was instructed by Viṣṇu himself. Being largely concerned with ritual, images, various forms of worship, this work is a useful source of information relating to temple-building, iconography etc. There are also chapters on *mudrās*, initiation, *maṇḍalas*, conventions, the daily rites and so on.

The Nāradiya is not to be confused with other works casually entitled Nārada-Pañcarātra. However, fate decided that the so-called spurious Nāradiya, or rather the Nārada-Pañcarātra was the first, and for many years the only, work of this literature published.<sup>124</sup> This book, which is divided into five *rātras*<sup>125</sup> and contains about 3400 stanzas in 60 chapters, was transmitted in Bengal. It is a late, non-representative work that was regarded as apocryphal by the Rāmānujīyas. Having given up the essential tenets of the Pañcarātra it sings the glories of the boy Kṛṣṇa and his (Hari's) service through *bhakti* as the highest method of attaining final liberation. There are six modes of adoration, viz. remembrance of Kṛṣṇa, utterance of his name and glory, salutation, resorting to his feet, constant worship with devotion, surrender of the soul to him. The work begins by relating Nārada's visit to the palace of Śaṅkara (Śiva) from whom he seeks instruction in the greatness of Kṛṣṇa. At the gates of this palace are pictures and sculptures relating to Kṛṣṇa's childhood and famous deeds.

The Bhāradvāja-Saṃhitā,<sup>126</sup> "perhaps the most widely spread of all the *saṃhitās*",<sup>127</sup> is the "rare (if not unique) instance" of a work of this class

<sup>121</sup> Cf. KapS. 1, 15; PāS. Jñ. 1, 100.

<sup>122</sup> See NārS. 1, 60; 13, 301; 17, 21 etc.

<sup>123</sup> Which however is of uncertain date (various suppositions: ±200—±600: see V.S. AGRAWALA, Matsya Purāṇa. A Study, Varanasi 1963, p. III). Buddha occurs together with other forms of Viṣṇu in a temple of (probably) the 8<sup>th</sup> century (A. HOHENBERGER, Die indische Flutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa, Leipzig 1930, p. 83). He is in any case recognized as an *avatāra* in Kṣemendra's Daśāvātāracarita (±1050, Kashmir), ch. 9. In drawing chronological conclusions of this kind one should however be aware that innovations and new ideas were not, as a rule, adopted and introduced in all communities and in all regions of India at the same time.

<sup>124</sup> The Nārada Pancha Rātra, ed. by K.M. BANERJEA, Calcutta 1865, reprinted New York 1974. See SCHRADER, I.P., p. 1. For a detailed survey of the contents see A. ROUSSEL, Étude du Pañcarātra, in Recueil de travaux d'érudition offert à Ch. de Harlez, Leiden 1896, p. 251. Translation: SWAMI VIJÑANANANDA alias H.P. CHATTERJI, Allahabad 1921. See also BHANDARKAR, VŚ., p. 40.

<sup>125</sup> Most colophons add a second title, Jñānāmṛtasāra.

<sup>126</sup> Edition: Nāradapañcarātra (Bhāradvājasamhitā) published by KH. ŚRĪ-KṚṢṆADASA (ŚREṢṬHIN), Bombay 1905, with a commentary (*ṭīkā*). Also: Madras 1912; Calcutta 1922.

<sup>127</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 23, n. 4.

dealing with conduct only and especially with *prapatti*,<sup>128</sup> its varieties, the success to be achieved by this only method of winning Viṣṇu's goodwill, and so on. It consists of four chapters (three of which have 100 stanzas, of chapter 2 only one stanza is left) and a longer supplement (*pariśiṣṭa*) of three times 100 and 98 stanzas. According to the colophons the content of the Saṃhitā proper is 'instruction in *nyāsa*'; the supplement deals—not without repetition of topics touched upon in the preceding chapters—with *dharma* and correct ritual behaviour of the adherents of the Pāñcarātra, the *saṃskāras*, cult etc.

This work is to be distinguished from another Saṃhitā under the same name but of a more encyclopaedic character.<sup>129</sup>

The voluminous Bṛhadbrahma-Saṃhitā<sup>130</sup> (over 4600 *ślokas* constituting four parts (*pāda*) which are divided into 40 chapters) is a rather recent work.<sup>131</sup> After an initial chapter entitled "origin and commencement of the tradition" (*saṃpradāyapravṛtti*) the compiler informs us in ch. I, 2 that Narāyaṇa proposes to destroy, together with his discus (*cakra*) Sudarśana, the spiritual ignorance, the power of illusion (*avidyā*). Those who will not put on their bodies the sacred mark of the discus will not go through the gateway to final liberation (1, 2, 109). The chapters 3ff. deal with the story of Śrīvatsa, the personification of the curl of hair on Viṣṇu's breast<sup>132</sup> (Viṣṇu reveals to Śrīvatsa the majesty and peculiar virtue of the eight-syllabled *mantra* (a. 6)); with the true form or state (*svarūpa*) of Viṣṇu<sup>133</sup> and his 'world' (*loko vaiṣṇavaḥ*); with the lower world and the abodes of the sinners. In the following chapters the compiler expatiates upon Kṛṣṇa's 'sport' or 'play' (*līlā*) with the milkmaids—among them his beloved Rādhikā (Rādhā; 2, 5, 37)—in Vṛndāvana.<sup>134</sup> III, 1 describes Viṣṇu's highest 'presence' (*dhāman*), in the Goloka, his heavenly 'Cow-world';<sup>135</sup> the chapters 3 etc. the journey of the liberated souls to Viṣṇu's heaven. In 7 the reader is informed of the importance of *dharma*, moral conduct and ritual purity. It is followed by the long Bhadrāsana episode.<sup>136</sup> Book IV is devoted to the discussion of mental (internal or spiritual) worship (*antaryāga*), 'external worship' and the purification of the five elements of the worshipper's body (*bhūtaśuddhi*);<sup>137</sup> prescriptions for the service or adoration of the Bhagavān; fire ritual (*vahnīyoga*), that is the offering of oblations into the consecrated fire (*homa*), which is obligatory at the end of *pūjā*; *śrāddha* ritual; the

<sup>128</sup> See p. 37 above.

<sup>129</sup> Published at Mysore (no year) by YOGI PĀRTHASĀRATHI AIYYANGĀR (in Telugu script).

<sup>130</sup> Editions: by the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press (no name of an editor), Tirupati 1909 (in Telugu script); a Benares edition 1909 (in Devanāgarī); by H. A. APTE, Poona 1912.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. F. O. SCHRADER, in ZDMG 68, p. 101.

<sup>132</sup> See p. 123.

<sup>133</sup> I refer to EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 50.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 113; 118; 366 etc.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 151.

<sup>136</sup> For the episodes see p. 123.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 38, 3f. and 35, 1; see S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 203, n. 2.

peculiar virtue of the eleventh day of every fortnight which is sacred to Viṣṇu; fasting on this day produces considerable religious merit. There is however little information on temple worship. The book ends with the Rudragītā section (ch. 6–10).

The extant Śāṅḍilya-Saṃhitā<sup>138</sup> (46 chapters comprising over 2400 ślokaś) creates the impression of being a late work, that in all probability is not identical with the text of the same name known to Vedāntadeśika.<sup>139</sup> This supposition is not inconsistent with the work's claim to be the fifth portion of a treatise dealing with the four *puruṣārthas* (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*). It adds Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*—man's highest object (1, 1, 19)—as its fifth subject embracing the goal to be reached (*sādhyā*) as well as the endeavour and discipline needed (*sādhana*). This part (ca. 3600 ślokaś and some longer stanzas) has been preserved and edited. The four other subjects, regarded as preparatory to *bhakti* (cf. 1, 1, 11), have been referred to by the author but probably less carefully transmitted by the faithful.

The Śeṣa-Saṃhitā<sup>140</sup> (about 2800 ślokaś, some prose; 64 chapters), doubtless a comparatively recent work, was obviously composed in a period or milieu when Pāñcarātra “was equated with the *pañcakāla* observances, with taking the *pañcasamskāra* sacraments and with certain *vratas* and celebrations”.<sup>141</sup> It is written “with the concerns of laymen in mind and is exclusively focused on *mantras*, lacking the scope of more typical *saṃhitā* texts”.

The Kapiñjala-Saṃhitā, a compressed but encyclopaedic work of 1550 ślokaś (in 32 chapters), calling itself an abstract containing all that is essential (*sāra*) in the *saṃhitās*, is regarded<sup>142</sup> as having taken shape during the later period of productivity in the Pāñcarātra community: it is not quoted by early authors of this tradition.

There exists a small Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā (854 ślokaś in 13 chapters),<sup>143</sup> “popularly assumed to be a Pāñcarātra piece”;<sup>144</sup> it deals with the Garuḍa-mantra and its application in cures of poisons and snake-bites, and also with other

<sup>138</sup> Edited Bombay 1887 and by GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, *The Sandilya Sanhita, Bhakti Khandā*, (in 2 vol.) Benares 1935–36.

<sup>139</sup> Who quotes it in his *Rahasyatraya* (SMITH, V. I., p. 305).

<sup>140</sup> Published at Mysore 1935.

<sup>141</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 305.

<sup>142</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 299. Published by K. RAGHAVACHARYA and DH. GOPALACHARYA, Cuddapah 1896 (in Telugu script); by SITARAMANUJACHARYULU, Bhadrachalam (Ā.), n. d. Cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 13; 21. Kapiñjala occurs also, in a list of names, at MatsyaP. 200, 8.

<sup>143</sup> Edited by YATHIRAJA SAMPATHKUMARAMUNI, Madras-Triplicane 1933; quoted e.g. by KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 710 n. Kāśyapa: a famous Vedic sage, who according to the epic tradition was the father of a very diversified offspring and was therefore called Prajāpati. In Mbh. 1, 18, 11 he received from Brahmā the knowledge of neutralizing poisons.

<sup>144</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 300.

mantric incantations believed to remove serpents or to render their poisons innocuous. Kāśyapa acts as the teacher, Gautama as the questioner.

The Parāśara-Saṃhitā (after the 12<sup>th</sup> and before the 15<sup>th</sup> century) is “a minor work of some 200 *ślokas* divided into 31 chapters, devoted mainly to *mantras*, their composition and applications”.<sup>145</sup>

The chapters II–XXI of the 33 divisions of the Puruṣottama-Saṃhitā<sup>146</sup> (1800 *ślokas*) deal with temple-building, the fashioning of images and the consecratory services connected with these. Most of the remainder is devoted to the temple-oriented practical concerns of the Pāñcarātra priests. It is likewise of uncertain date, “perhaps after Vedāntadeśika”,<sup>147</sup> but most probably after Rāmānuja ( $\pm 1100$ ).

A number of—as far as the present author is aware—hitherto unpublished *saṃhitās* may be subjoined to the enumeration of the above works.

An unpublished Agastya-Saṃhitā can be reconstructed in part “by bringing together fragments found in secondary collections of the Pāñcarātra school”. It presently consists of some nine chapters of varying lengths, part of which (II–IV) concern themselves with the worship of Rāma and Hanumat and images, and seems to be earlier than the other work of the same name.<sup>148</sup>

The (incomplete) Bhārgava-Tantra is a work “of comparatively high literary style”<sup>149</sup> (about 1580 *ślokas* in 25 chapters have been preserved). Among the subjects dealt with are the measurements of images and temple-building activities.

<sup>145</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 301. Edition: Bangalore 1898 (in Telugu script). Cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 54. DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. III, p. 22 mentions another work of the same name (“available only in manuscript”) which consisting of eight chapters deals with the methods of muttering the name of God. Parāśara: a Vedic figure (RV. 7, 18, 21), author of a *dharma* work and a disciple of Kapila; he received the Viṣṇu-Purāna.

<sup>146</sup> Edited by P. SĪTĀRĀMĀCĀRYA, Bhadrachalam 1932 (in Telugu script). By the same editor Paramapurusa-Saṃhitā, Bhadrachalam 1938 (Telugu script). Puruṣottama: the Highest Being, Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.

<sup>147</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 301.

<sup>148</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 298; cf. Ppp., p. 185 and in Some notes on . . . a Pāñcarātra-Āgama, the Agastya-Saṃhitā, in ALB 27 (1963), p. 1. There exists another Agastya-Saṃhitā or dialogue between the sages Sutikṣṇa and Agastya (published by RAMANARAYANADASA at Lucknow 1898, with a Bengali translation by KAMALA-KRISHNA, Calcutta 1910; Ayodhya n.d., Mysore 1957), which, however, is an apocryphal work containing *inter alia dhyāna-ślokas* on Rāma, Sita, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān and was produced by Rāma worshippers. See also BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 67, n. 2; ALB 1, p. 93; JBORS 22, p. 111; SCHRADER, I. P., p. 6; 19; KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 84; 88; 1135 n.; N. C. C. I, p. 24. Agastya: a Vedic ṛṣi and a celebrated personage in the epics etc.; the mythological promulgator of the Aryan culture in the South.

<sup>149</sup> SMITH, Ppp., p. 186.

The Hayaśirṣa-Saṃhitā<sup>150</sup> (about 6500 *ślokas*) consists of four parts (*kāṇḍa*) called Ādikāṇḍa or Pratiṣṭhā, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Liṅga and Saura,<sup>151</sup> of 42, 37, 20 and 45 chapters respectively. All the *kāṇḍas* deal with iconography and architecture, that is with activities concerning the installation of images of Viṣṇu and various minor gods, the construction of temples and their subsequent consecration.<sup>152</sup> Its concerns are, however, almost exclusively śilpaic (technical) and in this it is unique.<sup>153</sup> The second *kāṇḍa* professes to deal with worship (*pūjā*) but contains much on image-making (*pratiṣṭhā*), the construction of wells and tanks etc. The third is altogether Śivaite;<sup>154</sup> the fourth is concerned with the worship of the Sun. An imperfection of this *saṃhitā* is its "consistent lack of detail".<sup>155</sup> The Ādikāṇḍa—the only one which is in print—has been published separately.<sup>156</sup>

The Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṃhitā, a work of somewhat limited scope and moderate detail (32 chapters; over 2200 *ślokas*), is a good source for materials dealing with activities connected with the erection of temples; it contains also three chapters (VIII–X) on image-worship etc. Since it has not been quoted by one of the 'classical' Pāñcarātra commentators, it does not seem to be an early text.<sup>157</sup>

A Vāsiṣṭha-Saṃhitā, of the length of 1500 *ślokas* in 25 chapters, seems to be available in at least three versions. These, or the original work from which they derive, must have been of high quality. Its treatment of *pratiṣṭhā* rites and temple-building concerns have been praised.<sup>158</sup>

The Vihagendra-Saṃhitā,<sup>159</sup> containing some 1225 *ślokas* in 24 chapters, deals exclusively with Sudarśana worship.<sup>160</sup> Since it is mentioned by Vedāntadeśika<sup>161</sup> it must be older than the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>150</sup> Another (synonymous) name is Hayagrīva-Saṃhitā or Hayaśirṣa-Pāñcarātra. In 1, 1 the origin of this Horse-head form of Viṣṇu is told in a dialogue by Brahmā to Śiva. Hayagrīva is the restorer of the Veda which he recovered from the demons (see e.g. HP. 1, 1, 8ff.).

<sup>151</sup> Cf. also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 23 according to whom this work has so far been found in Orissa only. Its contents generally refer to the Northern school.

<sup>152</sup> Treatises of this class are called *pratiṣṭhā-tantra* (cf. HP. 1, 3, 14).

<sup>153</sup> See above, p. 77.

<sup>154</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 23.

<sup>155</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 306.

<sup>156</sup> The Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra, ed. by BH. M. SĀNKHATĪRTHA, 2 fascicles, Rajshahi 1952–1957.

<sup>157</sup> SMITH, V. I., p. 302. Mārkaṇḍeya, a sage remarkable for his austerities and great age, is the reputed author of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna; according to Mbh. 3, a. 186f. he discovered the universe in the body of a boy who appears to be Nārāyaṇa floating on the flood at the time of the great dissolution of the world. An edition is about to appear at Tirupati (1975).

<sup>158</sup> SMITH, Ppp., p. 191.

<sup>159</sup> See SCHRADER, I. P., p. 14 about the possibility of identity with other *saṃhitās* that are called after Viṣṇu's bird. For some quotations see SCHRADER, I. P., p. 166 (Index).

<sup>160</sup> For this worship see above, p. 97.

<sup>161</sup> Vedāntadeśika, Pāñcarātrarakṣā, p. 23 (Adyar ed.).

The Viṣṇu-Tantra—not to be confused with the Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā mentioned above—must have been “a piece of considerable length and scope”.<sup>162</sup> About one sixth of its (ca. 65) chapters is concerned with temple-building, but for this subject it is a poor source of information.

Of the Viṣṇutattva-Saṃhitā, once in all probability a very elaborate and important work, no more than 39 chapters seem to remain.<sup>163</sup> They deal entirely with rituals of image-worship, ablutions, purification etc. It is one of the rare texts in which the division into four *pādas* was strictly observed.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> SMITH, V.I., p. 304; cf. Ppp., p. 192.

<sup>163</sup> SMITH, V.I., p. 303.

<sup>164</sup> It may be noticed that, according to indications found in catalogues, the generic name *saṃhitā* is also given to writings of other *saṃpradāyas*. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas for instance have an Upendra-Saṃhitā (Government Oriental Mss. Library Madras 5209; cf. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 117), recommending *inter alia* the leading of a virtuous life in Śrīraṅgam and a Kaśyapottara-Saṃhitā (ibidem 5215). On the other hand, the name Pañcarātra is for instance given to a Śivaite work called Mahākāla-Pañcarātra (HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, V, Calcutta 1928, p. 856).



## CHAPTER VII

### THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS: THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE EARLIER RELIGIOUS SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The brief observations on the relations between the *samhitās* and other genres of literature which are to follow may be prefaced by two introductory remarks.

We should not be misled by the preponderantly 'philosophical' character of the Ahirbudhnya, the only Pāñcarātra work which for many years was accessible to a somewhat wider circle of readers. In fact the 'philosophy' is in the course of time ever more atrophying and the transcendent aspects of the Highest arrest little attention, while the ritual subjects which form the principal content are disproportionately increasing in length and importance. Already in one of the oldest works, Pādma-Tantra, the proportion is one to ten.<sup>1</sup> The question may even arise as to whether in part of the texts there ever was a theoretical part. These facts are in harmony with the impression created by the Yāmuna's Āgamaprāmānya. In this earliest apology of the Pāñcarātra known to us this 'system' is first and foremost presented as a tradition of ritual worship characterized by certain typical sacraments such as *pūjā* (devout worship) to images (*arcā*) of the different 'modes'—the characteristic *vyūhas*—, forms, appearances (*avatāras*) and energies in which God, though One, is comprehended by his worshippers; by rites such as that of the "five times" (*pañcakālikā*),<sup>2</sup> propitiation (*ārādhana*) and so on.

These authors like to underline that the subject-matter they transmit is intended for the initiated. It is often explicitly stated that the doctrine, the knowledge of the Lord's nature, being the most excellent knowledge, as revealed in the beginning, is a secret or esoteric doctrine (*rahasyam*) which is to be concealed carefully (*guhya*).<sup>3</sup> This esoteric character is largely explicable in the light of the fact that these works deal mainly with ritual practice and that a correct performance of the rites together with an understanding of their meaning is of the utmost importance. This knowledge can result in final emancipation or consist in a secret method of self-surrender which is considered

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 3; 100.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. SS. 1, 16; 2, 7; BBS. 1, 1, 51; 1, 4, 25; 1, 13, 80; 2, 5, 5; ViS. 1, 52; AhS. 35, 3; 36, 52; 37, 24; 59, 70; 60, 1 etc.; ParS. 2, 116; VksS. 10, 114; 140; ŚPS. 2, 34. Cf. e.g. BhāgP. 2, 9, 30.

the main doctrine of the community.<sup>4</sup> Just as it was customary for an aspirant to make a request for initiation to his preceptor the sage interlocutors of antiquity are said to have solicited their divine or holy informants for instruction.<sup>5</sup> The sacred lore must be taught and learned with devotion (*bhakti*), faith (*śraddhā*), and confident willingness to accept it as truth.<sup>6</sup> It should by no means be communicated to unworthy persons such as those who are not initiated or are no pupils, to those who give up themselves to *samsāra*—ŚPS. 1, 47 specifies: who are not *bhaktas*, who are thieves, haters of Viṣṇu, women etc.—but only to wise *vaiṣṇavas*, who sit at the feet of a teacher.<sup>7</sup>

An important problem confronting us is the origin of the subject-matter of this literature. It would for instance be an interesting—but far from generally feasible—enterprise to trace literary motifs, philosophical ideas etc. back to their first occurrences in Vedic and Sanskrit literature. Unfortunately the anonymity of the authors and the often uncertain authorship of their possible sources, the enormous extent of the latter, the absence, in many cases, of reliable indices and concordances, and last but not least the strong inclination on the part of the compilers to what in modern eyes would be plagiarizing and to using in references to their predecessors their own discretion makes the identification of the sources a difficult task. A task which would indeed have been difficult enough if these writers had only borrowed passages from the best known *purāṇas*. Moreover, in quoting authoritative works the ancient Indian writers often took for granted that the authorship of authoritative statements (*pramāṇavākya*) was too well known to require any indication or specification. That is why only a few observations can be made on this point.<sup>8</sup>

As already intimated the authors often refer to authorities. Leaving Nārāyaṇa, Nārada etc. on one side one may notice names such as Kāśyapa, Gautama, Bhṛgu, Āsvalāyana, Aṅgiras, Yājñavalkya, Gārgī, well known from Vedic and upaniṣadic literature.<sup>9</sup> Sanaka,<sup>10</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya, Śuka (Vyāsa's son, the narrator of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and once a parrot (*śuka*) in Śiva's paradise)<sup>11</sup> and others are noted figures.<sup>12</sup> These references do not however prevent authors from regarding the divinity or sage instructing those transmit-

<sup>4</sup> E.g. SS. 2, 3; NPR. 2, 5, 19 (cf. 4, 3, 186ff.); LT. a. 17.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. NārS. 1, 1f.; LT. 1, 13; ParS. 1, 79; 3, 4; 6, 2 (cf. 4); BBS. 3, 1, 1.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. JS. 1, 53ff.; ParS. 2, 116.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. ViśvS. 27, 57; BBS. 1, 13, 199; NārS. 1, 17f.; 3, 67; 72. Cf. also NPR. 2, 5, 8.

<sup>8</sup> For the idea of *kāla* "the mysterious power existing in time, which urges on (*prakālinī*) everything" (AhS. 4, 48; cf. AVŚ. 19, 53, 1; 19, 54, 3) see F. O. SCHRAEDER, Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas, Thesis Strassburg 1902, p. 17. As to anonymity: P. HACKER, in ZDMG 111, p. 483.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. LT. 41, 72; BBS. 3, 8, 2ff.; 3, 9, 99 etc.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G. A. GRIERSON, in JRAS 1909, p. 634.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. GAIL, op. cit., p. 10; GRIERSON, in JRAS 1910, p. 103.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. ParS. 1, 1; 125; ŚaṅḍS. 1, 1, 16; 18.

ters of the doctrine who figure in their narratives as the only omniscient expert.<sup>13</sup> But any competent *guru* is like Viṣṇu; he is worthy of honour, even when he speaks only one single *śloka*, the more so when he reveals the Lord's true nature. He is the fount of salvation because he preaches the religion.<sup>14</sup>

The relations with and references to the Veda require a longer discussion.<sup>15</sup> Throughout this literature there is the uncontested tradition that it is based on the Veda;<sup>16</sup> like other authoritative writings of Hinduism it sometimes claims to be the 'Fifth Veda'. The three Vedic *saṃhitās* (Ṛc, Sāma, Yajus) taken collectively are in the traditional way known as "the triad" (*trayī*).<sup>17</sup> The Atharvaveda (*atharvāṅgīrasaḥ*) is sometimes added to the *ṛc*, *yajus* and *sāman* texts.<sup>18</sup> It is the pretension of a text such as BhS. 1, 5 that its teachings are found in the scriptures known as Veda, Vedānta,<sup>19</sup> Dharmasāstra and the authoritative works of celestial origin (*divyaśāstra*, explained as the Pañcarātra-Saṃhitās).<sup>20</sup> The same book enjoins the study of the Veda with its auxiliary works (3, 36). The rites taught are said to be Vedic, the 'system' (*tantra*) to be based on the Veda,<sup>21</sup> which is believed to establish the *vaiṣṇava* doctrine regarded as the highest *dharma*.<sup>22</sup> The importance and power attributed to the Veda is for instance apparent from the statement that Brahmā must make use of them for creating the world which is impossible without them (AhS. 41, 11). On the other hand, the Vedic rites are transcended by temple worship,<sup>23</sup> and the merit gained by the latter is no less than that of the former.<sup>24</sup> The adoration of Viṣṇu is the best sacrifice and the references to the Vedic ritual are in fact no more than a sort of allegories, meant to claim superiority to the traditional 'orthodoxy' which on the other hand one does not wish to disavow.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. AhS. 10, 6; ParS. 1, 6; NārS. 20, 2; BBS. 1, 1, 6; ŚāṅḍS. 1, 1, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. JS. 1, 58ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 12, 7ff. See K. BHATTACHARYA, Le Védisme de certains textes hindouistes, JA 255, p. 199. At LT. 11, 25 Vedavid is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, at 20, 48 Vedavidyā a *śakti*.

<sup>16</sup> See also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. III, p. 18; VāmanaS. p. 1264f. as quoted from the *Utsavasamgraha* (ms.) by H. D. SMITH, in JOR 34-35, p. 115.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. ViS. 27, 7 ("śūktas containing the essence of the triad"); AhS. 12, 5; 15, 21; SS. 19, 19; see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 163. For the three names see e.g. AhS. 11, 20. For *ṛgsāman*- e.g. PS. 38, 7.

<sup>18</sup> See AhS. 12, 6 *ṛco yajūṃsi sāmāni hy atharvāṅgīrasas tathā*. Cf. 42, 4; 44, 14; ViS. 6, 18; 17, 45f.

<sup>19</sup> For Veda-Vedānta see e.g. ŚāṅḍS. 1, 1, 7.

<sup>20</sup> For the expression *vedopaniṣada* see e.g. BBS. 4, 1, 97. Cf. e.g. also PrmS. 1, 4f.; NPR. 2, 6, 1f.

<sup>21</sup> BBS. 1, 5, 1; ViS. 2, 11; cf. also ŚPS. 2, 41. For the combination Vedic (*vaidika*) and tantric (*tāntrika*), e.g. ViS. 4, 19; for Vedic features in the ritual e.g. SanS. B. 6, 111f.

<sup>22</sup> BBS. 1, 7, 10. At ViS. 3, 46f. it is intimated that "Veda, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Dharmasāstra and Purāṇa" contain the same Viṣṇuite doctrine.

<sup>23</sup> PāS. K. 2, 46; SMITH, Ppp., p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> I refer to SMITH, Ppp., p. 76. Cf. also NārS. 3, 67.

It is therefore neither surprising that Viṣṇuite *purāṇas* should at NārS. 15, 144 be coupled with study of the Veda,<sup>25</sup> nor that a Vedic and a Tantric sacrificial rite (*makha*) are explicitly distinguished and described as a twofold ceremonial.<sup>26</sup>

Considered as a whole these works quote Vedic texts rather frequently. From the references occurring in the Śrī-Praśna-Saṃhitā<sup>27</sup> it appears that most of these quotations (*mantras*) belong to the Ṛgveda, many to the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā<sup>28</sup> (some of them being Ṛgvedic in origin), and to the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.<sup>29</sup> References to two or three *sūktas* in the same passage are not very rare.<sup>30</sup> The *mantras* are as a rule quoted in the usual way, i.e. by their first word(s), the *sūktas* often by their names.<sup>31</sup> In particular cases Vedic passages have exerted influence so as to contribute to the genesis of a new *mantra*: when for instance Lakṣmī at LT. 50, 176 says that she is known as the glory of 'food' (*annasya yaśaḥ*), adding that the complete nine-syllabled formula *om annasya yaśase namaḥ* bestows upon the devotee all objects of enjoyment, this can hardly be dissociated from Vedic and upaniṣadic passages dealing with 'food'.<sup>32</sup>

Among those Vedic hymns which are mentioned by name the famous Puruṣa hymn (ṚV. 10, 90)<sup>33</sup> ranks first. Traditionally believed to be 'seen' by the ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa this first expression of the idea that creation is the self-limitation of the transcendent Person—soon identified with Nārāyaṇa—manifesting himself in the realm of our experience, came to be the exemplary model for creation of every kind and, among the Viṣṇuites, the key-stone of their philosophy. Its first five stanzas are explained in AhS. 59, 2–39 where this text is used in connexion with the *vyūha* theory.<sup>34</sup> The interpretation, according to which the stanzas 1–4 refer to the four *vyūhas*, is of course historically and philologically untenable. It may suffice to mention one passage bristling with fantastic 'etymologies': The first words "With a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet", expressing the supermundane greatness of the Primeval Being, are said to refer to Vāsudeva's connexion with Lakṣmī, the individual souls (*puruṣa*) and nature (*prakṛti*) respectively.

<sup>25</sup> For *vedaśāstrāgama* see NārS. 9, 347.

<sup>26</sup> BBS. 4, 3, 4; and cf., e.g., ViS. 1, 9.

<sup>27</sup> See the edition, p. LVIII (87 quotations).

<sup>28</sup> E.g. SanS. Ś. 8, 145: TS. 1, 1, 1, 1 *iṣe tvā*.

<sup>29</sup> For the use of these Vedic texts as *mantras* see below, p. 151. For TĀ. e.g. ŚPS. 27, 95; TĀ. (Āndhra rec.) 10, 68. The name Ahirbudhnya is reminiscent of AiB. 3, 36, 5 (SCHRADER, I.P., p. 96).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. BBS. 1, 5, 5 (Śrīsūkta, Pavamānasūkta (ṚV. 9, 1, 1) and Bhūmisūkta (TS. 1, 5, 3, 1)); VS. 27, 80 (Puruṣasūkta and Viṣṇusūkta (ṚV. 1, 154)).

<sup>31</sup> But ṚV. 1, 22, 16 is at AhS. 47, 60 quoted as the beginning of a *sūkta*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. TS. 4, 5, 2, 1; JB. 1, 40; ĀpŚS. 6, 21, 1; MaiU. 6, 10.

<sup>33</sup> I refer to GONDA, Vedic literature, p. 137; V.Ś., p. 25ff.; 57; 80. See e.g. SanS. B. 4, 41f.; 50; 54; 61; 5, 127; 6, 55; 9, 88; 9, 97; Ś. 1, 286; 8, 60; AhS. 47, 24.

<sup>34</sup> See SCHRADER, I.P., p. 143.

AhS. 18, 33 may be quoted in illustration of the method followed in integrating this Vedic material. Discussing the development of *mantras* (*uddhāra*), the author says that the Puruṣa- and Śrīsūktas—often mentioned together<sup>35</sup>—have arisen from the first two syllables of the Śaktimantra. Elsewhere these two hymns are said to have derived, for the benefit of the world, from the Highest Male Being and Lakṣmī,<sup>36</sup> or to have been produced, the former in order to propitiate Viṣṇu, the latter, Śrī.<sup>37</sup> Or they are described as two nectar-like hymns, emerged from the churning of the Word-Brahman (Śabdabrahman).<sup>38</sup> The Śrīsūkta (RV. *khila* 2, 6)<sup>39</sup> is likewise frequently mentioned.<sup>40</sup> It is for instance identified with the Śakti of the Person, and the Lakṣmī-Tantra expatiates upon its ritual significance in a long chapter (a. 50) entitled “The power of the Śrīsūkta”, where God’s Śakti, Lakṣmī, is described as imparting, *inter alia*, the following information: 50, 17f.; 24ff.; 31; 36:

“The (Śrīsūkta) possessing female characteristics, (and) adorned with the characteristics of Brahman, that is (i.e. exists really and eternally), has its foundation in my own greatness and is accepted as my own . . . With the stanzas (of this *sūkta*) the adept, psychically well-prepared, should (start) worshipping me, the Supreme Goddess seated on the lap of the paramount God. He should indefatigably invoke (us) with the first stanza (*rc*); with the second he should offer a seat to the paramount God. With the third he should offer a respectful offering and water for washing the feet to God (and to myself as his guests) . . . The worthy adept should bathe us while reciting the sixth (*rc*), should offer clothing with the seventh and ornaments with the eighth . . . Alternatively, the invocation may be performed with the first four stanzas (*rcas*) . . . This *sūkta* contains my fifty-three names. Listen now to the enumeration of these . . .”.

As might be expected the well-known and oft-quoted stanza RV. 1, 22, 17 etc. “Here Viṣṇu strode out” is not absent and is likewise used as a *mantra* to accompany and consecrate ritual acts.<sup>41</sup> The Viṣṇusūkta (RV. 1, 154) is repeatedly cited in the Ahirbudhnya and elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> As we shall see further on<sup>43</sup> Viṣṇu’s highest step (*padam*) referred to in RV. 1, 22, 20 “That highest step of Viṣṇu the patrons ever behold . . .” has left its traces in innumerable passages dealing with the devotees’ highest goal.

The *sāvitrī* (RV. 3, 62, 10) is of course very well known and prescribed in ritual contexts.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>35</sup> E.g. BBS. 1, 8, 48; 52; 3, 7, 41; LT. 40, 105f.; 49, 93.

<sup>36</sup> AhS. 59, 2. Compare also LT. 31, 10; 36, 79. For the Puruṣasūkta see also AhS. 47, 24; NārS. 15, 80; ViS. 3, 17; BBS. 1, 5, 4; 27.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. BBS. 1, 8, 52.

<sup>38</sup> LT. 36, 72f., where RV. 10, 90 is called the hymn of Puruṣa Hari (= Viṣṇu).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. GONDA, V. L., p. 36 etc.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. SanS. Ś. 1, 112; BBS. 1, 5, 5; LT. 29, 23; 36, 73. For single stanzas see e.g. LT. 36, 122.

<sup>41</sup> SanS. B. 6, 33; Ś. 8, 66; ViS. 26, 64.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. AhS. 47, 29; 60; 64; ViS. 21, 71; 28, 52.

<sup>43</sup> Compare LT. 2, 1 etc.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. ViS. 27, 81.

References to such basic texts as the oldest *upanīśads* are not absent.<sup>45</sup> The following is a random collection. The condition of the soul described in AhS. 31, 8f. (“without eyes, ears . . . , yet all-seeing, all-hearing”) reminds us of BĀU. 4, 3, 23ff. “while he does not see there, he is verily seeing etc.”<sup>46</sup> The ‘theory’ of the three elements of ChU. 6, 4 was known to the author of AhS. 8, 2, who no doubt borrowed the simile “(borne . . . ) just as leaves are held together by a spike” (8, 37) from ChU. 2, 23, 3. The discussion between the sage Kahola and Yājñavalkya on the relation between *ātman* and *brahman* is notwithstanding the Sāṃkhya terminology used clearly reminiscent of BĀU. 3, 5. The Lakṣmī-Tantra reminds us, at 13, 10 of KaU. 2, 23; at 50, 1 of KaU. 4, 8; at 50, 75f. of KaU. 3, 3f. (the simile of the Self as the owner of the chariot, i.e. the body and the intellect as the charioteer, and still more clearly at BBS. at 3, 3, 39).<sup>47</sup> As to the characterization of the absolute Brahman in LT. 15, 8ff. (*saccidānandalakṣaṇam*) compare TU. 3, 5 and 6 (and the Vedāntic tradition); as to LT. 50, 168 and AhS. 53, 49 see TU. 2, 6, 1 (*sac ca tyac ca*). The idea of God’s miraculous power is likewise upanīśadic.<sup>48</sup>

It is of course not surprising that these works should contain many passages reminiscent of the most influential fundamental texts recognized by the Viṣṇuites. There is, for instance, a close similarity in teachings between many chapters of these manuals and the Bhagavadgītā. Reminiscences seem to be more numerous than quotations proper. The seven sages of old in SS. 9, 92 occur also at BhG. 10, 6; the *vibhava* Viśvarūpa recalls the famous theophany and especially BhG. 11, 16;<sup>49</sup> the relation between the embodied and the highest soul (*jīva* and *para*) an advaitic passage such as BhG. 13, 27ff. The term *dehin* for the embodied soul (LT. 7, 24) is known from BhG. 2, 13 etc. AhS. 52, 23 (*carācarāṇi bhūtāni . . . bhavadvapuh*) is a reproduction of BhG. 11, 7 (*ihaikastham jagat . . . sacarācaram*).<sup>50</sup> JS. 21, 230–232a constitutes an

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 125 and elsewhere and D.L. DE, Pāñcarātra and the upanīśads, IHQ 9 (1933), p. 645, discussing twenty-two more or less convincing parallels or sources of *saṃhitā* texts, e.g. AhS. 2, 26ff.: KaU. 5, 9f.; LT. 2, 8f.: ŚvU. 6, 11; 17. Cf. e.g. ŚPS. 2, 54.

<sup>46</sup> For AhS. 6, 48ff. and BĀU. 3, 8, 9 see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> Which reads: *praṇavam ratham āruhya buddhisārathanā dhṛtam | manah-pragrahavān dhīro yāti viṣṇoh param padam* “having mounted the syllable *Oṃ* as a chariot which is controlled by the *buddhi* as charioteer, having ‘mind’ (*manas*, the psychical central organ) as the reins, the wise man goes to Viṣṇu’s highest place”.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. LT. 3, 28; BĀU. 2, 5, 19; ŚvU. 4, 9f. For ŚvU. 6, 13 see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 56. It would be interesting to collect all points on which these *saṃhitās* and *upanīśads* etc. are explicitly or implicitly in agreement. Cf. e.g. SCHRADER, I.P., p. 95 on Rudra as a teacher of liberating knowledge (also in the Jābāla U. and cf. Pādma P. 81, 5).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also AhS. 44, 36–52 (in longer verses) and BhG. a. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. e.g. also AhS. 8, 3f.: BhG. 7, 4f. (SCHRADER, I.P., p. 104); on BhG. 14, 3f. see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 73; for BhG. 2, 69 SCHRADER, I.P., p. 25. LT. 2, 5 echoes BhG. 13, 1f.; 18, 26.

expanded repetition of BhG. 11, 10. BhG. 4, 7 and 8 are in a varied form quoted at BBS. 2, 7, 9f.:

“For whenever *dharma* withers away on earth and its opposite arises, then (Nārāyaṇa is speaking here) do I generate myself, for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for setting up *dharma* I have been born under the name of Rāma”.

A reference in the form of a prophecy occurs at BBS. 1, 6, 38:

“My dear, I (Nārāyaṇa is speaking) shall enunciate to you the exposition given by the Lord’s (Bhagavān) mouth, and I shall impart instruction to Nara embodied as Arjuna”.<sup>51</sup>

That these works have topics in common with certain later *upaniṣads*, especially with those which as to their contents are nearly related—the Mahā, Nārāyaṇa, Ātmabodha and Subālā Upaniṣads<sup>52</sup>—is perfectly intelligible. The first and second of these small texts proclaim Nārāyaṇa as the Highest Being and the central and fundamental principle of everything existing. The second moreover imparts instruction in the meaning and efficacy of the *mantra* *Oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*.<sup>53</sup> The third is an expanded repetition of the last section of the Nārāyaṇa.<sup>54</sup>

From the observations made in some of the preceding sections it is sufficiently clear that the existence of associations with the Mahābhārata cannot be denied.<sup>55</sup> Attention has—to mention only this—been drawn to a number of personal names occurring in the epic as well as the Pāñcarātra corpus. The description of the liberated as radiating spiritual atoms of the size of a mote in a sunbeam in AhS. 6, 27f. “is evidently connected”<sup>56</sup> with Mbh. 12, 332, 14 where it is said that they become atomic after having been burned up by the sun.<sup>57</sup> The term *samayaḥṇā*, a designation of the initiate in these *samhitās*, occurs as one of Viṣṇu’s thousand names at Mbh. 13, 135, 52.<sup>58</sup> Further on, there will be occasion for discussing some mythical themes which Pāñcarātra has in common with the epic and purāṇic classes of literature.<sup>59</sup>

Reminiscences of passages or statements or mention of names occurring in *purāṇas*, especially in the Bhāgavata, are numerous.<sup>60</sup> A complete collection

<sup>51</sup> Cf. also BBS. 4, 4, 4f. Another verbal reproduction is e.g. ŚPS. 2, 5f.: BhG. 7, 15.

<sup>52</sup> For the first three see P. DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad’s des Veda*, Leipzig 1921 (Darmstadt 1963), p. 743; 747; 750. Other *upaniṣads* worth mentioning are the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa, Mukti, Vāsudeva, Brahmabindu, Rāmatāpaniya.

<sup>53</sup> See p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> See e.g. also SCHRADER, I.P., p. 123; S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 35; 36.

<sup>55</sup> For references to *śruti* and *smṛti* see BBS. 1, 6, 37; 1, 7, 30; 3, 7, 4.

<sup>56</sup> SCHRADER, I.P., p. 57.

<sup>57</sup> For Time (*kāla*) see SCHRADER, I.P., p. 59 (Mbh. 12, 220, 29).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. JAISWAL, O.D.V., p. 23; 140; see JS. 16, 59.

<sup>59</sup> See below.

<sup>60</sup> I refer to the notes on LT. 8, 30ff. by S. GUPTA, L.T., p. 46; on 9, 8ff. (p. 49); on 10, 1 (p. 54); 10, 37ff. (p. 57); 38, 47 etc. (p. 243); 39, 29f. (p. 251) etc.; V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to ŚPS., edition, p. K.

would no doubt bring to light a considerable number of identical details, parallels and borrowings, which find their explanation in the religious conceptions and traditions. Part of these are due to the common historical descent of Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras, part to the authority of the great Viṣṇuite *purāṇas*, part also to the continual interchange of ideas as well as the well-known diffuseness of many ideas and concepts of Hindu systems of religious teaching (*saṃpradāya*) and their tendency to assimilation and incorporation.

The term *purāṇa(m)*<sup>61</sup> is at times used in a wide sense “(tale of) a past event”,<sup>62</sup> then again in the traditional way coupled with *itihāsa* “traditional histories”, or also with *dharmaśāstra*.<sup>63</sup> Says ParS. 25, 27:

“A wise man should diligently listen, in holy places, to *itihāsas* which, being conducive to *bhakti*, are there arranged from generation to generation”.

Elsewhere the term *purāṇa* is followed by *dharmaśāstra*, Vedānta, *itihāsa* and work of the *ālvārs (sūri)*.<sup>64</sup>

Parallels between the *saṃhitās* and non-Viṣṇuite *āgamas*, tantric texts (whether Hindu or Buddhist) may be left undiscussed.<sup>65</sup>

Nor can it be part of my task to institute a systematic investigation into the various influences exerted by the schools of philosophical thought (*darśana*) on the *saṃhitās* and the reminiscences of their teachings in particular passages. Suffice it to draw attention to a trace of the Vedāntic<sup>66</sup> theory of reflection in LT. 6, 38:

“Just as this universe is enclosed within me (Śrī-Lakṣmī), who am consciousness, so also it is enclosed within the knower in the same way as a rock is enclosed in a mirror”;

and to LT. 46, 28 alluding to those who believed that mercury ritually treated can turn into nectar.

According to the views held by the adherents of the Sāṃkhya system, as reflected in the Lakṣmī-Tantra, 15, 24f.:

“knowledge of the principles (*sāṃkhya*) is of three types, viz. knowledge (*saṃkhyā*) with reference to the things of this world, speculative (discursive) knowledge (*carcanā*) and complete intuitive knowledge (of truth . . . *dhī*)”.

This is no doubt a reference to the well-known Sāṃkhya doctrine with regard to the sources of knowledge of which it accepts three, viz. perception (*pra-*

<sup>61</sup> On a misunderstood purāṇic topic (or a corrupt place, ViśvS. 16, 110) see the introduction of the editor to ViśvS., p. VI.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. SanS. I. 3, 1.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. SanS. R. 1, 12; ŚPS. 2, 7; AhS. 12, 14; 13, 33.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 17, 56.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to ŚPS., edition, p. L; S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 40, n. 5 and compare places such as BBS. 3, 9, 84ff. referring to Agastya's words in the Śivagītā, the Īśvaragītā and the Pāśupata śāstra.

<sup>66</sup> The term Vedānta is in these texts also used to cover Vaiṣṇava literature; see e.g. LT. 4, 15.



*tyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*) and scriptural testimony (*śabda*). AhS. 12, 19ff. gives information on a Viṣṇuite Sāṃkhya system of sixty divisions, divulged by Kapila and consisting of a part of thirty-two metaphysical (*prākṛta* “dealing with nature”) and one of twenty-eight ethical (*vaikṛta* “dealing with modifications”) sections; all the former were adopted by the Pāñcarātra system. This passage may be supposed to refer to a Sāṃkhya-Yoga system—the only one known to the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā—, consisting of sixty ‘ideas’, called Ṣaṣṭitantra.<sup>67</sup> The explanation of the ‘subtle sense’ of the word *namas* “respectful obeisance” in AhS. 52, 25ff., viz. “no (*na*) selfish regard (*mamyā*) for one’s self (*svasmin*) and one’s own (*sviye*)”, presupposes the well-known Sāṃkhya formula *nāsmi na me nāham*. Kapila, the sage who is assumed to have founded the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy, is repeatedly mentioned and admitted to the group of the *vibhavas*.<sup>68</sup> The “method described by *śruti* and *smṛti*, i.e. by the Veda and Veda-based tradition (as far as remembered by human teachers)” is at LT. 15, 23f. explicitly distinguished from the “second method, i.e. the knowledge of the principles (*sāṃkhyavijñāna*)”.

The account of the creation found in the late Nārada Pāñcarātra (2, 3, 19ff.) is, while thoroughly Viṣṇuite, full of traditional matter and reminiscences:

The Lord (Bhagavān), the eternal Supreme Spirit is ever residing in the likewise eternal Vaikuṅṭha heaven. Being alone in the universe he assumed the form of a shepherd boy and began to roam about. Looking round he saw the void everywhere. He therefore wanted to create and divided himself into a female part, called Viṣṇumāyā, the *mūlaprakṛti* and remained himself as the male other part.<sup>69</sup> The woman, being afraid, was on the point of running away, but Viṣṇu caught hold of her and placed her on his breast . . .

Cases are not rare in which one of the *saṃhitās* quotes another. The Lakṣmī-Tantra, for instance, refers to the Sāttvata and very often and extensively to the Jayākhya;<sup>70</sup> the Śrī-Praśna mentions the gems by name (49, 473). The name Śrī-Praśna as a Saṃhitā occurs in many other works of this class, Kapīñjala, Viśvāmitra and others.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For particulars: F. O. SCHRADER, *Das Ṣaṣṭitantra*, ZDMG 68 (1914), p. 101; I. P., p. 110; A. B. KEITH, *The Sāṃkhya system*, Calcutta (1918) 1949, p. 72; E. FRAUWALLNER, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I., Salzburg 1953, p. 320.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. JS. 29, 59; SCHRADER, I. P., p. 159.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. BĀU. 1, 4, 3.

<sup>70</sup> S. GUPTA, L. T., p. XIX and 307; see e.g. LT. 11, 28; 45, 90. See e.g. also AhS. 19, 64.

<sup>71</sup> V. RAGHAVAN, Foreword to ŚPS., edition, p. I.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE PĀÑCARĀTRA SAMHITĀS: STRUCTURE, THEMES, MOTIFS, STYLE

Just as the related genres of Sanskrit literature the *saṃhitās* are for much the greater part composed in so-called epic *ślokas* (two lines of sixteen syllables each).<sup>1</sup> Some works—e.g. the Jayākhya—are entirely written in this metre, others—e.g. the Viṣṇu and the Sanatkumāra—make exceptions for *mantras*; a work such as the Nāradiya rarely deviates from the traditional *śloka*.<sup>2</sup> Like the authors of epic and other texts many of these compilers are inclined to use longer stanzas when they have arrived at culminating points of their arguments or inserted hymnic poetry.<sup>3</sup> The theophany in AhS. 44, 36–52 is clearly reminiscent of BhG. a. 11, both texts being characterized by an eleven-syllabled metre enabling the poets to use longer compounds. Nor was the custom of long standing<sup>4</sup> to mark the conclusion of a section or chapter with a stanza in a different (longer) metre unknown to them.<sup>5</sup> This *śloka* poetry is largely characterized by the use of stereotyped phrases and recurrent formulaic expressions.<sup>6</sup> There are of course verse fillers and redundant words, and style and versification are more than once somewhat loose and slovenly. In most cases the integral unit of expression is a *śloka*. Cases of enjambment, though comparatively rare, are not systematically avoided.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Linguistic peculiarities are few in number. Worth mentioning is the abstract noun *bhagavanmayatā* (AhS. 13, 11); cf. also BBS. 2, 2, 14 *madāyattasthitivāt*; 3, 1, 25; 3, 7, 7. There are, of course, many technical (ritual, philosophical) terms, some rare words or compounds (e.g. ŚāṅdS. 1, 1, 11 *abhi-sādh-* and *paryāsanna*), interesting meanings: *upādāna* “taking alms”; *mūrta* “manifestation of the Lord in a particular corporeal form”; some popular or vernacular words, e.g. *ḍimba* “egg, embryo” (NPR. 2, 2, 37f.; 2, 42f.). On ambiguities: SCHRADER, I.P., p. 59; 81. Grammatical lapses do occur; see V. RAGHAVAN, ŚPS., edition, Foreword, p. M (and a list on p. O etc.); L. NARASIMHA BHATTA, VksS., edition, Foreword, p. ga; U. SHANKARA BHATTA, ViśvS., p. V. On Tamilisms, see RAGHAVAN, op. cit., p. G.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NārS. 14, 80; 15, 25.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. AhS. 49, 55–62; 60, 24–26; see also a. 24; BBS. 1, 4, 11ff.

<sup>4</sup> See GONDA, V.L., p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. BBS. 4, 4, 143; 4, 10, 76f. (end of the whole work); AhS. 26, 95; 27, 45f.; 32, 76; 35, 99; 36, 67; 43, 36; 47, 69 etc. but not at the end of 38; 39; 40. Also in Śivaite *āgamas*, e.g. MT. 1, ch. 2; 4; 5 etc. Part of VksS. a. 27 is in prose.

<sup>6</sup> For stopgaps: SanS. Ś. 9, 45; 10, 42; I. 1, 30; 1, 35 etc.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 1, 2f.; 1, 26; ParS. 1, 17ff.; NPR. 1, 4, 3ff.

Like numerous other works composed in accordance with the epic-purāṇic tradition the main structure of these *saṃhitās* is that of a framework which in an often somewhat complicated way holds together a number of different treatises, or rather discourses. This structure allows the author to introduce more than one ancient authority famous for his authentic knowledge of the doctrine and impressively to explain the initial stage of the uninterrupted succession of its transmitters. The credibility of the expositions is enhanced and the principle of gradual revelation and transmission recognized and demonstrated.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in the beginning of the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā Saṃvartaka asks his father, 1, 5ff.:

“to inform him of that knowledge that will enable him to deliver him and others from the *saṃsāra*.” In his answer Aurva relates “the evil plight of the *ṛṣis* in the first age of the world (*kṛtayuga*) who in spite of severe asceticism sustained for thousands of years could not find an escape from their bewilderment and miserable condition.” A mighty voice sounding in the air emphasizes the inadequacy of sacrificial worship, study of the Veda, rites and observances and declares that the knowledge of the eternal and imperishable Highest Principle is the only way to final beatitude. Guided by their asceticism they apply to the sage Śāṅḍilya for instruction. Śāṅḍilya, who resides on mount Gandhamādāna (1, 31), answers them that the esoteric lore was revealed by Viṣṇu himself at Badarī *āśrama* to Nārada and a company of gods, holy persons of supernatural faculties (*siddhas*) and *ṛṣis*. It was Nārada who had imparted the essence of the religion (*dharma*) to Śāṅḍilya who now is willing to instruct the sages.

Throughout the whole book the Lord (the instructor) and Nārada (the questioner) are the partners in that conversation which constitutes its main structure, and even at its end the author does not remind his readers of the initial conversation between Aurva and Saṃvartaka.

Another example may be subjoined. In the Īśvara-Saṃhitā it reads, 1, 4ff.:

“The sages, desirous of learning a method of attaining final emancipation, worshipped with *bhakti* Nārāyaṇa who was absorbed in meditation at Nara-Nārāyaṇa *āśrama*. In course of time the divine seer (*devarṣi*) Nārada, wishing to see Nārāyaṇa, descended from heaven and having seen him, saluted him reverentially, joined the hollowed palms, his whole body covered with bristling hair and joy beaming in his face. Eulogizing him with various hymns of praise, and bending down again and again, he worshipped god Nārāyaṇa. Then the latter said to the chief of sages: ‘The sages abide here praying for Hari’s foot (highest footstep or place: *pada*). Thou art worthy to teach them the Sāt(t)vata doctrine’. Having spoken thus Nārāyaṇa made himself invisible . . .”.

In the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā the author informs us that Nārada taught to hermits what Cakrapāṇi (i. e. Viṣṇu) had revealed to Halāyudha (= Balarāma). In the Nāradiya-Saṃhitā the tradition is handed on from Vāsudeva to Nārada, who transmits it to Gautama, who teaches Bhṛgu, the instructor of Atri;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Compare also the observations made by EIDLITZ, K. C., p. 168 with respect to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. BhG. 4, 1ff. and the beginning of the Mahābhārata.

Gautama is the questioner, Nārada the teacher, but at the end (30, 31f.) the compiler does not—after the eulogy upon the Saṃhitā!—forget to mention that Bhṛgu, having communicated the contents of this work, disappeared and that Atri, as a devout *bhakta* worshipping the eternal Viṣṇu, and mastering all knowledge, became the foremost of all sages.

This structure, very well-known from innumerable epic, purāṇic, and didactic works was originally conditioned by and is traditionally also preserved under the influence of the time-honoured Indian custom of transmitting their subjects and religious traditions orally. The catena of divine and prehistoric transmitters is the counterpart of the exact indications of the preceptors and ancestors of a commentator so often found in exegetical works: the *guruparamparās* guaranteeing the reliability of the tradition. The actual authors or compilers do not introduce themselves in their expositions or in the many dialogues. They hide themselves completely behind the divine figures and sages whom they introduce as instructors and questioners. Formally these personages are bound by the utterances of the text which gain enormously in importance and impressiveness by their great and in many cases undisputed authority. This does not however mean that the compilers are not committed to that which is taught in their books. They expound, as well as they can, the religious doctrines of their community, that is of the Pāñcarātra school of thought as handed down in a definite region and in definite milieus of which these authors are learned guides.

It is worth while to dwell for a moment on the questioner. Like the other figures—as far as there are any—he is a type symbolizing his function, although attempts are made to create, by elaborating details, the illusion of reality. Among the characteristics of his person and function are his qualifications for initiating the transmission of the religion, his ardent desire to receive instruction, his inability to realize his ambitions in any other way,<sup>10</sup> and the help rendered to him by a holy or divine person of high rank who directs him to the fount of wisdom and salvation. In his eyes the narrator, whom he addresses most courteously and ceremoniously, is the only authority.<sup>11</sup> Although he often shows his acquaintance with—or rather curiosity about—details or at least his knowledge of technical terms he is also ready to declare that he is in doubt and uncertainty and that his mind is not yet steady and sufficiently prepared to receive the doctrine.

His intervention is in most cases restricted to the beginning of chapters<sup>12</sup> or other more or less natural pauses in the argument, and there they may be regarded as the counterparts of our headings and introductory lines. Hence such typical transitional stanzas as AhS. 21, 1 ff.:

<sup>10</sup> Even Brahmā is (at ParS. 2, 13f.) unacquainted with the origin of creatures and things.

<sup>11</sup> AhS. 43, 2; JS. 4, 34; AhS. 17, 1f.; NPR. 1, 10, 2; JS. 6, 1.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. the Nāradiya-Saṃhitā.

“Reverence to thee . . . Your words, O adorable one, which I have heard are more than marvellous, heavenly and difficult to find even in the scriptures of Vedānta. I am satisfied. But I wish to hear once again the excellent *amṛta* of thy words. What is the diagram (*rakṣā*) and how should it be made . . . ?”<sup>13</sup>

These questions for further information are sometimes briefly worded, no longer than one *śloka*<sup>14</sup> and essentially of the type “Thou hast spoken about . . . , now deign to speak about . . .”<sup>15</sup> or—also at the end of a longer interruption—requests for the removal of the causes of doubt.<sup>16</sup> These interruptions may be so brief and infrequent that any suggestion of a fictive conversation fades from the reader’s memory.<sup>17</sup> Interventions of some length are not rare however,<sup>18</sup> and many of them are aptly inserted to furnish the hearer with a recapitulation of the foregoing which ends in a question.<sup>19</sup> Short recapitulative questions repeating some words spoken by the instructor are not wanting.<sup>20</sup> In other cases the interlocutor puts a long series of partly motivated, partly connected questions so as to furnish the listener with a sort of survey of the contents of the following section.<sup>21</sup> However, what follows is not always consistent with the introductory questions.<sup>22</sup> Not infrequently such questions broaching new subjects for discussion bring about abrupt transitions.<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere they are however meant to refer to some point that has been touched upon in the beginning of the chapter.<sup>24</sup> Occasionally the narrator himself reminds his partner of what he has already told in a preceding part of his explanations.<sup>25</sup>

More than once the instructor is solicited to be brief.<sup>26</sup> The reason for this

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. also AhS. 26, 1; 41, 1f.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. AhS. 29, 1; 37, 35 cd 36 ab; 48, 8; JS. 3, 9f.; notice also the questions in the Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā.

<sup>15</sup> Instances are very numerous, e.g. AhS. 12, 24; 31, 1; cf. 34, 1f.; 35, 1f.; SaṃS.B. 11, 15f.; JS. 24, 1f. Also in Śivaite texts, e.g. NT. 6, 1. Also of course “I have told you . . . ; now I shall proceed to expound . . .” (e.g. ParS. 3, 15); “. . . what do you want to hear (now)?” (cf. AhS. 15, 76). For correspondences between the end of a chapter and the beginning of the following chapter see e.g. AhS. 2, 62: 3, 1; 10, 52: 11, 2; JS. 2, 75f.: 3, 1.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. AhS. 33, 5; 36, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Instances are the Sāttvata-Saṃhitā where Nārada is no partner in the conversation, and the Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā, the chapters of which begin with “Now I shall tell . . .”. Notice also the difference between *rātras* 1 and 2 on one hand and 3 on the other in NPR.; in 3, 7, 1 Nārada’s name occurs in the third person.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. JS. 17, 1f.; AhS. 8, 1ff.; 52, 1f.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. AhS. 10, 1ff.; 14, 1ff.; 25, 1ff.; 36, 1ff.; 51, 1ff.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. AhS. 37, 22; cf. also cases such as NārS. 17, 1: 16, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. e.g. LT. 18, 6ff.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. NPR. at the end of *rātra* 1, viz. 15, 13–29 (the solution of the problems is to follow); see also AhS. 39, 1f.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. NārS. 8, 1; 25, 1.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. JS. 22, 64: 22, 3.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. in the Śivaite NT. 9, 4: ch. 3.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. SS. 19, 2; JS. 33, 60; NārS. 6, 1; 10, 1; 16, 2. Elsewhere however he wishes to hear a detailed description (ŚPS. 30, 7; ParS. 26, 1).

request can sometimes be that the answer is expected to contain many details that are too well known to mention at some length—no doubt one of the circumstances leading to a scanty treatment of certain topics—, in other cases however it reflects the conviction on the part of the authors and their readers that the expositions as found in the *samhitās* are a sort of résumé of the original revelation,<sup>27</sup> an account of its essence. In any case, they are the counterpart of allusions to brevity in the narrative passages.<sup>28</sup> Such a request of the questioner is however well adapted to the circumstances and the relations between teacher and pupil: the latter should not ask too much and should express himself politely.<sup>29</sup>

This means that the 'conversation' is, generally speaking, really a literary reproduction of tuition imparted in the traditionally Indian way to a pupil who has to invite his teacher.<sup>30</sup> In this it resembles the instruction given by Mahādeva in his 'conversation' with his consort Devī in one of her forms. That is to say, the interlocutor asks questions which are not only answered but also amplified and enlarged by the authority who, acting as the teacher, tends to deliver a treatise which due to the inserted injunctions and exhortations in places assumes the character of a sermon. This is one of the characteristics of these works which show that they occupy an intermediate state between the *purāṇas* and the *tantras*.

The style of instruction, demonstration and argumentation is very often assertive, dogmatic, apodeictic, the facts being represented as clearly established. Opportunities to emphasize the excellence of their own doctrines, customs, traditions are seized, the fundamentals of the religion inculcated.<sup>31</sup> The listener's attention is arrested by vocatives,<sup>32</sup> invitations to hear, statements of the importance and indispensability of the doctrines taught and rituals enjoined.<sup>33</sup> The same importance compelled the authors in many places to express themselves accurately and to treat the ritual rules and precepts at great length.<sup>34</sup> Hence also the frequent references to alternative executions of ritual prescripts: if for instance a definite utensil cannot be procured or a prescribed act cannot be performed, mention is made of a valid substitute.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. ParS. 1, 47f.; ViS. 1, 45; JS. 1, 50.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. JS. 30, 1; AhS. 51, 69; ParS. 15, 2; ViS. 8, 1 etc.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 41, 2; for a polite mode of expression see e.g. JS. 13, 4; AhS. 11, 1; 13, 1ff.; 14, 1ff. (in some of these cases the homage paid to the teacher creates the impression of a resumption of the instruction after a pause or interruption); 29, 3; 42, 7. For a polite motivation of the teacher's readiness: AhS. 36, 52; 41, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. KANE, H.Dh. II, p. 326.

<sup>31</sup> Compare also BBS. 1, 5, 101ff.; 1, 6, 45f.; 3, 9, 30ff.; ViśvS. 12, 68; 20, 59.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. PS. 4, 78; some *samhitās* make hardly any use of this device.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. AhS. 12, 24; 12, 32; LT. 31, 64; 34, 90; ParS. 21, 51; 25, 49ff.; JS. 15, 173ff. See also MT. 1, 13, 14; 27; MāIT. 3, 16; 41; 52.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. SS. 18, 4ff.; 21, 27f. (flowers unsuited to ritual purposes); JS. 15, 58ff.; ParS. 5; NārS. 12, 9ff.; 13, 83ff.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. ViS. 14, 29; 28, 72; NārS. 22, 13; 23, 10; 23, 45; 25, 44.

This is however not to say that there are no inaccurate passages or that all parallel accounts are equally circumstantial.<sup>36</sup>

Leaving the principal framework on one side we find that also in the narrative chapters dialogues and conversations are far from rare. Now the interlocutor moots another subject by means of a question, or interrupts the narrator with one or more questions which are simply answered or give another turn to the expositions; now he asks for some more detailed information, or enters into a conversation with his instructor.<sup>37</sup> Tone and wording are always courteous, but the 'dialogue form' is mostly didactic and dogmatic, hardly ever dramatic. Real dialogues of moderate length or repeated interruptions of the exposition are however very rare,<sup>38</sup> although in the late Nārada-Pāñcarātra dialogues and passages with longer or shorter quotations of words used by speakers are comparatively frequent. Generally speaking however, it is in the initial chapters that speakers succeed each other with some frequency. Irrespective of the conversations between teachers and questioners direct speech is no rare occurrence.<sup>39</sup> Cases of a sudden switch to direct speech—not always a conscious device of style, and often rather a 'primitive' or popular feature—do not seem to be numerous.<sup>40</sup>

The discourses are on the whole largely digressive. For instance, the Lakṣmī-Tantra, after opening with the usual introduction, passes on to discuss the theology (*jñāna*) of the community, but within the relevant chapters (II–XVIII) other topics often creep in, while theological subjects crop up persistently in other chapters. Episodes are numerous and often intended to illustrate the argument, to give information on the origin of an institution, to glorify Viṣṇu's mighty intervention, to propagate the ideas and opinions held by the author and his milieu and especially to inculcate the doctrines of this school of thought and devotion to Viṣṇu. Thus a considerable part of the ancient stories (*purāvṛttā itihāsa*) inserted in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā<sup>41</sup> are intended to illustrate the might and effect of the divine weapons and amulets discussed in those parts of the work which come before and between them. The explanation of the evolution of the universe is interrupted by a variant of the epic and purāṇic story of the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, e.g. JS. 2, 45 ff.:<sup>42</sup>

They conquer the whole world and take away the Veda so that Brahmā loses his higher knowledge and "brahmaship". The world falls into a bad situation.

<sup>36</sup> For inaccurate and defective descriptions see e.g. SMITH, Ppp., p. 8; 94; 110 etc.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. AhS. 14, 5; 14, 11 f.; 6, 19; JS. 4, 26 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 1, 42 ff.; NārS. 23, 1 ff.; JS. ch. 4.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. AhS. 33, 40; 33, 41 (in direct speech); 33, 48 ff. etc.; ViS. 10, 6; ParS. 8, 63; 8, 66; JS. 32, 7.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. AhS. 33, 45 f.; cf. also instances such as 33, 71 f.

<sup>41</sup> AhS. 45, 9; for the stories see a. 33; 42; 45; 48; 49; 50; for the weapons see a. 30; 34; 35; 40.

<sup>42</sup> See also the variant version in AhS. 41; cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 44; 127.

The gods and sages awake Brahmā. They praise the Bhagavān who by means of his 'knowledge' (*vidyā*) form restores the Veda and with a *māyā* body fights for many thousands of years with the two demons, eventually killing them with a body consisting of *mantras* that represent his *śakti*.

The legend of king Ambariṣa (ViśvS. 25, 2ff.) who, on the advice of his priests, had to kill young Śunaḥśepa in order to expiate the fact that when he was performing his hundredth horse sacrifice Indra made the sacrificial animal disappear, is a—defectively narrated—younger viṣṇuized variant of the Vedic Śunaḥśepa story:<sup>43</sup> it is inserted in order to demonstrate the origin and importance of a rite with a white lotus in honour of Viṣṇu who at the end of the story is to be placated.

God does not desert the man whose body, even after death, is marked with His emblems. A certain Somaśarman who had worshipped other deities on an equal footing with Viṣṇu was after death not delivered from all earthly fetters before he had come into touch with the smoke of the funeral pyre of the exclusive *vaiṣṇava* Hariśarman (BBS. 1, 5, 49–114).

Other episodes inform the reader of the relations between, for instance, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, or dwell on Vṛndāvana, on king Bhadrāsana who lost his realm because Viṣṇu had become angry with him.<sup>44</sup> In another episode it is told how Bhadrabāhu and Gautama had become worshippers of the Bhagavān by means of the Rudragītā and the intermediary of Śiva who eulogizing Viṣṇu describes his nature and omnipotence. Another story deals with the seer Śrīvatsa who was devoting himself to austerities on a Viṣṇuite ground in Drāviḍa land when king Viṣṇudharma desired to see Viṣṇu before he was to die. Śrīvatsa informs him that Viṣṇu can only be approached by *bhakti*. Nārada orders Śrīvatsa to give himself a new bodily form in the Dravidian South and to preach the religion. He takes the king with him to the hermitage of Nārāyaṇa who reveals his doctrine. A story inserted in the Nārada-Pāñcarātra shows the merit of eating the food presented to God (*naivedya*).<sup>45</sup>

An episode or digression introduced into the body of the main argument is not infrequently interrupted by (as a rule) brief descriptive or commemorative passages, eulogies<sup>46</sup> or some form of direct speech. It may safely be assumed that these at first sight superfluous insertions contributed much to the liveliness and attractiveness of these passages. Pictures of the natural scenery of a famous hermitage and places of pilgrimage, for instance that of mount Kailāsa or mount Gandhamādana,<sup>47</sup> are quite in tune with Indian literary traditions, and the number and variety of other topics that might induce the authors for a moment to interrupt their argument or the train of their thought is likewise

<sup>43</sup> See GONDA, V.L., p. 395; for Ambariṣa see also G.A. GRIERSON, in JRAS 1910, p. 281 and in IA 37, p. 252, n. 8.

<sup>44</sup> BBS. 2, a. 1; 2, 4, 93ff.; 3, 8, 60ff.; 4, a. 6; 1, a. 3 and 4.

<sup>45</sup> NPR. 1, 2, 68ff.; cf. 1, a. 4 (glorification of *naivedya*).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. e.g. AhS. 1, 30ff.; 16, 13ff.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. SS. 1, 9; AhS. 1, 24f.; JS. 1, 32ff.; NPR. 1, 8, 1ff.



considerable. There is, for instance, the trend—which they have in common with many other Indian writers—to digress on topics of ritual, cosmogonic, social or eschatologic interest or to insert portraits of noble kings, deities or devout ascetics.<sup>48</sup> For instance, in describing the condition of the universe before creation the author adds that it was (ParS. 1, 48f.):

“all darkness, not to be understood, without distinctive marks, incapable of being described or even conceived, as if all was asleep all round”.

While dealing with *rakṣās* and *yantras* the author of the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā cannot refrain from dwelling on the bad condition of the world in the *kali* age (25, 5ff.). In order to explain the origin of diseases he feels impelled to expatiate on the dissolution of the world (38, 5ff.). The description of a fire sacrifice to be performed for the king affords him an opportunity to recall the qualifications for the function of a *purohita*.<sup>49</sup> There are further such typically Viṣṇuite topics as God's Vaikuṅṭha heaven, Viṣṇu's highest place also known as *nirvāṇa*, his manifestations, the palace of Mahālakṣmī and this goddess herself.<sup>50</sup>

Some descriptions are more detailed or even of considerable length. They are inserted in narratives or arguments such as, for instance, the account of the amazing strength of the discus Sudarśana in Viṣṇu's fight with the demon Kālanemi, of Viṣṇu's personal appearance on a battlefield, battles, important persons, e.g. Nārada, the ideal teacher, the town of the *gandharvas*, the duties of a king, the “highest place called *nirvāṇa*”.<sup>51</sup> Ritual acts, festivities and other ceremonies are often set forth in full detail<sup>52</sup> and so are *mantras*, *nyāsa* practices, the sites for building temples and conventions of the community.<sup>53</sup> Descriptive passages such as e.g. that of Mount Kailāsa with its flora and fauna, where Nārada visits Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and Gaṇeśa (NPR. 1, a. 7) or that of Vṛndāvana in the Nārada-Pāñcarātra<sup>54</sup> are digressions of considerable length, delaying the progress of the narrative for a long time.

The expositions and explanations of the mostly ritual subject-matter, though generally speaking fairly homogeneous in style and argumentation, may be markedly divergent in particulars.<sup>55</sup> They are often concise, exact and well-informed and characterized by a certain fluency<sup>56</sup> but also not infre-

<sup>48</sup> E.g. AhS. 50, 4; 1, 26ff.; 1, 20ff.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. e.g. also AhS. 37, 40ff.

<sup>50</sup> BBS. 3, 2, 79f.; NārS. 9, 232f.; AhS. 33, 78ff.; 33, 94ff.; SanS. I. 3, 3ff.; AhS. 49, 45ff.; 49, 51ff.

<sup>51</sup> AhS. 1, 46ff.; 41, 38ff.; 49, 14f.; 50, 102ff.; 1, 20ff.; 20, 1ff.; 42, 46ff.; 15, 10ff.; 50, 40ff.; JS. 9, 232ff.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. SS. 5, 9ff.; ParS. a. 20 (fire rites); a. 21 (bathing); JS. 6, 5ff.; 13, 178ff.; a. 15; SanS.Ś. a. 8; NārS. 10, 9ff.; 13, 177ff.; 18, 22f.; 19, 1ff.; 19, 58ff.; 19, 146ff.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. SanS.Ś. 2, 15ff.; AhS. 15, 60ff. (on the *saṃnyāsīn*); PāS.K. 1, 19ff.

<sup>54</sup> NPR. 1, a. 7; 3, a. 5.

<sup>55</sup> I refer also to the observations made on the stylistic qualities of individual *saṃhitās* in chapter VI.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. AhS. 48, 10ff.; 48, 50ff.; 49, 5ff.; 50, 83.

quently dull and monotonous,<sup>57</sup> worded in series of similar sentences. There are, on the other hand, many passages that create the impression of confusion or carelessness, obscurity and incompleteness.

It is clear that some subjects are often only superficially treated because the authors who compose first and foremost liturgical guides regard them as extraneous to the matter under discussion.<sup>58</sup> A tendency to a certain systematization is seldom wholly absent and sometimes carried through more or less consistently and felicitously, especially when the author avails himself of the many tripartite classifications that are so typical of the structure and style of works of this genre.<sup>59</sup> One of the clear examples of a well-arranged chapter is ŚPS. a. 30. After an 'etymological' explanation of the term for festival (*utsava*) the author proceeds to discuss three classes of religious festivities—the regular, occasional and optional ones—, another tripartition, based on the three *gunas*, time and duration of the festival, and so on.

Prescriptions concerning the performance of rites and ceremonies are often relieved by some information on their meaning and *raison d'être* or observations on their theoretical foundation.<sup>60</sup> That the expositions sometimes tend to become exhortative in character<sup>61</sup> or are couched in the form of injunctions is as intelligible as the occurrence of a promise or a prospect of success or happiness put into the mouth of a divine interlocutor.<sup>62</sup>

That these *saṃhitās* should contain myths or at least allusions to myths and that these myths are often very well known from the *purāṇas* is far from surprising. Myths form part and parcel of the more or less popular theology of the Nārāyaṇa and Bhāgavata religions. They may even throw light on such processes as the absorption of originally independent or extraneous religious or philosophical ideas and the blending of popular fantasy and imagery with philosophical thought. Although it is neither always easy to give a final opinion on the place and function of a mythical theme in Hindu religious systems nor possible to decide in every case how far its original function has remained unaltered, it may safely be said that a distinction can be made between those myths which are essentially viṣṇuite or are in a marked manner viṣṇuized<sup>63</sup> on one hand and more peripheral mythical stories on the other. Generally speaking the former class will consist of myths proper—often dealing with 'origins', a favourite and important subject—; the latter of 'mythical narratives', that is stories in which superhuman beings are the leading figures and marvel-

<sup>57</sup> Notice also passages such as SanS. I. 1, 14–28 (fifteen parallel stanzas dealing with similar acts, containing the same verb and ending with the same words "is honoured in Viṣṇu's world") and NPR. 2, 7, 10–53.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. e.g. NārS. a. 8; ParS. 1, 44ff.; a. 27; ŚPS. 2, 16ff.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. e.g. SanS.R. 3, 2ff.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. JS. 13, 197ff.; ch. 16.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. NārS. 15, 250; ParS. 6, 60f.; 7, 70 etc.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. LT. 9, 38; cf. also ParS. 4, 93; 6, 46 etc.

<sup>63</sup> For 'recast' of myths and legends see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 104; 135.

lous events are enacted in order to illustrate the doctrines and ethics of the *saṃ-pradāya*. The suggestive and exemplary force of a 'pious legend'—such as that of Nārada who preferred *bhakti* towards Viṣṇu to the dignity of Indra<sup>64</sup>—is unmistakable.

The mythical episodes are not infrequently characterized by a comparatively vivid style, digressions, allusions to various incidents. The seventy-seven stanzas beginning at AhS. 33, 24ff. dealing with the story of Maṇiśekhara may be resumed in illustration.

The story is typically introduced by the formulaic "Hear me tell an old event", which is followed by a stanza which makes us acquainted with a royal person, his name, Durdharṣa, preceding, in the usual way, his title, some epithets, the names of his father and of his residence. After the stereotyped statement that he protected (ruled) in accordance with the *dharma* the whole earth the narrator adds that he had a wife Vatsalā and a son Maṇiśekhara, the principal figure of the story who was "handsome, heroic, learned, a conqueror and illustrious". He married Prācī. His father abdicates and retires to the forest devoting himself to asceticism. Maṇiśekhara, "ruling like his father", and Prācī have seven sons (notice the number!). Now follows the main incident which is elaborately described (31–37). At that time the demon Vikaṭākṣa—who had obtained a boon from Brahmā—and his many descendants had become the plague of the country. An attempt to buy off the demon is ineffective. When the king, at the request of all his subjects (a stereotyped motif) prepares for war his ministers inform him of the demon's invincibility which had been granted to him by Brahmā because of his austerities (40–42 is a flashback put in the ministers' mouth). So, Maṇiśekhara takes the advice of his *purohita* (another stereotyped motif) to whom he (curiously enough in the eyes of a modern reader) "communicates the whole event with regard to Vikaṭākṣa according to fact". Having "pondered (the matter) over for a long time" the *purohita* tells the king that none but Viṣṇu, "the lord who bears conch-shell, disc, and club" (other epithets in 49 and 50 ab) is able to conquer the enemy and render effective help and advises him to have recourse to this god "who is prepared for the protection of his devotees". Also on the priest's advice and accompanied by him the king goes to the sage (*muni*) Durvāsas—well-known from epics and *purāṇas*—"who knows how to obtain access to Viṣṇu" and who resides, performing austerities, on a lovely peak of the Himālaya (a well-known motif). Stanza 55 describes Durvāsas, 56 and 57 the usual ceremonial reception of the guests; 58–67 are Durvāsas' address of welcome (he knows his guests already); eulogizing the king in a series of descriptive and qualificatory adjectives and stating that with this priest any undertaking must be crowned with success he advises the king to perform all his tasks with the assistance of that functionary (60–66), winding up with the question as to why the king visits him (67). The *purohita* answers (68), informs the sage of the molestation caused by the demon (69–71) and, entreating his help, asks him how to conquer the latter. The sage, "extremely compassionate", gives then the most excellent Saudarśana *mantra* and enjoins the king to try to accomplish his designs together with his *purohita*, whose indispensable co-operation is again underlined in st. 75–77. Thereupon he recounts the Varāha *avatāra* in the digression st. 78–86: Viṣṇu, assuming the bodily appearance of a boar, raised the earth out of the ocean, whereupon the goddess Earth (Vasumdhārā) implored

<sup>64</sup> NPR. 1, a. 8, cf. st. 21 ff.

him to stay, in order to please his devout adherents, for ever in the mundane world in a friendly outward appearance. That is why Viṣṇu is since residing at Sālagrāma on the Sarasvatī. This fact and the holiness of this place are described in st. 81. Durvāsas advises Maṇiśekhara to propitiate Janārdana (Viṣṇu) and then by the grace of God to conquer the evil-doers. The king and his priest, after bowing reverentially, mount “a victorious aerial chariot” and go home whence they travel to Sālagrama. There they worship God devoutly (“with extreme *bhakti*”) for a month with reverential adoration, muttering of prayers and meditations. Thereupon God appears in his discus form with eight arms bearing club, conch, bow etc.—the description of His outward appearance fills three stanzas, 93–96. Out of His breast He emits the Aindra Cakra (‘Indra’s disc’, which is described in a. 40, 23f.), first one, then ten, then a hundred etc., which fill all space and kill the demons (st. 97–99 in longer metres). And Maṇiśekhara could continue ruling the earth.

The Maṇiśekhara episode is inserted to show that God, when devoutly worshipped, is willing to appear in his discus form in order to protect his adorers and to check the enemies.<sup>65</sup> The same purpose is served by stories of Viṣṇu’s intervention, such as the Madhu and Kaiṭabha episode, references to the Nṛsiṃha and Varāha *avatāras* etc.<sup>66</sup>

Other mythical tales should rather be characterized as aetiological. Thus the succinct narrative of the gods being oppressed by the demons (*daiteya*), Indra’s consulting Brhaspati (the divine *purohita*) and the latter’s “placing” the Saudarśana-Nṛsiṃha *yantra* which destroys all enemies is no doubt meant to recall—as a viṣṇuization of an ancient theme—the institution or first application of this mighty defence against thieves.<sup>67</sup>

In their main structure and the choice of their motifs these mythical tales are generally speaking fairly uniform.<sup>68</sup> The Viṣṇuite tenor is evident; through God’s grace, the help or advice of sages or the instrumentality of ritual devices some devout worshipper succeeds in carrying out his enterprises, or in overcoming opponents or difficulties. The chief figure of the story is duly and somewhat circumstantially introduced.<sup>69</sup> The might and influence of Viṣṇuite sages is emphasized. Enemies of Viṣṇuism come off losers. Viṣṇuization is quite common: when Indra having killed Vṛtra was guilty of murder of a brahmin he had to conciliate Nārāyaṇa and to perform a bathing rite with a thousand pitchers (ViśvS. 20, 1ff.), Intercourse between men and divine beings is always possible.<sup>70</sup> Names of father or parents, abode and country of the principal figures—even brief descriptions of the latter<sup>71</sup>—help to uphold the fiction of historical veracity of the facts and events narrated.<sup>72</sup> A brief

<sup>65</sup> Cf. AhS. 33, 23.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. AhS. a. 41; JS. 29.

<sup>67</sup> AhS. 27, 18ff., cf. st. 17.

<sup>68</sup> Compare the résumés in SCHRADER, I. P., p. 99ff.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. AhS. 42, 35; 44, 4; 50, 2f.

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. AhS. 50, 69ff.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. AhS. 48, 83; 49, 2.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. AhS. 42, 41f.; 50, 2f.

recapitulation of some of the main elements of the preceding part of the story in a conversation held with a person who hitherto had not participated in the events narrated, is no uncommon feature.<sup>73</sup> Nor are flashbacks, for instance in the form of references to events in somebody's former life, absent.<sup>74</sup>

As might be expected these narratives are not always uniformly transmitted. Thus there exist several traditions regarding the demoniac figure of Vāstupuruṣa, the *genius loci* who is to be appeased at the commencement of building activities. At least two of these traditions are preserved in the literature under discussion. According to ViT. 5, 36ff. Vāstupuruṣa was born of the sweat of Bhārgava (i.e. Śukra, the preceptor of the demons); although he was exceptionally strong he was defeated by the allied gods. They threw him out of heaven, so that he lies sprawled face down on the earth. A slightly different version has however been preserved in SanandaS. 10, 39ff.

Some words should be said about the mythical figures occurring in these works. There are on the one hand such well-known and ancient gods and sages as Indra (represented as a mundane royal person accompanied by the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas), Brhaspati (who in the Nārāyaṇīya is associated with the mission of propagating the Nārāyaṇīya doctrine), Agni Jātavedas, Kubera (Guhyakeśvara), Vasiṣṭha, Kaṇva, Agastya, Vāsuki;<sup>75</sup> Viṣṇuite figures such as Nṛsiṃha and Varāha;<sup>76</sup> mount Mandara and mount Kailāsa, the *dasyus*, *devas*, *gandharvas*, snake demons, kings of yore such as Purūravas, Ambariṣa (a worshipper of Viṣṇu);<sup>77</sup> aspects of Lakṣmī (Mahālakṣmī, Bhadrakālī, Maheśvarī etc.).<sup>78</sup> Reference is of course made to mythical 'worlds',<sup>79</sup> to the hermitage (*āśrama*) at Badarī where Viṣṇu imparts the doctrine to the first transmitters, to the gate-keepers of Vaikuṇṭha.<sup>80</sup> The Nārada-Pāñcarātra quite intelligibly mentions episodes from Kṛṣṇa's life, e.g. 1, 12, 7:

"The chief of the singers began to recite the play of Hari's going to Mathurā with airs and gestures . . .".

It would be an arduous task to try to identify all persons mentioned in these stories,<sup>81</sup> but the differences between what is told in the *saṃhitās* on one hand and epic and (or) purāṇic traditions on the other are worth studying.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. AhS. 49, 29ff.; 50, 94f.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. AhS. 45, 18ff.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. AhS. 50, 73 (cf. 1, 26); (Mbh. 12, 322, 43ff.); 44, 18; ŚPS. 34, 57; AhS. 57, 29; 49, 32; 48, 16; 48, 80; 48, 83; ViS. 17, 35. ŚPS. 1, 49 Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Kauṇḍinya (cf. e.g. BĀU. 2, 6, 1 etc.). See e.g. also S. GUPTA, L.T., Index.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. AhS. 53, 73 and 75.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. AhS. 49, 22; 48, 11; 50, 48; 47, 8. See also SCHRADER, I.P., passim.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. LT. 4, 40; see also SCHRADER, I.P., p. 62.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. SanS. I. a. 7.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. JS. 1, 45ff.; LT. 37, 46.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. at AhS. 45, 10 a certain Kuśadhvaja is king of the Janakas, at BḍP. 2, 84, 19; VāP. 89, 18 a person of that name is the ruler of Kāśī (Benares).

Whereas in the Mahābhārata Aurva who became the Aurva Fire or Mare's Mouth or Horse's Head which at the end of this age will consume the ocean "relates to the dissolution (of the world)" (*saṃvartaka*),<sup>82</sup> Saṃvartaka is at JS. 1, 5 Aurva's son, a personification which is not foreign to *purāṇas*.<sup>83</sup>

Praise<sup>84</sup> and hymns of praise are a fairly common device in Sanskrit literature. A hymn of praise addressed to a powerful deity is sometimes a laudatory digression but very often intended to mollify him or even to compel him to one's will to the extent that he (or she) will grant requests, favours, boons or blessings or lift the obstacles in the way of the one who implores him (or her).<sup>85</sup> In reading these passages one should form a clear conception of the significance of names, epithets, references to the god's deeds and abilities, because it is the very knowledge of his aspects and character which enables the speaker to exert influence upon the addressee or to gain control over him. These eulogies are of variable length and composition. Some of them consist almost entirely of vocatives of epithets, e.g. NPR. 1, 8, 16ff.:

"I reverence thee, O lord of the world, my lord, O life of the tree that is all existence . . ."

Others, of greater length, consist mainly of a series of datives governed by *namaḥ* "reverence, or obeisance to . . .", e.g. AhS. 41, 17–22:

"Om reverence to Vāsudeva, whose nature is pure knowledge, who is a 'bull' of unlimited bliss, . . . reverence to the treasure of energies . . . reverence, reverence to the lotus-eyed Puruṣa, accompanied by Śrī . . .".<sup>86</sup>

In JS. 2, 5–26 such a passage addressed to the Adorable is followed by a varied enumeration of his *avatāras*, aspects, functions, exploits, and a prayer. Elsewhere—e.g. AhS. 49, 55–62—almost all stanzas of the eulogy—in this case in a longer metre<sup>87</sup>—end in an imperative beseeching the goddess for help. Some eulogies or laudatory statements are characterized by a felicity of expression throwing light upon those aspects of the god addressed which in the context are in the limelight.

Part of these eulogies are explicitly intended to be used as shorter or longer prayers.<sup>88</sup> Thus it reads in ParS. 29, 20–37:

". . . Then, having worshipped the Supreme God daily with undisturbed mind, let him pronounce the following prayer when the time for it should have arrived: 'Victory to Thee,<sup>89</sup> O lotus-eyed One. Reverence unto Thee, the promoter of all. Let me worship Thee, O Lord . . .'".

<sup>82</sup> I refer to E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 180.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. BḍP. 1, 12, 35; VāP. 29, 33.

<sup>84</sup> For praise see e.g. also ViśvS. 9, 92; AhS. 50, 74f.; BBS. 4, 1, 3ff.

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. AhS. 43, 36ff. (cf. 44, 1).

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. also AhS. 1, 30–42; JS. 2, 5ff.; ŚPS. 1, 28ff.; BBS. 3, 8, 136.

<sup>87</sup> Also at BBS. 1, 2, 112ff. etc.

<sup>88</sup> For prayers see p. 73; for a short formulaic prayer e.g. SS. 15, 17f. Compare also NPR. 1, 7, 85ff.

<sup>89</sup> For "be victorious" (*jaya*) see also BBS. 3, 8, 101.

At NPR. 4, 4, 20 the worshipper is enjoined to please after reciting the preceding eulogium (*stuti*, st. 3–19), Kṛṣṇa in order to obtain the realization of the four objects, viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. BBS. 2, 7, 19–51 may exemplify another type: a short formula “Rāma is my refuge” (*śrīrāmaḥ śaraṇam mama*), recommended as an object for meditation, passes into a long eulogy each *śloka* of which ends in these three words.

One of the most characteristic features of various classes of religious didactic literature is a traditional introductory chapter, *in casu* the so-called “descent of the authoritative lore” (*sāstrāvātāra*), the first chapter in which the anonymous author informs his audience of the revelation of the doctrine and the initial stages of its transmission. There are also the usual expressions of reverence to God at the beginning of a book or chapter.<sup>90</sup> A sort of table of contents is not always lacking.<sup>91</sup>

The foregoing may lead to the conclusion that the structure of these works creates the impression of a certain incoherence and lack of systematization. It is in the eyes of a modern reader not always clear why the chapters and subjects follow each other in the order and arrangement found in our texts, the less so as there is, in this respect, considerable divergence between these works.<sup>92</sup> On closer inspection however it becomes clear that allied subjects are often dealt with consecutively. Besides, the occurrence of many interruptions and additions<sup>93</sup> does not detract much from the utility of these writings as ritual handbooks. That does not however alter the fact that, for instance, AhS. a. 31 and 32 dealing with the “worship of the heart” constitute a curious interruption of the discussion of God’s weapons.

It is a feature not only of early but also of definite genres of popular, more or less uncultivated literature that the principles underlying large units of composition are equally applicable to smaller units. The latter are in the *samhitās* often characterized by the same loose and apparently incoherent structure that is, in modern eyes, so typical of the composition of these works in their entirety.

Sometimes, an answer given to the preceding question may at first sight seem to be somewhat inappropriate.<sup>94</sup> Much more frequent are the cases in which the answer proper is preceded by a more or less formulaic introduction.<sup>95</sup>

Cases of difference of opinion are not wanting. Not only do two different works, e.g. AhS. 3, 11 and LT. 4, 48—to mention only one example—disagree

<sup>90</sup> E.g. ŚPS. 1, 1; JS. 1, 1 and the formulas preceding the chapters of the *Ahīr-budhnya-Samhitā*.

<sup>91</sup> Very clearly in ViS. 1, 46–50.

<sup>92</sup> I refer to section 5.

<sup>93</sup> Even of supplements such as LT. a. 51; see S. GUPTA, L. T., p. 356.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. ParS. 2, 3: 2, 2.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. LT. 18, 10ff.; ParS. a. 11. For an announcement made by the instructor see e.g. AhS. 9, 45; VksS. 8, 9; the stereotype “now I shall speak about . . .” at the beginning of chapters in ViS.

with regard to the reason why Lakṣmī must be regarded as Viṣṇu's wife, different views introduced by "some (authorities) however . . ." are also found in one and the same work.<sup>96</sup>

The well-known Indian propensity to classification, specification<sup>97</sup> and categorizing manifests itself in passages dealing with a fourfold division of the four age groups "students, householders, twice-born people in the third stage of their religious life (*vānaprastha*) and *saṃnyāsins*", or with "four classes of women, viz. virgins, widows, re-married widows, and 'independent' women".<sup>98</sup> Many of these distinctions exist in ritual practice or are ritually relevant: types of pitchers; sorts of cow-dung; colours, sounds and smell of the sacred fire.<sup>99</sup> The five kinds of images (made of stone, wood etc.), the five daily observances, the six constituents of *bhakti*, the eight forms of supra-animal existence are only a few of the many other groups of concepts characterized by a definite number.<sup>100</sup> 'Numerical argumentation'<sup>101</sup> and classifications utilizing numbers that are of frequent occurrence in Hinduism—sixteen,<sup>102</sup> one hundred and eight,<sup>103</sup> one thousand and eight—tend to turn up almost everywhere. The special dominance of the number three and the prominence of various forms of triadicity—very frequent in Indian literature<sup>104</sup>—deserve special mention: there are three Viṣṇus: Sadāviṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu and Viṣṇu; flowers are of three sorts, viz. those that have been cultivated, that are taken from a garden and that are bought; there exist three types of temple; various entities are "good, middling or bad"; a circumambulation should be performed three times.<sup>105</sup> Triads are correlated with, for instance, the social classes, or with morning, noon and night.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>96</sup> E.g. SanS. B. 7, 120: 123; Ś. 9, 8; I. 4, 15. For different descriptions and views of the same subject-matter see also SMITH, Ppp., p. 11; 12; 38; 47; 48; 68; 75; 129 etc.; SCHRADER, I. P., p. 82 (on AhS. a. 7 and 15). Juxtapositions such as *-gūnopeto nirgūnah* (BBS. 1, 7, 52) are of course intended.

<sup>97</sup> Notice for instance the eight times one hundred Viṣṇus in eight worlds (SanS. I. a. 16). Śivaite instances are not wanting; see e.g. MT. 1, 12, 3ff.

<sup>98</sup> SanS. B. 5, 6ff.; I. 8, 2. For Śivaite examples see e.g. NT. ch. 7, passim.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. SanS. Ś. 8, 11ff.; 10, 1ff.; JS. 15, 198ff.

<sup>100</sup> I refer to the Numerical Index in SCHRADER, I. P., p. 170, and to ibidem, p. 128; 62. See also SanS. B. 7, 1f.

<sup>101</sup> For 1000 see e.g. ViS. 3, 30f.; for one-sixteenth, NPR. 2, 2, 2; for Viṣṇu's might described in 'ascending progression', ViS. 3, 1ff.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. BBS. 1, 12, 104f.; ViśvS. 20, 11; ViS. 28, 34; VksS. 1, 34; 10, 101; 20, 222; NārS. 19, 16; 20, 11.

<sup>103</sup> E.g. JS. 14, 7; NārS. 19, 43; 23, 18; 25, 77; ViS. 28, 38; BhSPar. 2, 84.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. J. GONDA, Triads in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1976. See e.g. SanS. B. 4, 19; 4, 34.

<sup>105</sup> SanS. B. 4, 46; Ś. 6, 1; Ś. 1, 38; PS. 2, 23; SMITH, Ppp., p. 132; cf. also NārS. 7, 12; 9, 316; ŚPS. 49, 468f.; ViS. 20, 31.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. SanS. B. 4, 69; 5, 95ff.; NārS. 7, 32. Śivaite parallels are not lacking: NT. 6, 6ff. speaks of three procedures, a rough, subtle and highest one; 20, 9f.; MĀIT. 4, 28.



It is indeed in the nature of many of the subjects described that they induced the authors to co-ordinate two series of entities. When an author has to explain that various names of Rādhā are believed to protect the parts of the worshipper's body, he says at NPR. 5, 7, 9f.:

“Let Śrī-Rādhā protect my head and Rādhikā protect my forehead; Śrīmatī protect my eyes, Gopendranandini my ears . . .”<sup>107</sup>

In many cases these passages are based on traditional correlations, for instance between definite social distinctions and the quarters of the universe, seasons, colours etc.<sup>108</sup>

Nearly related to the tendency to analytical expression and the predilection for juxtaposition and paratactic sentence structures is the propensity to enumerations.<sup>109</sup> Irrespective of whether an author deals with flowers that can or cannot be offered to Viṣṇu, with species of trees, with places suitable for worship, with the characteristics of persons to be instructed, with cult images or oblations, with *maṇḍalas* or sinners, the enumeration is the obvious mode of expression.<sup>110</sup> Ordinal numbers are not always absent.<sup>111</sup> It must however be admitted that in many passages—for instance those dealing with ritual or iconographical details—monotonous enumerations can hardly be avoided.<sup>112</sup> Occasionally, an enumeration assumes the form of a *catena*.<sup>113</sup>

It is hardly worth noticing that such well-known stylistic phenomena as anaphora,<sup>114</sup> chiasmus,<sup>115</sup> various forms of repetition etc.<sup>116</sup>—which are so to say to be found in any Sanskrit work—are no rare occurrences.<sup>117</sup> Repetition

<sup>107</sup> Cf. also NPR. 1, 5, 13; 2, 1, 38f.; 3, 2, 1ff.; ParS. 2, 32f. Sometimes there is a certain 'logical' or 'etymological' connexion between a name and a function or part of the body.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. ParS. 9, 5; SanS. I. 4, 1ff.; NārS. 13, 5; ViS. 12, 7; VksS. 1, 6f.; 10, 57; cf. also ParS. 4, 12; NārS. 23, 39ff.

<sup>109</sup> Compare also passages such as SanS. B. 10, 32f.; JS. 4, 44ff.; AhS. 3, 7ff.; 15, 60–75; NPR. 2, 5, 24ff. In Śivaite texts: NT. 13, 37f.; 16, 10ff.; 33ff.; 18, 6ff.; MT. 1, 13, 35; MālT. 1, 3; SvT. 10, 466ff.

<sup>110</sup> ParS. 5, 33ff.; 5, 41ff.; SanS. B. 7, 90ff.; I. a. 6; NārS. 3, 42; JS. 16, 51; ViS. 14, 2ff.; NārS. 12, 2ff.; PS. 5, 1ff.; NPR. 1, 6, 45. See also NārS. a. 4; 5, 25ff.; 9, 294; 21, 3ff.; ViS. 3, 49; 3, 55ff.; 19, 3f.; 23, 9f. etc.; ViśvS. 20, 26.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. PrmS. 14, 29ff.; PS. 5, 2ff.; NārS. 3, 50ff.; cf. also ViS. 2, 33.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. NārS. 13, 235ff.; 14, 105ff.; 19, 36ff.; JS. 13, 169ff.; the descriptions of the *astras* in AhS. a. 34; 35; 40.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. NārS. 4, 3; AhS. 21, 26f. For syntactic concatenation see e.g. SanS. 1, 3, 2f.; 3, 11f.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. BBS. 1, 8, 10ff.; 2, 6, 30ff.; 58ff.; 4, 3, 98ff.; SS. 21, 22; PS. 1, 184f.; ParS. 12, 8; SanS. R. 8, 76; 79; AhS. 19, 51f.; 57ff.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. JS. 6, 71; 13, 38; 13, 198; 24, 80; ViS. 12, 69; SanS. B. 5, 2; Ś. 1, 102; 9, 65.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. also cases such as AhS. 25, 4; 14, 7ff.; 15, 3ff.; 6, 45 b; 6, 47 b; NPR. 2, 7, 10–53.

<sup>117</sup> For a study of these (and other) phenomena see J. GONDA, Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959.

of words,<sup>118</sup> needless and even annoying from our modern point of view, is no more consistently avoided than the stylistic phenomenon with which it is closely related or of which it even is a natural consequence, viz. the tendency to parallelism in sentence structure which often entails the repetition of a word in a corresponding position.<sup>119</sup> In these cases also the very character of the subject-matter as well as the desire to bring connexions, parallelisms, identities into relief contributed to the preservation of this feature. Moreover, repetition of meaningful words or sounds especially when they occupy the first place in a sentence are often felt to enhance the inherent power of a hymn of praise: in the praise of Viṣṇu's names in Mbh. 13, a. 135 we find lines such as *vṛṣāhī vṛṣabho viṣṇur vṛṣaparvā vṛṣodarah* "Viṣṇu Vṛṣāhin, Bull, Vṛṣaparvan, Bull-bellied One".

Among the many stylistic features which these works have in common with other *śloka* literature are combination in pairs of opposite or complementary terms;<sup>120</sup> juxtaposition of alliterative words<sup>121</sup> or of compounds the first or last members of which are identical,<sup>122</sup> various forms of paronomasia, the *figura etymologica*.<sup>123</sup> In many cases these word combinations are more than traditional pairs or attempts to embellish the style; they can have a mnemonic or didactic function, help to emphasize connexions or to produce pregnant formulations: "God is endowed with qualities and without qualities" (*guṇagūṇyāś cā nirgūṇaḥ*).<sup>124</sup> Rhyme, likewise frequent,<sup>125</sup> can play a similar part: *viṣṇunā prabhaviṣṇunā* "by Mighty Viṣṇu".<sup>126</sup>

<sup>118</sup> E.g. NārS. 2, 7f.; BBS. 1, 5, 57f.; 71f.; SanS. B. 7, 67f.; R. 5, 8ff.; 5, 26; 34f.; 9, 34f.; VksS. 11, 159. See also MāIT. 1, 19; 34; 3, 17. Synonyms do occur, often *metri causa*: JS. 27, 199 *hūtāśa* = *agni*; SanS. Ś. 1, 225 Śatakratu = Śakra (Indra). See also SCHRADER, I. P., p. 69; AhS. 14, 17.

<sup>119</sup> E.g. SanS. B. 7, 29f.; 10, 21ff.; Ś. 8, 39ff.; I. 7, 3; R. 5, 8; 5, 24; 5, 33f.; 6, 40ff.; BBS. 1, 6, 86f.; 3, 4, 40; AhS. 44, 14; ViS. 18, 59f.; NārS. 9, 17; 9, 48; 18, 62f.; 24, 19f.; VksS. 5, 7; 11, 35f. Cf. also SvT. 3, 15 etc.

<sup>120</sup> E.g. AhS. 5, 9; 5, 11; 6, 13; 6, 20 etc.; see also MT. 1, 11, 18 *sukhaṃ duḥkham*; MāIT. 1, 18 *sakalo niṣkalah*; 24 *dharmādharma*.

<sup>121</sup> A frequent phenomenon, e.g. JS. 1, 5; 2, 4; 16, 12; ViS. 8, 55; 19, 43; SanS. I. 3, 43; 3, 76; see MT. 1, 5, 4; 13, 12; MāIT. 3, 12; 4, 1; 12 *bhairavo bhūrihogadah*; for alliterative compounds e.g. SS. 2, 1; NārS. 10, 30; JS. 15, 85; AhS. 27, 4; 28, 1.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. AhS. 20, 37-21, 8; 31, 7; 31, 9; 47, 50; 51, 49; NārS. 2, 30; 13, 379; 25, 71; see also SvT. 1, 6; MT. 1, 2, 1; 5, 16; 9, 14; MāIT. 1, 17; 40.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. AhS. 5, 27; 21, 25; 26, 14; 36, 39; ViS. 19, 2; ŚPS. 46, 33; VksS. 1, 44; NārS. 11, 31; 15, 235; 19, 55; see also MT. 1, 10, 13 *bhogabhūmiṣu na bhunkte bhogān*.

<sup>124</sup> JS. 1, 17 (see p. 88f.); cf. also NārS. 3, 61; 25, 78; JS. 4, 65; 16, 8; AhS. 20, 17; 20, 48; 27, 17; SanS. Ś. 9, 29; 9, 45; 10, 43; BBS. 1, 12, 84 *jyotiṣām jyotiḥ*; 3, 2, 13. Very often in the Śivaite MāIT., e.g. 1, 18; 20; 28; 4, 37; 7, 15; 8, 4 and MT., e.g. 11, 18.

<sup>125</sup> For rhyme and homoioteleuton see e.g. AhS. 20, 20f.; JS. 27, 15; NPR. 1, 10, 10; AhS. 20, 5 ab; in compounds 3, 55 c *mantrayantramayī devī*; 11, 13 *śāstra-stra-*; PS. 1, 53 *samsārottāra*. For complete assonance, e.g. NārS. 5, 23 *vimuktyartham vibhuktyartham*; cf. also 9, 330; PS. 8, 6; SS. 15, 20; JS. 16, 326f.

<sup>126</sup> NārS. 9, 247; cf. SanS. I. 3, 17; ViS. 14, 39 etc. For the traditional *sānto*

Instances of a gradual development of an exposition are not rare. For instance, at ViS. 14, 2f., after stating as briefly as possible that as to the material of which they are made the cult images are sevenfold, the author proceeds to specify them and to add a number of particulars.<sup>127</sup> Dealing with the worship prescribed for those who wish final beatitude it is stated at ParS. 3, 16f.:

“The Supreme God should be worshipped while looking like clear crystal, carrying conch, disc, club, and lotus in his four arms. The lotus conveys the seed of creation; the disc is the foundation of stability (i. e. is to maintain order); the club is the cause of the universal dissolution; the conch is the foundation of final emancipation”.

Or a point is first touched upon briefly and afterwards discussed in full detail.<sup>128</sup> AhS. 48, 3ff. introduces five stories intended to show the use and appropriateness of the Sudarśana *yantra* by enumerating first five objects, viz. a seat, finger-ring, mirror, banner and awning, thereupon the names of five kings and finally combining the objects and the proper names in five lines.

According to expectation, metaphorical expressions, similes and comparable forms of imagery<sup>129</sup> are not rare. Many of them are short: Acyuta transforms himself into Satya just as the ocean (transforms itself into) (a) bubble(s); “the mind becomes bright like the rains (weather) in autumn”; “a deity disappears like lightning”.<sup>130</sup> Among these are of course such traditional images as the gems threaded on a string; Lakṣmī and other goddesses are always in the Bhagavān’s close proximity and depend on him like the rays of the sun and the waves of the sea (on their sources).<sup>131</sup> Double similes<sup>132</sup> such as the last mentioned or even strings of them are a favourite means of elucidating the argument and longer, elaborated comparisons are as illustrative interruptions

*dānto* . . . “appeased and pacified” see e.g. AhS. 20, 7; for *otam protam* “sewn crosswise and lengthwise” BBS. 3, 8, 19; a favourite combination is *bhuktimukti* “mundane enjoyment and final emancipation” (e.g. JS. 6, 4; 8, 2; PS. 38, 19; SS. 1, 28; cf. BBS. 3, 9, 85 *muktido bhuktido nr̥ṇām*; in Śivaite texts: MT. 1, 2, 9; SvT. 1, 7; MāIT. 1, 7; 38 etc.); for the synonymous *bhogamokṣa* e.g. JS. 16, 24). On the *bhukti-mukti* ideal in the *purāṇas* see V. S. AGRAWALA, *Purāṇa* 1 (1960), p. 160. See also AhS. 1, 32 c *kartre hartre ca jagatām*; 21, 22 *ādhaḥyo vyādhayo* . . . ; ParS. 1, 19 *svargāpavarga-*; SanS. B. 4, 12; R. 4, 61 *nārāyaṇaparāyaṇāḥ*.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. e.g. PS. a. 5; ŚPS. 30, 9ff.; PāS. K. 2, 4ff.; SanS. B. 4, 19ff.; Ś. 1, 38f.; also in Śivaite works, cf. e.g. MāIT. 4, 33ff.

<sup>128</sup> AhS. 33, 6. Incidentally the teacher refers back to the foregoing; e.g. JS. 32, 1; cf. NT. 7, 31ff.; 19, 10ff.; AjĀ. 19, 1ff.

<sup>129</sup> E.g. the fruits of the tree that is *samsāra* (JS. 5, 4); BBS. 3, 7, 4. For this metaphor see also ParS. 26, 2. Compare also places such as BhS. Par. 4, 3f. In Śivaite texts: MT. 1, 9, 7; MāIT. 11, 38.

<sup>130</sup> JS. 4, 6; 5, 15; SS. 1, 8. Cf. also JS. 4, 8; 4, 25; 4, 76; 5, 16; 5, 18; AhS. 16, 21; 50, 117; 52, 66; BBS. 1, 4, 5 and the Śivaite NT. 18, 17; 21, 30; 21, 50.

<sup>131</sup> AhS. 8, 34; JS. 6, 22f.; 11, 18; 6, 78 (see also SS. 2, 72); cf. also NPR. 1, 2, 20. In the Śivaite NT. 9, 6ff. God, though formless, is said to show various aspects just like a crystal strung on a many-coloured thread; 16, 65 the *guru* is compared to an architect.

<sup>132</sup> For two or more short similes in succession see e.g. BBS. 1, 8, 24; 3, 2, 30f.

meant to lead the hearer better to comprehend what is taught;<sup>133</sup> see e.g. ViS. 3, 33f.:

“Just as in numerous mirrors oneness is not seen, in the same manner the weak-minded think that there is a plurality of Viṣṇus. Just as the reflections of the moon in water and the echoes are not (perceived) singly, those who know the truth say that in many there is only one *ātman*”.

In philosophical passages such similes may be stereotyped or traditional examples: for instance that of the magnet and iron or the air being in the pot.<sup>134</sup> Occasionally, a simile derives its origin from animal life; NPR. 2, 2, 28:

“The sins fly off from him, as the snakes fly away at the sight of Vainateya (= Garuḍa)”.

A comparison that “unchained a torrent of verbosity”<sup>135</sup> is found at AhS. 9, 10f.:

“Just as the cloth of a big banner unfolded in space is upheld by the ever-purifying wind, even so *bhūti* (Lakṣmi’s matter aspect) of the nature of Viṣṇu’s *śakti*, from Saṃkarṣaṇa down to Earth, is upheld in the supportless place (or, cloth) by (his) *saṃkalpa* (will-to-be)”.

These authors are not averse to explanations of what is usually called a ‘symbolical’ character. One instance must suffice. In discussing building materials such as stones and bricks they indicate by the qualification “male” strong and quadrangular, by “female” circular stones. This ‘symbolism’ makes indeed sense in contexts such as PāS. K. 5, 34 referring to a ‘symbolic’ womb for the impregnation ceremony (*garbhādhāna*) and providing an architectural parallel to the consummation ceremonies enjoined for nuptial couples.<sup>136</sup> As to particulars the texts are not in agreement with one another, and even not always in harmony with the ‘symbolism’ of related rites. The explanations of the ‘sex’ of stones furnished in the chapters on the materials out of which to fashion images<sup>137</sup> are on the whole more satisfactory than those dealing with temple construction.

Important facts, fundamental identifications, the great truths of the religion are sometimes put into the mouth of an authority of very high standing; a formulation with the first person of the verb enhances their authority. Or they are said to belong to the *vaiṣṇava* tradition.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> E.g. JS. 4, 82ff.; 4, 103f.; 5, 34f.; ParS. 2, 20f.; NārS. 3, 64; NPR. 2, 6, 29. For single longer or somewhat elaborated similes see e.g. AhS. 14, 34f.; ParS. 2, 88ff.; ŚaṅḍS. 1, 11; BBS. 1, 13, 34; 3, 3, 5; NPR. 1, 13, 12; cf. also AhS. 52, 64.

<sup>134</sup> JS. 3, 15; 4, 88. The end of a *saṃnyāsin* is at AhS. 15, 75 compared, just as the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddhists, to the extinction of a lamp.

<sup>135</sup> SCHRADER, I. P., p. 107.

<sup>136</sup> For particulars see SMITH, Ppp., p. 55; 63; 79; 81; 90; 91. Some relevant texts are: ŚPS. 6, 10ff.; 22ff.; ViS. 13, 77ff.; MärkS. 3, 1ff.; PāS. K. 5, 21 etc.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. e.g. SS. 24, 77ff.; VāsS. 4, 25ff.; ĪśvS. 17, 77ff.; KapS. 11, 36; ViS. 14, 3ff. and see SMITH, V. I., p. 26.

<sup>138</sup> E.g. ParS. 19, 34; NPR. 1, 12, 55; 1, 14, 4ff.

It is not surprising that in the narrative parts of their work these authors should have utilized motifs which are not foreign to other genres of the Sanskrit literature.<sup>139</sup> Aerial chariots and magic mirrors are as well known to them as hermitages or ascetics sitting under a tree and shining like fire or kings who take a nocturnal walk.<sup>140</sup> There is the *gandharva* marriage, the prince who is enchanted by a beautiful *nāga* girl, the charming princess who wishes to marry, the battle fought with magic weapons or divine missiles.<sup>141</sup> There are the celestial music, epiphanies, metamorphoses, curses and their marvellous effects and the rain of flowers, the fragrant wind when the divine powers are pleased<sup>142</sup> with an auspicious and memorable event. Digressions on the transitoriness of earthly existence, on reincarnations, on the authenticity of the doctrine are of course not wanting.<sup>143</sup> The Indian tendency to assimilate rather than to reject as well as the desire to show the comprehensiveness of their own religion accounts for the inclusion of non-Viṣṇuite deities and subject-matter.<sup>144</sup>

There is no use in dwelling upon the many formulaic and stereotyped expressions used in addressing the questioner—they are, for instance, of the type “learn this, O great sage”, “understand that, O divine seer”—<sup>145</sup> in inviting or addressing God or in awakening Him (in an image);<sup>146</sup> in marking the end of a communication<sup>147</sup> and so on.

Epithets and descriptive adjectives or honorific qualifications are inserted in addressing a person respectfully: “Indra among the *brahmins*”, “a sage like a tiger” or to put a person on a par with his ideal prototype.<sup>148</sup> They occur in somewhat poetical descriptions: “a hermitage beautiful with various trees”; in references to Viṣṇu who “speaks with a solemn voice” and then they often occur in strings recalling various aspects of the god, which—in definite contexts—the devotee should visualize in meditation.<sup>149</sup> Thus the descriptions of the Highest Brahman or of the condition of the soul in Viṣṇu’s highest place consist largely of series of characteristic qualifications.<sup>150</sup> Many of these quali-

<sup>139</sup> Cf. also SCHRADER, I.P., p. 133, n. 1.

<sup>140</sup> AhS. 49, 5; 48, 93; 50, 12f.; 50, 9ff.; SS. 1, 10; PrmS. 1, 25ff.

<sup>141</sup> AhS. 48, 73; 48, 68ff.; 48, 84f.; 50, 101ff.

<sup>142</sup> ViS. 1, 37; NPR. 1, 9, 37; BBS. 3, 9, 18; ParS. 14; LT. 1, 53 etc.; NPR. 1, a. 10; cf. st. 24.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. BBS. 3, 9, 2ff.; 2, 7, 66ff. and ĪS. 20, 280 (Rāmānuja as an incarnation of Śeṣa, Lakṣmaṇa etc.); JS. 1, 61f.

<sup>144</sup> See e.g. V. RAGHAVAN, ŚPS., Foreword, p. J, and occurrences of Śiva e.g. in BBS. 3, a. 8 and 9; NPR. 3, a. 1.

<sup>145</sup> E.g. AhS. 17, 31; 5, 12; 5, 15.

<sup>146</sup> E.g. NārS. 15, 72; ViśvS. 1, 52; JS. 20, 325f.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. Ah. 33, 68. A resumptive *śloka* at the end of a digression: AhS. 16, 33.

<sup>148</sup> JS. 25, 12; BBS. 1, 5, 50; cf. ŚPS. 2, 1ff.

<sup>149</sup> SS. 1, 4; ParS. 1, 1; ViS. 1, 23; SS. 1, 20; see also AhS. 33, 27 (principal person); 33, 55; 33, 61ff.; 41, 8; 41, 14ff.; JS. 6, 73ff.; ViS. 6, 64ff.; BBS. 2, 5, 28ff.

<sup>150</sup> AhS. 1, 22f.; 31, 7–11.

fications are presented in units of quarter stanzas; sometimes a long series precedes the noun,<sup>151</sup> even so as to disturb the syntactic order. Long compounds, though not very frequent, do occur.<sup>152</sup>

It is interesting to notice that the alleged fidelity to the ancient tradition led these Viṣṇuites as well as their Śivaite compatriots to use Vedic ritual terms such as *yāga* or *ijyā* “sacrifice” when their own Hinduist rites are meant and we would for instance expect the term *pūjā*.<sup>153</sup>

Many chapters abound in traditional qualifications and expressions, part of which quite intelligibly typically Viṣṇuite. Thus we find reminiscences of the epic vocabulary such as *sarvāpāpaprānāśana* “destroying all evil”; *vedavedāṅgapārāga* “completely conversant with the Vedas and their ancillary literature”; *rūpayauvanasampanna* “endowed with beauty and youth”, *tumulaṃ romaharṣaṇam* “tumultuous and causing horripilation”; *eṣa dharmah sanātanaḥ* “thus is the eternal *dharma*”; *sarvābharanabhūṣitaḥ* “adorned with all ornaments”<sup>154</sup> and *nārāyaṇaparāyaṇa* “solely devoted to Nārāyaṇa”.<sup>155</sup> “Viṣṇu’s (highest) place (stride)” is very often mentioned or characterized: *hareḥ padam*, *pare pade*, *paramaṃ padam*; *tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* etc.<sup>156</sup> There are references to “Viṣṇu’s presence” (*vaiṣṇavaṃ dhāma*) or “the highest presence”.<sup>157</sup>

Like many other Indian authors the compilers of this literature pay much attention to names. Being widely believed to be naturally and indissolubly connected with its owner, to constitute part of his personality, a name is believed to be loaded with power, to express the very essence of its bearer or—if a deity has many names—to denote aspects of his personality.<sup>158</sup> A

<sup>151</sup> E.g. AhS. 36, 7ff.; 37, 7–17; 46, 4ff.; 48, 18ff.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. AhS. 18, 7; 21, 9; 26, 11; 33, 94; ViS. 1, 18f.; 12, 10; 12, 13.

<sup>153</sup> E.g. JS. 22, 71; ParS. 13, 26; cf. also BhāgP. 11, 27, 7; 15; K. BHATTACHARYA, in JA 255, p. 213. ‘Study’ (*svādhyāya*) is at PrmS. K. 7, 436 study of the Pāñcarātra āgama.

<sup>154</sup> AhS. 37, 23; 48, 44; NārS. 20, 65; JS. 2, 38 (cf. 1, 7); 1, 5, 49; NārS. 24, 42; AhS. 42, 53; 46, 29; NPR. 3, 15, 7. Cf. also AhS. 11, 7; 49, 16; NārS. 2, 53 (*sambhṛtasambhāra*); 9, 211 (*otaprotā*); PS. 27, 1 (*vidhidrṣṭena karmaṇā*).

<sup>155</sup> BhS.Par. 3, 34; cf. JS. 25, 18.

<sup>156</sup> SS. 1, 6; PS. 5, 20; JS. 4, 43; 4, 109; 24, 76; AhS. 21, 29; 39, 4; 54, 28; SanS. R. 1, 71; BBS. 3, 5, 41; 3, 6, 57; ŚPS. 1, 36; 16, 18; ViS. 1, 36; NPR. 1, 8, 32. See also J. GONDA, The concept of a personal God in ancient Indian religious thought, *Studia missionalia* 17 (Rome 1968), p. 121.

<sup>157</sup> E.g. ParS. 10, 79; AhS. 36, 46; 37, 26; NārS. 9, 204. The term occurs also in Śivaite āgamas: MT. 1, 2, 29; 13, 9; 33; SvT. 10, 422 etc. Another very frequent term is *dhī* (also in compounds), the Vedic word for “vision, visionary insight, inspiration and texts or *mantras* produced by inspired seers”; in the *saṃhitās* it denotes the enlightened mind of the sage devotee (enabling him to “see” Viṣṇu, JS. 22, 7).

<sup>158</sup> For particulars see J. GONDA, Notes on names and the name of God in ancient India, *Amsterdam Acad.* 1970; R. D. RANADE, Pathway to God in Kannada literature, Bombay 1960, p. 184.

clear apprehension of the significance of a name can help to penetrate the mystery of the bearer's nature; uttering a name can make the bearer present or stimulate him into a display of power and helpfulness;<sup>159</sup> praising a deity by enumerating his names and epithets while knowing their significance is an effective means of strengthening him, and exerting influence upon him, exercising power over him. Hence passages such as BBS. 1, 9, 10ff. enjoining the recitation of Lakṣmī's names as an obligatory element of the devotion and homage paid to her, the author adding, "for the sake of worship", her names: Śrī, Lakṣmī, Kamalā and so on, each of which represents an aspect of the goddess' nature. Hence also the many 'etymological' explanations of names which, being based on the belief that there exists a link between the name and the character, functions, deeds, or course of life of the person denominated by it, are to 'demonstrate' the existence of a connexion between an aspect of the bearer and some important concept.<sup>160</sup> For instance, AhS. 2, 7ff. explaining the name of Viṣṇu's discus Sudarśana: *darśana* "seeing, sight" is said to mean *prekṣaṇa* "viewing, look", also "prospective thought", and *su* "well" is considered to denote its being unimpeded by time and space. The name of Varuṇa is connected with the verb *vr̥ṇute* and explained as "the one who encompasses all"; the name Hiranyagarbha is said to be composed of *hita* ("good"), *ramaṇīya* ("delightful") and *garbha* ("womb").<sup>161</sup> Words for important concepts do not escape these etymologists either: *dīkṣā* "consecration, initiation" is said to own its name to the fact that supranormal faculties are given (*dīyante*) and all knots or ties are destroyed (*kṣīyante*) by it.<sup>162</sup> The occurrence of different and contradictory explanations is no great surprise: the term *prāyaścitta* "expiation, atonement" is assumed to mean "making good (*citta*) for evil (*prāyaḥ*)" and "ritual reply to disturbance".<sup>163</sup> Hence also longer passages enumerating and explaining divine names, e.g. AhS. 3, 7-24:

"Because she is apprehended (characterized: *lakṣyamāṇā*) as being the world she is declared to be Lakṣmī; because she assumes (*śrayantī*, from *śri-*) the state of

<sup>159</sup> A new name should be given to a devotee who is initiated which should be that of a god suitable to his birth and character (ViS. 17, 11). Cf. also SanS. B. 4, 58.

<sup>160</sup> E.g. AhS. 52, 72f. (Govinda); 53, 13f. (Puṇḍarikākṣa); 57, 29f. (Jātavedas); LT. 50, 62 (Lakṣmī); ViS. 3, 56 and NārS. 1, 36 (Saṃkarṣaṇa); BBS. 1, 6, 69 (Nārāyaṇa). For a Śivaite example: NT. 9, 12 where God's eye (*netra*) is said to protect (*trā*) those who are bound (*nīyam-*).

<sup>161</sup> AhS. 52, 73f.; 2, 38.

<sup>162</sup> ViS. 10, 2 (otherwise LT. 41, 5); for other instances see e.g. JS. 2, 72 (*medinī* "earth"); NārS. 18, 2 (*utsava* "festival"); BSS. 1, 6, 1 (the traditional explication of *mantra*: *mananāt trāyate*); 3, 2, 12 (Vṛndāvāna); AhS. 2, 37 (*brahman*: *br̥hattvād br̥hmaṇatvāc ca*); 13, 6; AnS. 10, 3. In the Śivaite SvT. 10, 462 clouds called *jīmūta* are said to originate in the vital breath (*jīva*) of the gods. Commentators are not averse to these explanations either; e.g. Kṣemarāja on NT. 19, 109 (*nīrajana* = *nirena ajanam* or *niḥśeṣeṇa rājanam*); 22, 14.

<sup>163</sup> AgastyaS. I 9; PāS.C. 18, 1f.; cf. SMITH, in ALB 30, p. 26f. For various interpretations of the name Śrī see LT. 4, 52ff.; cf. 50, 79.

being Viṣṇu she is called Śrī . . . ; because she grants wishes (*kāma*), Kamalā; she is declared to be Viṣṇu's *śakti* because she consists of Viṣṇu's power . . .".<sup>164</sup>

So-called *śravaṇaphalas*, statements at the end of a work<sup>165</sup> or a chapter about the result of, i. e. the merit gained by, hearing its contents or part of them, are not absent. Thus it reads at NPR. 1, 2, 68:

"Listen; there is an ancient story on this point, well worth hearing . . . and leading to final liberation",

the story itself dealing with a man who had become liberated while still alive; and at 1, 7, 93:

"He who recites daily during the time of worship this laudation of Gaṇeśa made by Nārada obtains everywhere success and victory".

And for a longer eulogy see e. g. 1, 8, 30–35:

". . . Even a leper and one suffering from a severe disease will regain their health within a very short time and a poor man will become rich . . .".

At the end of the Nāradiya-Saṃhitā the work eulogizes itself; 30, 26ff.:

"This is a holy systematic exposition; it destroys sin; it is most sacred, great; it annihilates all sorrow, it gives happiness . . . The one who worships in accordance with this system will realize all his ambitions. A king who worships the eternal Viṣṇu in accordance with this method will be a conqueror and rule the whole earth . . .".

The eulogy can assume the form of an epilogue. The Brahmarātra of SanS. ends with 11, 15f.:

"I (Sanatkumāra) have succinctly communicated this whole Brahmarātra, after I have heard this work that leads to distinction, promotes length of life, procures entrance into heaven . . . told by Brahmā who had (heard) it from Nārāyaṇa . . .".

<sup>164</sup> For similar passages see e. g. AhS. 2, 28ff. (*para-brahman*). Cf. also AhS. 51, 61f.; NPR. 2, 3, 55ff.

<sup>165</sup> For an epilogue see JS. 33, 80–87.



## CHAPTER IX

### VAIKHĀNASA LITERATURE

The Vaikhānasas, a small endogamous group of Vaiṣṇavas belonging mainly to Tamil and Telugu speaking districts of the South and, though continuing to serve there in several major temples,<sup>1</sup> little known to outsiders,<sup>2</sup> claim to be the oldest Viṣṇuite community<sup>3</sup> and to derive their name from their founder, the sage Vikhanas.<sup>4</sup> This legendary figure is held to have been either the god Brahmā incarnate and initiated by Viṣṇu or a supermundane being descended to organize the worship of Viṣṇu in his image (*arcā*) form,<sup>5</sup> which in their opinion is a transformation of the Vedic 'shapeless' (*amūrta*) worship. However, the name Vaikhānasa is, in Dharma texts and elsewhere, often applied to an order of forest hermits (*vānaprastha*).<sup>6</sup> In this connexion mention is even made of "ritual fire to be consecrated according to the Śrāmaṇaka", a name explained as Vaikhānasa-Śāstra,<sup>7</sup> a fundamental work divulged by Vikhanas, but unknown to us, and apparently treating of the rules for forest hermits. On the other hand, a tradition handed down in *brāhmaṇa* texts<sup>8</sup> has it that the Vaikhānasas were seers dear to Indra. A *ṛṣi* Vaikhānasa occurs, moreover, in a

<sup>1</sup> For instance, at Tirupati, Kañcīpuram, the great Viṣṇu temple at Ma-thurā.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. DIEHL, I. P. p. 45 and A. GOVINDACARYA, in JRAS 1911, p. 939; FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 181; 321; 374; ELIOT, H.B., II, p. 190; P.T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, History of the Tamils, Madras 1929, p. 104. Compare also V. SH. PATHAK, The Vaikhānasa school in inscriptions of Northern India, Veñk. Univ. Or. Journal 2 (1959), p. 1. For other references to literature on the Vaikhānasas see GOUDRIAAN, K.B.W., p. 9, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. B.S.L. HANUMANTHA RAO, Religion in Āndhra, Tripurasundari 1973, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. AtriS. 1, 30; BhrguS. Y. 1, 12.

<sup>5</sup> K.R. VENKATARAMAN, in C.H.I. IV, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> I refer to KANE, H.Dh. I, p. 105; II, 917. Both terms are sometimes regarded as synonymous; cf. also Gautama-Dharmaśāstra, 3, 2 and Pāñcarātra works such as JS. 22, 13; SanS. B. 5, 22.—For the origin of the Vaikhānasas see also the fascicle on the Ritual Sūtras in volume I of this History.

<sup>7</sup> Gautama-Dharmaśāstra 3, 26f. and the commentator Haradatta; Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra 2, 6, 15 and the commentator Govindasvāmin. Possibly, Baudhāyana has resumed some of the prescripts of that authority. The Vaikhānasaśāstra is also mentioned in the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy 1917, 176 (during the reign of Rājādhirāja I, 1018–1052). The word *śāstra* may however mean "science".

<sup>8</sup> PB. 14, 4, 7; JB. 3, 190; see W. CALAND, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 358; KANE, H.Dh. II, p. 418.

much later—possibly interpolated—passage in the Sītā-Upaniṣad<sup>9</sup> as an authority on a definite Viṣṇuite view of the Goddess (Śrī). Whatever the status and functions of the ancient Vaikhānasas may have been, it is an established fact that already in early post-Vedic and post-epic times they were in the South, beside the Pāñcarātras, an important Viṣṇuite current. They claimed to have clung to Vedic orthodoxy,<sup>10</sup> because they are—as compared with the Pāñcarātras—faithful to various Vedic principles and traditions and possess *sūtra* texts<sup>11</sup> that are regarded as representing a school of the Taittiriya branch of the Black Yajur Veda. These facts have often led scholars to conclude that they constitute a Vedic school which—already in their *sūtra* texts—give evidence of having introduced a considerable number of non-Vedic rites and practices.<sup>12</sup> More precisely, they could perhaps be described as deriving their origin from a group or class of ascetics and recluses<sup>13</sup> who on one hand were affiliated to the conglomerate of the Vedic schools and attached much importance to faithfulness to Vedic traditions and on the other hand already at an early date worshipped Nārāyaṇa with strong leanings to Viṣṇuite ritualism.<sup>14</sup>

The thoroughly Viṣṇuite character of their professedly Vedic religion is emphasized at the very beginning of their medieval ritual manuals:

“Man has to worship Viṣṇu . . . according to a method which is in harmony with the Scriptures, with formulas from the Veda, in order to reach Viṣṇu’s highest abode”.<sup>15</sup>

Whereas, however, their late Vedic Sūtra work comprises already many rites and customs that are foreign to the other ritual *sūtras*, the ritual manuals show that the community—probably under the influence of other Vaiṣṇavas—had incorporated typically Hinduist elements such as a fully developed temple and image ritual—interestingly enough, essentially based on the domestic worship as found in the Sūtra<sup>16</sup>—with various offerings and many other Hindu fea-

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SCHRADER, I. P., p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> AtriS. 1, 29 speaks of the “Vaikhānasa branch” (*śākhā*, i. e. independent tradition of the Veda). Cf. also passages such as BhṛguS. Y. 14, 35ff.

<sup>11</sup> Reference to these is e. g. made in Kāśyapa, ch. 1.

<sup>12</sup> See e. g. GONDA, *Aspects*, p. 234; GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 7; RENOUE, E. V. P. VI, p. 8; 17, and compare texts such as the Baudhāyana-Grhya-Parīśiṣṭasūtra (see P. N. U. HARTING, *Selections from the Baudhāyana-Grhyaparīśiṣṭasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1922, Introduction).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. KS. ch. 1: “Viṣṇu is satisfied by Veda study, *śrauta* rituals and asceticism”. However, in ch. 20 *bhakti* is said to be the only access to Viṣṇu’s abode.

<sup>14</sup> Compare also formulas such as that quoted at KS. 5 “I worship Viṣṇu, the Lord, with formulas from the four Vedas, with Vedic methods and I sacrifice in the (non-Vedic) lotus-fire”; *ibidem*, ch. 17.

<sup>15</sup> KS. ch. 1; similarly, BhṛguS. Y. 1, 5; Marīci, ch. 1. Cf. ṚV. 1, 22, 20. Compare also KS. ch. 17; 35 etc.; AtriS. 31, 33; GONDA, V. Ś., p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> For details see T. GOUDRIAAN, *Vaikhānasa daily worship*, in IJ 12 (1970), p. 209.

tures, most of them, however, performed with Vedic fires.<sup>17</sup> Their 'double spiritual heritage' is also apparent from explicit statements about the twofold character of their cult: it is without and with bodily form,<sup>18</sup> that is, they perform both fire and image cults. Deliberate attempts were made to show that the worship of the visible god had not only begun in the Vedic period but was a transformation of the aniconic worship and equivalent to a Vedic agnihotra.<sup>19</sup> Worship without concrete support should "be left to hermits".<sup>20</sup>

From the time of king Rājarāja I (985–ca. 1014) the Vaikhānasas figure prominently in Cola inscriptions, from which it appears that they were priests of Viṣṇu temples and entrusted with the management of these sanctuaries and their landed property.<sup>21</sup> The rise of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Viṣṇuism could not remove them from their position, and even now they continue in part of the sanctuaries to perform *pūjā* in Sanskrit. Generally speaking the Vaikhānasa community is indeed characterized by conservatism.<sup>22</sup> The oblations they offer in the fire are executed according to Vedic injunctions and accompanied by ancient *mantras*. Many Vedic technical terms, ritual particulars etc. are still found in every treatise dealing with the conduct of worship: the instituter of a sacrifice is almost always called a *yajamāna*, the priests are often designated by Vedic titles such as *ṛtvij*, *hotar*, *adhvaryu*; ritual objects—e.g. the *sruc* "a large wooden ladle"—well known from the Veda, are often mentioned. In contradistinction to the Pāñcarātras the Vaikhānasas only reluctantly and sparingly incorporated non-Vedic elements.

The main differences between the two denominations are the following. The Vaikhānasas do not recite the Tamil hymns during worship, or worship the *ālvārs* and *ācāryas*, although owing to influence of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas images of these figures were installed in some of their temples; nor do they consecrate Āṅḍal and other women devotees who are believed by the others to have attained the status of the Lord's consort. They do not brand their bodies with the Viṣṇuite emblems. There are also differences in the disposition and description of the attendant deities (*parivāradevatā*) in their temples.<sup>23</sup> They give special prominence to Śrī, who is nature (*prakṛti*) and productive activity,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See also the argument and motivation in KS. ch. 1; GONDA, Aspects, p. 241.

<sup>18</sup> KS. ch. 1; BhrguS. Y. 1, 10; AtriS. 1, 28ff.

<sup>19</sup> Compare the editors' introduction to the Atri-Saṃhitā (n. 35 below), p. VII; KS. ch. 90.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. KS. ch. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. R. VASANTHA, The Cholas and the introduction of Śrīvaiṣṇavism into Karnāṭaka, QJMS 64 (1973), p. 32; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 126; VENKATARAMAN, op. cit.; Vedāntadeśika, P. R., Intr., p. XIX.

<sup>22</sup> The description of the domestic ritual in the medieval Atri-Saṃhitā (a. 81) is very similar to that in the Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtra (4, 12).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, Development of religion in South India, Bombay 1963, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. KS. ch. 35; cf. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 126.

as the power of the Supreme; being ever associated with Viṣṇu she projects the universe of spirit and matter, a non-Vedic *śakti* doctrine.<sup>25</sup>

These differences seem to have led the votaries of both traditions to develop mutual ill will which is reflected in some of their writings:<sup>26</sup> the Vaikhānasas reproach the Pāñcarātras with Tantrism and mixing their cult with secondary elements.<sup>27</sup> Being averse to ritual confusion they are of the opinion that

“Those wicked persons who, through folly or ignorance, wish to engage followers of a different doctrine as officiants on a place for Vaikhānasa worship go to Hell”.

The service of other Viṣṇuite denominations, especially of the Pāñcarātrins should not be performed, like their own, in villages, but in the forest and in times of distress.<sup>28</sup> Notwithstanding the insistence upon their Vedic orthodoxy—the performance of ritual functions belonging to their qualified officiants by persons not versed in the Veda is fruitless<sup>29</sup>—they have in course of time and already, in places, in their medieval ritual manuals adopted some Tantric elements such as diagrams, some powerful syllables (*biḥja*)<sup>30</sup>—but no *mudrās*—, and so-called syllable symbolism.<sup>31</sup> After the period of the manuals the number of Tantric elements increased; the younger monographs and commentaries have various practices (*nyāsa* etc.) in common with the other systems.

Apart from their *sūtra* texts which probably were not definitively drawn up before the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. the Vaikhānasas produced many other works, part of which they had themselves published in the Vaikhānasagranthamālā. According to their tradition their cult has chiefly been expounded by four *ṛṣis* of yore, Atri, Marīci, Bhṛgu and Kāśyapa—all of them except the second Vedic figures, and in the epos, with exception of Marīci’s son Kāśyapa, sons of Brahmā—who had received their knowledge from Vikhanas.<sup>32</sup> These sages—

<sup>25</sup> On Śrī see e.g. GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 117; 119; 124; 125.

<sup>26</sup> Thus Marīci, ĀnS. 13, 1ff. attempts to refute the tenets of the Pāñcarātra school, whereas Vedānta Deśika (Pāñcarātrarakṣā, ed. 1941), p. 101, quoting the Tantrasārasamuccaya, describes the Vaikhānasas as “unpropitious, disagreeable, insincere”. The same author, however, tried to reconcile them (e.g. Śaraṇāga-tidipikā, st. 32).

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. AtriS. 78, 62ff. Brahmins who have undergone the *samskāras* according to the Vaikhānasa doctrine are Viṣṇuites of the Soma (placid) variety, those who followed the Pāñcarātra ritual, of the Agni (fiery, dynamic) variety (65, 122ff.).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. AtriS. 65, 114ff.; 78, 1; 5; 8ff.; 64f.; KS. ch. 105.

<sup>29</sup> AtriS. 78, 31f.; cf. 64f.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. KS. ch. 16 (cf. GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 63); ch. 5. See e.g. GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 199; 307.

<sup>31</sup> See KS. ch. 106–108 (a later appendix; see also BRUNNER, in IJ 11, p. 297). Cf. S. SIAUVE, La voie vers la connaissance de Dieu, Pondicherry 1957, p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Marīci, Vimānārcanakalpa, ch. 96 (but in ch. 97 Brahmā is replaced by Viṣṇu!); cf. DIEHL, I. P., p. 45. Interestingly enough, the text says that these four seers belonged to a group of nine, corroborating the supposition that this tradition

great authorities on ritual who are, to mention only this, also credited with the discovery of the exact measures of Nārāyaṇa's image<sup>33</sup>—are believed to be the composers of the ritual handbooks (*saṃhitā*) of the community;<sup>34</sup> that is to say, of the priests of the community as appears from their technical contents and conventional and sometimes allusive language.

They are the following: Atri-Saṃhitā or Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa "Treatise on the image cult",<sup>35</sup> consisting of eighty-three chapters (and some addenda) and about 5000 stanzas, an elaborate and valuable treatment of the image cult, like the other verse compositions written in a comparatively easy style,<sup>36</sup> and possessing both instructive materials and literary merit; according to tradition,<sup>37</sup> Atri composed also a Pūrva- and Uttaratantra which are unknown to me. Marīci-Saṃhitā (in prose) part of which is published under different titles,<sup>38</sup> another part being the Ānanda-Saṃhitā;<sup>39</sup> the Vimānārcanakaḷpa is a good literary work, often precise and in places rather detailed and elaborate; it is a good source on architecture and iconography. Bhṛḡu's corpus, the ritual part of which (*Yajñādhikārah*),<sup>40</sup> consisting of fifty-one chapters and 2669

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is an adaption of the epic-purāṇic genealogy of Brahmā's (nine) mental sons (see e. g. E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 189; W. KIRFEL, *Das Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa*, Bonn 1927, p. 35).

<sup>33</sup> KS. ch. 50.

<sup>34</sup> The correctness of FARQUHAR'S (R.L.I., p. 321) statement about a dozen *saṃhitās* is to be doubted.

<sup>35</sup> Edited by P. RANGHUNATHA CHAKRAVARTI BHATTACHARYA (a Vaikhānasa āgama and *sāhitya* paṇḍit of the Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Sanskrit College, Tirupati) and M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, Tirupati 1943. The text is being translated and commented upon by C. VAN DER BURG (Utrecht).

<sup>36</sup> With stereotyped phrases, for instance the oft-recurring beginning of a chapter: "Now I shall relate . . .". Some ungrammatical forms are traditionally regarded as 'archaic' (*ārṣa*).

<sup>37</sup> NṚSIMHA VĀJPEYIN, a Vaikhānasa author and ritualist, cited by K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ, *Vaikhānasa āgama* (see below), p. III.

<sup>38</sup> Marīciproktasaṃhitāsu vimānārcanakaḷpaḥ "Procedure of the image cult", edited by D. RANGĀCĀRYA, (*Vaikhānasa granthamālā*), Ākulamaṇṇāḍu 1927, an uncritical edition (100 chapters) in Telugu script which is however much better than K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ, *Vaikhānasaṃ Marīciproktam* or *Vaikhānasa āgama*, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 121), Travancore 1935 (70 chapters, in Nāgarī characters). (DIEHL, I.P., p. 372 and SMITH, Ppp., p. 194 mention an edition in 101 chapters (under the first title), Tirupati 1926).

<sup>39</sup> There exists a publication in Telugu characters in the *Vaikhānasa-Grantha-mālā* Series 12, 1924–25. There is also a commentary (*vyākhyā*) by Pārthasārathi Kṛṣṇamācārya Bhaṭṭa. For Marīci's Ādi-, Jaya-, and Satya-Saṃhitās see the Catalogue of Manuscripts of Madras Gov. Library, vol. 26 and K.S. SASTRI, *Vaikhānasa āgama*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 121, p. IV. Dr. T. Goudriaan (Utrecht) has compiled a list of about a hundred titles of Vaikhānasa works which will be published through the kind offices of Dr Welbon in an American journal.

<sup>40</sup> Edited by D. RANGĀCĀRYA, *Bhṛḡusaṃhitā Yajñādhikārah* (*Vaikhānasa-granthamālā* 19), Ākulamaṇṇāḍu 1931. As to Bhṛḡu see also A.M. PIZZAGALLI, *La cosmogonia di Bhṛḡu*, in *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, Milano 1910, p. 95–149.

śloka, is shorter and of less value than the *Khilādhikāra*<sup>41</sup>—which is not, as might be inferred from the title, an appendix, but a full-fledged manual of the ritual—and the *Kriyādhikāra*;<sup>42</sup> the second work being probably the oldest of the three because it is quoted by the others. Finally, Kāśyapa's corpus; this also originally was a collection (*saṃhitā*) comprising not only the rather extensive work written in prose—half in succinct *sūtra* style, half in longer sentences with numerous copulative compounds—and comprising the traditional number of 108 chapters, viz. the *Jñānakāṇḍa*<sup>43</sup>—which is not a book on 'knowledge' or philosophy as one might infer from the title, but a rather detailed and methodical ritual handbook—but also two other volumes, the *Satyakāṇḍa* ("Division dealing with truth"<sup>44</sup>) and *Tarkakāṇḍa* (on the logical and philosophical system), which do not seem to be available any more,<sup>45</sup> with the result that the title *Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā* has come into use for the *Jñānakāṇḍa* only.

These four names<sup>46</sup> must be considered to stand for traditions or 'schools' handing down the same ritual doctrines and practices, but differing in details. In the extant works, they appear to quote each other,<sup>47</sup> that is to say the other traditions.<sup>48</sup> This fact adds to the difficulty in making definite statements about the time of the redactions. They must in any case be posterior to the *Sūtra* work and can, generally speaking, on the strength of the many architectural and iconographical data contained in the texts be hardly later in time than about 1100 A.D. The *Bṛḥgu* texts impress as being the youngest; they show some changes and innovations in their ritual traditions. The *Yajñādhikāra* is, moreover, often dependent on *Marīci*.<sup>49</sup> For *Kāśyapa* the period

<sup>41</sup> Edited by R. PĀRTHASĀRATHI BHATTACHARYA, Tirupati 1961.

<sup>42</sup> Edited by R. PĀRTHASĀRATHI BHATTACHARYA, Tirupati 1953. The *Prakirṇādhikāra* is another work attributed to *Bṛḥgu*: see p. 151 and fn. 100.

<sup>43</sup> Edited by R. PĀRTHASĀRATHI BHATTACHAR(YA), Tirupati 1948; second edition (corrected), Tirupati 1960 (on which see H. BRUNNER, in IJJ 11, p. 297). The work has been translated and commented upon by T. GOUDRIAAN, *Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom*, Thesis Utrecht 1965, The Hague 1965 (compare the review by H. BRUNNER, in IJJ 11, p. 293).

<sup>44</sup> A concept which may also comprise the Supreme Being and final emancipation.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. PĀRTHASĀRATHI BHATTACHARYA, Introduction to the edition, p. 1. A commentary on *Kāśyapa's Arcanākāṇḍa*, the *Arcanānavanīta*, was published in the *Vaikhānasagranthamālā* 1929.

<sup>46</sup> I cannot say which work is meant by the references to a (or the) *Vaikhānasa-Saṃhitā* mentioned by KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 627.

<sup>47</sup> For instance, in justification of details; see e.g. KS. 39, citing *Bṛḥgu*; 63 citing *Atri*; see n. 75 below.

<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless *Kāśyapa* is, for instance, referred to as being one single person. There can be no doubt that his work has for the greater part been drawn up by one redactor, notwithstanding additions etc. (see GOUDRIAAN, op. cit., p. 9; BRUNNER, op. cit., p. 297).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. GOUDRIAAN, in IJJ 12, p. 211. *Bṛḥgu* has, moreover, many stanzas in common with *Atri*.

between 800 and 1000 seems acceptable. Although there are no references in his work to the most important Vaikhānasa centre of his days, probably Tirupati, he may have lived there, or in any case in those Tamil or Telugu speaking regions where the Vaikhānasas are living up to the present time.

As to their contents, the divisions and disposition of the topics dealt with the works attributed to the four sages are in the main in agreement. The many differences between them concern innumerable details, a more or less circumstantial description of the same procedures or ceremonies, different sequences in which some of the subjects for discussion or the various minor elements of the ritual follow each other, the presence or absence of particular topics.<sup>50</sup> The main subjects treated are the following: in connexion with the building of a temple, the inspection of the site<sup>51</sup> and the preparatory ploughing on that site;<sup>52</sup> the deposit of the 'embryo' (Viṣṇu takes the earth as his bride and she conceives an embryo);<sup>53</sup> the provisory construction of a miniature temple in which Viṣṇu and his attendants are lodged during the time in which the main sanctuary is being constructed or when an evil omen or damage has occurred;<sup>54</sup> the collection of the materials (wood, stones);<sup>55</sup> the construction proper of the temple;<sup>56</sup> the construction and consecration of the images dealt with in all particulars, nothing being left to chance: the materials needed,<sup>57</sup> the measures and other characteristics of the frames and their consecration;<sup>58</sup> the oblations into the five fires;<sup>59</sup> the preparation of the clay for fashioning the image;<sup>60</sup> the measures of the image,<sup>61</sup> the ornaments, the other images etc.;<sup>62</sup> the *anikurārpana* rite;<sup>63</sup> the consecration of the images;<sup>64</sup> the daily worship in the

<sup>50</sup> For some references and particulars see also the editors' introduction to the Atri-Saṃhitā and the introductory notes preceding the chapters of Kāśyapa's work in GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W. Very often the numbers of the chapters are not in concordance, Kāśyapa's distribution of the subject-matter over 108 chapters causing the greatest deviation.

<sup>51</sup> Atri, ch. 2; Bhṛgu Yajñ., ch. 2; Kāśyapa, ch. 11–13; Marīci Vim., ch. 2.

<sup>52</sup> A. 3; Bh. 3; K. 22; M. 3.

<sup>53</sup> A. 10; Bh. 7; K. 16; M. 13; cf. S. KRAMRISCH, *The Hindu temple*, Calcutta 1946, I, p. 105.

<sup>54</sup> A. 4; 74; Bh. 5; K. 23–25; M. 4f.

<sup>55</sup> A. 12f.; 15; Bh. 11f.; K. 27f.; M. 15; 17.

<sup>56</sup> A. 6ff.; Bh. 8; K. 30–32; M. 6–10. Here Marīci is very detailed and has obviously exerted much influence; on various points K. deviates from A. and M. who are often in close agreement. Cf. also SMITH, Ppp., p. 52; DIEHL, I. P., p. 96.

<sup>57</sup> A. 14f.; Bh. 11f.; K. 40; M. 15f.

<sup>58</sup> A. 16f.; Bh. 13; K. 41ff.; 46; M. 17f. On K. 42 and 55 see also BRUNNER, in IJ 11, p. 298.

<sup>59</sup> A. 17; 29; K. 44; M. 30.

<sup>60</sup> A. 19 (shorter); K. 47–49; M. 18.

<sup>61</sup> A. 23; Bh. 19f.; K. 50f.; M. 23. Although the image has to answer to the traditional requirements about the ideal body, the texts differ in particulars.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. A. 20ff.; K. 52f.; M. 19ff.

<sup>63</sup> A. 26; K. 58; M. 26. GONDA, *Aspects*, p. 259.

<sup>64</sup> A. 27ff.; K. 59ff.; M. 27ff.

temple<sup>65</sup>—the following stages may be discerned: entering the temple; the duties of the assistants (such as fetching water); meditation (personal preparation) of the officiant; bathing the image; preparations, and worship of the minor deities; invocation of Viṣṇu; worship of Viṣṇu—various details about methods of offering, flowers to be used or avoided and about other elements of the daily worship;<sup>66</sup> various details about consecration and worship of the divine manifestations and avatāras;<sup>67</sup> the extensive bathing ceremony<sup>68</sup> performed on special occasions and believed to regenerate the divinity of the image; the festival;<sup>69</sup> atonements or corrections of errors of commission and omission (*prāyaścitta*).<sup>70</sup> Apart from these subjects which the manuals, generally speaking, have in common Kāśyapa gives a description of the world;<sup>71</sup> a classification of good (auspicious) and evil objects, the appeasement of ominous occurrences, causes of welfare and defeat;<sup>72</sup> directions for the construction of houses, the donations of villages, plans for towns and villages, etc.<sup>73</sup> The introductory chapter of these works is traditional, the eponymous sage being requested to explain the religious practice of the denomination.

That these ritualistic handbooks are more thoroughly viṣṇuized than the ancient *sūtras* is perfectly intelligible. In dealing with those subjects which they have in common with the *sūtras* they include not only references to these authoritative works or their “venerated seer”<sup>74</sup>—and incidentally also to one of the other promulgators of their lore<sup>75</sup>—but also numerous typically Viṣṇuite features. For instance, in discussing the so-called *āghāra* oblations to be offered into five fires Kāśyapa makes (ch. 63), in avowed agreement with Atri (30, 46 ff.), also mention of an invocation of God into the lotus-fire which is not mentioned by the older Vaikhānasa authorities. This combination of Vedic and non-Vedic elements—so characteristic of this community—is also found

<sup>65</sup> A. 40; Bh. 32; K. 69f.; M. 41. For a detailed discussion see T. GOUDRIAAN, *Vaikhānasa daily worship*, IJ 12 (1970), p. 161; GONDA, V. Ś., p. 78; R. I. II, p. 126. This ritual, performed by persons with special initiation, has practically remained unaltered up to the present day.

<sup>66</sup> A. 36; 42 ff.; K. 71 ff.; M. 42 f.; 45.

<sup>67</sup> Described more concisely in K. 34–39. A. 37 f.; 41; 58 ff.; K. 77 ff.; M. 44; 55 ff. The incarnations (*avatāra*)—according to Atri 58, 3 the first five are called *avirbhāva*, the last five *prādurbhāva*—are the well-known ten except for Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa instead of Kṛṣṇa and Buddha.

<sup>68</sup> A. 49 ff.; Bh. 34 ff.; K. 85 ff.; M. 48 f.

<sup>69</sup> A. 54 ff.; Bh. 38 ff.; K. 88 ff.; M. 51 ff. See GONDA, *Aspects*, p. 241; 244.

<sup>70</sup> A. 66 ff.; 77 f.; Bh. 44 ff.; K. 92 ff.; M. 61 ff.

<sup>71</sup> K. 2 f., also in one manuscript of Atri; see the edition, p. 505.

<sup>72</sup> K. 4 ff., including also the origin of the lotus-fire and the fulfilment of desires by means of this fire.

<sup>73</sup> K. 11 ff.; for references to other sources see GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 45 ff.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. KS. ch. 7; 9; 42 (“ancient tradition”); 59; AtriS. 35, 40.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. KS. ch. 63, quoting Atri (30, 46 ff.); ch. 69 quoting Bhrgu. For the lotus-fire see KS. ch. 5–8; Atri 13, 21; 29, 61 ff.; 30, 46.



in the doctrinal and mythological foundation underlying the ritual: the lotus-fire was produced by Brahmā out of his own heart when he wished to create the universe by means of meditation on Nārāyaṇa, and in that fire he produced the Veda, the living beings, the other sacred fires etc. Thereupon he gave it to the seers of yore to worship Viṣṇu; it fulfils all desires. Yet the manuals diverge, here also, in particulars. Whereas, for instance, Kāśyapa does not see his way to giving the piece of popular belief in the section on stones used as building materials a tinge of Viṣṇuism, Atri presents it as a sort of introduction to statements about the use of stones for ritual purposes.<sup>76</sup>

Thus these ritual manuals provide us with many interesting data illustrating the process of hinduization of rites and socio-ritual customs which the older sources represent as embedded in the Vedic ritual traditions. Whereas the Vedic first-fruit sacrifice requires offerings of rice etc. made to Indra-Agni, Soma and other gods (but not to Viṣṇu), the Vaikhānasas<sup>77</sup> add a number of post-Vedic gifts (flowers etc.) to the usual grain and offer these oblations exclusively to Viṣṇu whose image is in the usual Hindu way bathed and decorated with garments. Traditional Vedic ritualism is amalgamated with yogic, ascetic and *bhakti* tendencies, or influenced by popular belief—for instance if the images of the goddesses are missing one will lose one's wife and children—and as a rule with the Indian passion for systematization welded into Hindu rites and ceremonial.<sup>78</sup> That the Vaikhānasas were very well aware that their ritual was, in details, different from that of other Vaiṣṇavas appears for instance from the discussion of the so-called *garbhacakra* ceremony: whereas the others have at a given moment the arms of a pregnant woman marked by Viṣṇu's disc by means of a heated iron, they give them the remains of a mess of rice to eat on which the disc has been imprinted.<sup>79</sup>

In spite of their predominantly ritual and technical character these manuals make in places passing reference to the various ends which the votaries of the god have in view apart from reaching his highest abode and attaining final emancipation.<sup>80</sup> In doing so they shed some light on the theological doctrines which they do not set forth at some length. E.g. AtriS. 4, 33:

“One shall establish Viṣṇu, the lord of the world, in pleasant appearance everywhere in villages etc. in order to promote universal prosperity”.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>76</sup> KS. ch. 28, AtriS. ch. 12f.

<sup>77</sup> See AS. 47, 19ff. For the Vedic sacrifice see e.g. GONDA, R.I. I, p. 129; A. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 119.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. e.g. KS. ch. 46; 34. For purification of the earth by the cow: AtriS. 5, 5ff.

<sup>79</sup> ĀnS. 8, 10; 13. For this ceremony (Viṣṇubali), VaikhSrnS. 3, 13 see KANE, H. Dh. II, p. 226; GONDA, in IJ 14, p. 3. See also AtriS. 10, 10 as against ŚPS. 7, 1ff. etc. (SMITH, Ppp., p. 82).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. also GONDA, *Aspects*, p. 255.

<sup>81</sup> See e.g. also AtriS. 64, 54f.; 79, 39f.; 39, 27 (wife and children will prosper); 39, 55f.; 2, 29 (increase of offspring, grain and money) etc.; cf. GONDA, *Aspects*, p. 242; 255.

The worship of Śrī<sup>82</sup> is likewise often recommended. Śrī, prosperity in person and God's majesty (*vibhūti*) and lordly power (*aiśvarya*),<sup>83</sup> is twofold, *rājaśrī* which answers to "secular prosperity" and *brahmaśrī* which may be translated by "spiritual prosperity". In her second aspect she must be honoured by brahmins.<sup>84</sup>

Although they do not make it a rule the manuals not infrequently furnish their readers with a motivation or elucidation of their ritual expositions. For instance, any act performed for God or any service devoutly rendered to him will result in final emancipation, a *bhakti* idea.<sup>85</sup> Or the inherent force of a mythic example is actualized,<sup>86</sup> or also references are made to the ancients.<sup>87</sup> Part of the theoretical observations or expatiations are as a rule of the well-known recommendatory type and meant to teach the devotees their duties or to remind them that the rites are a religious, social and economic necessity.<sup>88</sup> Besides, these ritualists sometimes include brief philosophical digressions which are not found in the *sūtra* text. Thus in prescribing a method of meditating on the Lord of gods as being the Highest Self Kāśyapa quotes, in no less than 105 *pratikas* (first words of a quotation) the whole of the Pāramātmika-Upaniṣad which extols Viṣṇu's cosmical nature, and Atri, referring to the Vedic revelation (*śruti*), inserts a passage on the nature of the Highest self which is identical with Nārāyaṇa and the transcendent Brahman.<sup>89</sup> Although these allusions are far from long and numerous enough to make a complete reconstruction of the doctrinal tenets of the community possible some of them allow us to gain an insight into their dialectics. While subscribing, in a comparatively long philosophical digression, to the traditional monistic tradition Kāśyapa (ch. 35) dwells upon the nature of Brahman and Viṣṇu as its highest manifestation to add a theological exposition of God's other manifestations and to adopt, in substantiation of his argument, Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad 4, 10—Śivaite, it is true, but authoritative—; he subjoins the doctrine that Śrī, the cause of all empirical existence, should be worshipped together with God.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See KS. ch. 7; GONDA, Aspects, p. 176.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. GONDA, Aspects, p. 178; 192; 217.

<sup>84</sup> KS. ch. 7; see GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 37; for Śrī also GONDA, Aspects, p. 243.

<sup>85</sup> AtriS. 65, 80ff.; cf. e.g. 64, 53. For *bhakti* see e.g. also AS. 1, 32; Bhrgu Y. 1, 6; K. ch. 1, 20.

<sup>86</sup> AtriS. 47, 97; 64, 3; cf. 64, 51f.

<sup>87</sup> AtriS. 47, 2; among these ancients are the authors of Taittiriya texts (TS. 4, 4, 10, 1; TB. 1, 5, 4, 4). See also J. GONDA, Religious thought and practice in Vaikhānasa Viṣṇuism, article to be published by the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. AtriS. a. 83 on worship of the Sun; KS. ch. 90, at the end of the discussion of the festival; ch. 35; 55; 64; 74.

<sup>89</sup> KS. 65; AS. 31, 33; for the Upaniṣad see Unpublished Upanishads, Adyar-Madras 1933, p. 86.

<sup>90</sup> For an elaborate theological explanation of the invocation of Viṣṇu see KS., ch. 24, with quotations from TĀ. 10, 10, 1, MāṇḍU. 2; BĀU. 4, 4, 19. KS. 50 introduces the section on the measures of the image with a theoretical explanation of the significance of Nārāyaṇa's body, limbs and ornaments and the function of the image.

Many passages of theological interest shed light on, or raise questions in connexion with, the processes which have led to the synthetic religion called Vaiṣṇavism. According to the Vaiṣṇāsanas Nārāyaṇa is the Highest Brahman to be reached by meditation and concentration and the fusion between the Ṛgvedic Puruṣa and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa is already complete in their Sūtra,<sup>91</sup> the latter receiving the epithets of the former. In course of time however they developed the conception of Viṣṇu's fivefold manifestation contrasting with the *vyūha* theory of the Pāñcarātras: Viṣṇu (as 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).<sup>92</sup> According to their tradition these manifestations are connected with the conception of the late Vedic fivefold fire. However, the interesting question remains as to how far the well-known Śivaite speculations on the number five have exerted influence.<sup>93</sup> It is on the other hand not surprising that these ritualists are sometimes more explicit than the older authorities in particulars concerning the practical (i. e. ritual) importance of a doctrinal or socio-religious principle. In reproducing the sections on pure and mixed castes contained in the Sūtra (10, 11 ff.) Kāśyapa (ch. 91) does not end his survey before stating that:

“One may converse with members of impure castes only if some dry grass is between” and prescribing for the king “to pay attention to these castes, and to charge them with their proper tasks.”

The process of Hinduization is often illustrated by the use of ancient *mantras*—in itself the clearest evidence of ‘orthodoxy’—their combination and their application to non-Vedic rites. From the almost innumerable ancient *mantras* individual religious communities made their choice, regarding part of their selections as specially important, for instance because they represent aspects of their favourite deity or express fundamentals of their religion. The application or adaptation of a sacred formula—which may refer to the doctrinal background of a ritual prescription—to a new purpose may in principle be regarded as pointing to the conviction on the part of a religious group that there existed essential identity, or at least similarity, between the original or traditional meaning of the *mantra* or the act to which it belonged on the one hand and the rite to which it was transferred on the other. In this connexion the question as to why so many *mantras* were in course of time asso-

<sup>91</sup> VaiṣṇSmS. 10, 7 (cf. TĀ. 10, 11, 1); 10, 10.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. KS. ch. 34; 35; 74; 77f. (an interesting exposition in the beginning of this chapter); AS. 1, 38f.; 30, 36ff.; 36, 7; ch. 37 etc.; GONDA, Aspects, p. 239; 242. The chasm between the fourfoldness of the Veda and the four manifestations Puruṣa etc., who are considered identical with the Vedas and the fivefold Vaiṣṇāsanā ritual is bridged over by the archaic addition of the whole or origin (*in casu* Viṣṇu) to the component parts (see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 45; RENOU, E. V. P. VI, p. 17).

<sup>93</sup> H. BRUNNER, in IJ 11, p. 299.

ciated with rites with which they at first sight have no affinity is of special importance.<sup>94</sup> It may further be surmised that the combination of Vedic and the numerous non-Vedic *mantras*<sup>95</sup> reflects the amalgamation, *in casu* of the cult of the Vedic Viṣṇu with that of Nārāyaṇa: the use of the eight-syllabled *Om namo nārāyaṇāya* “Om homage to Nārāyaṇa” etc. is sanctioned already in the Vaikhānasa-Sūtra (4, 12; 10, 9). Many of the numerous younger *mantras* indicate the significance of a ritual very well.<sup>96</sup>

The so-called Vaiṣṇavam (ṚV. 1, 22, 16–21) and the individual stanzas of this text may be quoted as a case in point. Constituting so to say a confession of faith in Viṣṇu specially adapted for invoking his presence and protection it is in a rite relating to the lotus-fire used to consecrate a rice-ball destined for the god, for consecratory purposes also in a ceremonial construction of a miniature temple temporarily to lodge that god, in the rite of the so-called embryo of Viṣṇu’s image, and on many other non-Vedic occasions.<sup>97</sup> In illustration of the use of ṚV. 1, 22, 17 “Here did Viṣṇu stride; three times he set down his foot . . .” combined with the formula “The Lord (Puruṣa) must come” (*āyātu bhagavān*) which does not occur in our Vedic texts<sup>98</sup> attention may be drawn to AS. 35, 36 where the formulas are prescribed when one should, whilst invoking the god, cause the water which contains Viṣṇu’s dynamic power to flow.<sup>99</sup> Not infrequently the application of a Vedic *mantra* to a Hindu rite does not become clear before we realize the parallelism between, or essential identity of, a Vedic and a Hindu ritual act. ṚV. 1, 22, 20 “The patrons (of the poets and priests) ever beheld that highest step of Viṣṇu . . .” accompanies, together with a non-Vedic *mantra* dealing with flowers, the offering of a flower. This act is more than mere homage because the flower, supposed to contain the life-breath of the worshipper, is so to say a bridge to God, just like the top of the sacrificial stake in the Vedic ritual to which the patrons had—to the accompaniment of the same Vedic stanza—to look up when they desired to come into contact with the Unseen. Elsewhere a *mantra* seems to suit a name rather than the act or the oblation, for instance when ṚV. 1, 22, 18 “Three steps Viṣṇu strode out . . .” is at KS. 70 used to accompany an offering of barley to Aniruddha, God’s “Unobstructed” aspect.

In addition to the above texts there are a number of younger works on the ritual of this denomination, viz. Bhṛḡu’s Prakīrṇādhikāra,<sup>100</sup> dealing with

<sup>94</sup> Compare J. GONDA, The use of Vedic *mantras* in the ritual texts of the Vaikhānasa, IJ 14 (1972), p. 1 and an article on the use of the Viṣṇusūkta to be published in Our Heritage, Calcutta. Part of the ancient *mantras* fell into disuse.

<sup>95</sup> For non-Vedic formulas see e.g. KS. ch. 74; H. BRUNNER, in IJ 11, p. 300.

<sup>96</sup> See e.g. AtriS. 78, 51f.; KS. ch. 22 *sarvaṃ vyapaitu*.

<sup>97</sup> KS. ch. 6; 23; 45; for more particulars see GONDA, in IJ 14, p. 14; BhṛḡuS. Y. 18, 11f.

<sup>98</sup> Vaikhānasamantra-Saṃhitā 5, 65; Arcanakhaṇḍa of Kāśyapa 4.

<sup>99</sup> For other apposite uses see GONDA, in IJ 14, p. 18.

<sup>100</sup> Edited by M. RĀMAKRISHNA KAVI, Madras 1929.

“miscellaneous rules”; the Arcanākhaṇḍa attributed to Kāśyapa, that is a monograph on daily worship belonging to the school of this sage,<sup>101</sup> which, like the preceding work, adds new elements to the ritual described; the Arcanāsārasaṅgraha,<sup>102</sup> being a commentary on the preceding text; Keśava’s Arcanānavanīta “Fresh butter of worship”,<sup>103</sup> a commentary on the Sap-tādhyāyī, a monograph on daily worship by Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin, probably belonging to the tradition of Marīci.

One work which, it is true, contains much old material and at first sight impresses us as belonging to the *sūtra* period cannot in its present redaction be contemporaneous with the oldest manuals. I mean the Vaikhānasamantra-praśnam (*daivikacatuṣṭayam*)<sup>104</sup> or Mantra-Saṃhitā. This book comprises all the formulas needed in the temple ritual;<sup>105</sup> they are quoted in full when employed for the first time and by means of the initial words (*pratikena*) when recurring afterwards. The first half (chapters 1–4) contain the *mantras* for the Gṛhyasūtra,<sup>106</sup> the second called *daivikacatuṣṭayam* (5–8) those for the temple ritual as described in the handbooks of the four *ṛsis*.<sup>107</sup> The question as to which manual is followed cannot be answered<sup>108</sup> because the text sometimes presents the *mantras* in an order which is foreign to all the manuals, sometimes gives *mantras* for acts that are mentioned only in later sources, etc., so that the conclusion must be that the last four chapters at least, notwithstanding the—in places incorrect—use of the Vedic accentuation cannot be regarded as old.

From the above survey it appears that there is no Vaikhānasa counterpart of the *āgama* literature of the Śivaitees<sup>109</sup> or even of the Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*. The literature of this denomination is almost completely ritual, prescribing their liturgy and the rules to be obeyed in performing and supervising their ceremonies.

101 Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras n° 1606 B.

102 N° 1606 A in the same library.

103 Edited in the Vaikhānasagranthamālā, n° 18, Akulamaññaḍu 1929.

104 Edited in the Vaikhānasagranthamālā, n° 14, Akulamaññaḍu 1926; compare W. CALAND, On the sacred books of the Vaikhānasas, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 3; 15; Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram, Calcutta 1929, p. X.

105 For a list of the *mantras* occurring in Kāśyapa’s work see GOUDRIAAN, K. B. W., p. 313.

106 To be discussed in the fascicle on the Ritual Sūtras.

107 In 5, 49 the text of the interesting Ātmasūkta is given in full. This text stresses the identity of the worshipper’s body with the cosmos. See GOUDRIAAN, in IJ 12 (1970), p. 212.

108 For particulars see GOUDRIAAN, in IJ 12, p. 210.

109 Is the prose Vaikhānasāgama mentioned by RENOUE, I. C. I, p. 631 Kāśyapa’s work? Speaking of earlier important philosophical *sūtras* lost to us S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Indian philosophy, II, London 1948, p. 23 makes also mention of Vaikhānasa Sūtras. The Vaikhānasasūtradarpaṇa by Nṛsiṃha, published at Ellore 1915, is a manual of domestic rites. For the Dharma-Sūtra or Dharma-Praśna (KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 105) and the Vaikhānasiya-Saṃhitā or Mantrapraśna (cf. GONDA, Aspects, p. 241) see the fascicle on the Ritual Sūtras in volume I of this History.

## CHAPTER X

### ŚIVAISM

The origins of Śivaism<sup>1</sup> which are lost in obscurity need not detain us. Already in the Veda the god Rudra, primarily the representative of the uncultivated, dangerous and unreliable aspects of nature, was called Śiva, "the Mild or Auspicious One" when this aspect of his ambivalent character was emphasized. In the Yajurvedic Śatarudriya,<sup>2</sup> which came to occupy an important place in later Śivaism, all early conceptions regarding this divine figure were drawn together so as to constitute a starting-point for new developments culminating in the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad (± 400 B.C.). The post-Vedic Śiva—who in the circles that left us this remarkable work began to rise to the highest divine rank<sup>3</sup>—is a typical example of polarity within the Highest Being. He is believed to reconcile in his person opposite, though complementary aspects: as an ambivalent and many-sided lord and master he is both mild and terrible; creator and agent of reabsorption and eternal rest as well as ceaseless activity. These apparent contradictions, the complication of his character and his widely divergent interest lend him a mysterious sublimity of his own. The 'central paradox of Śaiva mythology'<sup>4</sup>—Śiva the erotic ascetic who interrupts his austerities to marry Pārvatī—has long been an enigma to Western scholars.

Notwithstanding the highly concrete conception of this deity, notwithstanding the intensely intimate nature of his relations with his worshippers and the

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<sup>1</sup> For general information see FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 101; 145; 190; 251; 346; ELIOT, H.B. II, p. 136; 206; J.E. CARPENTER, *Theism in medieval India*, London 1921, p. 246; C.V. NARAYANA AYYAR, *Origin and early history of Śivaism in South India*, Madras 1974; GONDA, R.I. I, p. 254; II, p. 188; K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, in C.H.I. IV, p. 63; L. RENOU, *Religions of ancient India*, London 1953, p. 137 (Index); P.C. DIVANJI, *The Maheśvara cult*, in *J. Asiatic Soc. of Bombay* 30 (1955), II, p. 6; M.V.S. PATHAK, *History of Śaiva cults in North India*, Benares 1960; R.K. BHATTACHARYYA, *Popularity of Śiva worship*, *Vishveshvaranand Indol. Journal* 10 (1972), p. 80; R.C. ZAEHNER, *Hinduism*, London 1962, p. 270 (Index); CHAKRABORTI, PS., p. 1; J.R. HINNELLS and E.J. SHARPE (ed.), *Hinduism*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1972, p. 58ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vājasaneyī-Samhitā* XVI; see GONDA, V.L., p. 329; NILAKANTA SASTRI, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. ŚvU. 1, 3ff.; 4, 12ff.

<sup>4</sup> W. DONIGER O'FLAHERTY, *Asceticism and eroticism in the mythology of Śiva*, London 1973; *Asceticism and sexuality in the mythology of Śiva*, in *History of Religions* 8 (Chicago 1969), p. 300; 9 (1969), p. 1.

personal ties which connect the human soul with him, there is about Śiva—unlike Viṣṇu and his incarnations—little that is human. He is nevertheless the central figure of a mythology which, though less varied and elaborated than that produced by the Viṣṇuites, is an important key to fascinating mysteries of the Hindu view of the world.<sup>5</sup> His myths depict him as the absolutely mighty and unique Highest Being, who is not responsible to anybody or for anything. Much less active than Viṣṇu, he is a god of poses that express aspects of his nature: as a dancer, he is the originator of the eternal rhythm of the universe; in his headdress he wears the crescent moon which drips the nectar of everlasting life. His ‘doubles’ or partial manifestations remain distinct figures:<sup>6</sup> he may, for instance, appear as Paśupati “Lord of cattle” or as the uncanny Aghora.

While, on the one hand, many features of ancient gods—the Vedic god of fire, Agni, Prajāpati and Brahmā, the ‘personification’ of Brahman—accreted to his figure, his religion, like that of Viṣṇu, underwent in the course of time the influence of the brahminical, so-called orthodox philosophy. In its fundamental tenets and view of the world it agrees closely with the Sāṃkhya school of thought, in its practical discipline with the allied Yoga; the Vedānta left its traces, *inter alia*, on the strong *bhedābheda* (‘unity-and-difference’)<sup>7</sup> or monistic tendencies in the works of its philosophers. But despite the fact that major groups such as the Viraśaivas and the Śivaïtes of Kashmir contributed theological principles and elaborated the philosophical foundations of their religion, most Śaiva worship has long remained a complex and little systematized amalgam of pan-Indian Śiva speculations and local or folk worship. It is probable that in the first five or six centuries of the Christian era most Śivaïtes did not belong to some particular organized sub-group, because even in modern times many devotees continued their worship of the god in accordance with traditional usage without troubling much about philosophical principles or doctrinal differences of opinion.<sup>8</sup>

While certain forms of Śivaism which evolved in the first centuries of our era have some striking features in common with Viṣṇuism, it is as a whole much more coherent than the latter complex of religions. For instance, the Śaiva-Siddhānta is alike in sentiment, thought, and ritual akin to the Pāśupata doctrines and its dogmas are generally speaking those common to Śivaïte schools in other parts of India. However, the practices of Śiva worship devel-

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 219; O’FLAHERTY, *op. cit.*, and *The symbolism of the Third Eye of Śiva in the mythology of the Purāṇas*, Purāṇa 11 (Varanasi 1969), p. 273; *The symbolism of ashes in the mythology of Śiva*, Purāṇa 13 (1971), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> See also H. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in *BEFEO* 61, p. 148 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Also called *dvaitādvaitavāda* “dualistic non-dualism”; see e.g. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Indian philosophy*, II, London 1923 (1948), p. 751. Cf. e.g. DASGUPTA, *H. I. Ph. V*, p. 49; 59; 68 etc.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. RENOUE(-FILLIOZAT), *I. C. I*, p. 627.

oped variations which led to the rise of several increasingly differentiating currents.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, whereas for all Śivaiteś Śiva is absolute, infinite and incomprehensible Reality as well as a personal High God, opinions came to be divided on the relations between God and the world. Thus Śivaism evolved, in different parts of India, some regional variations or branches with peculiarities of their own.<sup>10</sup> Broadly speaking, four<sup>11</sup> or five main currents can be distinguished. A quadripartition (*caturvidham śāstram*, “the fourfold authoritative doctrine”) is reflected in passages such as Suprabhedā-Āgama, Caryāpāda 1, 1 ff. and the Pūrvakāraṇa-Āgama 26, 38f. enumerating the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Soma<sup>12</sup> and Lākula<sup>13</sup> Śivaiteś, the three mentioned last being characterized as unworthy.<sup>14</sup> The first group is subdivided into four “doctrines” or “systems” (*tantra*), viz. the “left” (*vāma*), the “right” (*dakṣiṇa*), the “mixed” (*miśra*) and the “conclusive” or “definitive”, “the established opinion or doctrine” (*siddhānta*). The last is said to be the best and to be embodied in the *āgamas*. It is one of the very purposes of these works to explain the structure of that group of co-religionists which is initiated into that system and which is known as Śaiva-Siddhāntin, Śuddha-Śaiva (“Pure, Genuine or True Śaivas”) or briefly Śaiva (par excellence).<sup>15</sup> Although the Āgamas apply the term Śaiva-Siddhānta or Siddhānta-Tantra to the doctrine which they expound,<sup>16</sup> one had better avoid it in this connexion, because it has become naturalized as the name of the philosophical system developed in Tamil works since the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. CHATTOPADHYAYA, E. Th. S., p. 4; 66; T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, in H. C. I. P. II, p. 453.

<sup>10</sup> BHANDARKAR, V. Ś., p. 102; K. Ch. PANDEY, Bhāskari, III, Lucknow Univ. 1954, Introduction; JADUNATH SINHA, Schools of Śivaism, Calcutta 1970.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. in Bhāskara’s Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Śūtras, p. 127.

<sup>12</sup> On this obscure branch (Soma-Siddhānta), of whose doctrines is nothing known, see G. TUCCI, in JASB 26, p. 130; CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in IHQ 8, p. 221; PATHAK, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Lakulīśa is a reputed incarnation of Śiva-Maheśvara who is traditionally held to have introduced, about the beginning of the Christian era, the Pāśupata and Kālamukha varieties of Śivaism. See e.g. C. H. I. IV, p. 754; MINORA HARA, in IJ 2, p. 9, and in Vol. G. Kaviraj, Lucknow 1967, p. 58; K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN, in Vishveshvaranand Indol. Journal 2 (1964), p. 115; K. P. NAUTIYAL, in JOIB 13, p. 54; CAKRAVORTI, PS., p. 8; LORENZEN (title in n. 22), p. 173 (chapter VI).

<sup>14</sup> For some particulars see H. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 252 (1964), p. 451; 453; 466.

<sup>15</sup> We can omit discussing the question as to the social class of the original adherents of this group. Madame BRUNNER, JA 252, p. 464f. is of the opinion that it at first consisted of *śūdras* and that the Śaiva-Brahmanas were in the course of time ‘created’ as an élite. In any case it is a fact that the major early figures in the philosophical and religious development of this current were of non-brahminical origin.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. KĀ. 1, 1, 113; 119; SĀ. 1, 56, 16; 2, 1, 12.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. H. W. SCHOMERUS, Der Čaiva-Siddhānta, eine Mystik Indiens, Leipzig 1912; V. PARANJOTI, Śaiva Siddhānta, London 1954; H. P. SULLIVAN, The Śaiva Siddhānta school of Hinduism, Thesis Chicago 1957; for further information see GONDA, R. I. II, p. 231; K. V. ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden 1975, p. 207, n. 34. Compare also n. 43 below.



Among the oldest Śivaite tradition in the North, the Pāśupatas,<sup>18</sup> ascetic tendencies were much in evidence. In spite of the closeness of their doctrines to those of Sāṃkhya and Yoga they tried to distinguish themselves from these schools and emphasized their monotheism.<sup>19</sup> In their opinion God is absolutely independent and the instrumental cause of the world, 'nature' and 'souls' being 'effects' (*paśu*) rooted in His will, no 'causes' as is taught by the Sāṃkhya school.<sup>20</sup> The liberated souls become eternally associated with Śiva. Their particular *yoga*, consisting of a constant meditative contact with Śiva in solitude which made them frequent burial places for cremated bodies and other ritual practices were often regarded as revolting. More extreme groups, called Kāpālikas, believed that an ostentatious indifference to anything worldly is the best method of freeing oneself from *samsāra*. They carried human skulls (*kapāla*) and a bowl of liquor in which they projected and worshipped God as "the Skull Bearer" (Kapālika) or "the Frightful One" (Bhairava).<sup>21</sup> The latter do not seem to have left us any texts.<sup>22</sup>

The Vira-Śaivas (or Līngāyats)<sup>23</sup> of the South-West who, though probably constituting a continuation of the ancient current of the Kālamukhas, are not mentioned before the 12<sup>th</sup> century, deviate from some common Hindu traditions and institutions, such as temple worship and sacrificial rites. Initiation (*dikṣā*) is on the other hand obligatory and bestowed also on the newborn and converts. They recognize the authority of the Veda, the *purāṇas* and the *āgamas*. They always bear a miniature *līnga* (God himself concretely represented), the centre and basis of all their religious practices and observances, on their body.

Although this is not the occasion for setting forth Śivaite speculative thought

<sup>18</sup> See LORENZEN (title in n. 22), p. 173 (chapter VI); RENOU(-FILLIOZAT), I. C. IV, p. 628; K. K. HANDIQUI, Yaśastilaka and Indian culture, Sholapur 1949, p. 199; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 213 (with a bibliography); CHAKRABORTI, PS., p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> See MINORU HARA, Pāśupata and Sāṃkhya-Yoga, in JOR 34-35 (1973), p. 76.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kaundinya, on PS. 5, 47.

<sup>21</sup> For purāṇic ideas of Śiva's Bhairava form see S. G. KANTAWALA, Cultural history from the Matsyapurāna, Baroda 1964, p. 190; for the relation between the frightful Bhairava and the Bhairava conception of Śivaite philosophy: H. VON STIETENCRON, in ZDMG, Suppl. I, 3 (Wiesbaden 1969), p. 863.

<sup>22</sup> For this extinct Śivaite group see: D. N. LORENZEN, The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas. Two lost Śaivite sects, New Delhi 1972. Cf. also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 2; 5; 10; for other Śivaite ibidem, p. 2; 4; 17, n. 1. It is difficult to say to what extent these groups, for instance the Kālamukhas, imbibed certain essential features of the *āgama* literature.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. FARQUHAR, p. 259; 353; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 243 (with a bibliographical note); DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 10; 42; S. D. PARVATE, Veerashaiva philosophy of the *āgamas*, Hubli 1927; S. C. NANDIMATH, A handbook of Viraśaivism, Dharwan 1942; SHREE KUMARASWAMIJI, in C. H. I. IV, p. 98; H. THIPPERUDRA SWAMY, The Viraśaiva saints. A study, Mysore 1968; H. M. SADASIVAIAH, A comparative study of two Viraśaiva monasteries, Mysore 1967; H. P. MALLEDEVARU, Essentials of Viraśaivism, Bombay 1973.

in some detail mention should be made of two ingenious and complementary doctrines to explain God's nature and omnipotence, the existence of the world and the identity of God and the world, established by authors of Śivaite *purāṇas*.<sup>24</sup> The first theory, that of the so-called five faces (*pañcavaktra*)<sup>25</sup> is of great ritual significance. It associates each of the five 'faces' or aspects of God—the force that rules, absorbs, and reproduces the world and that in performing any one of these acts necessarily performs the other two as well—with one of his functions which are believed to be an emanation of the unmanifested Śiva (Niṣkala "the One without parts"<sup>26</sup>) who is the transcendent Brahman: his so-called creative function, by which he provokes the evolution of the material cause of the universe, with his first aspect; its maintenance and reabsorption with the second and third faces; his power of obscuration by which he conceals the souls in the phenomena of *saṃsāra*, with the fourth; and his ability to bestow his grace, with the fifth. These 'faces' are given mythological names and related *mantras*, viz. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna.<sup>27</sup> Of these five figures Aghora is the most distinct and independent. His main fields of activity are punishment of sinful behaviour, evil, diseases, death, magical practices and their opposites. In the course of time these five 'faces' were made the central element of a classification in which they were identified with parts of Śiva's body, ontological principles, the organs of sense and action, the subtle and gross elements, etc.<sup>28</sup> Each of Śiva's five 'faces' corresponds to, or is identical with, one of the components of the five groups which according to the Sāṃkhya school of thought constitute the twenty-five (five times five) 'principles' or basic categories (*tattva*). This system is an attempt to explain Śiva's being the All, and the universe's being exclusively composed of aspects and manifestations of God. With the five faces which are collectively also known as the Pañca-Brahmas are, moreover, associated the five so-called Sadākhyas ("items bearing the name 'being', *sat*") which are assumed to have evolved from God's fivefold creative energy, dynamic and sacred power (*śakti*) and in which He dwells in his aspect called Sadāśiva<sup>29</sup> ("the Eternal Śiva"), the Most Supreme Being who is comparable to the Vāsudeva of the Viṣṇuites.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For some characteristics of the 'general' purāṇic Śivaism see H. MEINHARD, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śivaismus nach den Purāṇas*, Thesis Bonn 1928; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> GONDA, V. Ś., p. 35; 42 etc.; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XXXIII; 180 etc.; cf. e.g. MĀ.Kr. 5, 7; SŚP. 1, 39; 4, 41.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. IX; 68 etc.

<sup>27</sup> I refer to BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. X; XI; XXXIII etc. (Index, p. 336). Cf. e.g. MĀ.Kr. 3, 43 (with the comm.); AjĀ.Kr. 2, 31ff.; RĀ.Kr. ch. 2; Svāyam-bhuva Āgama, quoted in SŚP. I, p. 33; Tattva-Prakāśika, p. 9 quoted ibidem, p. 181.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 331.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. X etc. (Index, p. 355).

<sup>30</sup> For this name see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 48 etc. (Index, p. 226) with the notes.

It remains parenthetically to add that God by means of his *śakti* and in his different aspects causes the eternal and omnipresent *bindu*—the material cause of the pure worlds, the counterpart of *māyā*, the material cause of the impure worlds—to evolve with the result that the ‘pure realities’ (*śuddha tattva*) come into being. These ‘realities’ are five in number, Śivatattva (not identical with Śiva), Śaktitattva, Sādākhyatattva, etc. These names seem to indicate the state of *bindu* when it is successively affected by the Highest Śiva, his undifferentiated *śakti*, Sadāśiva, Maheśvara, *mantras* and ‘knowledge’.<sup>31</sup>

The other doctrine posits eight ‘embodiments’ (*aṣṭamūrti*)<sup>32</sup> of Śiva as the elements of nature (space, wind, fire, water, and earth), sun, moon, and the consecrated worshipper (*yaṅamāna*), to each of which corresponds one of his traditional names, viz. Śarva (the earth), Bhava etc.; to the last one, usually Paśupati.<sup>33</sup> The world is said to be a product of these eight forms, to consist of them and to function only because these embodiments cooperate. Since each individual is also composed of these eight realities, Śiva makes up the corporeal frame and the psychical apparatus of every living organism. The eighth constituent is the indispensable performer of the rites that sustain the gods (*deva*) who preside over the cosmic processes and are really Śiva’s faculties.<sup>34</sup>

The Śaiva-Siddhānta,<sup>35</sup> the prominent religio-philosophic school of the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XVI; 112; and DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. 1, p. 167; K.CH. PANDEY, op. cit., III, p. XCVI; SILBURN, Le Paramārthasāra, p. 27; SINHA, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. SŚP. 3, 101; MatsyaP. 93, 66; 278, 17; LiṅgaP. 1, 106, 24; 2, 12, 4; ch. 13. Cf. J. BRUCE LONG, in ABORI 52 (1971), p. 67.

<sup>33</sup> The names are not always in the same way correlated with the embodiments. See also Śivārcanācandrikā, p. 73f. quoted by BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 205.

<sup>34</sup> Space forbids to enter into particulars. Some references may suffice. On the (usually thirty-six) ‘realities’ or ‘basic categories’ (*tattva*) of Śivaism see e.g. L. SILBURN, Paramārthasāra, p. 28; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XVI and p. 343 (Index); ZIESENISS, op. cit., II, p. 51; 63; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 226; V.Ś., p. 44; 46. For the five *kañcukas* mentioned e.g. by Rāmakaṅṭha (SŚP. I. p. 117; compare BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XIII; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 204; 226) cf. also SCHRAEDER, I.P., p. 64. On cosmogony—which, with eschatology, is often considered dual aspects of a single event—see e.g. RĀ. ch. 1; ZIESENISS, op. cit. (n. 35), p. 36; 42; 88.

<sup>35</sup> SCHOMERUS, Der Śaiva-Siddhānta; RADHAKRISHNAN, I.Ph. II, p. 722; C.V. NARAYANA AIYYAR, Origin and early history of Śaivism in South India, Madras 1936; A. ZIESENISS, Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus, I, in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 98 (The Hague 1939), p. 75; II, New Delhi 1958; G. SUBRAMANIA PILLAI, Introduction to and history of Śaiva Siddhānta, Annamalai Univ. 1948 (a sort of handbook of ‘Tamil religion’ based on the mistaken view that the roots of Śaivism are embedded in the ancient classical literature of the Tamils); RENOU(-FILLIOZAT), I.C. I, p. 632; SRINIVASA IYENGAR, in H.C.I. V, p. 365; J.H. PIET, Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, Madras 1952; V. PARANJOTI,

Tamil-speaking regions and the special philosophy of Southern Śaivism, assumes three eternal principles or fundamentals which are realities and have existed from all eternity, viz. God—who is described as independent existence, unqualified intelligence, and absolute bliss—the universe, and the souls.<sup>36</sup> Souls and the world owe their existence to God (Śiva), who is both immanent and transcendent. The world being created by God as efficient cause through his conscious power (will and creative energy, *śakti*) as instrumental cause and *māyā* as material cause, is no illusion. The main purpose of its creation is the liberation of the beginningless souls, which are conceived as “cattle” (*paśu*) bound by the noose (*pāśa*) of impurity (*mala*)<sup>37</sup> or spiritual ignorance, which forces them to produce *karman*. This *karman* process, however, is a benefit, for as soon as the soul has sufficiently ripened and along an elaborate path of salvation reached a state of purity enabling it to strive after the highest insight—and there are four ‘paths’ or means of attaining salvation along which this process can take place, viz. the well-known *caryā*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *jñāna*<sup>38</sup>—God is willing graciously to intervene.<sup>39</sup> Then He appears in the shape of a fully qualified and liberated spiritual guide—who is Śiva’s equal—through whose words God permits Himself to be realized by the individual soul.<sup>40</sup> This system is mainly responsible for the doctrine of the union of the transcendental deity with the revealed Lord.

The Śaiva-Siddhānta—“one of the most powerful and interesting forms which Hinduism has assumed”<sup>41</sup>—accepts as its ultimate authority the twenty-eight *āgamas*.<sup>42</sup> In its present form this mode of Śaivite thought and religion may be characterized as composite in that it is made up of Vedic and non-Vedic elements. Although the authority of the Veda is recognized, the Vedic elements are interpreted in the light and through the medium of an extensive literary tradition beginning with the *āgamas* and continuing in the Tamil hymns—the first of which date back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D., the

Śaiva Siddhānta, <sup>2</sup>London 1954; T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, The idea of God in Śaiva-Siddhānta, Annamalai Univ. 1955; the same, in H. C. I. P. III, p. 427; Śaiva-Siddhānta Philosophy, Eastern and Western, London 1952; M. DHAVAMONY, Love of God according to Śaiva Siddhānta, Oxford 1971; SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA, Schools of Indian philosophical thought, Calcutta 1973, p. 292.

<sup>36</sup> For some particulars see also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 198 (Index); C. H. I. IV, p. 759; MADHUSUDAN KAUL, Introduction to the edition of the Mrgendra Tantra, Bombay 1930, p. III; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. IX.

<sup>37</sup> See also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XIII etc.

<sup>38</sup> For some particulars see SUBRAMANIA PILLAI, in CLŚS., p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 4; 131; A. P. AROKIASAMY, The doctrine of grace in the Śaiva-Siddhānta, Trichinopoly 1935; SUBRAMANIA PILLAI, in CLŚS., p. 70.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also MĀ.K. 8, 177 f.; C. 1, 9; SvT. 1, 12 f.; MĀT. 3, 57; L. SILBURN, Le Paramārthasāra, Paris 1957, p. 49; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. 373; 376 (Index s. v. *ācārya*, *guru*).

<sup>41</sup> ELIOT, H. B. II, p. 216.

<sup>42</sup> Regrettably enough, SCHOMERUS, op. cit. does not seem to have utilized the *āgamas*; see also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 17.

latest to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century—and other works.<sup>43</sup> This tradition is clearly anti-Vedāntic, and, however passionate the poetry may be, the sentiment is different from the *bhakti* of Viṣṇuism.

As to Śivaite *bhakti* it ultimately originated in the theistic sphere of the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad<sup>44</sup> and continued to exist as a religious current in the Śaiva *āgamas* strongly to influence the Tamil devotional poets. In the literature this *bhakti* appears in general in a more ascetic and rigorous form than its Viṣṇuite counterpart. Due to the fact that Śivaite eroticism early found an, in many respects, independent outlet for expression in the Tantric milieu and writings erotic imagery is in this literature not so much in prominence. Moreover, the characteristic devotional form which Śivaism developed in Tamilnad is distinguished from Viṣṇuite *bhakti* by the extreme sense of unworthiness felt by the worshipper before God's holiness. Whilst emphasizing God's perfection consisting in omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence the adorer aims at complete immersion in the unity, at becoming the adored himself.<sup>45</sup> Emancipation (*mokṣa*) is regarded, not as immunity from death, but as the development of powers brought about by self-realization. The āgamic religion accordingly asserts the importance of the ideas of freedom and perfection.

The Śaiva-Siddhānta represents itself to be based on the twenty-eight<sup>46</sup> Śaiva *āgamas* and the *upāgamas* belonging to these as well as on the tradition of the Veda and the mystic poems of the Nāyaṇār, the Śivaite saints of the South.<sup>47</sup> Since however the Tamil authors expounded the tenets of this school very clearly, there was for their followers hardly any necessity to consult the original sources. The result has been that the study of the Sanskrit works was badly neglected and that nowadays the adherents of this practically independent school of thought have next to no personal acquaintance with the *āgamas*.

The earliest work in Tamil literature to contain Śivaite āgamic matter is Tirumūlar's Tirumantiram (probably 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.); it was to become the source of the Śaiva-Siddhānta philosophy.<sup>48</sup> The Tiruvācakam, the culmination of Śivaite *bhakti* hymnic literature (second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.), is also the beginning of its systematization. However, its relations with the Āgama literature on which it is based are not yet completely known. For

<sup>43</sup> For these see K. V. ZVELEBIL, The smile of Murugan. On Tamil literature of South India, Leiden 1973, p. 375 (Index, s. v. Śaiva); Tamil Literature in vol. X of this History, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 312 (Index); Tamil Literature (Handbuch), p. 299f. (Index), with bibliographical notes.

<sup>44</sup> See e. g. GONDA, R. I. I, p. 205.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e. g. MT. 1, 4, 7; RĀ.Kr. 4, 36ff.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 180f. below.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (in this History), p. 105; Tamil literature (Handbuch), p. 131.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. ZVELEBIL, Murugan, p. 225; Tamil literature (in this History), p. 55.

instance, the concise Tamil treatise *Civañānapotam* (Śivajñānabodha)<sup>49</sup> which is said to have been composed in 1223 by Meykaṇṭatēvar (Meykaṇṭadeva) is reputed to be either revealed scripture or a collection of ancient scattered sacred teachings; it has been said<sup>50</sup> to constitute a summary in twelve verses taken from the Rauravāgama, but these are found in no manuscript of this work.<sup>51</sup>

Śivaism which continued to flourish, not only after the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D. in the South—the nursery of much brahminical and especially Vedāntic learning and after 1336 in the kingdom of Vijayanagara the centre of the brahminical renaissance—could expand also in other regions which remained more or less secure from Muslim intrusion.<sup>52</sup> Such a region was Kashmir<sup>53</sup> where Śivaite thought, at first dualistic, developed an idealist monism<sup>54</sup> according to which God manifests himself through a special power as the first cause of creation, and through a second power as the innumerable individual souls who because of a veil of impurity forget that they are the embodiment of the Highest. This veil can be torn off by intense faith and constant meditation<sup>55</sup> on God, by which the soul transmutes itself into a universal soul and eventually attains liberation through a lightning-like intuitive insight into its own nature which however is different from the fulfilment of *bhakti*. Other characteristics of the Kashmirian Śivaite philosophical system—which does not recognize the authority of the Veda—are the emphasis laid, in its metaphysics, upon the theory that God's *śakti* is free will or spontaneity (*svātantrya*), and in its mystic relations with the Supreme in the special prominence given to a theopathic life, that is the belief that the successful devotee is able to enjoy, in this world, a deified life and the disposal of unlimited energies, or

<sup>49</sup> Cf. G. MATTHEWS, *Śiva-Ñānā-Bōdham*. A manual of Śaiva religious doctrine, Oxford 1948; DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 19; 24; DHAVAMONY, op. cit., p. 327 (the Sanskrit and Tamil texts with translations); ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (Handbuch), p. 199.

<sup>50</sup> By Civañāna Muṇivar († 1785).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. N.R. BHATT, Rauravāgama, I, Pondicherry 1961, p. XIV.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. also G.N. SHARMA, Śaivism in medieval Rajasthan, in ALB 28 (1964), p. 221.

<sup>53</sup> L.D. BARNETT, in Le Muséon N.S. 10 (1909), p. 271; and in JRAS 1910, p. 707; J.C. CHATTERJI, Kashmir Shaivism, Srinagar 1914; ELIOT, H.B. II, p. 222; CARPENTER, op. cit. (see n. 1), p. 246ff.; ARABINDA BASU, in C.H.I. IV, p. 79; SILBURN, Paramārthasāra, p. 5 and passim; L.N. SHARMA, Kashmir Śaivism, Varanasi 1972. There existed personal relations with the South (BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XXII; XLI).

<sup>54</sup> Often called the Trika system because it views reality under three (*tri-*) aspects, viz. Śiva, his energy and the individual (other explanations have been given); Pratyabhijñā "Recognition (of the Self as identical with the Absolute)", or Svātantryavāda "Doctrine of the autonomy". For points of resemblance with Śaṅkara's Advaita philosophy see B.N. BHATT, JOIB 19 (1969), p. 53. See also D.B. SEN, in Kurukshetra Univ. Research Journal 6, 2 (1972), p. 197.

<sup>55</sup> For Śivaite meditation see also SUBRAMANJA PILLAI, in CLŚS., p. 65.

identity with Paramāśiva at the highest stage of spiritual life called Bhairava.<sup>56</sup>

At the basis of these speculations is the conviction that the Highest or All-Transcending Word (*parā vāk*), which is God's unspoken Thought,<sup>57</sup> germinally contains all the *āgamas* in a supersensuous form. It gradually materializes into a physical form as syllables and vocables so as to form the units of speech. Whereas in the first stage of development (*paśyanti*) the words and their meanings are not differentiated, in the last stage (*vaikhari*) it expresses itself through the audible words. The authoritative texts, having the *parā vāk* as their source, flow out as spoken words from God's five faces, which represent his fivefold *śakti*.<sup>58</sup> The five systems of revelation which owe their existence to this process, are traditionally held to constitute the Śivaite schools or systems. These are divisible into three classes, viz. the Śiva class (ten dualist systems), the Rudra class (eighteen *bhedābheda* or duality-unity systems), and the Bhairava class (sixty-four monist systems).

The origin of this school—which is not yet extinct among *paṇḍits*—reaches back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century but the sources of its inspiration are—besides the Śiva-Sūtras<sup>59</sup>—again the *āgamas*, many of which are of much older date than the typically Kashmir Śivaism.<sup>60</sup> The literature of the latter system tries to show its full agreement with the *āgamas* notwithstanding their much less monistic teachings.<sup>61</sup> The Āgama tradition itself has, however, ceased to be of vital importance in the North.<sup>62</sup>

It has been assumed that Kashmirian Śivaism is more original than its southern counterpart which then would have derived from it.<sup>63</sup> In view of such facts as the antiquity and comparatively early spread of the worship of this god and of the many cultural contacts between Kashmir and the South as well as between these regions and other parts of India this hypothesis does not seem to carry conviction.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also SILBURN, op. cit., p. 52 and V. Bh., passim. See also GONDA, V. Ś., p. 220 (Index); BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. 382 (Index).

<sup>57</sup> Or the self-expression of Reality (Brahman). According to the Pauṣkara-Āgama quoted by S. D. PARVATE, Viraśaiva philosophy of the Śaivāgamas, Hubli 1927, p. 2: "Pure Brahman became the letters of the alphabet and then became *tantra* (= *āgama*) and *mantra*".

<sup>58</sup> See above.

<sup>59</sup> See below.

<sup>60</sup> For the relations between the—from the point of view of the Trika philosophers—heretical Vātūlanātha-Sūtra see L. SILBURN, Vātūlanātha Sūtra avec le commentaire d'Anantaśaktipāda (text, French translation, introduction), Paris 1959, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> For monistic (advaitic) interpretation of dualistic *āgama* passages see H. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in BEFEO 61 (1974), p. 180; 187. On the possibility of advaitic views in the AjĀ. see N. R. BHATT, Ajitāgama, I, Pondicherry 1964, p. VI.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e. g. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XL.

<sup>63</sup> See ELIOT, H. B. II, p. 223.

<sup>64</sup> Traditions about exponents of Śivaism travelling from Kashmir to Tamilnad are not wanting (see e. g. ZVELEBIL, Murugan, p. 226, n. 4).

## CHAPTER XI

### THE ŚIVAITE ĀGAMA LITERATURE

The origins of the separate Śivaite *āgama*<sup>1</sup> literature,<sup>2</sup> considered the basic authoritative texts by Śaiva-Siddhāntins, Kashmir Śaivas and adherents of Viraśaivism,<sup>3</sup> are lost in obscurity.<sup>4</sup> It is the common belief of all Śaivas that the *āgamas* which, like their Viṣṇuite counterparts, are esoteric and traditionally taught to the worthy initiated,<sup>5</sup> are the spoken word of Śiva. According to one of their fundamental tenets God alone is competent to speak with authority on the religious truths. It is He who has been the first preceptor of the doctrine which has “streamed from his face”. Thus the inspiration on which the Śivaite schools are believed to be based is eternal and the expression of the Divine Word. The esoteric lore has long been transmitted by word of mouth from teacher to pupil. Competent teachers—who are to be *yogin* and *paṇḍit* at the same time—are nowadays very rare. Yet their help is indispensable for a correct understanding of the often cryptic texts.

During the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era a crystallization process was under way which led also to the formation of more or less defined Śivaite doctrines and systems. Texts reflecting this formative period are however wanting. In the literary remains and to a considerable extent also in

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<sup>1</sup> In Śivaite circles the term *āgama* is sometimes explained as *ā* (= *pāśa*; see above, p. 159), *ga* (= *paśu*), *ma* (= *pati*): THIPPERUDRA SWAMY, op. cit., p. 31. Abhinavagupta thought the term to mean: “what allows to know the object in all its aspects”. The adepts call themselves *āgamantin*.

<sup>2</sup> See FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 407 (Index); RENOUE(-FILLIOZAT), I.C. I, p. 631; DIEHL, I.P., p. 43 and passim; J. FILLIOZAT, in Bhatt, RĀ., Introduction; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., Introduction and in JA 253, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sūta-Saṃhitā*—a long treatise dealing mainly with Śivaite ritual and devotion—makes (Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa 22,2f.) mention of the Vedas, *dharmaśāstras*, the Mahābhārata, the Vedāṅgas and *upavedas* (medicine, military science, music, architecture), the *āgamas* such as the Kāmika, as well as the names of the Kāpālas, the Lākulas, “the divisions of these two”, the Pāśupatas, the Somas and the *āgamas* of the Bhairavas etc. Compare DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 50, who while questionably considering this text to date back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. observes that he has “not been able to secure any *āgamas* containing an account of the doctrine . . . of Bhairavism”.

<sup>4</sup> For *āgamas* mentioned as authorities by Mādhava, Sarvadarśanasamgraha see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. NT. 1, 47; MĀLT. 23, 41 ff.



historical records<sup>6</sup> there is a gap between the Veda, the early *upaniṣads* and Mahābhārata<sup>7</sup> on one hand and the works discussed in this volume on the other. Moreover, the date of the oldest *āgamas* cannot be fixed. It has been suggested that the earliest of them were written sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. and that their production continued till the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> But, although there is fairly good evidence for their antiquity, such an early date is—at least for the works in our possession—far from certain. The oldest *āgamas* may have been composed in the period between ca. 400 and 800.

One chronological difficulty resides in the fact that—if appearances are not deceptive—the *āgamas* have been handed down, it is true, independently of each other, but not in the same form or ‘recension’ and not without influencing each other. This conclusion can be drawn, not only from the numerous parallel portions, but also from the many passages in which their authors when referring to their colleagues appear to know each other very well. The fairly high degree of similarity of the ideas of Śiva, his attributes and other characteristics, fostered by Kālidāsa<sup>9</sup> and the contemporaneous *purāṇas* on one hand and the *āgamas* on the other does not prove that the latter date back to the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Yet, the inference seems legitimate that many āgamic ideas were conceived or given their typical form in that period. While it is therefore very difficult to ascertain the respective dates of the individual *āgamas* it is warranted to arrive at some convictions or suppositions with regard to their relative chronology<sup>10</sup> and to the recognition of these works as a separate class of literature. If—what is highly dubious—the Sūta-Saṃhitā be rightly regarded as a work of the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the reference contained in it (1, 12) to Āgamas such as the Kāmika, being a homogeneous class of literature with the *purāṇas*<sup>11</sup> is not devoid of interest. It has been suggested<sup>12</sup> that the ‘philosophy of the *śaiva āgamas*’ must have existed before Bādarayaṇa’s Brahmasūtras (± 425 A.D.) because this work (2, 2, 37) combats the doctrine of ‘the Lord’ (*pati*) as the only efficient cause of the universe—but does this necessarily imply the whole of Śivaite philosophy?—and that the present Mṛgendra-Āgama is in all probability a post-Śaṅkara (probably ± 750) production because it not only mentions the Vedānta (Vid. 2, 10), but refutes the Advaita (2, 14).<sup>13</sup> However,

<sup>6</sup> Compare T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, in H. C. I. II, p. 453 and III, p. 426.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 216f.

<sup>8</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 40; SILBURN, Paramārthasāra, p. 5; VBh. p. 7. Some ideas contained in this class of literature may have been contemporaneous with the Veda, but this is not to say (with K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, in Vol. C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar 1946, p. 74) that the *āgamas* are ahead of Vedic thought.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BH. S. UPADHYAYA, India in Kālidāsa, Allahabad 1947, p. 311.

<sup>10</sup> For guesses on the strength of internal evidence see e.g. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in JA 253, p. 314f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 18.

<sup>12</sup> N. R. BHATT, Mṛgendrāgama, Pondicherry 1962, p. III.

<sup>13</sup> Quotations in later philosophical works—e.g. Rāmānuja’s Śrī-Bhāṣya (A. HOHENBERGER, Rāmānuja, Bonn 1960, p. 19; 21)—are often hard to identify.

when the comparatively ancient Liṅga-Purāṇa makes mention of “Vedic and āgamic lores” and even of “Veda and Śivāgamas”,<sup>14</sup> we may doubt whether our present texts are meant.

It is on the other hand evident that this class of literature teaches a more recent development of Śivaism than some Sanskrit texts which, probably dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and being preserved in Indonesia,<sup>15</sup> fill a gap between the purāṇic and āgamic forms of this religion and philosophy. From evidence furnished by authors such as Aparārka and Bhāskara it appears that the *śaiva āgama* literature had been widely recognized before the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> Some help is rendered also by Tamil poets mentioning *āgamas* or āgamic doctrines,<sup>17</sup> but on their side chronological problems are not absent either. In any case, Tirumūlar’s Tirumantiram (Śrīmantra, probably 7<sup>th</sup> century) “contains much undoubtedly ancient matter drawn from the nine *āgamas* on Śiva, as well as a number of later interpolations”.<sup>18</sup> The conclusion that the earliest *āgamas* are to be assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century is corroborated by the Kashmirian Śivaite. Their philosophical school which organized itself towards the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century claims to be founded on the *āgamaśāstra*, i. e. the traditional Śivaite doctrines. Their literary tradition includes also the Śiva-Sūtras<sup>19</sup> which are believed to have been revealed about 850 A. D. to Vasugupta, the founder of the school.<sup>20</sup> In support of the above conclusion it may be repeated<sup>21</sup> that the Mataṅga-(Upa-)āgama and the Svāyaṃbhava are mentioned, not only by Kṣemendra (11<sup>th</sup> century), but also by the Kashmirian author Somānanda (towards the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century); the earliest manuscript of an *āgama*—the Kirāṇa—is dated 924 A. D.<sup>22</sup>

While the home of Pāśupata Śivaism was mainly Gujarat and that of the Viraśaiva tradition is the Kannada speaking South, the āgamic form of the religion belongs principally to the Tamil country. As appears from some linguistic peculiarities—Sanskrit expressions as apparent transpositions of Tamil etc.—part of the works were written or revised in that region of the

<sup>14</sup> LiṅgaP. 2, 25, 25; 1, 85, 35, but how old are these passages?

<sup>15</sup> Such as the Bṛhaspatitattva (edited by SUDARSHANA DEVI, Thesis Utrecht (New Delhi) 1957); cf. ZIESENIS, op. cit. II, p. 14; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 232; for further information GONDA, Old Javanese literature, in Handbuch der Orientalistik, Indonesia, Literature, Leiden 1976, p. 201.

<sup>16</sup> I refer to R. C. HAZRA, Studies in the purāṇic records of Hindu rites and customs, Dacca Univ. 1940, p. 68; 70; 124.

<sup>17</sup> See FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 193; FILLIOZAT, RĀ., Introduction, p. XII.

<sup>18</sup> ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (Handbuch), p. 138. It may be observed that the *āgamas* do not refer to the Tamil canonical Śaiva-Siddhānta works.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 209f. below. As already intimated this work does not form part of the corpus of the Southern Śivaite.

<sup>20</sup> CHATTERJI, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 8; cf. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 225.

<sup>21</sup> See FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 194.

<sup>22</sup> H. P. ŚĀSTRĪ, A catalogue of . . . manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, II, Calcutta 1915, p. XXIV.

South. But at least part of this literature was very well known in Kashmir: the Svāyambhuva, the Nīsvāsa of the South, here called Naisvāsa, the Mataṅga,<sup>23</sup> and we shall see that the Mṛgendra is partly published in the North, partly in the South. And the Liṅgāyats (Vīraśaivas) who make mention of the Pārameśvara-Āgama as one of the basic texts of their founder Basava (12<sup>th</sup> century) must have had access to at least some of these books. The ultimate place or places of origin remain, however, obscure.

A closer study of this literature could contribute much to deepening our knowledge of Hinduism in general and of the relations between the brahminical traditions and the more popular religious currents in particular. The *āgamas* are neither intended to serve as encyclopaedias nor meant to be handbooks of such subjects as find a place in them, sculpture, architecture, the foundation of temples, the procedures of image installation etc. On the contrary, the contents, however diverse they may appear to be, concentrate on one subject, viz. religious practice. Hindu religion being a code of conduct and moral precepts, the ritually correct behaviour rather than the dissemination and acceptance of a given doctrine,<sup>24</sup> these works teach what the devotees should know and especially what they should do or leave undone in order to attain eternal bliss, that is union with Śiva. They give instruction in the 'symbolical meaning', execution and application of those gestures, words, and visible forms, through which man while being in this world can enter into contact with the world of Śiva. They expound the doctrine and ritual application of *mantras*, reveal their potency and 'philosophy';<sup>25</sup> they deal with initiation, worship, the setting up of the *liṅga*,<sup>26</sup> ceremonies, festivals,<sup>27</sup> bodily and mental discipline. Varying in detail and emphasis laid on the points discussed they deal with Śivaite ceremonial in a broad sense of the term. They are text-books containing descriptions of Śiva's rites,<sup>28</sup> of *yoga* practices, of right conduct and meritorious observances. Although they do contain what might be called philosophical and theological analyses and include, for instance, passages on the principles or categories (*tattva*) or cosmological matter,<sup>29</sup> they do not

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also CHATTERJI, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> The Tamil poet Appar (± 600 A.D.) quoted by NARAYANA AYYAR, op. cit. (see chapter X, n. 1), p. 380: "The Tantra or the Āgama alone teaches worship (*upāsana*)".

<sup>25</sup> Cf. DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 1; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., I, p. IX.

<sup>26</sup> On the *liṅga* see GONDA, R.I. I, p. 256; II, p. 211 (with bibliographical notes); K.R. SRINIVASAN, Some aspects of religion as revealed by early monuments and literature of the South, Madras Univ. 1960, p. 61; NILAKANTA SASTRI, in C.H.I. IV, p. 67; BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in JA 257, p. 254; O'FLAHERTY, Asceticism and eroticism, p. 201.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. AjĀ. ch. 23ff.

<sup>28</sup> For *pūjā* see also ZIESENIS, op. cit., II, p. 136.

<sup>29</sup> I refer to ZIESENIS, op. cit., I, p. 107; T.P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN, The āgamic conception of tattvas, Felicitation Vol. V. Raghavan, Delhi 1975, p. 231 (mainly Śivaite).

require a systematic interpretation in the light of a traditional philosophical system, but rather a commentary focussing on the ritual. Their philosophical interest is indeed limited. For their authors the attainment of the highest goal is much more essential than metaphysical speculation. Their philosophy mainly concentrates upon the power of Speech, i.e. upon the power of the energy concealed in the Divine Word, an insight into which is the basis of their theory of *mantras*.

The contents of these works are not entirely homogeneous. Sometimes they are even contradictory. The significance of the three-graded initiation was, for instance, a point that gave rise to long discussions in the commentaries: the first and second grade—which make a devotee a disciple in the Śaiva family and a son of Śiva—are open to anybody, even to women, but the question as to whether or not the third degree, the *nirvāṇadīkṣā*—which frees the individual from the fetters and enables him to reach the state of being equal to Śiva—was confined to persons of the higher classes was much discussed.<sup>30</sup> Another problem was the qualification for the position of a spiritual guide (*ācārya*) and the competences of this functionary.<sup>31</sup> Whereas the chapters on ritual performances (*kriyāpāda*) compiled under the influence of the great speculative currents are comparatively coherent, particular philosophical doctrines—for instance that of grace (*prasāda, karuṇā*)—are not always dealt with in the same sense in all the *āgamas*.<sup>32</sup> Generally speaking, there are in the rather poor philosophical achievement of the Vidyāpādas<sup>33</sup> of these texts various differences in the enunciation of their views. In some works at least there is a tendency to combine heterogeneous materials. The philosophical doctrines of the *āgamas* are in various particulars not identical, and it would be hazardous to supplement the views of one compiler with passages taken from another work of this class. There are even differences of opinion with regard to a fundamental dualistic or monistic view of the world.<sup>34</sup> As to the philosophical doctrine of

<sup>30</sup> I refer to BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in JA 252, p. 461. For other points: the same author, in JA 253, p. 314; e.g. the Kiraṇāgama, joining the Suprabhedha in some particulars, is at variance with many other *āgamas* on the possible 'conditions' of the soul when it is affected by impurity. The lists of the 'worlds' (*bhuvana*) in KiĀ. 1, 8 is different from that in MĀ., Vidyāpāda, neither enumeration agreeing with the facts mentioned by GOPINATHA RAO, E.H.I., II, 2, p. 392. The treatment of the Vedic *mantras* in KiĀ. Yogap. 5 deviates from the other *āgamas*. For points of difference between the Netra-Tantra and other texts, including the Svacchanda-Tantras see BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in BEFEO 61, p. 149; 150. See also BHATT, RĀ. (edition) I, p. XIV; MĀ. (edition), p. V.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in JA 252, p. 462.

<sup>32</sup> See also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 4: "In the Śaivāgamas there is a distinct line of thought where *karuṇā* or grace is interpreted as a divine creative movement for supplying all souls with fields of experience in which they may enjoy pleasures and suffer from painful experiences"; *ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. K.C. PANDEY, Bhāskari, III, Lucknow Univ. 1954, Intr., p. LXII (ten dualistic *āgamas* and eighteen non-dualistic).

the Word<sup>35</sup> the *āgamas* limit themselves to some information on cosmogony in connexion with the origin and significance of speech and word, on phonemes and *mantras* to dilate upon the importance of the latter, upon their power, use, cosmic 'symbolism' and the ritual with which they are associated. Yet to later authors, especially to Kṣemarāja (11<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>36</sup> the tendency was not alien to develop the teachings of the *āgamas* in a more philosophical and less ritual and religious sense. One should however distinguish between the Kashmir school of philosophy and the *āgamas* and abstain from attempts to detect in the Tamil Śaiva-Siddhānta literature a systematized uniform *āgama* philosophy.<sup>37</sup> This does of course not mean that these works cannot, in many places, elucidate, amplify or supplement each other's views and statements on ritual practice, customary behaviour and other subjects.

Those who base their doctrines and arguments upon the *śaivāgamas* proper, assumed to contain the "established conclusion" (*siddhānta*) usually regard the other traditional āgamic and related (purāṇic, śāstric) literature, including the Veda, as *prima facie* argumentation (*pūrvapakṣa*), representing only the views of opponents.<sup>38</sup> The Vedas represent the quest, the *āgamas*—regarded as the truest exegesis of the former—stand for the attainment.<sup>39</sup> So it is the *āgama* literature which is meant specially for those who live in the present age or for the advanced souls or the privileged. The Śivaite religion (*śivadharmā*) which teaches the perfect devout worshipper (*bhakta*) who is also the perfect *yogin* how to realize his identity with Śiva is superior to the Vedic rites that are moreover at a disadvantage because of their expensiveness.<sup>40</sup> Some compilers are therefore openly antagonistic to the Vedic ritual, also because they hold it to lead only to worldly prosperity (*bhukti*):<sup>41</sup>

"Those who perform Agnihotras etc. amuse themselves in the three worlds and might reach Indra's heaven. The status of Śiva's *bhakta* cannot be attained by a thousand sacrifices".

Says the Ratnaṭikā,<sup>42</sup> p. 15:

"Those who adhere to other systems will enjoy heavenly bliss etc., those who follow our system Rudra's presence" (i. e. final liberation, *mukti*).

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 162.

<sup>36</sup> See p. 205 ff. below.

<sup>37</sup> There is also the Tattvaparakāṣa of king Bhoja of Dhāra (1000–1055), elaborating the Śaiva philosophy as "the essence of the āgamic system" (see DASGUPTA, H.I. Ph. V, p. 10 etc.); see P.S. FILLIOZAT, in JA 259, p. 247.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Kāmikāgama, 1, 114–119, quoted by BHATT, AjĀ., edition, I. p. I.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. SHARMA, Kashmir Śaivism, p. 22 and 23.

<sup>40</sup> K. BHATTACHARYA, Le 'Védisme' de certains textes hindouistes, JA 255 (1967), p. 199, esp. p. 208; also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. IV, and compare J. FILLIOZAT, RĀ. I, p. XV and Le Veda et la littérature tamoule ancienne, in Mélanges Renou, p. 289 (=Laghu-Prabandhāḥ. Choix d'articles d'Indologie, Leiden 1974, p. 382).

<sup>41</sup> E. g. Mataṅga, quoted by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on MĀ. Vid. 2, 11.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 220 below.

These authors are of the opinion that the traditional Vedic forms of worship became superseded by the cult of Śiva, devotion to whom is a "concrete and definite" form of worship. The old deities of the Veda should be regarded as inadequate because their reality consists of no more than the *mantras* with which they are addressed and worshipped. Śiva, on the contrary, is omniscient, devoid of all impurities and the only one who knows how the individual souls are going to behave and in accordance with this knowledge associates them with, and dissociates them from, the knots of bondage.<sup>43</sup> He was also held to be the incarnation of the threefold Veda and, according to the Śivadharma-Upāgama, identical with Agni<sup>44</sup> and therefore also with the (Vedic) sacrifice. That means that Śiva's cult includes every Vedic rite.

Many authors however appeal to the Veda—which then is in most cases the Vedānta<sup>45</sup>—asserting that they teach its 'essence' (*vedasāra*) and quoting *inter alia* from the Bhagavadgītā which in this milieu also exerted noticeable influence.<sup>46</sup> Under the colour of allegiance to the Veda—and this allegiance was, and is, in Śivaite circles often positively stated<sup>47</sup>—the *āgamas* have higher authority. They are sometimes believed to be esoteric lore of Vedic provenance, that has been kept secret through the ages. In contradistinction to the Veda which deals with second-rate reality they show the way to higher supersensual planes of existence. In reality there is no conflict between Vedas and *āgamas*, because in this world of second-rate reality one must follow the precepts of the former (the *dharma* etc.),<sup>48</sup> in spiritual life the guidance of the latter.<sup>49</sup> This explains also the occurrence in *āgamas* of subjects of common Hindu importance treated in *dharmaśāstras*.<sup>50</sup>

It is therefore very difficult to distinguish between more or less conscious borrowings from brahminical traditions on philosophy, ritual and *dharma* on one hand and common Indian concepts and practices on the other, between

<sup>43</sup> Cf. e.g. MĀ. Vidyāpāda, *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also SŚP. Pav. 112 and BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 206. In general also P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, *History of the Tamils*, Madras 1929, p. 103.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.*, p. 208ff.

<sup>47</sup> The Īśānaśivagurudeva-Paddhati, Kr. 1, 61 quotes various *āgamas* to prove that Śiva is also the author of the Vedas. See also Śrīkaṅṭha's (13<sup>th</sup> century?) Bhāṣya on Brahma-Sūtras 2, 2, 38: "There is no difference between the Vedas and the Śiva-Āgamas. Śiva is also the author of the Veda"; G. SUBRAMANTA PILLAI, in C. L. Ś. S., p. 8: "Tirumūlar deprecates the difference existing between the Vedic and āgamic doctrines and says that they are both equally the revelations of the Lord"; p. 13; RAMANUJACHĀRI, *ibidem*, p. 2f.; KANDASWAMI MUDALIAR, *ibidem*, p. 3f. Hence also the names Vedānta Siddhānta or Vaidika Śaiva. Cf. DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 72.

<sup>48</sup> The ideal social organization taught in the *dharmaśāstras* influenced also all the Śivaite schools.

<sup>49</sup> See also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 252, p. 451.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, purification (e.g. AjĀ. Kr. 19, 11ff.) and libations (AjĀ. Kr. 19, 59ff.; KāmĀ. 1, 3, 137ff.).

originally Śivaite tenets and observances and other elements covering them and fusing with them,<sup>51</sup> the more so as ancient terms are sometimes retained in a modified sense.<sup>52</sup> It is on the other hand not surprising that these non-Vedic works, preaching ideas and practices which in many respects deviated from the traditional ones of the brahmins were often denounced in *purāṇas*<sup>53</sup> and elsewhere as “texts meant for delusion or bewilderment” (*moha(na)-śāstra*).<sup>54</sup>

It need not be pointed out that these authors also were fully convinced of the potency of *mantras*, of their power to control, subjugate the supersensuous and to free the worshipper from the world.<sup>55</sup> All important rites—among these the sixteen *samskāras*<sup>56</sup>—are performed with Śivaite *mantras*, but this tradition does not exclude the presence of some traces of Vedic influence.<sup>57</sup> As to the usual practice, a case in point is also the rites for atonement or propitiation (*prāyaścitta*) in SĀCar. 12 where the Vedic *mantras* were replaced by Śivaite formulas. This is not to deny that, in addition to *mantras*, the *āgamas* comprise other Vedic elements—whether or not borrowed indirectly, for instance from the epic or Sāṃkhya-Yoga tradition, such as mythological concepts and figures<sup>58</sup>—proper names, cosmological<sup>59</sup> or philosophical concepts and technical terms. Besides, Vedic material is utilized in certain circumstances; definite ‘great’ oblations require the chanting of a hymn from the Veda. That the *āgamas* were in favour of specially Śivaic or Rudraic passages of the Veda—for instance the Śatarudriya<sup>60</sup>—is perfectly intelligible.

<sup>51</sup> It may be noticed that the ideas of cosmogony, cosmology, the cyclical ages and the dissolution of the world are to a considerable extent common to most Hindu schools of thought.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. the chapter on *dīkṣā* (X, p. 315) in J. GONDA, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965. One should not regard the remarks made by BRUNNER-LACHAUX, JA 255, p. 45 as final.

<sup>53</sup> See HAZRA, op. cit., p. 226; 260. Cf. e.g. KūrmaP. 2, 16, 15; 2, 21, 32; 2, 37, 146f.

<sup>54</sup> See e.g. DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 72.

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. NT. ch. 2 on the formation of *mantras*; 3, 1ff. on the right use of *mantras* etc.; SvT. 1, 33ff.; MĀ. Kr. 1, 1ff. on *mantra-uddharaṇa*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. MĀ. Kr. 6, 9ff.; BHATTACHARYA, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. TS. 1, 3, 14, 2 d *hiraṇyārūpam āvase kṛṇudhvam* invoking Rudra, “king of the sacrifice” and Agni; TB. 2, 8, 5, 5 *śūci vo havyā* “pure (are) the oblations for you, (O Maruts)”; cf. TS. 4, 2, 9, 3 and 5, 2, 8, 6 (RĀ. Kr. 21, 6); ĀpGS. 5, 13, 17. For further particulars see SILBURN, Le Paramārthasāra, p. 47; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 255, p. 44; ŚŚP., p. XXX, 66; for Vedic texts used in Hindu worship S.CH. VASU, The daily practice of the Hindus, Allahabad 1909, p. 176; GONDA, V.Ś., p. 191, n. 309 (where one should read: . . . ‘Annasūkta’ or a series of formulas beginning with *prānāya svāhā* . . .). CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Applications of Vedic *mantras* in Tantric rites, JASBengal (Letters), 18 (1952), 2, p. 113 draws attention to the tendency to demonstrate Vedic affiliation even by means of formulas in which nothing but a stray word reminds of the Veda.

<sup>58</sup> For Agni see e.g. ŚŚP. Pav. 90; Dam. 11.

<sup>59</sup> Compare chapter V, p. 63ff.

<sup>60</sup> VS. ch. 16; see GONDA, V.L., p. 329.

The *mantras* utilized in the *kalānyāsa*, their ritual imposition on parts of God's body (*kalā*)—to be performed either on a cult image or on the worshipper's own body, when the rite executed mentally is expected to have a special efficacy—refer to Śiva in his forms Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, Īśāna.<sup>61</sup> They are borrowed from chapter X of the Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka (Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad) broken up into fragments and in the well-known Hinduist way<sup>62</sup> supplemented by other elements. It is worth noticing that the context of TĀ. 10, 47 (MNU. 270ff.) is Śivaite.<sup>63</sup> Although the historical relations between this work and the *āgamas* are not yet clear in all particulars, it seems warranted to assume that important elements of the Śivaite ritual such as are described in the *āgamas* and still executed in modern times reach back together with the accompanying *mantras* to the times of the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad.

The ritual<sup>64</sup> as described in these manuals is in the South not yet extinct. Up to the present day the officiants in the temples (*gurukkaḷ*)<sup>65</sup> utilize these medieval texts and their commentaries. Although there are obvious relations with Vedic ritual<sup>66</sup>—especially with that of the Yajurveda—the differences are much more numerous and radical than the common or identical features. Being carried out at home as well as in the temple this ritual is, like that of the Viṣṇuites, in part adapted to the traditional rites of the brahmins, in part the result of younger and independent developments. It essentially is a complete surrender of the worshipper who with all his faculties and all suitable expedients strives to reach the condition of being, or being equal to, Śiva. For “to adore Śiva one should become Śiva” and “only Śiva can adore Śiva”,<sup>67</sup> and the ritual ‘plays’ so to say this transformation. Performing acts and making gestures conceived as having soteriological value lead to God. Generally speaking, the rite (*pūjā*) essentially is attendance, service, showing God the attention due to a honoured guest (*upacāra*). The oblations are in Śivaite as well as Viṣṇuite

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. RĀ. ch. 2 (edition, p. 22ff.), AjĀ. ch. 21 etc.; Aghoraśiva, Kriyākramadyotikā (cf. BHATT, RĀ., edition, I, p. 26). On these *mantras* see BHATT, op. cit., I, p. 25; J. VARENNE, in JA 250 (1962), p. 185. The order of the five ‘faces’ (cf. GONDA, V.Ś., p. 42 etc.) is not always the same. For other particulars see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 253, p. 326.

<sup>62</sup> See p. 69ff. above.

<sup>63</sup> See also J. VARENNE, La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, Paris 1960, I, p. 69.

<sup>64</sup> See also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XX.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. Pūrvakāraṇa-Āgama 26, 2ff.; 12ff.; 39ff.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. RENOU, in JA 252, p. 280. The ‘invocation’ (*āvāhana*) mentioned SŚP. 3, 66 reminds us of the Vedic formula *ā vaha devān yajamānāya* “Bring hither the gods to the sacrificer” (TS. 2, 5, 9, 4 etc.).

<sup>67</sup> See ch. XII, n. 46 and 47. For this transformation into Śiva (*śivīkaraṇa* and the ‘purification’ and ‘creation of a new body’: *sakalīkaraṇa*) see e.g. MĀ. Kr. 8, 58 and comm. on 8, 200; SŚP. 3, 30 (with the note, I, p. 130); 98 (I, p. 222); I, p. 72; Pav. 31; SŚP. II, p. 50 etc.; Īśānaśivagurudeva-Paddhati 61 (in SŚP. II, p. 360); SvT. 3, 9.



'āgamic' rites merely exhibited to the object of worship and then taken away.<sup>68</sup> The deity is supposed to take up the subtle parts of the gifts. The number of the *mantras* used in these rites is comparatively small and their application often inappropriate. Only one deity is invoked. Whereas in these Śivaite works also there is no hard and fast line between the material discussed in the *kriyā-* and *caryā-pādas*, each *āgama* deals with the ritual topics in its own way. There are even marked differences which have led authorities to prohibit mixing texts of different sub-schools of ritual thought.<sup>69</sup> Yet it is beyond doubt that the ritual practice has to a considerable degree been unified. In almost all temples of Tamilnad Aghoraśivācārya's (12<sup>th</sup> century) manual is followed and the Mysore and Kerala temples seem to have renounced their original allegiance to definite *āgamas*.

The occasional rites to be performed for special purposes (*naimittika*)<sup>70</sup> are much more complicated than the daily rites<sup>71</sup> and require not only an accurate performance but also a long time to learn all details. Part of these are however no longer a living element of this religion. Initiated Śivaïtes are few in number and the non-initiated take no notice of these rites. The funeral rites, the purifications and the series of initiations collectively called *dikṣā*<sup>72</sup>—as already intimated very different from the Veda *dikṣā*—are however frequent occurrences. The ritual is in minor particulars differentiated according as circumstances may require: it can be performed for somebody who desires worldly gain or enjoyments (*bubhukṣu*) or for a person who aspires to liberation (*mumukṣu*).<sup>73</sup>

Curiously enough many passages dealing with rites and observances refer to ideas and doctrinal details which are not or not explicitly mentioned in the *Vidyāpāda*.<sup>74</sup> We are, to notice only this, left in the dark about the material utilized by Śiva in creating the pure creation. A hypothesis propounded by Mme. Brunner has much to recommend it: those who established our present texts noted down the ritual—very well preserved in traditional practice—accurately but were no longer able to supply the philosophical (or theoretical) foundations as completely and adequately as the ritual contexts required.

<sup>68</sup> For offerings of eatables (*naivedya*) and remains of offerings such as flowers, sandal-paste, food (*nirmālya*) see e.g. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 147; V. Ś., p. 84; 191; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 345 (Index); II, p. 379 (Index) and the texts quoted there.

<sup>69</sup> *Pūrvakāraṇa-Āgama* 26, 61 ff.; 71. For some particulars see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XX.

<sup>70</sup> Such as are dealt with, for instance, in SŚP. II.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XXIV.

<sup>72</sup> See e.g. SŚP. I, p. XXIII and compare p. 156 above; BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in BEFEO 61, p. 135.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. SŚP. I, *Introd.*, p. XXXVII f.; p. 68; 74; 180 etc.; 1, 12 (p. 10 f.); -II, Pav. 85 f.; 101 f. etc.

<sup>74</sup> For this term see below p. 180. For details taken from the *Kirana-Āgama* and an attempt at explanation see BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in JA 253, p. 319.

Some theoretical details were no longer understood or, on the other hand, regarded as too self-evident to need explanation, others might have been completely forgotten or considered unimportant; very 'secret' lore may have been intentionally suppressed.<sup>75</sup>

The Śivaite *āgamas* are not only by far our main source of knowledge of the older phases of Śivaite religious practice and the interrelations between Southern and Kashmirian Śivaism, they give also very welcome information on the history of Indian religion and philosophy in general. They served as the doctrinal basis of Śivaite monasticism<sup>76</sup> and as fundamental manuals for liturgies and religious practices. They are also of special importance for the history of Hindu art and that is why up to recent times historians of art were the only scholars who took an interest in these works, that is to say, in those portions which deal with images and temples.<sup>77</sup> The *āgamas*, containing detailed descriptions of foundation and construction of sanctuaries as well as the characteristics of cult images, are indeed a great help in identifying the various types of images and sanctuaries and in explaining the significance of iconographic particulars, because the latter are generally speaking in harmony with the pertinent passages of these texts.<sup>78</sup> In short, they prove to be an indispensable mine of information on various aspects of Hinduism.<sup>79</sup>

A point of considerable interest is the position of Agni and Sūrya in Śiva's cult, the various forms of the god of fire in the Śivaite tradition and the Sūrya-pūjā as an adapted replica of the Śivapūjā. As is well known, the identification of the Sun with Śiva<sup>80</sup> and the in a later period widespread incorporation of a sun cult in the worship of that god—or the Śivaite re-interpretation of a Sun cult—does not seem to have taken place everywhere at the same time.

<sup>75</sup> Questions such as the relation between the doctrinal and practical sections, the development of doctrine and ritual practice and so on are worthy of further investigation. See also ZIESENIS, op. cit., II, p. 14 "das Fehlen der klaren Scheidung zwischen Spekulation und Praxis . . . weist auf eine höhere Altertümlichkeit hin". That would mean that in a later period of development redactors separated the theoretical material more consistently.

<sup>76</sup> I refer to R. N. NANDI, Religious institutions and cults in the Deccan (A. D. 600–1000), Delhi 1973, p. 83, supplying names of preceptors of monasteries who were well versed in this literature. We know that for instance in the Golaki-maṭha, the most important Śaiva *maṭha* (convent, seminary) in Āndhra, instruction was given in the four Vedas, the *āgamas*, logic etc. (B. S. L. HANUMANTHA RAO, Religion in Āndhra, Tripurasundari 1973, p. 305).

<sup>77</sup> GOPINATHA RAO, E. H. I.; KRISHNA SASTRI, South-Indian images of gods and goddesses, Madras 1916; P. K. ACHARYA, An encyclopaedia of Hindu architecture, 7 vol., Oxford 1927–1946; S. KRAMRISCH, H. T.; D. N. SHUKLA, Vāstu-Śāstra, Hindu canons of iconography and painting, Gorakhpur 1959. For a bibliography see also KANE, H. Dh. II, Poona 1941, p. 713.

<sup>78</sup> This is not to say that the *āgamas* are in complete agreement on every detail.

<sup>79</sup> This class of literature is frequently mentioned in inscriptions; see e.g. RAO, op. cit., p. 202; 215.

<sup>80</sup> According to MatsyaP. 55, 5f. (cf. 68, 35) there is no distinction between both deities.

In this connexion it is interesting to notice that part of the *āgamas*—among them the Ajita, Makuṭa, Cintya, Svāyambhuva—make mention of that cult as an obligatory part of the daily Śivapūjā<sup>81</sup> whereas many other *āgamas*—obviously representing another ‘school’—do not include a chapter on that cult. Others again, while speaking about it, regard it as an optional rite not necessarily to be performed as part of the daily ritual. The later ritual manuals, on the other hand, are unanimous in describing the Sūryapūjā as a rite to be performed before the Śivapūjā, for one should adore the Sun who is God’s manifestation.<sup>82</sup>

In addition to Tamil sources the *āgamas* furnish us also with information on the different names, the origin and characteristics of the extremely popular, though mysterious, South-Indian god Aiyānār or Śāstā (Śāstar), hinduized as the son of Śiva and Viṣṇu in his form of Mohini,<sup>83</sup> as well as details about his temples, festivals, cult, iconography<sup>84</sup> and the installation of his images. That the cult of this village god, who was legitimated by brahminical authorities and from the functional point of view may be regarded as a sort of double of Śiva himself, attracted the attention of those who compiled this literature appears also from the existence of texts such as Śāstāpratiṣṭhāvidhi dealing with Aiyānār’s installation,<sup>85</sup> Śāstur utsavavidhi and Śāstotsavavidhipaṭala, describing the celebration of his festival, as well as from a collection of verses, called Śāstrdhyānaśloka, to be used by those who meditate on this deity.

I need not dwell on the frequent, often passing, references to other gods, whether or not their cult usually is closely affiliated with that of Śiva.<sup>86</sup> Mythology proper, especially mythological themes and passages, take up much less room than in the *purāṇas* and related works, where mythological magnification and devotional glorification of divine figures are among the most effective

<sup>81</sup> Cf. AjĀ. 54, 85; SŚP. 2, 1ff.; on the Raurava-Āgama see BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 195 (where further particulars); BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XXVIII; 68.

<sup>82</sup> See also LiṅgaP. 2, 19, 31; H. VON STIETENCROON, Indische Sonnenpriester, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 286 (Index); J. GONDA, in WZKSA 14, p. 20.

<sup>83</sup> M.E. ADICEAM, Contribution a l’étude d’Aiyānār-Śāstā, Pondicherry 1967 (on the relevant Sanskrit texts, p. 7; 115); GONDA, R. I. II, p. 14.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. Kāraṇa-Āgama 1, 13, 85ff.; AjĀ. Kr. 36, 325f.

<sup>85</sup> The most complete and detailed description of this is found in the Īśānaśivācāryapaddhati (see ADICEAM, op. cit., p. 66), which was edited by SĀMBAŚIVAŚIVĀCĀRYA, Kuḍumiyāmalai 1929.

<sup>86</sup> As to Skanda see e.g. AjĀ. Kr. ch. 50; SŚP. 9, 7; MĀ. Kr. 3, 25; R. DESSIGANE and P.Z. PATTABIRAMIN, La légende de Skanda, Pondicherry 1967, discussing the Tamil Kandapurāṇam, the Sanskrit Śaṅkarasaṃhitā (edited by C.A. TIKṢITAR, 2 vol., Cēlam 1964) and other works. Cf. also F. CLOTHEY, Skanda-Ṣaṣṭi, a festival in Tamil India, in History of Religions 8, p. 236. For Durgā, Jyeṣṭhā (e.g. AjĀ. ch. 52; SŚP. 3, 56 and I, p. 66; 68), the Sapta-Mātrkāś (e.g. AjĀ. Kr. 48, 1ff.; SŚP. 4, 61) etc. see B. STEIN, Devī shrines and folk Hinduism in medieval Tamilnad, in Studies in the language and culture of South Asia, ed. by E. GEROW and M.D. LANG, Seattle and London 1973, p. 75. On Mohinī RĀ. ch. 37; on Viṣṇu RĀ. ch. 36.

sanskritizational processes. The same observation holds good with regard to legends which as a rule are only alluded to, although the relevant iconographical sections may contribute to a better understanding of particular features.<sup>87</sup>

The *āgama* literature is also of interest in connexion with the spread of Śivaism over South-East Asia and Indonesia. Whereas Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia refer to *āgamas* and other Indian texts,<sup>88</sup> interesting details of the Balinese religion find their explanation in rituals described in the Śivaite works under consideration.<sup>89</sup>

After the observations made on the structure and style of the Pañcarātra-Samhitās there is no need to treat these subjects again at some length. Though far from generally unidiomatic, the language of the *āgamas* deviates in some places and details from Pāṇinean Sanskrit. There is, for instance, a tendency to use masculine words as neuters.<sup>90</sup> Since these deviations are fairly constant they point to differences in usage in the milieu or milieus these works come from or the region where they were revised—a fact which is not characteristic of all Sanskrit texts composed in the South. Lexicographical influence is in places probable or even undeniable.<sup>91</sup> Yet one cannot say that the *āgamas* are conspicuously affected by modes of expression peculiar to Tamil.<sup>92</sup>

As to striking or frequent stylistic peculiarities<sup>93</sup> the Mālinivijaya is among those works that exhibit a preference for assonance and recurrence of sound combinations, e.g. 1, 1 *-vipakṣa-kṣapaṇa-kṣamāḥ* “able to destroy the enemies”.<sup>94</sup> Not infrequently such combinations help to constitute, together with long compounds, word repetitions or other devices, passages of a more lofty style and diction, e.g. the introductory stanzas MāIT. 1, 1f.<sup>95</sup> or NT. 1, 21–31 describing Śiva’s Śakti: 25f.:

<sup>87</sup> See e.g. R. DESSIGANE, P. Z. PATTABIRAMIN and J. FILLIOZAT, *Les légendes çivaïtes de Kāñcīpuram*, Pondicherry 1964.

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. G. COEDÈS, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I, Paris 1937, p. 37; FILLIOZAT, in *Rauravāgama*, edition, p. X (where also a remark on the Parameśvara (*āgama*) mentioned in Śivaite contexts); BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in *JA* 256, p. 445.

<sup>89</sup> A. ZIESENISS, *Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus*, I, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 98 (The Hague 1939), p. 75; II, New Delhi 1958; C. HOOYKAAS, *Āgama-Tirtha*, Amsterdam Acad. 1964; *Sūrya-sevana*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966; T. GOUDRIAAN and C. HOOYKAAS, *Stuti and stava*, Amsterdam Acad. 1971, p. 159; 497; J. GONDA, *Śiva in Indonesien*, WZKSA 14 (1970), p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. *utsava* “festival” (RĀ. Kr. 18, 8); *hasta* “hand” (35, 204). Cf. BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 69. For other deviations see e.g. RĀ. 35, 44; 60; 94; 124; 171; 220; AjĀ. 38, 34; 43, 6; 46, 2.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 65.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. e.g. BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 86.

<sup>93</sup> Examples of stylistic features have already been given in chapter VII.

<sup>94</sup> Compare also cases such as SvT. 9, 31 *kapālamālā* “garland of skulls”; MāIT. 4, 19; 5, 15; 17; 19; 21.

<sup>95</sup> See also SvT. 1, 1ff. *kailāsaśikharāsīnam bhairavaṃ vigatāmayam | caṇḍanan-dimahākālaganeśavṛṣabhgrībhīḥ*; AjĀ. 1, 1ff. (one long sentence).

*etat paramaṃ dhāma etat paramaṃ padam  
etat paramaṃ vīryam etat tat paramāmṛtam  
tejasāṃ paramaṃ tejo jyotiṣāṃ jyotir uttamam*

“This is the highest presence, this the highest place;  
this the highest vigour, this the highest ‘immortality’;  
the highest fiery energy of energies, the most excellent light of lights”.

Elsewhere it is the secret lore which can save men from drowning in the ocean of mundane sorrow that is profusely exalted or the spiritual guide whose rites are inadequate or who is with well-chosen words blamed.<sup>96</sup> Now and then there is a successful characterization, e. g. SvT. 7, 59:

“There is nobody who emits him, nobody who prevents his progress. The goose (*haṃsa*, i. e. Highest Being)<sup>97</sup> arises (goes forth, appears) spontaneously, being in the breath of the living creatures”.

Among those passages, which impress us as poetical and which are found in most *āgamas* and ritual manuals, are the meditations on one or more deities (*dhyanāśloka*),<sup>98</sup> describing the god or gods in that appearance and with those attributes and characteristics which the devotee should call up in his mind in order to identify himself with him or them. Thus, at ŚŚP. 1, 56f.:

“At noon, one should meditate upon the divine Vaiṣṇavī, seated in the lotus-posture on Tārksya (Garuḍa), as a girl of fresh-blown youth, white, clad in white, wearing a garland made of wood-flowers and the sacred cord, bearing in her left hands the conch and the disc; one right hand holds the club, the other makes (the *mudrā* of) protection”.<sup>99</sup>

These passages, mostly of unknown origin, are on one hand as to their contents related to purāṇic histories and descriptions and have on the other served as texts to the sculptors in furnishing the cult images with iconographical details. The wording of these verses is succinct; what is omitted was obviously supposed to be known to those who were to use these manuals.

These poetical passages<sup>100</sup> contrast agreeably with the long descriptive or didactic expositions or the simply worded prescriptions of the type “having done this . . . he should perform that”<sup>101</sup> or the stereotyped formulas which in some texts tend to occur at the beginning of many chapters: “now I shall proclaim”.<sup>102</sup> Brevity and terseness<sup>103</sup> are also pursued in sections dealing

<sup>96</sup> NT. 6, 4ff.; 16, 59ff.; see e. g. also 1, 32ff.

<sup>97</sup> I refer to PADOUX, Recherches, p. 120.

<sup>98</sup> For instances BRUNNER-LACHAUX, ŚŚP. I, p. 344 (Index).

<sup>99</sup> Although divine power (*śakti*) is indivisible, it is for reasons of adoration considered threefold and in the morning, at noon and in the evening said to be Brahmā's, Viṣṇu's and Rudra's.

<sup>100</sup> Also MT. Vid. 1, 10 *ity anīṣavacovārivelānunno 'bdhīneva saḥ | sakreṇa na cacālaiṣāṃ dhīśailaḥ sārāgauravāt.*

<sup>101</sup> See e. g. SvT. 2, 21f.; 54f.; ch. 3 passim etc.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. MāT. 7, 1 etc.; RĀ. 33, 1 etc.

<sup>103</sup> See also NT. 18, 112ff.

with rites and ceremonies that are partly identical with rituals which are supposed to be known to the reader; in such cases a reference “as has been said” or a statement “One shall honour Śiva in the fire”<sup>104</sup> may suffice. Not infrequently ritual prescripts are very concisely expressed so as to require an explanation or a detailed argumentation<sup>105</sup>. Needless to say that the authors of parallel sections often put the same matter differently (less clearly, more succinctly) into words. The occurrence of places that are reminiscent of phraseology and argumentation of earlier texts, for instance the *upaniṣads* (NT. 8, 1 ff.) is worth noticing but not surprising. Obscure, incomplete or ill-balanced passages on meditation or technical details are not absent.<sup>106</sup> Sometimes technical terms are used without any definition (were they always clear enough for the ‘readers’?). Or an author enlarges upon a distinction between initiated devotees without classifying or discussing the respective initiations.<sup>107</sup> The extreme obscurity of many passages is no doubt also due to the desire to prevent the divulgement of their secret contents. One instance may be quoted, VBh. 68:

*vahner viśasya madhye tu cittam sukhamayam kṣipet* “One should fix one’s thought which is nothing but delight on the middle between fire and poison”.

At first sight this is nonsense, but “fire” and “poison” denote the beginning and the end of sexual intercourse, the blissful state of which is on another level in a sense analogous to the highest mystic experience.

Occasionally the metrical form—by far the most common: *ślokas* and now and then longer stanzas<sup>108</sup>—is interrupted by a chapter or section in mixed prose and verse.<sup>109</sup> As to the structure of these works, it may be recalled that they begin with the account of their origin;<sup>110</sup> that there can be as the very first stanza a benediction or homage to Śiva; that—for instance in the Kiraṇa-Āgama—a justification of the name of the work and a recapitulation of the numbers of chapters etc. are added to the contents proper; that sometimes the argument or description is interrupted by a eulogy. The contents of a chapter are usually indicated in its initial stanza or beforehand in the last stanza of the preceding chapter. One of the terms used by the authority who figures as the teacher—often one of the last words pronounced—induces the interlocutor to put a new question and so to continue the instruction. There are parentheses,

<sup>104</sup> E.g. SŚP. 4, 67; Pav. 49; 90.

<sup>105</sup> See e.g. SŚP. Pav. 125 and Aghoraśiva’s commentary.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. NT. 7, 31 ff.; ch. 12 passim. Explanations, though expected, are not always given: cf. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), in BEFEO 61, p. 131 on NT. 2, 9 ff.; p. 141, on ch. 7.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 253, p. 321; 324.

<sup>108</sup> See e.g. AjĀ. Kr. 4, 7–20; 35 f.; 11, 10 ff.; 13, 2 ff.; 21, 127 ff.; 27, 74 f.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. RĀ. Kr. 2 consisting mostly of formulas; Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha ch. 5 and 7.

<sup>110</sup> MT. 1, 1; MāIT. 1, 1; SŚP. 1, 1.

sometimes of considerable length<sup>111</sup>; digressions and repetitions,<sup>112</sup> clumsy or unexpected transitions.<sup>113</sup>

According to a purāṇic tradition<sup>114</sup> a competent *guru* should adapt his instruction to his pupils and teach the āgamic lore in Sanskrit, Prākṛit or local languages. This explains also the existence of *āgamas* in Dravidian languages<sup>115</sup> as well as the controversy as to whether this Śivaite lore was originally written in Sanskrit or Tamil,<sup>116</sup> a controversy debated with arguments derived from legendary matter and other unreliable premises.

Although they are intended for the faithful and especially for those who carry out the rites and ceremonies—as already observed, the ritual still is a living element of Hinduism—and although they are thought and spoken of very highly these Sanskrit *āgamas* are nowadays sealed books to the general and not much studied by the Śivaïtes themselves.<sup>117</sup> Even among the temple priests—who are conducting a mode of worship based upon one or the other of the *āgamas*—there are no more than a few specialists able to explain the ritual gestures and formulas. While their interpretations are probably not always the original ones they are highly useful and, as already observed, in many cases even indispensable.

Most copies of these works are handed down and preserved in temples where they are used as manuals for conducting the ceremonies, a comparatively small number in Indian libraries, mainly in the South. Older editions, prepared for limited circulation, i. e. the use of officiants and mostly printed in *grantha* script,<sup>118</sup> are often uncritical and even illegible. In the West as well as most parts of India the Śaiva *āgamas* have been not available until far into the present century. In 1940 an Indian author<sup>119</sup> had to complain: "We are almost in total darkness about their contents", and in 1955 Dasgupta<sup>120</sup> could add no more than that most of these works "still lie unpublished, and yet they form the religious kernel of Śaivism as practised by millions of people in different parts of India". The complete ignorance, on the part of Western scholars, of

<sup>111</sup> E.g. NT. ch. 3–5; 16, 40–86 or even 26–86.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. NT. 20, 54ff.; ch. 16, passim.

<sup>113</sup> E.g. NT. ch. 16, 1ff.; 18, 112ff.

<sup>114</sup> Śivadharmottara-Purāṇa quoted in the Śivajñānasiddhi (± 1250); see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 15. For teaching and teachers in general see HANDIQUI, op. cit., p. 337.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. also ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature (Handbuch), p. 205. The religious allegiance of most Southerners was via liturgy in vernacular languages.

<sup>116</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 15; 18. For two types of *āgamas*, one meant for the three higher classes and one for those who have no access to the Veda, and for the use of Dravidian languages in the latter ibidem, p. 72.

<sup>117</sup> See e.g. T. S. KANDASWAMY MUDALIAR, C. L. Ś. S., p. 3; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. II.

<sup>118</sup> See also NANDI, op. cit., p. 83ff. The number of copies printed was as a rule very small.

<sup>119</sup> R. C. HAZRA, op. cit. (see n. 16).

<sup>120</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 20.

this literature even led them to believe that the ritual practices taught in them were either almost non-existent or a collection of curiosities.<sup>121</sup> Thanks to the initiative of Professor Filliozat and the activities of a group of French and Indian scholars attached to the Institut français d'Indologie à Pondichéry things are in the last fifteen years taking a favourable turn. A number of important texts and studies have already been published.<sup>122</sup> What besides more critical editions is urgently needed is a representative collection of complete annotated translations in English or at least more critical résumés modelled on those which have already been meritoriously composed by Madame Brunner.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> L. RENOÙ, in JA 252, p. 278. The Tamil Śaiva-Siddhānta, focussing attention on the doctrine, is scarcely interested in rituals.

<sup>122</sup> See J. FILLIOZAT, *La recherche scientifique française à Pondichéry*, in *Culture française*, juillet 1958, p. 28 and in *Journal des savants* 1962, p. 193.

<sup>123</sup> See p. 186, 199, 207 below.



## CHAPTER XII

### THE INDIVIDUAL ĀGAMAS

The Śivaite<sup>1</sup> *āgamas* are traditionally divided into four classes, to wit the Śaiva proper, the Pāśupata, the Soma and the Lākula (Nākula).<sup>2</sup> The first class is subdivided into three groups, the left-hand (*vāma*) *āgamas*, viz. those of the Kāpālas, Kālamukhas, Aghoras; the right-hand (*dakṣiṇa*) works, viz. those of the Kashmirian Trika system based on the Svacchanda and other *āgamas*; and the group called Siddhānta, consisting of the twenty-eight beginning with the Kāmika-Āgama.<sup>3</sup>

The Tamil poet Tirumūlar,<sup>4</sup> who might have lived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., while stating that the *āgamas*—containing the one imperishable truth, i.e. Vedānta Siddhānta or pure Śaivism—are twenty-eight in number, adds that they came from the nine manifestations of Rudra and are divided into three parts, viz. *karma*, *upāsana* and *jñāna*, i.e. rites, worship or service and knowledge.<sup>5</sup> However, in the texts themselves the fourfold division<sup>6</sup> is, at least in principle, more usual: 'knowledge' (the very often absent *jñāna*- or *vidyāpāda*, comprising sections on the genesis of the work—the so-called 'descent', *avatāra*—, the formation of *mantras*, the significance of initiation etc.), and three other parts of a practical nature, imparting skill in turning the lore contained in the first part to profitable use: so-called *yoga*, 'ritual' (*kriyā*, worship with flowers etc., offering incense and lights, ablutions) and 'conduct, observances' (*caryā*), the last division teaching how to stand in the true path by fixing the mind upon the Śiva *yoga*<sup>7</sup> and to transform it into Śiva. It may be remembered

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<sup>1</sup> For Śiva see also A. SARKAR, Śiva in medieval literature, Calcutta 1974 (mainly based on Bengali and Hindi sources).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Kāraṇāgama 1, 26, 58ff.

<sup>4</sup> Tirumūlar, Tirumantiram, st. 1429; see also NARAYANA AYYAR, op. cit., p. 249f.

<sup>5</sup> Śrikanṭha, Bhāṣya on Brahmasūtras 2, 2, 38 speaks of *tantra*, *mantra* and *upadeśa* (instruction).

<sup>6</sup> In the Śaiva-siddhānta of the Tamil works this quadripartition has been re-interpreted; see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. VII.

<sup>7</sup> Those who practise *yoga* (cf. e.g. MT. Yogapāda) as described in these texts aspire to union with Śiva by means of the well-known methods while performing God's cult as an interior cult, which however requires a perfect acquaintance with the exterior worship of which it is a transposition (see also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V p. 204 (Index); ZIESENISS, op. cit. II, p. 141).

that notwithstanding the *jñāna* portion laying down the philosophical doctrine of the threefold reality (*tattvatraya*) these scriptures are primarily intended to teach the *bhakti* way an important factor of which is renunciation.<sup>8</sup>

Through these works<sup>9</sup> Śiva revealed his doctrine which notwithstanding this apparent division is believed to be one, homogeneous and indivisible. It is doubtful whether all these texts have been completely preserved; many manuscripts are in a decaying or deplorable state. Anyhow, it is more than probable that a considerable part of the other, 'non-canonical' literature of the *āgama*-Śivaites has been lost. Texts such as the *Māyāvāmanikā*<sup>10</sup> are quoted, but not known to the present generation.<sup>11</sup> It is of course no matter of chance that the above number coincides with that of the twenty-eight *avatāras* of Śiva distinguished for instance in *Vāyu-Purāṇa* 23, 115 ff.<sup>12</sup>

These twenty-eight works are traditionally assumed to have been revealed through Śiva's five mouths and that, according to a classification handed down in the school of the Śaiva-Siddhānta, as follows. Sadyojāta pronounced the Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kāraṇa, Ajita; Vāmadeva, the Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Sahasra, Aṃśumat, Suprabhedā; Aghora, the Vijaya, Ni(h)śvāsa, Svāyaṃbhava, Anala (or Āgneya), Vīra; Tatpuruṣa, the Raurava, Makuṭa, Vimala, Candrajñāna, Bimba or Mukhabimba; Īśāna, the Prodgīta (Udgīta), Lalita, Siddha, Santāna, Śarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kiraṇa and Vātula.<sup>13</sup> This is however not the only classification extant.<sup>14</sup> Curiously enough, this list makes its appearance in all *āgamas* known to us, as if these were contemporaneous. In fact the relevant passages must be regarded as later insertions.

The ten *āgamas* mentioned first are held to be *śaiva*, i.e. belonging to, or transmitted by Śivas, and to represent the dualistic (pluralistic) school admitting the three fundamental realities *pati*, *paśu*, *pāśa*;<sup>15</sup> the other eighteen are *raudra* "belonging to or transmitted by Rudras"; they represent the dualistic-cum-monistic school. This distinction is explained by a tradition according to which Sadāśiva, in order to reveal the truth, first created ten Śivas to whom

<sup>8</sup> The reciter of an *āgama* must be a *bhakta* (NARAYANA PILLAI, *Origin . . .*, p. 380). On Śaiva *bhakti* see also M. DHAVAMONY, *Love of God according to Śaiva Siddhānta*, Oxford 1971, p. 119 and *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 193; DIEHL, I.P., p. 46; DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 16; 18; RENOU-FILLIOZAT, I.C., II, p. 752.

<sup>10</sup> See BRUNNER-LACHAUX, BEFEO 61, p. 157. In particular cases a second name of a text may lead us astray (thus Mrgendra = Nārasimha, cf. BHATT, MĀ., p. II).

<sup>11</sup> A collection of stray fragments and quotations: GOPINATH KAVIRAJA, *Lup-tāgamasaṅgraha*, Varanasi 1970 (*āgama* not in the narrower sense).

<sup>12</sup> For an enumeration see D.R. PATIL, *Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, Poona 1946, p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> See BHATT, *Rauravāgama*, chart opposite p. XIX and p. XIX ff.; also Pauṣkarabhāṣya, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. MĀ. Car. 1, 43 ff. (omitting the Pārameśvara); AjĀ. 1, 35 ff. A different classification is found in AjĀ. 1, 106 ff. (not correctly reproduced by FILLIOZAT, in BHATT, RĀ., p. XI).

<sup>15</sup> See also PANDEY, *Bhāskari*, III, p. LXII.

he imparted the contents of the ten *śaivāgamas* and thereupon eighteen Rudras whom he taught the other texts. Each of these Śivas and Rudras transmitted his text to a definite god; these gods taught the lore to sages, who instructed other sages; these finally were to become the teachers of humanity.<sup>16</sup> The Kāmika is traditionally the first of the series, hence the reference “the Kāmika and the other *āgamas*”.<sup>17</sup>

Just as the twenty-eight *avatāras* have each of them four sons or disciples said to be learned brahmins practising austerities the *āgamas* have in the Śivaite tradition not remained alone. To each of them is attached a number—in the lists of the Raurava-Āgama<sup>18</sup> ranging from one to sixteen—of secondary *āgamas* (*upāgama*). In that text which mentions the titles of all of them their number amounts to 207, but other sources give different totals, e.g. 120 or 198.<sup>19</sup> It would serve no useful purpose to enumerate all their names. Let it suffice to mention some of those which have been published or are in manuscript preserved in the Institut français:<sup>20</sup> Vātulaśuddha-Āgama,<sup>21</sup> Kumāra-Tantra and Pauṣkara-Āgama;<sup>22</sup> Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama;<sup>23</sup> Devikālottaram; Kālottaram;<sup>24</sup> Niḥśvāsa-Kārikā; Śivadharmā; Śivadharmottara; Umā-Saṃhitā. As has been the case in other fields of knowledge compilers felt called upon to compose epitomes or concise and comprehensive treatises (*saṅgraha*) for practical use: there is an ‘edition’ of the Sakalāgamasārasaṅgraha “Compendium of the essence of all *āgamas*”.<sup>25</sup>

We shall now proceed to examine the contents of some *āgamas* more closely. In so doing we shall try to avoid redundancies and repetitions arising from the fact that as to their subject-matter and its division and treatment the Śivaite and Viṣṇuite *āgamas* go to a considerable extent together. Even if the state of affairs (the non-existence of printed texts, the inaccessibility of many manuscripts etc.) would permit reviewing much more material we could not, for reasons of space, have aimed at completeness. Yet there will be opportunities

<sup>16</sup> BHATT, AjĀ., p. I.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Sūta-Saṃhitā, Yajñavaibhavakhaṇḍa 22, 2 *kāmikādyāgamān*; cf. also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 48; 124.

<sup>18</sup> See the chart etc. indicated in the above note 13.

<sup>19</sup> ELIOT, H. B. II, p. 205; FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 193. Some texts which do not figure in the enumeration—for instance the Mohaśūrottara quoted in SŚP. Pav. 7—may be, or have been, *upāgamas*.

<sup>20</sup> For the Mrgendrāgama see p. 183ff. below.

<sup>21</sup> This work has been published (Bangalore 1958) in *nāgarī* script under the title Āgamarahasyam Vātulaśuddhākhyam.

<sup>22</sup> Printed in *grantha* script at Madras in 1911, 1915 and 1925; with a commentary in Tamil by Śivajñāna at Madras 1890 and (as Pauṣkara-Saṃhitā) at Cidambaram 1925 (both in *grantha* script). There exists a long commentary in Sanskrit by Jñānaprakāśa (16<sup>th</sup> century); see T. MICHAËL, Śivayogaratna de Jñānaprakāśa, Pondicherry 1975.

<sup>23</sup> Printed at Dēvakoṭṭai 1928 in *nāgarī* script.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, in JA 257, p. 217.

<sup>25</sup> Printed at Madras 1921 in *grantha* script.

to draw attention to some characteristics of this literature and to some subjects of its discourses which have not been touched upon in the preceding section. There is no special reason for the order in which some of the main *āgamas* will be discussed in the following pages.

Of the Mṛgendrāgama, which, though an *upāgama*, is one of the most important works of this class, we possess the 'fourth parts' (*pāda*) dealing with 'knowledge' (*vidyā*) and *yoga*, which under the title Mṛgendra-Tantra<sup>26</sup> was handed down in Kashmir and in the South, and the two other chapters, devoted to ritual (*kriyā*) and customary behaviour (*caryā*), the manuscripts of which (partly in *grantha* and Telugu script) have been preserved in South India.<sup>27</sup> As one of the most representative works of more than one Śivaite persuasion (Pāśupatas, Southern and Northern Śivaism) it has often been quoted<sup>28</sup> by Mādharma (14<sup>th</sup> century) in his Sarvadarśanasamgraha, the well-known 'Compendium of all philosophical schools'.<sup>29</sup> It is under the synonymous title Nārasiṃha-Upāgama associated with the Kāmika.<sup>30</sup> As to style and presentation of the subject-matter this comparatively short work is often allusive and does not as a rule go into details.

As appears from chapter I of the Vidyāpāda the work is a deliberate attempt to harmonize Śivaite doctrine and ritual practice with Vedic traditions. When a number of sages headed by the Vedic ṛṣi Bharadvāja<sup>31</sup> had assembled

<sup>26</sup> Edited with the commentary (*vṛtti*, i.e. a 'gloss' especially on a *sūtra* text) of Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and the *dīpikā* ("torchlight, elucidation") of Aghoraśivācārya by K.M. SUBBRAHMANYA ŚĀSTRĪ, Dēvakōṭṭai 1928; with the commentary of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha by MADHUSŪDAN KAUL SHĀSTRĪ, Bombay 1930 as volume 50 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. From internal evidence (quotation) it appears that the commentator must have lived after the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, probably about 1000; the 'surname' Kaṇṭha is proper to Kashmirians. On this commentator and his son Rāmakaṇṭha, who wrote other commentaries, see also BHATT, MĀ. edition, p. VI. For Aghoraśivācārya's commentary see also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Edited by N. R. BHATT as Mṛgendrāgama (Kriyāpāda et Caryāpāda) avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Pondicherry 1962. See also J. VARENNE, in JA 251 (1963), p. 405. Parts of the work were also published and translated in the periodical Siddhānta Dīpikā 4ff. (Madras 1900ff.). There must have existed a *paddhati* (ritual manual) on the Mṛgendra; a manuscript of an 'explanation' (*vyākhyā*) on this work has been preserved (BHATT, MĀ. edition, p. VI).

<sup>28</sup> For some particulars see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 14; 21.

<sup>29</sup> Chapter VII. For a translation see E. B. COWELL and A. E. GOUGH, The Sarvadarśanasamgraha or Review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy, London 1882, 21894; see also P. DEUSSEN, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I, 3, 2Leipzig 1920, p. 312ff.

<sup>30</sup> According to tradition it is a so-called Rudra-*tantra* (see above): one of the favourite Indian tripartitions distinguishes between esoteric Śiva-*tantras* which idealistically discuss the Reality in its monistic aspect; Rudra-*tantras* which confine themselves to the dualistic interpretation; and Bhairava-*tantras* treating the adoration of the Supreme Being monistically as well as dualistically.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. GONDA, V. L., p. 9 etc.

in the hermitage of Nārāyaṇa where they, having installed Śiva, devoted themselves to austerities in order to propitiate their god, Indra, disguised as an ascetic, arrived also and tried to dissuade them from the worship of Śiva. But “the rock of their illumined minds offered resistance to the mighty waves of the sea of Indra’s words repudiating Śiva’s creed” (cf. st. 10). Thereupon he revealed his identity and initiated them, in the usual form of discourse, in the esoteric lore, Bharadvāja acting as the questioner (st. 20f.).

As to the date of its composition, the occurrence of some references to other schools of thought, not only to Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Jainism and Vaiśeṣika (V. 2, 10), but also to the Advaita (V. 2, 14), which is refuted, warrants the conclusion that in its present form the text is acquainted with Śaṅkara’s system and cannot therefore date from before 850 or 900 A. D. In its present form, because the work introduces itself (MĀ. V. 1, 27ff.) as an abridgment of a reduced form, consisting of 11 000 stanzas, of the Kāmika(-Āgama) which, being revealed by Śiva, was transmitted by a succession of “lords of *mantras*”. Since the Mrgendrāgama does not appear in the lists of the twenty-eight *āgamas* and its name, according to the commentator Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha,<sup>32</sup> corresponds to that of the Nārasimha, which, as already observed, is an *upā-gama* of the Kāmika—elsewhere the same authority describes the treatise under discussion as a separate part of the Kāmika—the most plausible inference seems to be that the present text—which amounts to 1196 śloka—is traditionally held to be a second abridgment received by Indra in the shape of Nṛsimha (Man-Lion; hence also the name Mṛgendra “Lord of animals”) and that this abridgment goes back to the important fundamental Kāmika-Āgama which figures at the beginning of the lists of the *āgamas*. The Kāmika referred to in the Sūta-Saṃhitā (1, 12) is supposed to be one of the oldest works of this class.

The Vidyāpāda of the Mrgendra-Āgama deals in thirteen chapters with the following subjects: 1: introduction; 2: refutation of other systems; 3 and 4: the Lord (*pati*); 5: his five activities; 6: the bound soul (*paśu*); 7: the fetters (*pāśa*); 8: the deeds (*karman*); 9: *māyā*; 10: the effects of the energies (*kalā*); 11: the conceptions or convictions (*pratyaya*), viz. *siddhi* “accomplishment, perfection”, *tuṣṭi* “contentment, satisfaction”, *aśakti* “inability” and *viparyaya* “error, misapprehension” (11, 2ff.);<sup>33</sup> 12: the organs of sense; 13: the world.

The Yogapāda consists of one single chapter (*paṭala*) concentrating upon the state of mind and knowledge required when, during the adoration, one is engaged in meditation on Śiva. In illustration of the style I quote MĀ. Y. 10f.:

(Comm.) “Having spoken thus of the constituent parts of *yoga* he (the author) says to set forth the result to which these lead: ‘The powers of a *yogin* who has

<sup>32</sup> Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Bombay edition (see above n. 26), p. 7 and p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> The states or conditions indicating the degrees of separation from the highest goal according to the Sāṃkhya school of thought; cf. R. GARBE, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, <sup>2</sup>Leipzig 1917, p. 340.

exerted himself in these (constituent parts of *yoga*) separately as well as in combination, pervading everything, are brilliant just as the light of the sun. No man whatever has control over him; demons and men, he surpasses them splendidly by the splendour of his gaze, deeds, vital power' (Comm.). All powers of a *yogin* who has put into practice the constituent parts, viz. regulating his breath etc. either in combination or separately, after having pervaded everything, shine, (i.e.) are bright like the light of the sun; that means: his ability will be unobstructed in all (his) enterprises. For so no one from the (world of the) demons, gods or men overcomes (surpasses) him who is illustrious because of his exceedingly formidable energy (*tejas*) . . .".<sup>34</sup>

The Kriyāpāda consists of eight chapters which consecutively treat: 1: the choice of the *mantras*; 2: baths; 3: adoration; 4: the so-called cult for the sake of the realization of wishes; 5: *mudrās*; 6: fire ritual;<sup>35</sup> 7 and 8: the preparatory rites (*adhivāsa*) and the initiation etc. The 130 *ślokas* of the incomplete Caryāpāda (which constitute one single chapter) deal mainly with conduct and behaviour of the various classes of adherents of the Śivaite persuasion as well as a number of particulars regarding their divisions and subdivisions, their nourishment and observances, the special rules applicable to the initiates, expiation, and so on. For instance, st. 2f.:

"Those who observe a vow are (of two classes, viz.) those who wear matted hair and those whose heads have been shaved; members of the first social order are white with ashes,<sup>36</sup> *kṣatriyas* and so on are adorned (respectively) with a *tilaka*,<sup>37</sup> a *puṇḍra* ('sectarial mark') and strips of cloth.<sup>38</sup> A *śūdra* should not wear matted hair, nor a fool, an insane person, a woman, a decrepit, diseased or mutilated man".

From quotations in other works<sup>39</sup> and references in the commentary it may be concluded that the Caryāpāda included also a discussion of "impurity" (*āśauca*), funeral rites (*antyeṣṭi*), characteristics of *liṅgas*; inauguration (*pratīṣṭhā* ritual) and *śrāddha* ceremonies. It is worth noticing that the Mṛgendra does not seem to have dealt with the occasional rites such as festivals and ablutions or to have discussed particular or private rites (*kāmyakarmāṇi*) more than incidentally.

Among the Śivaite *āgamas* known to us the Kiraṅgama is one of the very few<sup>40</sup> which are divided into, and handed down in, the four great chapters, here called "knowledge" i.e. cosmology and ontology as a theoretical basis of the

<sup>34</sup> On the power of an advanced *yogin* see e.g. Patañjali, *Yogasūtras* 4, 1 etc.; M. ELIADE, *Le yoga*, Paris 1954, p. 421 (Index); S. LINDQUIST, *Siddhi und Abhiñāna*, Uppsala 1935; and compare ZIESENIS, op. cit., II, p. 141.

<sup>35</sup> For MĀ.K. 6, 9f. and a different prescript in KiĀ. 2, 4, 8 see BHATT, MĀ. edition, p. V, where attention is drawn to other different opinions also.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. the whole of their body is powdered with ashes (comm.) of burnt cow-dung.

<sup>37</sup> A mark on the forehead made with unguents etc.

<sup>38</sup> Suggesting ashes (cf. the commentary).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. BHATT, edition, p. 251 ff. For particulars on quotations from the Mṛgendra see ibidem, p. V.

<sup>40</sup> Mṛgendra and Suprabhedha-Āgamas being the other ones.

other subjects (*vidyā*), ritual (*kriyā*), customary behaviour in various circumstances (*caryā*), and *yoga* i.e. those elements of *yoga* on which are based the meditation and the sacred formulas. In this work these chapters—subdivided into 64 sections—contain 416, 584, 771 and 220 *ślokas* respectively. As we shall see the chapters and sections are not perfectly delimited or consistently arranged in accordance with their titles. There are many valuable pieces of information, often marred by a tendency to abrupt conciseness.

In detail, the book—which is given the outward form of a dialogue between Śīva, the Bhagavān, and Garuḍa (Tārksya)—deals with the following subjects.<sup>41</sup> In the twelve sections of chapter I Śīva explains the nature and condition of the creatures (*paśu*); how were they 'bound'?, how will they be freed? In the 'bosom of Māyā'—i.e. of the *causa materialis* of the impure worlds—a creature is provided with five 'armours' (*kañcuka*)<sup>42</sup> which, while imprisoning him, furnish him with the limitations of time, attachment and a narrow scope for knowledge and action that can enable him to clear off his *karman*. If he has succeeded there follows the "descent, as a sort of illumination, caused by Śīva, of his Śakti" to the individual (*śaktipāta*), then initiation (*dikṣā*) by the *guru*, which leads to the state of being Śīva, i.e. liberation; this however depends on Śīva, not on the creature's own endeavour. The following chapters—entitled *māyā*, *karman*, the Lord (*pati*), *śaktipāta*, *dikṣūkarman*, the contents not always answering to the titles—provide the reader with particulars concerning this process, *inter alia*: the chain or noose (*pāśa*) by which a creature is bound consists of three components: impurity, *māyā* and *karman*; although these are without a beginning, it is possible to be freed from them. As to the Lord, though without a body, he creates the pure worlds by his will (*icchā*) and by means of the *mantras*. The impure worlds owe their existence to Ananta, the first of the Vidyeśvaras, the highest of those creatures who are commissioned with a special function. However, it is Śīva who through his Śakti urges Ananta to become active. The *dikṣā* actually is a breaking of the individual's bonds brought about by the *mantras* which are discussed in section 7: a *mantra* is a particle (*aṇu*) animated by Śīva's Śakti. The long section 8 deals with purāṇic and āgamic cosmology, 9 with the transcendent (*niṣkala*)<sup>43</sup> Śīva. In section 10, entitled *tantrāvatāra*, the author informs us of the revelation and transmission of the doctrine (*āgama* or *tantra*) to explain in 11 (*mātrkotpatti*) the gradual change of the transcendent sound (*nāda*) into phonemes (*mātrkā*)<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The text (edited by the Śīvāgamasiddhāntaparipālanaśaṅgha at Dēvakōṭṭai 1932, *grantha* script) being not accessible to the present author the following résumé is based on the analysis published by H. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX) in JA 253 (1965), p. 309. For some particulars see RĀ., edition, I, chart opposite p. XIX. The text is concise and in places unintelligible; there is no commentary.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 204; 226.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. GONDA, V.Ś., p. 48.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also MĀ.Kr. 1, 2 *śakter nādo bhavad bindur akṣaram mātrkā tataḥ | mūrṭir ādyā mahēśasya sarvavācyānuṣyājinī.*

and words. Section 12 (*yantroddhāra*) is devoted to the imposition (*nyāsa*) of the fifty letters on a *maṇḍala* and the formation of the principal *mantras*.

Chapter II contains first a survey of the well-known daily rites:<sup>45</sup> in section 1 ablutions (*snāna*), in 2 worship of Śiva in the *liṅga* (*pūjā*) and the purification of the officiant (*ātmaśuddhi*) by which he is transformed into Śiva, because only Śiva can worship Śiva.<sup>46</sup> The latter most important process is described in detail: after virtually destroying his phenomenal body the officiant constructs a new one, that of God, Sadāśiva, by means of *nyāsa* with the 38 *mantras* which constitute His body: only Śiva can worship Śiva.<sup>47</sup> After a discussion of eight important *mudrās* in section 3, the fire rite (in 4) and the construction of the holes in the ground (*kuṇḍa*) required for it (in 5), the author proceeds to describe various rites and observances related to the *dikṣā*: some preparations (*adhivāsana*, in 6); the temporary dwelling in which the *dikṣā* can take place (7); the *maṇḍala* which will 'support' the rites which are to follow and the installation of the deities on it (8), and the ten weapons in the exterior circle (9); *dikṣā* proper (10)—the text dwells on the so-called *dikṣā* through the worlds (*bhuvanadikṣā*) which essentially is a long fire-rite leading the adept from the lower worlds to Śiva—; the worship of Caṇḍa,<sup>48</sup> of the *guru*, the weapons and Gaṇeśa (in 11–14); the unction (*abhiśeka*) of the *guru* or adept (*sādhaka*); the worship of Gaurī (a manifestation of the Śakti) and the Planets (15–17). Section 18 (called *brāhmāṃśādilakṣaṇa*) teaches how to distinguish a 'portion' (*aṃśa*) or how to know of which deity an individual is a 'portion': the *guru* should be acquainted with this lest he gives his pupil an inefficient or even injurious *mantra*.

The customary behaviour and observances (*caryā*) which one expects to find in the twenty-seven sections of chapter III are intermingled with descriptions of various rites that could have occurred in chapter II just like the ritual acts concerning the construction and installation of the *liṅga* (in section 20–27) which the other *āgamas* usually treat under the heading *kriyā*. The sections 1–6 enumerate the observances that are the concern of all initiated, although they are especially applicable to those of the first and second grade (*samayin* and *putraka*), viz. the daily practices and typically Śivaite characteristics (1, *samayācāra*); the worship of Vāgīśvarī (Sarasvatī) which leads to the understanding of the authoritative texts (2); obtaining food by begging (*bhikṣā*, 3), which is transformed into *amṛta* by means of the *mṛtyuñjaya-mantra* (which "overcomes death", 4);<sup>49</sup> the days when there is intermission of

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. DASGUPTA, H. Dh. II, p. 713; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 211 etc.; V. Ś., p. 75.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. SŚP. section 3 and BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 130, n. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. e.g. (Śrī)Somānanda (Nātha), Śivadṛṣṭi, 1, 1.

<sup>48</sup> One of the supplementary cults, normally prolonging that of Śiva. See SŚP. section 5; I, p. 442 (Index); II, p. 376 (Index). On Caṇḍa or Caṇḍeśa see K. R. SRINIVASAN, Some aspects of religion as revealed by early monuments and literature of the South, Madras Univ. 1960, p. 50.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. SŚP. 9, 2; the formula runs as follows: *juṃ saḥ (mṛtyuñjayāya vausaṭ)*.



study (*anadhya*, 5); the *pavitṛārohaṇa* rite<sup>50</sup>—strangely enough described after its more elaborated annual variant—which makes reparation for ritual shortcomings. The sections 7–12 deal with the conduct, etc. (7), social class, periods of life (8), of the spiritual guide; with the class (*gocara*) to which he belongs (9)—the Śivaitees are supposed originally to belong to four classes for which special observances are recommended<sup>51</sup>—; with his obligations to the “Lords of the observances” (*vrateśvara*, 10), i.e. the distinguishing marks of the Śivaite, viz. the twisted and matted hair (*jaṭā*); the sacred ashes smeared on the body (*bhasman*); the staff (*daṇḍa*); the loin-cloth (*kaupīna*) and self-control (*samyama*); and with some additional rules of conduct (11); with the impurity contracted by a married *guru* (*āśauca*, 12). The sections 13 and 14 are devoted to major and minor ‘sins’ or transgressions (*pātaka*) and atonements (*prāyaścitta*), the latter subject being continued in 16 and 17; 15 to bathing, meals etc. of the *guru* and the initiated; 18 to the procedure of admission of foreign Śivaitees to the worship of the *liṅga* in a temple (*śaivavratācaraṇa*); 19 to the rules of conduct of the *sādhaka* (*sādhakavratācaraṇa*) and especially to the water-pot used by ascetics (*kamaṇḍalu*). Section 20, though entitled “the special observances of the *guru*” (*guruvratācaraṇa*), is mainly concerned with the supernormal power (*siddhi*) which a *sādhaka*<sup>51a</sup> can acquire by *mantras*, sacrifices and asceticism. Since these faculties can also be obtained by adoring the *liṅga* the following sections (21–23) discuss this symbol: the construction of ‘non-representative’ (*avyaktaliṅgalakṣaṇa*, 21) and ‘representative’ (*vyaktaliṅgalakṣaṇa*, 22) *liṅgas*, the latter being images, and the *liṅgas* on which three or four faces of Sadāśiva are visible (*mukhaliṅga*, 23). The sections 24–26 deal with places suitable for temples (*prāsādayogyasthāna*, 24), temples (*prāsāda*, 25), and the installation of the *liṅga* (*pratiṣṭhā* etc., 26). Section 27 gives information on the measures of Śiva’s bull (who is to be placed opposite the *liṅga*, outside the entrance of the temple) and instructions with regard to a dilapidated *liṅga* (*vṛṣabhalakṣaṇam jirṇoddhāravidhiś ca*).

The short final chapter contains, besides some traditional observations on *yoga*, a number of additional passages supplementing what has been stated in chapter I. The initial section (*yogābhyāsa*) describes the sixfold<sup>52</sup> *yoga* course and the stages which are successively reached, viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśvara, Sadāśiva, Kuṇḍalinīśakti, Paraśakti, and Śiva. After an introduction on time and its divisions the next section discusses the voluntary death, at the moment of his choice, of a *yogin*, and the technique of this death (hence the title *kālotkrāntilakṣaṇa*). In section 3 the author treats the funeral rites of initiated Śivaitees (*antyeṣṭi*) requiring a meditation utilizing the ‘physiology’ of

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 79.

<sup>51</sup> H. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, Les catégories sociales védiques dans le Śivaïsme du Sud, JA 252 (1964), p. 451.

<sup>51a</sup> H. BRUNNER, Le sādhaka, JA 1975, p. 411.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 206.

the Āgamas and accompanying the sacrifices poured into the fire) and in 4 with the *śrāddha* rites in honour of the deceased (to be performed with Śivaite *mantras*). Section 5 (*pañcabrahmoddhāra*) analyses the five so-called *brahmanamantras*, viz. *Haṃ sadyojātamūrtaye namaḥ* etc. which are to evoke Sadāśiva's aspects;<sup>53</sup> section 6 a probably unique purificatory rite which is hard to understand. Finally, section 7 expounds how to 'place' the letters of the alphabet, after having put them upon a *maṇḍala*, on the own body. Taken as a whole these letters constitute the Śakti of the Word (Vāgīśvari-Śakti), who, as a person, appears in the last meditation.

Another work of considerable importance—also because of various departures from what seems to be the general tradition—is the Raurava-Āgama.<sup>54</sup> The text owes its name to the fact that its contents are communicated by the sage Ruru<sup>55</sup> to Marīci<sup>56</sup> and others and consists of two parts, the Vidyāpāda and the Kriyāpāda. However, the former chapter includes also subjects which properly speaking belong to *yoga* and the subject-matter of the last section of the Kriyāpāda is usually treated under the heading Caryā.

In the first four sections of chapter I the elements and fundamental ideas of the Śivaite philosophical system are explained; they include also observations on the creation of the universe, on the Śivatattvas,<sup>57</sup> the worlds and the origin of the Śivaite *āgamas*. Paṭala 5, somewhat defective,<sup>58</sup> deals with nine *mudrās*: an enumeration is followed by brief indications of their applications: "with the 'reverential salutation' (*namaskāra*) one should pay homage", these by descriptions: "(the *namaskāra*): one should press the palm of both hands on the region of the heart".<sup>59</sup> In section 6 the author deals with the thirty-eight so-called "parts" ("fragments" viz. of pure energy: *kalā*) relating to the *mantra* (or *śakti*) body of the Highest Being, Sadāśiva, in his *sakala* (divisible) form<sup>60</sup> which is an object of meditation.<sup>61</sup> Eight of these fragments are Sadyojāta's, thirteen Vāmadeva's, eight Aghora's, four Tatpuruṣa's and Īśāna is "split up into five fragments" (st. 4).<sup>62</sup> The short section 8 is devoted to the initiation: in reply to the question as to how one is liberated and obtains the state of Śiva (*śivatā*) by means of *dikṣā* Ruru says, 8, 3ff.:

<sup>53</sup> See BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. XXXIII.

<sup>54</sup> Edited by N.R. BHATT, Rauravāgama, Pondicherry, I, 1961; II, 1972.

<sup>55</sup> One of the so-called twenty-eight *yogācāryas* or prominent teachers (DAS-GUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 6).

<sup>56</sup> An ancient sage and demiurge, mental son of Brahmā; see E. W. HOPKINS, Epic mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 189.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 158.

<sup>58</sup> See BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 176.

<sup>59</sup> For the gradual exposition see above, p. 134.

<sup>60</sup> For *sakala* see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 78.

<sup>61</sup> Compare for this form of pure energy BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 25; 26; also BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. 180.

<sup>62</sup> For the names—which are not identical everywhere—and their occurrences in thirteen *āgamas* see BHATT, RĀ. I, chart opposite p. 28.

“Just as darkness quickly disappears when it encounters sunrise, thus after obtaining initiation one is freed from merit and demerit (*dharmādharma*). Just as the sun illuminates these worlds with its rays, thus God shines (becomes manifest) with his powers (*śakti*)<sup>63</sup> in the *mantra* sacrifice. Just as small sparks dart out of the fire, thus the powers come forth from Śiva. When (ritually) urged (used) they reach the bodies of those who aspire to success (*sādhaka*), just as the sun with its rays removes the impurity which is on the earth. Thus the Lord receives those who have been initiated by the combined use of his *śaktis*. Like water thrown into water or milk poured into milk, thus the one who knows the *mantras* obtains oneness merely by initiation. Just as a mass of cotton thrown into a blazing fire is burnt and completely destroyed never to become cotton again, thus . . . the initiated will not be reborn evermore”.

Dealing with *yoga* the sections 7 and 9 concur with other *āgamas* in distinguishing six ‘members’ (*aṅga*),<sup>64</sup> viz. the holding back of the mind from the objects of the senses (*pratyāhāra*), meditation (*dhyāna*), breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*), concentration on particular objects (*dhāraṇā*), speculation (*tarka*) and becoming one with the object (*samādhi*). In 9 a method is taught by which a devotee who feels his end drawing near can unite himself with the Highest Being (*ātmasaṅkrānti* “transition of the self”). Section 10 explains the names of Śiva contained in the important *vyomavyāpīmantra*, which begins as follows:<sup>65</sup> *Oṃ hām oṃ namaḥ. Oṃ hām vyomavyāpīne namaḥ. Oṃ hām vyomarūpāya namaḥ . . .*

The Kriyāpāda consists of forty-six sections, the first nineteen of which dealing with the daily rites, the following seven with the occasional rites and the last twenty with consecration, iconography and (in 44 and 45) with expiation and (in 46) with funeral rites. The following is a more detailed survey:<sup>66</sup> section 1: the formation of the principal *mantras* (*mantroddhāra*): the six *aṅga mantras*, viz. *Oṃ hām hṛdayāya namaḥ* “. . . homage to the heart” etc. and the five *brahmamantras*, viz. *Oṃ hoṃ iśānamūrdhāya namaḥ, Oṃ heṃ tatpuruṣavaktrāya namaḥ* etc. Section 2: the imposition of the thirty-eight *kalās*<sup>67</sup> on God’s body during the adoration of His image, the pertinent *mantras*—*Oṃ sadyojātaṃ prapadyāmi siddhyai namaḥ* “Oṃ I take refuge with Sadyojāta; homage to Siddhi (the first *kalā*)”—being enumerated systematically.<sup>68</sup> Section 3: the formation of the most important Śivapañcākṣara

<sup>63</sup> Cf. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. XII etc.

<sup>64</sup> The six *aṅgas* are enumerated here in the order given in 7, 5. The Mrgendragama, Yogapāda 3 adding ‘muttering’ (*japa*) mentions seven of them; the Suprabhedāgama, Y. 3, 53ff. the eight of Patañjali’s system. For the peculiarities of Śivaite *yoga*—for instance, the *yogin* has to meditate on the divine nature of Śiva—see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 204 (Index).

<sup>65</sup> See Śivāgamaśekhara, II, p. 308ff. and BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 186.

<sup>66</sup> For many particulars, explications, parallels, differences of opinion and so on the reader may be referred to the copious notes added by BHATT, RĀ. I, p. 17 ff.; II, p. Iff.

<sup>67</sup> See above.

<sup>68</sup> The ritual act called *kalānyāsa* consists in touching the parts of one’s own body or of that of Śiva while pronouncing these *mantras*. The Rauravāgama is the only work of its class to give these *mantras* completely in their prose form. Besides,

*mantra*, the five-syllabled basic *mantra*: *śivāya namaḥ* etc.;<sup>69</sup> 4: on reciting *mantras* and the good results of the use of the rosary (*rudrākṣa*);<sup>70</sup> 5: on ritual purity, i. e. on voiding excrement etc. and cleaning oneself in accordance with the traditions of the community; 6, entitled “rinsing the mouth” (before religious ceremonies, *ācamana*), includes also prescripts concerning the cleaning of hands and feet and touching of eyes, nose etc.; 7: bathing; 8: the purification by ashes (*bhasmasnāna*) made of cow-dung and the *mantras* used during the preparation and application of this stuff; 9: the essential requisites for the daily rites (*pūjā*) such as white mustard, sandal-paste, panic grass (*dūrvā*), andropogon muricatus (*uśīra*), camphor, water, milk, barley, rice, flowers—white in the morning, red at noon, yellow in the evening and the white jasmine at midnight—and so on to be used whilst executing the various ‘attendances’<sup>71</sup> of the *pūjā* as well as a brief indication of the hours at which these duties have to be done; 10: a survey of the Śīvapūjā,<sup>72</sup> comparatively succinct (66 *ślokas*) and in some details diverging from the other *āgamas*; 11: on this *pūjā* performed in a sanctuary which faces the west; 12: detailed instructions concerning the food offered to Śīva (*naivedya*), the material and quantities being in the usual way divided into three categories; 13: the annual offering of food prepared with grain of the new crops.

Now follows the fire ritual, section 14 defining the ten different fire-pits (*kunḍa*),<sup>73</sup> the differences lying in the form: quadrangular, of the form of a vulva or of the crescent, triangular, round, pentagonal and so on; 15 describing the fire rites (*agnikārya*) including a number of interesting details regarding the forms (heads, horns, eyes, arms, legs, tongues) of Agni; 16: the daily festivals (*nityotsava*); 17: the *ankurārpaṇa* rite<sup>74</sup> (which is to be performed before rites of foundation and erection of images) as well as special bathing ceremonies; 18: the annual festivals called “expiatory or propitiatory” (*śāntika*); “promoting growth” (*pauṣṭika*); “victorious” (*jayada*); “procuring wealth” (*dhānada*) and “granting all wishes” (*sārvakāmika*), and performed in one, three, five, seven and nine days respectively, the last-mentioned festivities being described in full detail. Attention is *inter alia* drawn to the flag and flag-staff,<sup>75</sup> the hoisting of the flag, its characteristics, the beating of

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it follows the original order of the proper names, the manuals used by the priests presenting them in the reversed order.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. XXXII and 186.

<sup>70</sup> The rosary consists of berries of the *elaecarpus ganitrus* (*rudrākṣa*).

<sup>71</sup> For these attendances (*upacāra*), usually sixteen, see e.g. KANE, H. Dh. V, p. 35; L. A. RAVI VARMA, in C. H. I. IV, p. 460; GONDA, R. I. I, p. 334.

<sup>72</sup> For the Śīvapūjā in the Tamil-speaking South see DIEHL, I. P., p. 98; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP., p. XXVI; GONDA, V. Ś., p. 83.

<sup>73</sup> Generally speaking the *āgamas* mention eight *kunḍas*; there are also differences in particulars.

<sup>74</sup> See above.

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. DIEHL, I. P., p. 164; H. ZIMMER, *The art of Indian Asia*, New York 1955, I, p. 441 (Index).

the kettle-drum, the sacrificial rites, the processions and the "festival of the aromatic powders" (*cūrṇotsava*). Section 19 is a brief description of the so-called *suddhanṛtta*, the performance of a ritual dance by a female dancer—"a pure courtesan, auspicious, very lovely and youthful, well-shaped, not covetous, an accomplished dancer"—before the god on the occasion of the annual festival or certain special festivities. The sections 20–24 are devoted to special bathing rites, to be performed with various numbers (9, 25, 49, 108 (109) and 1008 (1009)) of pitchers. The pots, filled with fragrant water and various substances must be placed in a definite order so as to form prescribed figures, the first representing Śiva (hence its name *śivakumbha*) in the middle, and a smaller one (the *vardhani*) representing his *śakti* on its east side.<sup>76</sup> In this connexion are also lists of Śiva's names which function as presiding deities over the pitchers.<sup>77</sup> Section 25 deals with the *pavitrāropana* ceremony;<sup>78</sup> 26 with the festival called *Kṛttikādīpa* which takes place on the day of full moon in the month Kārttika:<sup>79</sup> after describing the trees which may serve as a lamp-post and the dimensions and erection of this object, the author deals with a number of particulars concerning the lights, the sacrifices etc.

The series of ceremonies treated in the chapters 27–43 begins with the consecration of the temporary *līṅga* (*bālalīṅga*) which is to take place before the construction or renovation of a temple<sup>80</sup> (27). Section 28 discusses the erection of the principal *līṅga* in the temple; the merits of this act are described in a somewhat elevated style, st. 1f.:

"The merit acquired in (performing) all sacrifices, the results gained in (visiting) all places of pilgrimage, that reward one earns by this (act) resulting in mundane enjoyments and final liberation (*bhogamokṣa-*), and prosperity of king and kingdom (*rājarāṣṭra-*), and it brings the happiness of wealth and corn (*dhanadhānya*)".

Four *līṅgas* are defined, the *samakhaṇḍa*, the *vardhamāna*, the *śivādhika*, and the *svastika*.<sup>81</sup> Only one form of the top, that of the crescent, is mentioned, but two forms of the bases (*pīṭha*), viz. the so-called *bhadrapīṭha* and *padmapīṭha* which differ in number, form and height of their component parts. There follow instructions with regard to the placing etc. of the base (29), and to the erection of *līṅgas* on eight sacred places (called *kṣetra*), viz. the edge of a pond or of a well, the bank of a river, the shore of the sea, the summit of a mountain, a forest, a ground for burning the deceased (*śmaśāna*, the best place) and a

<sup>76</sup> For divergent prescriptions in other *āgamas* see Bhatt's notes on these chapters.

<sup>77</sup> For Śiva's thousand names see above, p. 133.

<sup>78</sup> See above.

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. MEYER, Trilogie II, p. 69; 72; 99; 213; 241.

<sup>80</sup> From other *āgamas* it appears that this rite is not obligatory.

<sup>81</sup> As is well known, the shape of the *līṅga* is subject to many variations, of which one or two more are found in other *āgamas*. See P. K. ACHARYA, (Manasara VI =) Hindu architecture in India and abroad, Oxford n.d. (± 1946).

mansion of the Lord (30). These *liṅgas* may belong to four classes, the best being those which are adored by the gods, the next best those which are worshipped by Śīva's attendants (*gaṇa*). The text enlarges upon the directions the monument has to face and the good results obtained by its erection, and so on. In section 31 the author sets forth the threefold installation of Śīva's spouse, here called Gaurī. When her image stands alone it bears the name *vīra*; when it is installed with Śīva, *yoga(ka)*, when placed in the bed-chamber inside the wall, *krama*. According to this text the marriage-ceremony takes place after the installation.<sup>82</sup> There are further iconographical details, the usual instructions how to adorn the temporary hall (*maṇḍapa*),<sup>83</sup> to prepare the sacred ground (*sthaṇḍīla*), to place the base and the image, to open the eyes of the goddess, and to fulfil the other requirements of the ritual. Section 32: installation of the eight door-keepers (*dvārapāla*) in the temple.<sup>84</sup> In the east, at the entrance, are placed Nandin and Mahākāla; in the South, Daṇḍin and Muṇḍin; in the West, Vijaya and Bhṛṅgin; in the North, Gopati and Ananta. These figures are identifiable by their colours and weapons.<sup>85</sup> Section 33: the installation of eight divine attendants which being in this text represented by the bases (*piṭha*) of their images, are placed round the cella or inner part of the sanctuary (*garbhagrha*).<sup>86</sup> They are Ukṣa, i.e. Vṛṣa (in the East,) Durgā (S.E.), Cāmuṇḍī (S.), Gaṇeśa (S.W.), Śaṇmukha (W.), Jyeṣṭhā (N.W.), Hari, i.e. Viṣṇu (N.), and Bhānu (N.E.).<sup>87</sup> Section 34: the installation of the image of Someśa<sup>88</sup> who is placed in the *garbhagrha* behind the principal *liṅga* of the temple. In the long section 35 (306 *ślokas*) a detailed iconographical description of fourteen images of Śīva is announced, but due to the defectiveness of the text only eight of them are enumerated, thirteen mentioned by name and twelve defined. Curiously enough, these forms are never referred to in other parts of this Āgama. Their names are Sukhāsana, Someśa, Somaskanda, Vṛṣārūḍha, Tripurāri, Candraśekhara, Kālahāri, Kalyāṇasundara, Nṛttamūrti, Bhikṣātana, Kaṅkāla, Devyardha (or Ardhanārī), and Dakṣiṇāmūrti.<sup>89</sup> Section 37 deals with Mohinī, briefly narrating her legend—Mohinī is the female form which Viṣṇu assumed to allure the *asuras* when the gods and their ene-

<sup>82</sup> For other opinions and some details see BHATT, RĀ., edition, II, p. VI.

<sup>83</sup> For the *maṇḍapa* see also RĀ. Kr. 18, 59ff.; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. 330.

<sup>84</sup> See e.g. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, Iconography of Southern India, Paris 1937, p. 111.

<sup>85</sup> For more details and different views found in other texts see BHATT, RĀ., II, p. VII.

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. DIEHL, I.P., p. 386 (Index); GONDA, V.Ś., p. 78.

<sup>87</sup> For other names in parallel texts see BHATT, RĀ., II, p. VIII.

<sup>88</sup> Śīva Somanātha.

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, op. cit. ch. I, 1, passim; DIEHL, I.P., p. 68 etc.; J. N. BANERJEA, The development of Hindu iconography, Calcutta 1956, p. 464; 470. For the parallel texts see BHATT, RĀ., II, p. IX.

mies, the *asuras*, churned the milk ocean to obtain the *amṛta*<sup>90</sup>—her *mantra*, the place where to erect her abode, her cult image, consecration, festival and other particulars. Section 38: *mantra*, description and installation of the king of the Snake-gods (Nāgarāja)<sup>91</sup> who is represented either as a snake with five hoods or as a human being with two feet, two arms and a fivefold cap. The regrettably brief section 39 informs us on the architecture of the temples, describing various edifices with towers up to sixteen stories, mentioning their dimensions, ornaments and distinguishing no less than thirty-six types. Moreover, temples are called “expiatory” (*śāntika*), “promoting growth” (*pauṣṭika*), “victorious” (*jayada*), “marvellous” (*adbhuta*), or “granting all wishes” (*sārvakāmika*). In contradistinction to other *āgamas* this work defines two of the well-known styles, the *nāgara* (northern) and *vesara* (central style of West India, Deccan and Mysore), omitting the *drāviḍa* (Southern) style.<sup>92</sup> Section 40 deals with the pavilions or halls for the worshippers (*maṇḍapa*) of which two main types are distinguished, the square and the rectangular ones; there are pavilions of the first category with sixteen, thirty-six, sixty-four, a hundred columns etc. Section 41: the five boundary walls (*prākāra*) enclosing the chief sanctuary, and their names, dimensions and other details; the very short 42: the monumental gateways (*gopura*); 43: the ornaments of the images—crown, golden flower, ear-rings etc.—with their characteristics, the metals of which they are made as well as the rites prescribed for the first use of these objects. Section 44 discusses expiatory ceremonies to be performed when a *liṅga*, a cult image, a temple or part of a temple decays or collapses; when the rites are not executed correctly, a festival is overdue, images are touched by outcasts, a serpent is seen crawling at the feet of an image and various other ill-omened events. In 45 the author recurs to the *pavitṛāropana* ceremony (see 25).<sup>93</sup> In 46 he deals with the funeral ceremonies for an initiated Śivaite (*antyeṣṭi*), this “last ritual” being defined as the entrance of the soul, by means of the *yoga* praxis, into the Highest Reality i.e. Śiva. The pertinent rites are elaborately (168 *ślokas*) described: the body of the deceased is bathed and adorned; there follows a special bathing rite with turmeric and oil (*cūrṇot-sava*); the body is placed on a chariot and, in a procession, conveyed to the crematory ground, where it is placed in a special pavilion. The cremation takes place in the north-eastern part of this ground where a pyre is prepared, and is preceded by a Śiva-pūjā, a fire-rite and purificatory ceremonies.

<sup>90</sup> On that occasion Śiva had saved the gods by drinking the poison which had emerged from the ocean. For Śiva and Mohinī see W. DONIGER O’FLAHERTY, *Asceticism and eroticism in the mythology of Śiva*, London 1973, p. 383 (Index).

<sup>91</sup> On the *nāgas* e.g. W. CROOKE, *Religion and folklore of Northern India*, Oxford 1926, p. 383; DIEHL, I. P., p. 159; 254 and elsewhere.

<sup>92</sup> For these styles see A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig 1927, p. 119; ZIMMER, *The art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 269.

<sup>93</sup> The *Aṅgama*-*Āgama* likewise devotes two sections (14 and 43) to this important subject.

The editor of the Rauravāgama, N.R. Bhatt,<sup>94</sup> is no doubt right in supposing that this work in its present condensed form is an incomplete recension of a larger text. This hypothesis is corroborated by the existence of sections quoted elsewhere but not found in this text and of many longer parallel passages in other āgamas. It seems however that an abridgment under the title Rauravasūtra-Saṃgraha and containing the Vidyāpāda (see above) was already in circulation in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>95</sup>

In contradistinction to most other treatises of this class the order and arrangement of the 54 chapters (*paṭala*) of (the Kriyāpāda of) the Ajita-Āgama<sup>96</sup> are generally speaking in accordance with sound principles of logic and surveyability. Section 1, beginning with the revelation of the work (*tantrāvātāra*),<sup>97</sup> enables us to gain an insight into what is for the Śivaites the significance of the fundamental principles of their doctrine and the interrelations of these. Maheśvara or Umeśa (Rudra-Śiva) instructing Acyuta (Viṣṇu) on mount Mandara in the lore which he had himself received from Śiva explains the origin of the system: in the beginning Sound arose from the Highest Śiva who has the form of the Vault of Heaven, the phonemes from Sound, the words from the phonemes. The vowels are seed, the consonants wombs. From their combination arose the totality of treatises. Brahman has two forms (st. 25), the higher (Para Brahman) which is beyond word and thought and is the Highest Śiva, and the definable Brahman which can be the object of meditation and is Sadāśiva, materialized as the syllable *Om*. Sadāśiva, whose source is the Highest Śiva, is the source of everything. From him arose Maheśvara, from Maheśvara Rudra, from Rudra Viṣṇu, from Viṣṇu Brahmā, the grandfather of the world (st. 30). From his five faces Sadāśiva produced the scriptures, the Veda etc. which dissipated the universal darkness or ignorance. The first face, Īśāna, revealed the four Vedas with their supplements as well as the first ten āgamas (collectively called Śivabheda or *śaiva*), the other four faces the eighteen others (Rudrabheda, *raudra*). Thereupon Sadāśiva created ten sons who were to receive the ten former works: Praṇava received the Kāmika, Suśiva the Ajita etc. These ten sons initiated the transmissions of the doctrine. In a similar way eighteen Rudras came to be in charge of the transmission of the second series. Every āgama has some complements called *upāgama*.

In section 2 the author proceeds to describe the own, highest, omnipresent and invisible form as well as the Sadāśiva form of Śiva in which he is an object of worship and meditation and which is either a *līṅga* or a cult image.

<sup>94</sup> BHATT, RĀ., edition, II, p. XIV.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Aghoraśivācārya, Mṛgendravṛttidīpikā (1158 A.D.), p. 50, referred to by BHATT, RĀ. II, p. I.

<sup>96</sup> Edited by N.R. BHATT, 2 vol., Pondicherry 1964 and 1967. Attention may be drawn to the many parallel places quoted from unedited āgamas in Mr. Bhatt's editions.

<sup>97</sup> This section varies from the other versions of the same material.



The former part of this exposition consists largely of epithets and other qualifications, combinations of positive and negative qualities, identifications, and so on.

“Śiva, Sarvottara (“Superior to All”), Sthānu (“Immovable One”),<sup>98</sup> Paramātmā (“Highest Soul”), Maheśvara (“Great Lord”), of the form of “existence, consciousness, and bliss”,<sup>99</sup> without the distinction of being and non-being, omnipresent, called by the name Brahman, higher than the gross and the subtle, the manifested and the unmanifested and both (manifested and unmanifested), the external and internal and external-and-internal, the uninterrupted and the interrupted and the uninterrupted-and-interrupted, male and female and neither man nor woman . . . light and darkness, the near and the far . . . Another than He does not exist. He is *prakṛti*, Mahān and Ahaṁkāra, the five elements and the five organs of sense and five organs of action.<sup>100</sup> . . . He is the king of the gods, Kubera and Varuṇa, Yama and Agni . . . Īśāna and Lord of the Gaṇas . . ., everything divine, the animal kingdom and the whole world of men is called Śiva. The four Vedas proclaim Him and so do all other scriptures (there follows an enumeration) . . .”

Section 3 narrates the mythical tale about the origin of the *liṅga* and explains its name pseudo-etymologically in connexion with the fact that all creatures will be destroyed (at the time of universal dissolution)<sup>101</sup> and spring forth from it:

a version of the story<sup>102</sup> of Brahmā and Viṣṇu who while quarreling saw a towering *liṅga* blazing with flames; regarding it with amazement they assumed their animal forms, Brahmā the gander, Viṣṇu the boar; although they traversed, in opposite directions, the universe, they could not attain the ends of the *liṅga*, with the result that they praised Śiva.

In section 4 the author defines the *liṅga* and its various forms. Section 5 discusses the practical and ritual action taken in procuring the materials (stones, wood) for making a *liṅga* and images as well as the omens and prognostics of success and failure which may be observed on this occasion.<sup>103</sup> In 6 the reader is informed of the places that are suitable for the consecration of *liṅgas*: mountains, banks of rivers, lakes, seashore, gardens, hermitages etc. Other

<sup>98</sup> Śiva bears this name (“the Immovable One”) because after creating the world he stands motionless till the time of its dissolution (VāyuP. 10, 59). Cf. also HOPKINS, op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>99</sup> *Saccidānanda*: the well-known Advaita Vedānta characterization of Brahman. Cf. GONDA, R.I. II, p. 202.

<sup>100</sup> Sāṃkhya terminology: The twenty-five ‘Wesenheiten’ (*tattva*).

<sup>101</sup> Viz. *layam* (from the root *li-*) *gacchanti*.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. H. ZIMMER, Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization, Washington 1946 (1947), p. 128. See also GOPINATHA RAO, E.H.I. II, 1, p. 103; KULKE, Cidambaramāhātmya, p. 65; M. RAMA RAO, Śaivite deities of Āndhradeśa, Tirupati 1966, p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> For the making and installation of Śiva’s *liṅga* in a temple see also MatsyaP. a. 263f. and V.R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, The Matsya-Purāṇa, Madras 1935, p. 123; V.S. AGRAWALA, Matsya-Purāṇa, Varanasi 1963, p. 364.

places should be avoided, for instance those devastated by forest-fire, or where is a tree that has been struck by lightning. Section 7: the examination of the site for erecting a *liṅga*, st. 2ff.:

“Having approached that place and bowed to Maheśvara one should observe the omens in the sky, in the air and on the earth, and when they promise well examine the ground; when they are inauspicious a spiritual teacher who is perfectly conversant with the *śāstras* should with the Aghora *mantra*<sup>104</sup> offer a hundred libations of sacrificial butter and afterwards examine (the ground). Having proclaimed an auspicious day a wise (inspired) man should, facing the east, with his right foot grind (the surface) while pronouncing the Astra *mantra*.<sup>105</sup> If at the grinding the earth sounds deep and steady it must be accepted . . . When the earth has thus been examined the ploughing should take place. Sacrificial priests should make, using fresh trees, a plough and a yoke and catch hold of two young, white and well-nourished bulls, provide them with golden horns and hooves and envelop their necks in a garment. After having put them to (the plough) with the Bull-*gāyatrīmantra*<sup>106</sup> . . . the spiritual teacher, facing the east, clad in a new cloth and upper garment and wearing ornaments on his head and limbs, adores the bulls . . . and takes the plough with his left hand . . .”

Section 8 narrates the aetiological myth of the “*pūjā* of the site” (*vāstupūjā*)<sup>107</sup> and describes the ritual itself. Section 9: on the erection of the posts; 10: on the bricks; 11: the socles or pedestals;<sup>108</sup> 12: characteristics of the temple; 13: the so-called *adhīṣṭhānas* (substructures) the lists of which given in the *āgamas* are different as to number, subdivisions, names and definitions; 14–16: other detailed descriptions of component parts of the edifice; 17: the *garbhanyāsa* ceremonies.<sup>109</sup> The long section 18 (291 stanzas) deals with the establishment and consecration of the *liṅga*, dwelling upon the auspicious moment, preparatory rites, sacrifices, the characteristics and the place of the *brahmaśilā* etc. Section 19: the obligatory preliminaries of the daily worship of Śiva’s *liṅga*, such as bathing; this work mentions six different forms of ablution<sup>110</sup> respectively called after Varuṇa, Agni (also “ash-ablution”), Mahendra, Vāyu, *mantras* (*māntrasnāna*) and mind (*mānasasnāna*)—the last but one consisting of a sprinkling with water and recitation of the Sadyojāta and the other *brahmanamantras*,<sup>111</sup> the last of a mental bath and the mental recitation

<sup>104</sup> Here called *ghora*; see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 124. The *mantra* is *Huṃ aghorahrdayāya namaḥ*.

<sup>105</sup> *Oṃ haḥ astrāya* (to the weapon) *namaḥ*.

<sup>106</sup> Another variation of RV. 3, 62, 10 (see above, p. 112) viz. *vṛṣabharājāya vidmahe iḥṣnaśṛṅgāya dhīmahi tan no vṛṣaḥ pracodayāt*.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. KRAMRISCH, H.T., p. 29; 45; 359; DIEHL, I.P., p. 52; 203; SMITH, Ppp., p. 13. In the following sections which are, like the parallel passages in the Viṣṇuite *saṃhitās*, intended for the supervising priest much material is collected which is also touched upon in the handbooks of architecture.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. SMITH, Ppp., p. 94; 98.

<sup>109</sup> See above.

<sup>110</sup> In other *āgamas* there are two, five, six or seven of them; see BHATT, AjĀ. I, p. 172.

<sup>111</sup> See p. 189.

of the *mūlamantra* while holding one's breath—and the purificatory actions pertaining to bathing, such as cleaning the teeth, *saṃdhyā* rites, rinsing the mouth, performance of the *aghamarṣana* rite which is to remove 'sin' (impurity), the matutinal libations (*tarpana*). Section 20 (275 *ślokas*): daily worship; 21 (152 *ślokas*): fire cult; 22: an enumerative description of the requisites for the worship; 23: the ritual act called *ārātrika*, the 'sacrifice of lights' i.e. waving a light at night before God's image or symbol;<sup>112</sup> 24: the lustration called *nirājana*;<sup>113</sup> 25: the daily worship or 'festival' (*utsava*)<sup>114</sup> to be celebrated for Śiva in his sanctuary; 26: a description of forty *mudrās*, this number being considerably larger than those given in the parallel texts; 27 (336 *ślokas*): the annual or "great" festival;<sup>115</sup> 28: the swing-festival (*dolotsava*), a subject which, occurring in no more than two manuscripts of the Ajitāgama, is briefly touched upon in only two parallel texts;<sup>116</sup> 29 (316 *ślokas*): nine modes of bathing the deity, divided into three groups of three:<sup>117</sup> those executed with 1008, 508 and 216 pots are the best, etc.; these vessels must be placed in a particular manner.<sup>118</sup> This rite is always expiatory or propitiatory. Section 30 deals with special occasional rites which can be performed after or before purificatory ceremonies, particular festivities etc. (*viśeṣārcaṇa*); 31 with the ablution with milk (*kṣīrābhīṣeka*); 32 with the so-called *liṅgapūraṇa*, an occasional rite which consists in the complete covering of the *liṅga* with rice, butter, sandalpaste, flowers and fruits; 33 with the "ghee-bath" (*ghṛtasnāna*);<sup>119</sup> 34 with the cold bath (*śītakumbha*); 35 with the *aṅkurārpana* rite.

Now the author proceeds to the cult images representing the manifested (*vyakta*) Śiva.<sup>120</sup> Section 36 (389 *ślokas*) is devoted to the preparation of images, drawing special attention to their dimensions which should bear fixed proportions to the doors and columns of the edifice; to definitions of twenty images of Sadāśiva, two groups of which (ten *māheśvara* and ten *raudra*) are distinguished.<sup>121</sup> Section 37 deals with the various types of *mandapa*; 38 with the enclosure, the gateways (*yopura*), the annexes, wells etc.; 39 with the secondary temples according to the enclosures in which they are situated. The sections 40–45 describe the particulars of the rites to be performed in connexion with the seven groups into which the twenty types of image of Śiva are subdivided.<sup>122</sup> For each group there is a different installation rite (*pratiṣṭhā*). For

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 206; MEYER, Trilogie, III, p. 331 f. (Index).

<sup>113</sup> For the *nirājana* in general see MEYER, Trilogie, III, p. 335 (Index).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. DIEHL, I. P., p. 158.

<sup>115</sup> For the use of this term see DIEHL, I. P., p. 158.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. MEYER, op. cit. III, p. 318 (Index s.v. Schaukel).

<sup>117</sup> For this triadicity see above, p. 131.

<sup>118</sup> See the charts in BHATT, AjĀ., edition, opposite p. 358, 366, 368 etc.

<sup>119</sup> This section contains more particulars than the other *āgamas*.

<sup>120</sup> In the *liṅga* Śiva is not manifest (*avyakta*).

<sup>121</sup> For references to other *āgamas* see BHATT, AjĀ. II, p. I.

<sup>122</sup> This division of the images is exclusively proper to the Ajitāgama.

a right understanding of these seven groups it may be noticed that Śiva can be alone (*kevala*, 40); accompanied by Devī (“together with Ambikā or Umā”: *sāmbika* or *somaka*, 41); accompanied by Devī and their child Skanda (41); accompanied by Brahmā and Viṣṇu (*sabrahmakeśava*, 42); accompanied by Devī, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu and Brahmā (43); in an isolated form, half of his body being that of Viṣṇu (44) and the half male, half female form called *ardhanārī*, half of his body being that Devī (45). In the sections 46–54 the compiler deals with the installation rites of the main secondary deities, adding some mythical tales and legends relating to their manifestation as well as the rituals prescribed in case they are principal deities.

Another, very interesting but in many places lamentably corrupt and defective and often also obscure and enigmatic<sup>123</sup> text is the Suprabhedā-Āgama.<sup>124</sup> It comprises 4462 *ślokas* of which only 322 and 352 belong to the *yoga*- and *jñānapādas*, which moreover contain long passages that are devoid of any originality or philosophical interest. This is the more regrettable, first because the view of the world expounded in this text seems to be widely different from that found in the commentaries of a more recent period and in the second place because the author furnishes us with much interesting information.

Chapter I, the Kriyāpāda, begins with the usual introduction; Śiva is the teacher, Gaṇeśa the questioner who after all his questions, which are to be the subject of the seventy-four chapters of this *āgama*, put in eighteen *ślokas* recedes completely into the background. The section on *mantras* (3), though accurate, is very corrupt; 4–6, treating the obligatory matutinal purification, are interesting because of a eulogy upon the cow, the abode of all the gods, because her products are pre-eminently purificatory. The sections 7–13 are devoted to the daily private and public rites, 9 and 10 to the *mudrās* used and Śiva’s meals. The occasional rites are described in 14–19; the festival called Śivotsava in 14, ablutions in 15; the offerings of the fresh grain (*navanaivedya*) in 17; the festival of the lights (*kṛttikādīpa*) in 18. Section 20 deals with the ‘fruits’ of optional rites; 21 with the only person authorized to perform the rites, viz. the *guru* or *ācārya*, and the sculptors and architects; 22 with the instruments required; 23 with the places (towns, villages) where to erect temples; 24 with instructions for the one who has the sanctuary built; 25 ff. with the construction of the temple and the preparatory rites preceding the erection proper. Special mention may be made of the small provisional *liṅga* (*bālalīṅga*)

<sup>123</sup> Interestingly enough passages dealing with rites which are still performed are as a rule better preserved and more intelligible than those treating rituals that have fallen into disuse, because the copyists did not understand them any longer; and it is the latter category which would interest modern scholars most because they cannot be observed in Śivaite communities.

<sup>124</sup> Śrīmat-suprabhedāgamaṃ, *mūlam*, edited by AĀLAKAPPA MUTALIYAR, Madras 1928 (*grantha* script). Since this edition was inaccessible the following paragraphs are again based on a résumé by Mme. H. BRUNNER-(LACHAUX), Analyse du Suprabhedāgama, in JA 255 (1967), p. 31–60.

in a temporary shelter, where Śiva is supposed to reside during the building activities (26). In 33–53 we are informed of the installation, in the first place of Śiva who as Sadāśiva resides in a ‘formless’ *linga* into which an anthropomorphic (*sakala*) image of the same divine figure is ‘projected’.<sup>125</sup> After a discussion of the measures to be taken when a temple has fallen into decay (54) and of *prāyaścittas* (55) section 56 draws attention to the general rule that one should not continue some ritual according to the prescripts of another ‘system’ (*tantra*) than that which has given the lead in the initial stage of the activities. What should in any case be avoided is the combination of *pāśupata* or *lākula* rites—which are ‘terrible’—with *śaiva* prescripts which are auspicious and favourable. Borrowings from the same category of *āgamas* are however not dangerous.

In the first of the twelve sections of the Caryāpāda the author is mainly engaged in arguing that the Śaivasiddhānta is the best of the Śaiva schools and that within these there are five hierarchical categories, viz. the Anādiśaiva, Mahāśaiva, Ādiśaiva, Anuśaiva and Antaraśaiva. The text is regrettably too corrupt to allow of definite conclusions with regard to the interrelations between these groups. Section 2 deals with the social orders and castes (*jāti*) and their origin and activities. It seems that while all men are, in the traditional way, created by Brahmā, the *śaiva* are, in consequence of the *dikṣā*, Śiva’s ‘pure’ creatures. The sections 3 and 4 are devoted to the *dikṣā*; 5 to the sixteen<sup>126</sup> Śivaite ‘sacraments’ (*saṃskāra*): curiously enough, the well-known Vedic and traditional—but thoroughly śivaized—*saṃskāras* from cohabitation to marriage inclusive. In 7 we are informed of the *pavitṛārohaṇa* which is said to make all rites, worship and observances of the year perfect, to redress all their imperfections. It consists of an offering to Śiva and the other gods of specially prepared cotton necklaces. Section 8 deals with gifts (*dāna*). A king who performs the *hiranyagarbha* (‘golden womb’)-rite is for some moments locked into a golden vessel which afterwards is given to the priests, the king being ensured of a rebirth in a celestial kingdom; and the *tulābhāra*: a king distributes as much gold as is equal to his own weight.<sup>127</sup> The sections 9–12 treat funeral rites and *prāyaścittas*.

<sup>125</sup> The *āgamas* distinguish between the technical terms *niṣkalalinga*, i.e. those *lingas* which do not show Śiva’s ‘parts’ or ‘members’ (head, arms etc.) and *mukhalinga* on which God’s face is visible; the images (*pratimā*) are called *sakala* “with the parts” and the *mukhalingas* “mixed” (*miśra*) or *sakala-niṣkala*. These terms are traditionally applied to Śiva’s aspects, *niṣkala* indicating his Supreme form, *sakalaniṣkala* Sadāśiva and *sakala* the Īśvara in his forms, and have obviously been transferred to the images and symbols. For particulars see H. BRUNNER, in JA 256 (1968), p. 445.

<sup>126</sup> The dominance of the number sixteen in Hinduism has often been noticed and discussed: see J. GONDA, Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 115.

<sup>127</sup> For kings weighed against gold, frequently mentioned in inscriptions, see KANE, H. Dh. II, p. 870.

Section 1 of the Yogapāda: on the physical organism and psyche of human beings, the gross and subtle bodies; the development of the embryo; the twenty-four 'lower' *tattvas*—the list is somewhat different from that of the classical Sāṃkhya school—and traditional subject-matter belonging to this theory. The origin of the *tattvas* is however not explained: Śivaism does not recognize 'nature' (*prakṛti*)—which in the Sāṃkhya school is the original source of the material world—as an independent reality. Section 2: on time (*kāla*); 3: on *yoga* proper, its aids and appliances (*mantras*, rosary etc.) and on its eight stages.

The Jñānapāda deals, in section 1 with Śiva's creation, i.e. creation by Śiva, as well as of the forms of Śiva: the result is the 'pure gods'; the whole process is described as taking place in three stages; in section 2 with the status of the bound individual (*paśu*); in section 3 with the six ways which give access to Śiva. While we cannot enter here into particulars some observations made by Mme. Brunner<sup>128</sup> are worth repeating: we hear nothing about some points which philosophically speaking were of the utmost interest: the transition from the One (God) to the multiple; God's government of the world, the process of liberation, the nature of impurity (*mala*) which attaches to the bound individual, of *karman* and of *māyā* which is regarded as an emanation of Śiva.

The Kāraṇāgama<sup>129</sup> belongs to those works of this class in which the subdivisions bear the title of *tantra*. There is a Pūrva-Kāraṇa<sup>130</sup> destined for the temple service and an Uttara-Kāraṇa.<sup>131</sup> This Āgama, which not infrequently deviates from other works, furnishes us with many interesting details of rituals—for instance a division of the 'attendances' (*upacāra*) of the cult into three groups (PKārĀ. 30, 410 ff.), an exaltation of ritual baths (29, 45 ff.), and many detailed descriptions of gods.

The Kāmika, mention of which has already been made,<sup>132</sup> consists likewise of a former and later part. Its Kriyāpāda contains the material which we expect to find in a Caryāpāda. Although it heads the list of these works it is obviously comparatively late: it has a number of peculiarities in common with the ritual manuals.<sup>133</sup>

In the Pauṣkara,<sup>134</sup> properly speaking an Upāgama, much care is bestowed on expositions of the philosophical and theological doctrines of the Śivaite

<sup>128</sup> BRUNNER, in JA 255, p. 56.

<sup>129</sup> Published as part of the Śivāgama-Saṅgraha by Pt. KASHINATH SHASTRY, Mysore 1940.

<sup>130</sup> Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama, published at Madras 1921.

<sup>131</sup> Uttara-Kāraṇa, Madras 1927.

<sup>132</sup> See p. 180 ff. above. Published at Madras 1900.

<sup>133</sup> See e.g. BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. X; XII; XX; 22; 34; 92; 132; 134.

<sup>134</sup> Published at Madras 1925. A rather long résumé emphasizing the points of philosophical interest was published by DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 29, to which the reader may be referred.

tradition. There are definitions and explanations of many of its main concepts, alternating with elaborate descriptions and, now and then, polemics.

Dasgupta<sup>135</sup> observed that the Vātulāgama comprises a supplementary portion introducing the doctrine of *liṅgadhāraṇa* (the bearing of a *liṅga*) of the Vira-Śaivas, without however saying anything about its specific philosophy. However, a description of the general philosophical significance of Śiva's *liṅga* is not lacking.<sup>136</sup> There is a Vātulaśuddhāgama<sup>137</sup> and a work known as Āgamarahasyaṃ Vātulaśuddhākhyam,<sup>138</sup> which may be the identical text. Since the names *āgama* and *tantra* sometimes alternate, the Vātula-Tantra—briefly resumed by Dasgupta<sup>139</sup>—may likewise be different only in its title. This work seems to attach special importance to the essence and power of Śiva who accomplishes everything by his mere desire without any organs or instruments. Man can do and make something through the infusion of Śiva's power.

Another work of some philosophical interest is the Mataṅga-Parameśvara-Āgama or -Tantra.<sup>140</sup>

There exist also editions of the Candrajñāna-Āgama,<sup>141</sup> of the Makuṭa-Āgama,<sup>142</sup> the Sūkṣma-Āgama,<sup>143</sup> and the Parameśvara-Āgama.<sup>144</sup>

Among the *āgamas* of the Kashmir Śivaites the chief ones are Mṛgendra,<sup>145</sup> Mataṅga and Svāyaṃbhava which appear also on the lists of their southern co-religionists,<sup>146</sup> as well as Mālinīvijaya, Svachanda, Vijñāna-Bhairava, Rudra- or Rudriya-Yāmala, Parātrīṣika, and some others. Reacting against the dualist doctrine which according to the usual interpretation was taught in these works Vasugupta composed the monistic Śiva-sūtras. In later commentaries on some *āgamas*—e. g. the Uddyota on the Svachanda, Netra, and Vijñāna-Bhairava, and the Vṛtti on Mataṅga—other attempts were made to demonstrate the incorrectness of the view that the *āgamas* teach a dualistic doctrine.

The Mālinīvijaya- or Mālinīvijayottara-Tantra<sup>147</sup> (1282 *ślokas* in 23 chapters) is said to owe its name to the generic terms for the series of letters of the

<sup>135</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 38; 42.

<sup>136</sup> See M. BALASUBRAHMANIA MUDALIAR, in C. L. Ś. S., p. 9.

<sup>137</sup> Published at Madras 1911; I could not consult this text.

<sup>138</sup> Published at Bangalore 1958.

<sup>139</sup> DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 38, using a manuscript from the Adyar Library.

<sup>140</sup> Published at Dēvakōṭṭai 1928 (the Vidyāpāda in 1924); a brief résumé in DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 28.

<sup>141</sup> Edited and published by PT. KASHINATH SHASTRI, Mysore 1940 (included in the Śivāgama-Saṅgraha).

<sup>142</sup> Ibidem 1940.

<sup>143</sup> Ibidem 1942.

<sup>144</sup> Parameśvarāgama, ed. by MALLIKARJUNA SHASTRI, 2 vol., Sholapur 1904–1905.

<sup>145</sup> See above, p. 183ff.

<sup>146</sup> Who regard the Svāyaṃbhava as an *āgama*, the two others as *upāgamas*.

<sup>147</sup> Mālinīvijayottara-Tantram, ed. by PT. MADHUSUDAN KAUL, K. S. T. S. 37, Bombay 1922. Another name is Pūrvaśāstra "The First Doctrine".

alphabet (*mālinī*). In explaining the use of *mantras* and mystical practices it applies the so-called *uttaramālinī* arrangement of the letters which is widely divergent from the usual one.<sup>148</sup> Because of the many technicalities contained in this work a commentary was wanted at an early date. Of Abhinavagupta's *Mālinīvijayavārttika* we possess only a very thorough and extensive elucidation (1469 stanzas) of the first verse;<sup>149</sup> other points are discussed in his encyclopaedic *Tantrāloka* in which the *Mālinīvijaya* plays a prominent part as a fundamental authority.<sup>150</sup> The Kashmirian philosophers are indeed much inclined to consider this work the most valuable of the *āgamas*.

It seems that this text forms part of or was based on a *Siddhayogīśvara-Tantra* which is said to have been of much larger volume (*MāT.* 1, 8ff.). The first recipient of its doctrines was *Parameśa*—who after receiving them from (*Śiva's* mouth) *Aghora* communicated them to *Devī*. The secret contents of this instruction were afterwards taught by *Kumāra* to the sages, *Nārada* and others. The following is a brief résumé.<sup>151</sup> Everything knowable is divided into two classes, viz. the acceptable (*Śiva*, *Śakti*, *Vidyēśas*,<sup>152</sup> *mantra*, *Mantresvara* and the individuals (*ānu*)) on one hand and the avoidable (impurity, i. e. *mala*, nescience, actions, *māyā* and the world produced by *māyā*, 1, 15f.) on the other; a right discernment between these classes is essential. The omnipotent Lord evolves out of himself the eight pure beings, called *Vijñānakevala*, to whom he assigns the functions of sustenance etc. of the universe (1, 19f.) and gives them *mantras* and *maṇḍalas* as indispensable instruments. The one hundred and eighteen *Rudras* are appointed *Mantresvaras*, Lords of *mantras* (1, 37f.). The principles or categories (*tattva*), viz. earth etc. can be viewed from different angles with the exception of *Śiva* who has no diversity (2, 1ff.). The one who knows all principles properly is called a *guru* and *Śiva's* equal (2, 10ff.). He is always endowed with the *Rudra-śakti*, characterized by firm devotion, success with *mantras* (*mantrasiddhi*), control over all creatures, ability to achieve anything, poetic faculty. There follows an account of the complicated division of the inspiration of *Rudra-śakti* which is primarily distinguishable as either attainable by utterance, mental discipline etc. (*āṇava*), or by mental contemplation (*śākta*) or also by deep spiritual insight (*sāmbhava*).<sup>153</sup> When the Lord feels the impulse of manifesting the world (3, 5), his inseparable *Śakti*, at the cosmic stage, evolves as cognition (*jñāna-*

<sup>148</sup> For particulars see KAUL, edition, p. XIV f.

<sup>149</sup> I refer to L. SILBURN, *Le Paramārthasāra*, Paris 1957, p. 9. A detailed explanation of the *Mālinīvijaya* in the light of the Kashmirian monistic philosophy, the *Pūrvapañcikā*, likewise by Abhinavagupta, seems to be irretrievably lost.

<sup>150</sup> Jayaratha, on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (K.S.T.S. 29), I, p. 35.

<sup>151</sup> For an abstract see the Introduction to the edition, p. XVII.

<sup>152</sup> Pure beings to whom *Śiva* delegates his functions; see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, *SŚP.*, I, p. X etc.; 166.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. ZIESENIS, op. cit. II, p. 17.



*śakti*) and activity (*kriyāśakti*).<sup>154</sup> Aghora, aroused by Parameśvara, vitalizes *māyā* from which emanate various letters that become the source of knowledge (3, 26ff.). Though possessing innumerable forms, Śiva's *śakti* is chiefly known as threefold (3, 30ff.), viz. the lowest (*aparā*) aspect which attaches the souls to the object of the senses; the higher-and-lower (*parāparā*) which, likewise obstructing the path towards emancipation, makes them reap the consequences of mixed deeds; the highest, which conduces them to Śiva's presence (*śivadhāma*-). Chapter III deals with *mantroddhāra(ṇa)*,<sup>155</sup> the complicated details of which must be omitted here.

Yoga, which is the subject of the next chapter, is (cf. 4, 4) defined as "the unity or unification of one entity (i.e. the individual soul) with another (i.e. the One, the Lord)".<sup>156</sup> Higher knowledge (*jñāna*) as well as *yoga* leads to the highest goal, the former being threefold (based on what is heard, on contemplation, or on realization of the reality; 4, 27f.). According to the degree of his insight the *yogin* reaches one of four successive stages (4, 32ff.), viz. that of being initiated, that of mental restraint, that of concentration on the highest truth and that on complete identification with the highest principle. In 5, 2ff. the one hundred and eighteen 'worlds' (regions of the universe) are enumerated in which the individuals are impure; it is the task of the Śivaite *gurus* to purge their disciples of the impurity which prevents them from realizing their unity with Śiva. This process of purification is also to be undergone in the adept's body which is the microcosmic representation of all the principles: the details are set forth in chapter VI. The next chapter is devoted to twenty-six important *mudrās*—"śaktis of Śiva called *mudrās*" (7, 1)—and their formation. In 8, 1ff. we are informed of the purificatory bath prescribed for those who desire to sacrifice, viz. the purification by ashes (*bhasmasnāna*), by water, fire, wind and the 'heavenly bath'. Before sacrificing the worshipper should realize that he is Śiva (so 'ham, 8, 20). Thereupon he has to infuse his body with the power inherent in the *mātrkāś* by means of the *nyāsa* technique and to perform the mental sacrifices, to offer *pūjā* to Gaṇeśa (8, 90, cf. also 11, 8), and to contemplate Śiva as seated on a sixfold seat, bearing sword and shield and surrounded by eight female deities, *Indrāṇī* etc. (8, 96). The sacrifice which is to follow is described in some detail. The deities of the quarters (Indra etc.) are requested to watch the proceedings (cf. 8, 104). After the *homa* which is performed while muttering the *mūlamantra*<sup>157</sup> a hundred times and the other pertinent *mantras* ten times he may go to sleep and have good or bad dreams (8, 128ff.). In the next chapters the author is concerned with the detailed directions for initiation and consecration, and the relevant and ensuing pre-

<sup>154</sup> See e.g. DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 147; 157; J. SINHA, Schools of Śaivism, Calcutta 1970, p. 4.

<sup>155</sup> See p. 69 above.

<sup>156</sup> This definition, though historically incorrect, is often found in Indian works. See GONDA, R.I. I, p. 308.

<sup>157</sup> See above, p. 198.

parations and ceremonious performances, among them the drawing of *maṇḍalas* in conformity with the rules of the school, devout worship, the spiritual guide (*ācārya*) being expected to pronounce the following prayer (9, 37 ff.):

“O Highest Lord, I have been ordered by Thee to act as a *guru*. Let the pupils, impelled by Śiva’s *śakti*, deserve to be favoured by Thee. They have approached (Thee) as such; deign to extend Thy favour to them after entering my body so that I, becoming identical with Thee, (be qualified to) perform (the consecration)”.

When, after this prayer, he feels that his body has been penetrated by the divine spirit he should identify himself with the disciple considering, 9, 52:

“I am the supreme reality; in me is this whole universe. I am the superintendent and agent (force) of (this) All”.

This unification of the disciple, the *guru* and the universe into the one Ultimate means the adept’s final emancipation (cf. 9, 76 ff.). Further instructions are given in case an initiated adept wishes to acquire so-called mystic powers or to attain to the qualification of a spiritual guide. There are also prescriptions for various observances, meditations and particular forms of mental concentration (*dhāraṇā*); yogic practices (ch. 17). If the adept continues to apply the methods prescribed he is sure to attain the goal of his highest ambitions. In ch. 19 the reader is informed of the acts connected with an essentially tantric rite, the so-called *kulacakra*, and the pertinent acts and observances by which an expert adept will propitiate Śambhu (Śiva, 19, 5).<sup>158</sup>

The Svachanda-Tantra<sup>159</sup> is a very celebrated and oft-quoted work of considerable length. It is often mentioned by Abhinavagupta and elaborately commented upon by Kṣemarāja. It eulogizes, and initiates into, the esoteric worship of Aghora, one of the mouths of Śiva-Bhairava<sup>160</sup> from which Śiva’s revelation is assumed to proceed. *Svacchanda*, synonymous with *svatantra*, qualifies the One as possessing divine autonomy.<sup>161</sup> Svachanda-Bhairava is the instructor, Devī, Śiva’s spouse, the interrogator. The work pretends to be an abstract of a much larger text consisting of a milliard *ślokas* (1, 5) the study of which is said to be nowadays impossible (1, 6). The present text contains fifteen chapters of very unequal length (from 28 to 1280 stanzas) totalling 3678 *ślokas* (and longer stanzas). Unlike the Mṛgendra and Mataṅga Āgamas which adhere to dualistic views it is held to believe in the monistic

<sup>158</sup> The Mālinīvijaya is one of those texts which seem to have had relations with a source of Indonesian Śivaite works, especially the Gaṇapatitattva (edition, translation etc.: SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL, New Delhi 1958). Many particulars concerning the interrelations of these Śivaite works still await investigation.

<sup>159</sup> Edition: The Svachanda-Tantra with commentary by Kṣemarāja, edited by PT. MADHUSUDAN KAUL SHASTRI, K.S.T.S. 31; 38; 44; 48; 51; 53; 56; 7 (6) vol., Bombay 1921; 1923; 1926; 1927; 1930; 1933; 1935.

<sup>160</sup> See e.g. the descriptive passage SvT. 9, 3ff.

<sup>161</sup> Compare also SvT. 9, 48 etc. *svacchandam paramēśvaram*.

system. Its chief subjects are meditation (*upāsana*) and ritual (*kriyā*). It supplies us lavishly with information on 'black and white magic' (for instance for avoiding death, 9, 58ff.), describing the pertinent rites in full detail and with striking preciseness (e.g. in ch. 13). Discussions of what may be called ritual mysticism, of various types of *dikṣā* (ch. 4) and preliminary consecrations etc. (ch. 3), of the resuscitation (*uddhāra*) of *mantras* (ch. 1), *mudrās* (ch. 14), drawing of *maṇḍalas* (9, 12ff.), names of goddesses (9, 25ff.), the daily observances (2, 1ff.), typically Śivaite speculations on the creation of the universe, or on the stages of emanation (4, 289ff.), aspects of Śiva and Śakti, Śivaite principles, concepts and distinctions are as little lacking as an explanation of the significance of *mantras*, *yoga* practices, intuitive perception of the *tattvas* by means of mental concentration, the theory of the vital breaths and so on. Of special interest are the description of the twelve stages of the production or pronunciation (*uccāra*) of the *mantra Om* on which the doctrine is supposed to be based, the return of the sound energy of that *mantra* to its source in chapter VI ("on the fivefold *praṇava=Om*"),<sup>162</sup> and an exposition of the sixfold way (*ṣaḍadhvan*, ch. 4f.),<sup>163</sup> that is the six ways toward final deliverance at the moment of the resorption of the universe.<sup>164</sup>

Another work, the Netra-Tantra, also called Mrtyujit ('Overcoming death') or Mrtyuñjaya-Tantra,<sup>165</sup> though much less famous and studied and left unmentioned in the enumeration of the sixty-four non-dualist *tantras* quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*,<sup>166</sup> is traditionally connected with the Svachchanda and likewise commented upon by Kṣemarāja. It is a work of a more recent date which presupposes the existence of other texts of the same class, especially the Svachchanda, but, since it is quoted by Abhinavagupta ( $\pm 1000$ ), the date of its compilation—it is far from being homogeneous—cannot have been later than the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The centre of its interest is a rare form of Śiva, Netra ('the Eye'), Mrtyujit, Mrtyuñjaya or Amṛteśa ('Lord of immortality')<sup>167</sup> from which all other divine manifestations, whether *śaiva* or other, are asserted to derive. The same names indicate a well-known protective *mantra*, viz. *Om juṃ saḥ* which in this context is highly exalted,<sup>168</sup> but this work is alone in considering the power expressed by this formula to be the Highest Deity. There are even reasons for

<sup>162</sup> The muttering of *Om* is here viewed as dividing itself into five divisions instead of the twelve stages in order to make them correspond to other pentads.

<sup>163</sup> I refer to PADOUX, *Recherches*, p. 261.

<sup>164</sup> For the presumable existence of another work called Svachchanda-Bhairava-Tantra see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, *SŚP*. II, p. 198; 340.

<sup>165</sup> The Netra Tantram with commentary by Kshemarāja, edited by PT. MADHUSUDAN KAUL SHASTRI, K.S.T.S., 46 and 61, 2 vol., Bombay 1926; 1939. See H. BRUNNER's criticism, in *BEFEO* 61, p. 125f.

<sup>166</sup> K.C. PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, Varanasi 1963, p. 139. The *Tantrāloka* is one of the important works of the Kashmir philosophical school.

<sup>167</sup> In other Śivaite works Amṛteśa is a special beneficent form of God.

<sup>168</sup> See NT. 1, 21 ff.; 2, 24ff.

supposing it to have developed from a manual dealing with the application of the *mantra*. Hence the one-sided character of its contents: while the obligatory daily and occasional rites are almost completely disregarded or at least not described at some length<sup>169</sup> attention is focussed on the special (*kāmya*) rites—for instance those which are to effect protection, prosperity, appeasement, or exorcism—and that in close connexion with the above form of the deity. The descriptions of these rites are connected with one another by other passages—among them Śivaite doctrines and attempts to establish the theory of Amṛteśa's supremacy so that the whole can have pretension to be an original revealed *tantra*. The result is a heterogeneous and badly composed mixture of rituals, magic and passages dealing with meditation or—rarely—speculation.<sup>170</sup> For a modern reader the interest in works such as the Svachanda and Netra lies mainly in the fact that the authors have combined a number of popular rites so as to fuse them with a mystic religious system;<sup>171</sup> that they have made serious attempts at harmonizing magic rites with the Śivaite view of the world. The Netra is, moreover, a welcome source of information on magical procedures, the use of *mantras* for a variety of purposes, demonology, and divine manifestations.

The twenty-two chapters deal with<sup>172</sup> 1: the usual introduction, Pārvatī requesting Śiva to instruct her in the mystery of his Eye, which, the god informs her, is nothing but his *śakti*, the source of anything existing; 2: the formation of the *mantra* Netra; 3: a very brief survey of the daily ritual which is in essential agreement with the Svachanda and the Somaśambhupaddhati; here also a *maṇḍala* is the support of the 'exterior' cult; 4: initiation (*dikṣā*), again in conformity with the Svachanda—and 5: consecration (*abhiṣeka*), both consisting of ten *ślokas*; 6, 7, and 8. the 'rough', subtle, and superior meditations on Mrtyujit, the last aiming at the definite identification of the devotee with God's highest form; 9–13: the aspects of Amṛteśa, viz. Sadāśiva, Bhairava, Tumburu,<sup>173</sup> Kuleśvara, others (Nārāyaṇa, Sūrya, Brahmā, Buddha etc.); 14: God is, as the king of *mantras*, present in every *mantra* and that is

<sup>169</sup> The compiler obviously presumed his readers to know the Svachanda, to which Kṣemarāja often refers.

<sup>170</sup> Which is here dualist, there non-dualist, Kṣemarāja trying to explain all relevant places in the light of the Kashmirian monism.

<sup>171</sup> BRUNNER, op. cit., p. 128: "On voit la magie portée au rang de rite de participation; son succès dépendre de la fusion réelle, avec Śiva, du praticien d'abord transformé par une série d'initiations purificatrices, les Sorcières devenir des expertes en *yoga* et des aides du Seigneur, etc."

<sup>172</sup> For a much more detailed survey and many precious notes see H. BRUNNER (-LACHAUX), in BEFEO 61, p. 127–197: Un tantra du Nord: le Netra. See also PADOUX, Recherches, esp. ch. III and passim.

<sup>173</sup> A *gandharva* (cf. Mbh. 1, 114, 43; BhāgP. 1, 13, 36) who in the course of time had become a hypostasis of Śiva. See M. TH. DE MALLMANN, Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa, Paris 1963, p. 62; 306; T. GOUDRIAAN, in WZKSA 17 (1973), p. 49.

why they are powerful and effective; 15: the destruction of demons; 16: efficacy of the *mantras* and the utilization of the Amṛteśa; 17: how to carry out, by means of *mantras*, diagrams and various rites, magical operations aiming at prosperity, protection, length of life, health, victory and so on; 18: an exposition of the *śrīyāga* (st. 20–111), the cult of Mahālakṣmī which safeguards against every form of evil introduced by some remarks on the 'science of mantras' (*mantravāda*) and the king of *mantras* (*mantrarāja*); 19 (the longest chapter): possession by demons and evil spirits and how to protect oneself from it; 20: the female demons called *yoginīs*; 21: on the nature of *mantras* in general, and their being created by Śiva; 22: the Amṛteśa *mantra*. The total number of stanzas is 1285.

Another sacred text of the Kashmir Śivaites, revered and authoritative in the monist Trika school,<sup>174</sup> is the comparatively brief (163 stanzas) Vijñāna-Bhairava "Ultimate Reality studied from the point of view of discrimination".<sup>175</sup> In st. 1 Devī, the questioner, admits that she has heard the complete revelation which had issued from the Rudrayāmala(-Āgama),<sup>176</sup> "The intimate union of Rudra and his Śakti", a work of which we probably do not possess more than detached portions, the edited text being a not very interesting collection of formulas and ceremonials.<sup>177</sup> Since, in the same stanza 1, Devī calls the lore she had heard Trikabheda, i. e. a variety of the Trika school, and Bhairava, in his answer (st. 7ff.), promises to initiate her into the extremely esoteric subjects she wishes to know, it is warranted to consider the work to be an esoteric continuation of the Rudrayāmala devoted to the mystic quint-essence of the doctrine. The right understanding of the difficult text is hampered by the fact that Kṣemarāja's commentary breaks off at st. 18 and the commentary written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Śivopādhyāya is an uncritical and unreliable compilation.<sup>178</sup> The authentic tradition to which the text belongs is indeed long since extinct.

One should neither expect from the author a one-sided discussion of theological problems nor a recommendation of the performance of various ritual acts from which to derive mundane prosperity and celestial felicity. On the contrary, he strongly emphasizes the mystic aspects of the religion. His treatise is in a sense a condensed exposition of the most characteristic doctrines of the *āgamas*

<sup>174</sup> Abhinavagupta, *Īśvarapratyabhijñānavivṛtivismarśinī* II, p. 405 gives it even the honorific title Śivavijñāna-Upaniṣad.

<sup>175</sup> Editions: Pr. MUKUNDA RĀMA SHĀSTRĪ, *The Vijñāna-Bhairava with commentary partly by Kṣemarāja and partly by Shivopādhyāya*, K. S. T. S. 8, Bombay 1918; L. SILBURN, *Le Vijñāna Bhairava*, Paris 1961 (text, French translation and exhaustive introduction and commentary).

<sup>176</sup> Rudrayāmala-Tantra (Uttara-Tantra), corrected and composed by JĪVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1937.

<sup>177</sup> Compare also FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 265. Curiously enough, this work, which is classified as śāktist, introduces Śiva as the disciple, Pārvatī as the teacher.

<sup>178</sup> Fortunately, a number of explained passages have been preserved in other works; see SILBURN, V. Bh., p. 8.

with regard to their views of personal mystic experience and the methods leading to the realization (*bhāvanā*, st. 62) of the union with Śiva. With this end in view the author aptly synthesizes the traditional *yoga* techniques, *mantras*, control of breath, the 'resuscitation' of *kuṇḍalinī* (the divine energy of breath and concentrated virility, e. g. st. 154),<sup>179</sup> sexual *yoga* technique, *bhakti* (st. 121) and so on. Emphasis is laid on 'interiorization' and the necessity of arresting the progress of discursive, dichotomous thought. See e. g. st. 10:

"The only aim of this exposition is to bring (mankind to engage in) meditation, mankind whose minds are confused (by illusion), who continue being absorbed by the show-and-noise of (mundane) activity, and who have fallen prey to dichotomous thought".

When this 'interiorized' conscience is perfect any object is eliminated, no trace of duality left. There is no comparison between the reality experienced by the mystic devotee and any mundane state or situation, be it ardent devotion, contemplation of art or nature, dream, hallucination or yogic concentration. The indefinable and inconceivable Highest Reality, the Highest Peace with which the adept is finally united or which he shares, is called Bhairava (for this term, denoting Parama-Śiva "the Highest Śiva, in whom Śiva and Śakti are indissolubly united",<sup>180</sup> see st. 26; 28; 93), Continuance of life (*amṛta*, st. 65; 157; 161), Self (*ātman*), the Void (*śūnyatā*, st. 39; 46; 122). It is the author's intention to teach how to identify oneself with the absolute Bhairava by means of the discriminative divine energy (*śakti*) which can manifest itself in many techniques.

It has rightly been supposed<sup>181</sup> that the author must have written his treatise under the influence of personal experience. His style is spontaneous and as far as the esoteric subject permits unlaboured, and, though abrupt and elliptical, "psychologically nuanced".

It now remains to say some words on the Śiva-Sūtras.<sup>182</sup> According to tradition this small, obscure and utterly concise *sūtra* text was 'revealed', in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, to a sage by the name of Vasugupta who living

<sup>179</sup> For the 'tantrist' *kuṇḍalinīyoga* see e. g. M. ELIADE, *Le yoga*, Paris 1954, p. 243; A. DANIELLOU, *Yoga*, London 1949; GONDA, R.I. II, p. 38; 78; SILBURN, V. Bh., p. 48.

<sup>180</sup> "... das undifferenzierte Universelle Bewusstsein in dem Zustand, in dem es mit dem Kosmos in seinem Werden, Bestehen und Vergehen eine völlig unstrukturierte Einheit bildet" (H. VON STIETENCRON, in ZDMG Suppl. I, 3 (Wiesbaden 1969), p. 869). It may be recalled that Bhairava is the central aspect of the divinity in Kashmir works (Amṛteśa or Netra in the Netra-Tantra), Sadāśiva in the Southern *āgamas*.

<sup>181</sup> SILBURN, V. Bh., p. 10.

<sup>182</sup> Published in *The Shiva Sūtra Vārttika* by Bhāskara (with a preface) by J. CH. CHATTERJI, together with Śivasūtravṛttih, and *The Spanda Kārikās* with the *vṛtti* by Kallaṭa, K. S. T. S. 4 and 5, Srinagar 1916. For the *Vārttika* see also VARADARĀJA'S edition, Srinagar 1925.

in retirement in the Hārwan valley received it from Śiva himself in a dream.<sup>183</sup> Known also as Śiva-Upaniṣad-Saṃgraha or Śivarahasya-Āgama-Śāstra-Saṃgraha, it was commented upon in a comparatively briefly worded explicative paraphrasis (*vṛtti*) of doubtful authorship; by (Bhaṭṭa-)Bhāskara who, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, interpreted the work in a metrical elaborative exploration (*vārttika*) and, by Kṣemarāja (11<sup>th</sup> century) in his important Vimarśinī.<sup>184</sup> Not infrequently Kṣemarāja's explications deviate considerably from the meaning attributed to the Sūtras in Bhāskara's work. Among Vasugupta's disciples was Kallaṭa,<sup>185</sup> the reputed author of a collection of verses based on the Sūtras accompanied by the author's own prose exposition of the subject-matter. The verses, which were to become the basis of the Spanda<sup>186</sup> doctrines of Kashmir Śaivism, are however also attributed to Vasugupta himself.<sup>187</sup>

The aphorisms contained in the Śiva-Sūtras, while alluding to the speculations on Speech, are said to have been promulgated with the purpose of substituting an *advaita* philosophy for the more or less dualistic speculations of the *āgamas*. This should however not be misunderstood. Rather than pursuing lines of philosophical inquiry or serving theoretical or intellectual objects the Sūtras were first and foremost intended to show man a practical way of realizing by experience that he essentially is the Deity himself and of enabling him to attain absolute freedom from all worldly limitations, to become, as one with the Deity, omniscient. The work expounds the means to this end—there are three ways, the inferior *yoga* technique of the individual; the method of the energy which examines Reality through the heart; the highest method of pure will or intense love—and is to be regarded as serving a practical purpose. Nevertheless it provided a stimulus to a rich philosophical literature to continue for three centuries. Emphasis on the philosophical foundations and association, in some way or other, with an authoritative trend of thought was necessary for the survival of a religion, at least for its acceptance in the intellectual circles. In illustration of the difficulties confronting the reader one quotation suffices: 1, 2: *jñānaṃ bandhaḥ* "knowledge is (means) bondage". At first sight this definition seems to be incompatible with the common view of *jñāna* as that

<sup>183</sup> For particulars: J. CH. CHATTERJI, Kashmir Śhaivism, Srinagar 1914, p. 7; 26; K. S. NAGARAJAN, The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir, 18 AIOC, p. 449.

<sup>184</sup> Edited (Śhiva Sūtra Vimarśinī) in K. S. T. S. 1, Srinagar 1911; 1947. English translation by P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, in Indian Thought 3 and 4, Allahabad 1911–1912. See also L. D. BARNETT, in JRAS 1912, p. 1107.

<sup>185</sup> Who, according to Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī (5, 66) lived in the days of king Avantivarman (855–883).

<sup>186</sup> It may be recalled that the literature of the Kashmir Trika school falls into three broad divisions, viz. the Āgama, Spanda and Pratyabhijñāśāstras.

<sup>187</sup> See K. C. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, Benares 1935, p. 91. On the Spanda Kārikās (edited by J. C. CHATTERJI, K. S. T. S. 6, Srinagar 1913) see S. RADHAKRISHNAN, Indian philosophy, London 1923 (1948), II, p. 731 and A. KUNST in volume VI of this History.

higher knowledge which destroys the limitations of mundane existence. Whereas therefore the Vṛtti wavers between a reading *ajñāna* “nescience” (the *a-* coalescing with the preceding *ā*) and the interpretation “*jñāna* is used in the sense of ‘knowledge of the objects of the senses’”, the Vārttika unhesitatingly takes the latter stand: *jñāna* here denotes that knowledge which distinguishes “I” and “this is mine”, reveals differences etc.

The *āgamas* and *upāgamas* became the basis of, and starting-point for, an extensive literary activity which, producing a considerable variety of writings, was to continue for many centuries and—it may be repeated—stood, in the South, completely aloof from the Tamil Śaiva-Siddhānta tradition. The authors refer only to Sanskrit sources and authorities, and among these mainly to the *āgamas*. From information on their relationships imparted (in introductory stanzas and colophons) by the texts themselves it may be inferred that authorship in this field and the study of these works not infrequently was a family tradition. Thus it is known that for instance (Bhaṭṭa-)Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, one of those who explained the Mṛgendra-Āgama, was the son and disciple of Vidyākaṇṭha whose father was Rāmakaṇṭha; Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha’s son, the younger Rāmakaṇṭha, was a prolific commentator and author who left us *inter alia* a commentary (*vṛtti*) on the Mataṅgaparameśvara-Upāgama, an explanation of Sadyojyoti’s Mokṣakārikā and Paramokṣanirāsakārikā and some independent works<sup>188</sup>. Three classes of literature may be distinguished, viz. commentaries proper, philosophical treatises, and ritual manuals.

The number of commentaries proper must have been larger than those which are known to us, because authors of later books mention titles of explanatory works that have not come to light. Among these is a Suvṛtti on the Rauravāgama by Sadyojyoti and a Svāyambhuvavṛtti by the same.<sup>189</sup> On the other hand, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha’s explanation of the Mṛgendrāgama (10<sup>th</sup> century), and a *bhāṣya* on the Pauṣkara-Āgama by Umāpatiśivācārya are among those works that have been preserved. Commentaries on Kashmirian *āgamas* (the Uddyota on the Svachchanda, Netra and Vijñāna-Bhairava, the Vṛtti on the Mataṅga) were attempts to show that these works were advaitic. As to the contents of these commentaries, the numerous elaborations of brief notes or statements are among their most valuable elements. For instance, when a text (MĀ. Kr. 2, 14) simply speaks of ‘a removal of sin’ (*aghamaṛṣaṇa*) the commentator informs us that this act is to be performed with water taken in the right hand and smelled with the left nostril so that it becomes black and the materialized sin which leaves the body with the breath that comes out of the right nostril.<sup>190</sup> Quotations from or references to authorities are often interspersed among the word explanations or paraphrases. There is a tendency to

<sup>188</sup> See BHATT, Mṛgendrāgama, p. VI.

<sup>189</sup> For further information see BHATT, op. cit., p. VII. For a commentary on the Pauṣkara-Āgama see p. 182 above.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. KANE, H. Dh. II, p. 317.



harmonize the ritual prescriptions with the theological doctrines. Modern Indian commentaries on the *āgamas* do not seem to exist.<sup>191</sup>

Outstanding figures among commentators were about 1000 A.D. and in the 11<sup>th</sup> century the Kashmirians Abhinavagupta and his pupil Kṣemarāja whose names have already been mentioned. The former, a man of versatile genius, wrote—probably in the beginning of his career—several commentaries on *śaiva āgamas* explaining them in a monistic sense.<sup>192</sup> His *Parātrīśikā* (or rather *Parātrīśikā*)-*Vivaraṇa*<sup>193</sup> is according to the author an explanation of the final portion of the *Rudrayāmala-Tantra*, in which he endeavours to determine the exact meaning of emancipation and the Bhairava state. His *Tantrāloka* synthesizes the ritual, tantric, mystic and philosophical concepts of the *āgamas* and attempts to show that they constitute a hierarchically arranged system.<sup>194</sup> Kṣemarāja's aim was to develop the doctrines contained in the *āgamas* in a more philosophical (read: in a monistic) way. His works on Trika doctrines cannot be considered here. Although after him this literary activity tended gradually to fall into the background and the Kashmir *āgama* tradition is almost extinct there still exist even now Śivaite scholars who regard themselves as disciples of Śivopādhyāya, an author active in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>195</sup>

The authors of philosophical treatises, like those of the ritual manuals, soon tended to unification of the subject-matter dealt with. A successful authority in both fields was Aghoraśiva, one of the eighteen Śivaite *ācāryas*, who lived at Cidambaram in the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>196</sup> In accordance with a procedure adopted by many Indian writers he composed so-called commentaries on earlier works, among them those of Bhoja(deva)<sup>197</sup> in which he, basing himself on the *āgamas*, actually restated their doctrines in expositions of his own. In these writings he not only attempted to formulate the fundamental concepts of the *āgama* tradition more precisely, but also—somewhat onesidedly and not always successfully, it is true<sup>198</sup>—endeavoured to present these as a coherent whole. Among his works is a commentary on the *Tattvaparakāśa*, king

<sup>191</sup> BRUNNER-LACHAUX, *SŚP.* I, p. III.

<sup>192</sup> For his work on the *Mālinīvijaya* see above, p. 203. See also SILBURN, *Le Paramārthasāra*, p. 9.

<sup>193</sup> *Parātrīśikā*: "the highest (consciousness transcending) the three energies (of will, knowledge and activity)". The work is discussed by R. GNOLI, in *East and West* 10 (1959), p. 192.

<sup>194</sup> Abhinavagupta epitomized the contents of the *Tantrāloka* (1014 A.D.) in the *Tantrasāra* (edited by PT. MUKUND RĀM SHĀSTRĪ, K.S.T.S. 17, Bombay 1918); for a brief summary see the edition, p. VI.

<sup>195</sup> SILBURN, *V. Bh.*, p. 8; CHATTERJI, *Kashmir Śivaism*, p. 39.

<sup>196</sup> If a statement in a colophon (BRUNNER-LACHAUX, *SŚP.* I, p. XLII) is reliable.

<sup>197</sup> See above.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. PANDEY, *Bhāskari*, III, Introduction, *passim*.

Bhoja's exposition of the Śivaite philosophy,<sup>199</sup> into which Aghoraśiva "has tried to read some sort of dualism though that is hardly consistent".<sup>200</sup>

Recently attention has been drawn to an author whose Sanskrit works, though not devoid of merits, have remained almost unknown, no doubt mainly because of the predominance of the 'Tamil tradition' in Śivaite circles. Jñāna-prakāśa (second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), a native of Śrī-Lankā (Ceylon), wrote, besides a Tamil commentary on the Civañānacittiyār (Śivajñānasiddhi) by Arulnandi Śivācārya, a considerable number of treatises in Sanskrit, among them a Śivayogasāra "Essence of Śivayoga", Śivajñānabodhavyākhyāna, and a Pramānadīpikā (a treatise on logic). The only Sanskrit work published is his Śivayogaratna "The gem of Śiva-yoga".<sup>201</sup> Written in an abstruse style it deals—in *ślokas* and an appendix in prose—with the method (*yoga*) or procedure to be adopted in discontinuing any distinction between the individual and the Highest Ātman, that is, in achieving the realization of identity with Śiva. The procedure is 'higher knowledge' or gnosis (*jñāna*); the methods of the classical Indian *yoga* are recommended, its terminology adopted and the theories based on the *āgamas* and the traditional Vedānta.

Part of the ritual manuals, which finally demand consideration, call themselves *paddhati*, i. e. explanation in an easy style of authoritative ritual works. After these they treat the ritual once again, but in a didactic manner and wholly with a view to practice and performance. They draw on more than one *āgama* and do not pretend to allegiance to a definite school. They are partly intended for temple ritual conducted "for the welfare of the world", partly for the domestic cult i. e. homage paid to Śiva for one's own benefit, in many cases also for both. To the first class belongs the *paddhati* composed by Īśānaśiva,<sup>202</sup> to the second Aghoraśiva's Kriyākramadyotikā (see below). Since the difference between private and temple cult consists mainly in a greater elaboration of the latter the contents of the relative manuals are not essentially dissimilar.

Indians have always been inclined to group persons or ideas in one of their traditional fixed or 'holy' numbers. In accordance with this custom Śaivas handed down a list of eighteen renowned authors of manuals.<sup>203</sup> Among them

<sup>199</sup> For some particulars see DASGUPTA, I. Ph. V, p. 160; 166.

<sup>200</sup> Since our present concern is with the *āgamas* proper we cannot dwell on works such as Umāpati Śivācārya's (± 1320 A. D.; see FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 257; 386) anthology of āgamic texts Śataratnasamgraha, consisting of 92 stanzas dealing with *jñāna* and *dikṣā* and offering a good survey of the Śaiva Siddhānta doctrines on these points professed by the compiler (Edition, with an Introduction, English translation, Tamil version etc. by P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN, Madras Univ. 1973).

<sup>201</sup> There is a very rare printed text of this treatise and the Śivayogasāra published by M. MUTTUKUMĀRA, Paruttiturai (Ceylon) 1928 (*grantha* script), and an edition (with a French translation) by TARA MICHAEL, Pondicherry 1975.

<sup>202</sup> Īśānaśivācārya-Paddhati, by Īśānaśivācārya, published by SĀMBAŚIVAŚIVĀCĀRYA at Kuḍumiyāmalai 1912. There is another text (Trivandrum 1925, 4 vol.) under the title Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati.

<sup>203</sup> See BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SĪP. I, p. XXII. For a list of published and unpublished *paddhatis* ibidem, p. 361.

are Ugrajyoti, Sadyojyoti, Rāmakaṇṭha, Somaśambhu and Aghoraśambhu. Of some of these authors biographical details such as dates and places of residence are known. Not a few of them have, like many other Indian teachers, travelled, often to Kashmir.

Somaśambhu's<sup>204</sup> manual—primarily intended for the private cult, though including other material—is one of the oldest: as appears from two colophons it was written in 1073 or 1096 A.D., that seems to mean in any case between about 1070 and 1100. It draws mainly on the (Uttara-)Kāmika-Āgama. The author was head of the monastery (or seminary, *maṭha*) at Golaka or Golaki, a place in the South.<sup>205</sup> His *paddhati*, utterly concise and intended for expert officiants, does not explain technical terms, *mudrās*, *mantras* etc. because familiarity with these subjects is presumed. For the uninitiated, whether modern Śaivas, even *ācāryas*, or Western scholars, it is tough reading.

The Devakōṭṭai text consisting of 1851 *ślokas* does not seem to be free from lacunas. It deals with the matutinal rites, Sūrya-pūjā, cult of Śiva, fire ritual, and much more briefly with the less important cults of Caṇḍa, of the cow Kapila, that of knowledge and the *guru* which are not generally regarded as obligatory, the ritual that is to be performed at noon, prescriptions regarding food, injunctions for night and evening. In addition to the above, that is the daily ritual, Somaśambhu's work deals also with occasional<sup>206</sup> and optional rites. The relative chapters devoted to the former comprise general observations, the preparatory rites—among them a long section on *pavitṛārohana*—, the annual Damana ceremonies,<sup>207</sup> including also the history of the divine being Damana—who is held to be identical with Bhairava—and the necessity of performing these ceremonies, as well as *prāyaścittas*.<sup>208</sup> A certain Trilocanaśivācārya, who wrote also some other works, composed a commentary

<sup>204</sup> Editions: Somaśambhupaddhati published by the Śivāgamasiddhānta-paripālanasaṅgha ("Society for the preservation of the established truths of the Śivaite religion") and edited by K.M. SUBRAHMAṆYA ŚĀSTRĪ (with an introduction and notes), Dēvakōṭṭai 1931; under the title Karmakāṇḍakramāvali, K.S.T.S. 73, Srinagar 1947 (most unsatisfactory); BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. (mainly based on the Dēvakōṭṭai edition with a French translation, copious notes and a valuable introduction), 2 vol. Pondicherry 1963; 1968 (see the review by L. RENOU, in JA 1964, p. 278). The volumes III and IV (continuation of the occasional rites; optional rites) are in preparation to be published soon.

<sup>205</sup> According to K.K. HANDIQUI, Yaśastilaka and Indian culture, Sholapur 1949, p. 34, in the neighbourhood of Jubbalpur. Somaśambhu's name is, "as a teacher of thousands of disciples" mentioned in an inscription dated 1261 A.D.; in that year the succession of teachers in that *maṭha* continued.

<sup>206</sup> In BRUNNER-LACHAUX' volume II. In contradistinction to other ritual manuals, but in agreement with the general Indian tradition, this term is applied to a large number of rites.

<sup>207</sup> For this interesting Damanapūjā see J.J. MEYER, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, I, p. 38; BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. XII.

<sup>208</sup> See BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. XIV.

on this *paddhati* (probably in the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), which has been preserved.<sup>209</sup>

About half a century after Somaśambhu (1158) Aghoraśiva wrote his ritual and liturgical manual *Kriyākramadyotikā*<sup>210</sup> "Elucidation of the ritual procedures" in which he followed the work of his predecessor so closely<sup>211</sup> as virtually to write a commentary. This manual, a mine of copious information, proved a great success and was at a much later date most profusely commented upon by Nirmalamani. Both works are a great help in interpreting Somaśambhu.<sup>212</sup> Mention may be made also of Aghoraśiva's sub-commentary called *Mr̥gendravṛttidīpikā* on (Bhaṭṭa-)Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Mr̥gendrāgama*. Aghoraśiva's works which deal with every subject relating to the rituals of the Śaivas are up to the present day conscientiously followed by all priests in the South, especially in Tamilnad.

It would take too long to discuss other manuals and commentaries at some length.<sup>213</sup> Not all of them belong to the *paddhati* class additions to which were produced up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some are known as *kārikā* "concise collection of memorial stanzas", others as *dyotikā* "illumination, elucidation", or as *saṃgraha* "compendium". There are also *paribhāṣās* "explanatory discourses" and there is a *Kriyādīpikā*.<sup>214</sup>

<sup>209</sup> For details: BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. XIX.

<sup>210</sup> Published, with Nirmalamani's commentary (Prabhā), by AMBALAVA NĀVALA, Cidambaram 1927.

<sup>211</sup> There are, however, differences in ritual details; see e.g. SŚP. Pav. 75 (II, p. 118).

<sup>212</sup> For some particulars see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. II, p. XX; BHATT, *Mr̥gendrāgama*, p. V.

<sup>213</sup> For a list see BRUNNER-LACHAUX, SŚP. I, p. 361.

<sup>214</sup> *Kriyādīpikā* by Śivāgrayogindra, Madras 1929.

## CHAPTER XIII

### PĀŚUPATAS, NĀTHA-YOGINS, WORSHIPPERS OF DATTĀTREYA, VĪRA-ŚAIVAS

Turning now to the literature of those denominations which have hitherto been left out of consideration, I must confine myself to a discussion of some more or less independent writings, excluding also the literary traces left, for instance by the Sauras and Gāṇapatyas, in *upanīṣads*, *purāṇas*, *upapurāṇas* etc.<sup>1</sup> That means that I shall focus attention on three more Śivaite religions.

The chief scripture of the Pāśupata Śaivas was a *sūtra* work called indifferently Pāśupata-Sūtras or Pāśupata-Śāstra<sup>2</sup> and usually attributed to Lakulīśa (ca. 100 A.D.?).<sup>3</sup> According to another tradition, however, Śrīkaṇṭha was the originator and teacher of this variety of Śivaism,<sup>4</sup> but the historicity of this figure, whose name occurs also as an epithet of Śiva Mahādeva<sup>5</sup> or Maheśvara,<sup>6</sup> is far from certain.<sup>7</sup> It seems therefore warranted to suggest that Śrīkaṇṭha, i.e. Śiva, was the divine originator whose “glories were sung by Lakulīśa” (Tantrāloka).<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to decide whether the “sacred knowledge” (*jñāna*) of the Pāśupatas mentioned in the Mahābhārata<sup>9</sup> was “an exposition

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<sup>1</sup> Compare FARQUHAR, R.L.I., p. 205; 206. For Gaṇeśa see HARIDAS MITRA in *Viśva-Bhārati Annals* 3 (1958), p. 1. A rather late Smārtollāsa (on Smārta worship see GONDA, R.I. II, p. 93) by Śivaprasāda was edited by BH.P. SARMA, 3 vol., Benares 1933; 1935; 1936.

<sup>2</sup> For the mention made of the Pāśupata-Śāstra in the *Vāyaviya-Saṃhitā* (2, 24, 169) of the Śiva-Mahāpurāṇa which expounds a certain form of Pāśupata Śivaism see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 4; 5; 10; 96.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. X, n. 13 above.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, 1, p. 27; 12, p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Mbh. 12, 337, 62; Bhavabhūti, *Mahāvīracarita* 1, 4 +; Abhinavagupta, *op. cit.*, 12, p. 397; *Epigraphia Indica* I, p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> P.C. DIVANJI, *The Maheśvara cult and its offshoots*, in *JASB N.S.* 30, II, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion and references see V.S. PATHAK, *Śaiva cults in Northern India*, Varanasi 1960, p. 4; 7 (pro); CHAKRABORTI, P.S., p. 8 (contra).

<sup>8</sup> For the story of the Lord's incarnating himself as Nakulin (Lakulin) in a village called Kāravana (Kāyāvarohaṇa) on the banks of the Narmadā and teaching the lore in the form of the present Sūtras (VāyuP. 23, 221f.; LiṅgaP. 24, 129f.) see ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRI (quoted in n. 12 below), p. 11 and MINORU HARA, in *Vol. G. Kaviraj*, Lucknow 1967, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> Mbh. 12, 337, 62 *umāpatir bhūpatih śrīkaṇṭho brahmaṇah sutah | uktavān idam avyaghro jñānaṃ pāśupataṃ śivah*; cf. 59 (*pāśupata* on a par with *Sāmkhya*, *Yoga*, *Pāñcarātra*, *Veda*) and 1, 1, 67 B.

of Śivaite doctrine current in the first century A. D. or even B. C.”<sup>10</sup> and still more uncertain whether there is any relation between this “knowledge” and the Sūtras. In older works<sup>11</sup> one can read that these have not survived but a manuscript has since been discovered at Benares and edited.<sup>12</sup>

This work consists of 168 *sūtras*, formulated in the typical, utterly succinct and in places ambiguous style of that genre and grouped into five<sup>13</sup> chapters.<sup>14</sup> The treatise is, from our point of view, not well organized or rigidly arranged because allied or similar subjects are dealt with in different places; on the other hand, the prescriptions for formulas, prayers, or salutations at the end of the chapters and other structural peculiarities are no doubt premeditated. While providing us with an authoritative explanation of the formal and ritual sides of the system—or rather of the ascetic modes of life which remain typical of the adherents of Śivaite religion and Śivaite ‘philosophy’—neither the Sūtras nor the commentary gives us a philosophy proper.<sup>15</sup> As specified earlier the purpose of the Pāsupata system is the total annihilation of sorrow (*duḥkhānta*, cf. 5, 40) and the so-called *pāsupata yogavidhi* (1, 1) i. e. the proper religious behaviour consisting of those kinds of action which lead to the union or conjunction of the individual soul with God (cf. also 5, 2f.; 2, 17).<sup>16</sup> The doctrine—the best of all paths (4, 16)—can only be communicated to proper disciples—twice-born persons, preferably brahmins—, but when these follow the ascetic practices recommended by the Lord, they can attain liberation only through His grace (2, 17; *prasāda* 5, 40). The *yogin* should be completely detached from all worldly objects (*asaṅga*, 5, 1). Thus the categories which form the subject-matter (*padārtha*) of this Sūtra and the principal topics of the Pāsupata doctrine are, according to Kaṇḍinya (p. 6), five in number: the dissolution of pain and pleasure (*duḥkhānta*), the effect (*kārya* i. e. the souls,

<sup>10</sup> ELIOT, H. B. II, p. 205.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. S. LÉVI, Deux chapitres de Sarvadarśanasamgraha, Bibl. École des Hautes Études, Sc. rel. I, (Paris 1889), p. 281 ff.; FARQUHAR, R. L. I., 251; 384; cf. also RENOUE (-FILLIOZAT), I. C., I, p. 628.

<sup>12</sup> Pāsupata-Sūtras with Pañcārthabhāṣya of Kaṇḍinya, edited by R. ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRI, Trivandrum 1940. Translation and introduction: H. CHAKRABORTI, Pāsupata Sūtram with Pañcārtha-bhāṣya of Kaṇḍinya, Calcutta 1970.

<sup>13</sup> For the doctrinal and philosophical content of these Sūtras see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 130; F. A. SCHULTZ, Die philosophisch-theologischen Lehren des Pāsupata-Systems, Walldorff-Hessen 1958; T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, in H. C. I. P. II, p. 453; RENOUE (-FILLIOZAT), I. C. I, p. 628; S. CHATTOPADHYAYA, Evolution of Hindu sects, New Delhi 1970, p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> For the significance attached by the Śivaïtes to the number five see GONDA, V. Ś., p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> “In the Sarvadarśanasamgraha of Mādhava the Pāsupata system is not identified with any form of philosophy, but with different kinds of ascetic practices. When Śaṅkara refutes the Śaiva system, he does not specifically mention any philosophical doctrines of an elaborate nature” (DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 130).

<sup>16</sup> Kaṇḍinya, p. 6: *ātmeśvarasamyogo yogah*.

*paśu*), the cause (*kāraṇa*, the Lord, Paśupati), the union and the practices.<sup>17</sup> As to the practices, the Sūtra emphasizes the bathing in or lying down on ashes (1, 2ff.) for the sake of purification and for bearing Śiva's mark or sign (*liṅga*), recommends living in a temple, wearing one cloth or no cloth at all (1, 7ff.), "worship with laughter, songs, dance, the (holy) *ḍuṇḍu* sounds ("like that of a bull", Kaunḍinya, p. 14), salutations, muttering and presents" (1, 8), forbids the adept to talk with a woman or *śūdra* (1, 13). As a result of these practices, 1, 20-25; 33-38:

are produced *yoga*; and the supernormal faculties of seeing, hearing, thinking and knowing from a distance; omniscience; swiftness of thought; the quality of assuming forms at will; the possession of all capacities while being devoid of organs<sup>18</sup> . . . ; (one becomes) safe; indestructible; free from old age; free from death; moves unobstructed everywhere; being equipped with these qualities one becomes the great chief of the *gaṇas*<sup>19</sup> of Bhagavān Mahādeva . . .<sup>20</sup>

One should not however be too much delighted on the attainment of these powers (2, 12). Chapter II deals with God—called Vāmadeva, Jyeṣṭha, Rudra—, his unlimited will-power, his worship, the greatness (*māhātmya*) attained thereby, as well as the higher stages of spiritual worship; "(the adept) should be of undiverted *bhakti* to Śaṅkara (= Śiva)". In chapter III it is said that a true Śivaite ascetic may be ignored and even insulted by those among whom he lives, the very degradation and the abuse of the others<sup>21</sup> bringing about the annihilation of his sins (evil, *pāpman*; 3, 6ff.) and transferring to him the merit of those who revile him. He should wander like a ghost (3, 11), or tremble (3, 13) etc. in order to make progress towards his goal. By means of *mantras* he should surrender himself to Paśupati in different forms (Aghora, etc.). In chapter IV the ascetic is instructed to preserve and conceal his knowledge, to perform his observances (*vrata*) secretly, to wander like a lunatic among other people (4, 6),<sup>22</sup> to abandon pride (4, 9); to go by this behaviour to the proximity of Rudra never to return to the world (4, 19f.); the chap-

<sup>17</sup> Hence the title of Kaunḍinya's commentary. See also CHAKRABORTI, op. cit., p. 19. One should continue the religious practice even after the cessation of the miseries in order to acquire by God's grace special supernormal powers.

<sup>18</sup> Vikarāṇa; see e.g. Patañjali, Yoga-Sūtras 3, 48; and compare Śaṅkara, on Brahma-Sūtra 2, 1, 31; S. LINDQUIST, Die Methoden des Yoga, Lund 1932.

<sup>19</sup> Gods of lower rank who are Śiva's attendants.

<sup>20</sup> I.e. Superiority to all souls (*paśu*).

<sup>21</sup> For cathartic abuse and cursing see J. J. MEYER, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich 1937, I, p. 127; III, p. 247; GONDA, Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas, AO (Lugd.) 19, p. 346; 403; 416. Kaunḍinya, stating that evil (*pāpam*) purifies (*pāvakam*) by diseases and causes one's fall into hells (*pātayati*), has amplified—or intentionally re-interpreted—the original sense of the words *pāpam ca tebhyo dadāti* (3, 8) "he gives them the evil": the one who abuses purifies in that he takes over the evil of the one abused (cf. e.g. TS. 7, 5, 9, 3; JB. 2, 405; BrahmāṇḍaP. 1, 10, 58).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. D. H. H. INGALLS, Cynics and Paśupatas: the seeking of dishonour, in Harvard Theological Review 55 (1962), p. 281.

ter ends with a Śivaite variant of the *gāyatrī* (4, 22–24).<sup>23</sup> In chapter V the process of *yoga* is more elaborately explained. One who has united himself with Maheśvara (5, 2f.)—with Rudra (5, 33)—is (like God) ‘unborn’ (i.e. not born anew) and friendly; he has conquered his senses (5, 7; 11); his livelihood should be alms; meat is not objectionable (5, 16); he should practise the way of life of a cow or a deer (5, 18); the successful *yogin* (*siddhayogin*) is not stained by an action or by evil (5, 20); he should read the hymn (*ṛc*) which he desires and the *gāyatrī* (5, 21), reside on a cremation ground (5, 30) and always remember Rudra (5, 34; cf. 38). Then he will be free from sorrow by the Lord’s grace (*iśaprasādāt*: 5, 40). The work, which begins with the auspicious *atha*<sup>24</sup> ends with the name Śiva and refers to Rudra’s authority, is said to be the best of all *tantras* (5, 8 and Kauṇḍinya).

Attention may be drawn to the absence of Śivaite scenery or mythological heavens such as the Kailāsa—Indra is mentioned (once, in 4, 10) as the performer of the duties of a Pāśupata ascetic—; nor is there any reference to ceremonies, to *karman* and transmigration, to theories of the nature of the Highest or ostentatious polemics. Since the Sūtras are devoted almost exclusively to ritual—and especially to observances—it is likely that the philosophical tenets of this religion were a secondary development. Already in the ancient commentary, however, an attempt was made to incorporate both ritual and philosophy or theology into a systematic whole.

Due to the scantiness of materials, the date of Kauṇḍinya, the commentator, is quite uncertain.<sup>25</sup> The editor, followed by Dasgupta, dates him between 400–600,<sup>26</sup> because of certain peculiarities of his style which, though comparatively simple, in some respects impresses us as antique. His work<sup>27</sup> gives much information on rituals and asceticism of the Pāśupatas, emphasizing *inter alia* the importance of moral duties and self-imposed religious observances (*yama* and *niyama*), but it is not always easy of interpretation. It sometimes refers to the Sāṃkhya-Yoga schools of thought but never to the *upanīśads* or the Vedānta whose support or authority is obviously not claimed. Nor are contemporary authors mentioned, or references to later developments of the system made, and, what is important, no evidence is given of acquaintance

<sup>23</sup> Cf. p. 112, 197.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. chapter III, n. 49.

<sup>25</sup> On this point and other questions relating to the Pāśupata literature see MINORU HARA, *Nakulīśa-Pāśupata-darśanam*, in *IJ* 2 (1958), p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> According to DIVANJI, *op. cit.*, p. 17, about 425 A.D. ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRI, *op. cit.*, p. 12; DASGUPTA, *H.I.Ph.* V, p. 14; 130. On this commentary see also *ibidem*, p. 5; 13. The work was possibly known to Śaṅkara (on *Brahma-Sūtra* 2, 2, 37): CHAKRABORTI, *op. cit.*, p. 14; 28.

<sup>27</sup> Which is probably identical with the Rāśīkara-Bhāṣya referred to by Mādhava, *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, ch. 6 (cf. DASGUPTA, *H.I.Ph.* V, p. 5 etc., but also p. 145). A commentary on Rāśīkara’s Bhāṣya, called *Samskāra-Kārikā*, is said to deal with the ceremonial of the Pāśupatas.



with the *āgama* literature. This ignorance seems to be mutual: as far as I am aware the *āgamas* do not mention the Pāśupata-Sūtras or Kauṇḍinya's commentary.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the commentator quotes stanzas that run parallel to places in the Mahābhārata or works on *dharma* as well as stanzas from Pāśupata works without mentioning their names—so that it is not possible to identify them—; it is therefore probable that he had a few predecessors. It seems that Kauṇḍinya's work has contributed much to the recognition received by the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas as a distinct school of the Śiva Māheśvara tradition.

Another fundamental text, summarizing in a still smaller compass the main tenets of this religion, is known as Gaṇakārikā.<sup>29</sup> It consists of only eight 'mnemonic verses' (*ślokas: kārikā*) in which nine 'groups' (*gaṇa*), viz. eight categories of a fivefold nature—specified in st. 2—and another category of a tripartite nature are distinguished (1). Thus the most important category of strength or power (*bala*)—which must be a source of attainment of the other categories—is (in 3) explained as devotion to the *guru* (*gurubhakti*), tranquillity (*prasāda*) of the mind, superiority to the couples of opposites (such as joy and sorrow, *dvandva*), socio-religious correct behaviour and the merit gained by it (*dharma*) as well as conscious carefulness (*apramāda*). Another group of five consists of the materials for the ceremony, the proper time, the rite, the image and the *gurus* (5). The last, tripartite, group classifies livelihood, viz. alms, left-over food and food acquired by chance (Ṭikā, p. 5). The commentary, known as Ratnatikā, not only explains and elaborates the points touched upon in the text but also describes the main principles and doctrines of the system and attempts to combine the classification of the Kārikās with five principal topics of Kauṇḍinya. For instance, with regard to *bala* it observes that physical strength is, it is true, a means of conquering enemies, but that in this connexion it is required for destroying such enemies of the adept as ignorance etc.<sup>30</sup>

The Kārikās and the Ṭikā are unquestionably younger than the Sūtras and Kauṇḍinya's commentary.<sup>31</sup> The date of the Kārikās is not entirely certain. If—which seems the most likely hypothesis—Haradatta, "a teacher of religion rather than of grammar and logic"<sup>32</sup> referred to in chapter VI of the Sarvaśāsanasaṃgraha (14<sup>th</sup> century), was the author and we may rely on a—in itself of course questionable—statement in the Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa that Haradatta ascended to Heaven in 879 A. D.<sup>33</sup> it has been composed in the 9<sup>th</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 17.

<sup>29</sup> Edited (with the commentary) by C. D. DALAL, Baroda 1920.

<sup>30</sup> For more particulars see CAKRABORTI, P. S., p. 32; DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 145; LORENZEN, Kāpālikas, p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> On chronology and authorship see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 11; 14 and MINORU HARA, in IJ 2, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> MINORU HARA, in IJ 2, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> See C. H. RAO, The Śrīkara Bhāshya, I, Bangalore 1936, p. 50.

century. It has not improbably been surmised that the author of the Nyāya-sāra, Bhāsarvajña, who lived in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, supplied the Kārikās with the Ratnaṭikā. The fact that both the text and the commentary are quoted in the Sarvadarśanasamgraha shows how authoritative they have been.<sup>34</sup>

From the commentary it appears that there have existed more works on this branch of Śaivism, some of which it mentions by name; but these do not seem to be available.<sup>35</sup>

The so-called Nātha-Yogins<sup>36</sup> constitute a religious movement which, while probably originating in the North-East or East of India, and after playing an important part in the history of medieval Indian mysticism, still has adherents in many parts of the sub-continent. Being nearly related to other currents which aim at conquering death they have amalgamated with tantrist and śāktist ideas and practices. Their highest aspiration is to become God in their present bodily existence and they try to attain this ideal by means of techniques presupposing the correlation between, and identity of, macrocosm and microcosm: everything that is found in creation has a parallel in the human body. Their Śivaite origin is very uncertain, but they impress us, especially in their Bengal representatives, as a variety of that religion: it is Śiva who is their High God and the first teacher of their doctrines; it is union with him which they aspire to; Śivaite temples and festivals are frequented and rules of Śivaite asceticism practised. However, in the West of India they are nearer to Viṣṇuism, in Nepal to Buddhism, and their customs and literature evince a tendency to adopt many heterodox elements. Yet their yogic theories were not identical with those advocated in the *tantras*. Original and ancient literature on their belief and practices is scanty.

Among their literary productions are songs, oral traditions and narratives in the vernaculars, in which their saints—Siddhas and Nāthas—possessed of Śiva's eightfold miraculous power are the principal figures. Besides, they produced Sanskrit texts on *yoga*, part of which are attributed to Gorakṣa-

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<sup>34</sup> For further information on this system drawn from *purānas*, philosophical works, and the Jaina author Rājaśekhara see FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 384; CHAKRABORTI, P. S., p. 33; 194; 204; DALAL, op. cit., p. II; 29; LORENZEN, Kāpālikas, p. 183 (with bibliographical notes). An English translation of the Ratnaṭikā and an abbreviated translation of the Pāsupata-Sūtras and Kaunḍinya's commentary is in course of preparation (MINORU HARA, Harvard Univ.).

<sup>35</sup> See also B. P. MAJUMDAR, Lakulīśa Pāsupatas and their temples in mediaeval India, Journal of the Bihar Res. Soc. 39 (1953), p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> M. ELIADE, Yoga, Paris 1936, p. 222; M. SINGH, Goraknāth and medieval mysticism, Lahore 1937; G. W. BRIGGS, Goraknāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs, Calcutta 1938; SH. DASGUPTA, Obscure religious cults as background of Bengali literature, Calcutta 1946, p. 217; SUKUMAR SEN, in C. H. I. IV, p. 280; GONDA, R. I. II, p. 219; A. K. BANERJEA, Philosophy of Goraknath, Gorakhpur 1961.

Nātha<sup>37</sup> (Gorakh-Nāth),<sup>38</sup> their great legendary saint—an incarnation of Śiva—who has probably lived about 1200 or in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. His miraculous deeds described as having taken place in Nepal, Bengal, Gujarat and other parts of northern and western India are the subject of many poems in Hindi and Bengali. While however the works on Haṭhayoga produced in this religious community—the Gorakṣa-Śataka, the Haṭhayogapradīpikā,<sup>39</sup> which seems to be based on a lost Gorakṣa-Nātha's Haṭhayoga, and the Gheraṇḍa-Saṃhitā<sup>40</sup>—are to be dealt with in another fascicle of this History a few words in description of the Gorakṣa-Saṃhitā, Śiva-Saṃhitā and the Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati, curious mixtures of philosophy and Haṭhayoga, may be welcome.

Whereas the parts (*aṃśa*) I–IV of the Gorakṣa-Saṃhitā<sup>41</sup> are a manual of *haṭhayoga* the last chapter is so different in nature that it is highly doubtful whether it belongs to the original redaction of this book, the more so as it exists also as an independent text under the title Avadhūtagītā. This work,<sup>42</sup> one of the imitations of the Bhagavadgītā<sup>43</sup> and in a colophon attributed to

<sup>37</sup> *Nātha* literally means “protector, lord”; Śiva is the Ādinātha “First Lord”. Traditions are unanimous in accepting the legend that Gorakṣa was the disciple of Matsyendra-Nātha who learned *yoga* from Śiva himself. There are many legends about Nātha preceptors. See P. C. BAGCHI, *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* and some minor texts of the school of Matsyendra-Nātha, Calcutta 1934, p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> A list of “several Sanskrit treatises traditionally believed to have been composed by Goraknath” in BANERJEA, op. cit., p. 26 runs as follows: Gorakṣa-Saṃhitā, Gorakṣa-Śataka, Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati, Yoga-Siddhānta-Paddhati, Viveka-Mārtaṇḍa, Yoga-Mārtaṇḍa, Yoga-Cintāmaṇi, Jñānāmṛta, Amanaska, Ātmabodha, Gorakṣa-Sahasanāma, Yoga-bīja, Amaraugha-Prabodha, Gorakṣa-Piṣṭika, Gorakṣa-Gītā etc. etc. “Most of these works are chiefly on *yoga*”, the basis of Gorakṣa Nātha's conception of the Ultimate Reality being direct transcendent experience in *samādhi*. In adding that it is very difficult to ascertain definitely which of them were really written by Gorakṣa himself the author understates the tendency of Indian *saṃpradāyas* to claim the authorship of important texts for their founders or other great figures of great antiquity. It is *a priori* highly improbable that for instance the Thousand names in honour of Gorakṣa were compiled by himself.

<sup>39</sup> Edited (with Brahmānanda's commentary) by TUKARAM TAYTA and translated by SHRINIVAS IYĀNGĀR, Bombay 1893; <sup>2</sup>Madras 1933; H. WALTER, *Svātmārāma's Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (die Leuchte des Haṭhayoga) aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, Thesis München 1893; English translation by PANCHAM SINH, Allahabad 1915, etc. (reprinted 1974). For the Gorakṣa-Śataka see BRIGGS, op. cit., p. 255; SW. KUALAYANANDA and S. A. SHUKLA in ABORI 35, p. 129; N. C. C. VI, p. 177f.

<sup>40</sup> S. CH. VASU, *The Gheraṇḍa Saṃhitā* (text and translation), Allahabad 1925, reprinted New York 1974.

<sup>41</sup> See G. TUCCI, in JASB N. S. 26 (1930), p. 134; N. C. C. VI, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> Translated (under the title Avadhut Gita by Mahatma Duttatreya) by HARI PRASAD SHASTRI, London 1948. *Avadhūta* is a term for an ascetic who has “shaken off” all worldly attachments and is supposed to be liberated while still alive. See also V. S. PATHAK, *Śaiva cults of N. India*, Varanasi 1960, p. 26. The Avadhūta-Upaniṣad, published in the Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣads, Adyar-Madras 1929 is another work. The same name is given to other texts too; see N. C. C. I, p. 417f.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 275 below.

Dattātreyā—it bears also the title Dattātreyā-Gorakṣa-Saṃvāda “Conversation between Dattātreyā and Gorakṣa”—is held to incorporate information on the teachings of Dattātreyā, a union of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>44</sup> It is a short and well-written philosophical treatise setting forth the absolute identity of the individual soul with the All which is described as the Void (Śūnya), Nirvāṇa etc. Part of its ideas are however common to other mystical schools, among them Śivaite and Buddhist Tantras.

The Śiva-Saṃhitā<sup>45</sup> (in *ślokas*) consists of five chapters. After reviewing the inadequate opinions of other schools (1, 4ff.) and claiming to expound the true doctrine (1, 17), the author enjoins his readers to perform but then to renounce the religious works and to apply themselves completely to gnosis (*jñāna*, 1, 32), explains, in a string of similes (1, 35–43), the fundamental *advaita* doctrine: there is nothing but God, and dilates on the *ātman* as pervading the universe (1, 49–61), on *māyā* (1, 64–67), and the doctrine of evolution and absorption (1, 69ff.). Chapter II deals with the microcosm and its components: the well-known views of the adepts of Haṭhayoga and Tantrism; III with *yoga* practice and its results; IV with the *yogi-mudrā* and tantric *yoga*. Remarkably enough, chapter V, which is not devoid of some repetition, begins with Śiva’s willingness—at the invitation of Pārvatī—to communicate the obstacles to progress in *yoga*, a discussion of the four kinds of *yoga*, those entitled to these, the practice of *yoga*, *mantras* and allied subjects. Since the “I” in 1, 34 is clearly Śiva, the abrupt beginning in the present edition seems to point to a loss of the usual introductory conversation.

One of those works which are used by the Gorakṣa-Nāthas up to the present day<sup>46</sup>—some of them being ascribed to the master himself—is the Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati.<sup>47</sup> Although the text proclaims Gorakṣa-Nātha himself as its author (1, 1) it is no doubt of later origin. Consisting of six “lessons” (*upadeśa*) it is one of the few Sanskrit works of those that have come down to us that include also a somewhat coherent survey of the philosophical aspects of their teachings. Its title reflects the belief that Gorakṣa’s doctrine was held to be the views of the Siddhānta. The text deals *inter alia* with that pure, eternal

<sup>44</sup> See GONDA, R.I. II, p. 178; P. KAULESAR SUKUL, De Bhagavadgītā, Thesis Utrecht 1958, p. 93; 100. For Dattātreyā, J.C. WADIYAR, Dattātreyā, London 1957; H.S. JOSHI, Origin and development of Dattātreyā worship in India, Baroda 1965.

<sup>45</sup> Edited and translated by ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VIDYĀRṆAVA, Allahabad 21923; translated by ŚRĪCHANDRA BASU (with an introduction, (new edition) Calcutta 1893).

<sup>46</sup> Banerjea’s (op. cit.) discourse on the teachings of the adherents of Gorakṣnāth is mainly based on this work.

<sup>47</sup> Edited (with a Sanskrit and a Hindi commentary) by YOGINDRA PURNANĀTH, Hardwar 1940; KALYANI MALLIK, Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati and other works of the Nātha Yogis (with an English summary), Poona 1954 (with a short history of the Nātha *sampradāya* and a summary of the contents of their original texts, *inter alia* Minanātha’s Yogaviśaya). See also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 58.

and self-luminous consciousness which is one with Śiva, the ultimate ground of man's experiences and the source of every 'effect'; with Śiva who in his original state shows himself identical with his *śakti*; with the difference between this ultimate and changeless nature of reality and phenomenal reality (chapter I). Both aspects of reality are however homogeneous (*samarasa*). This concept of homogeneity explains also the *bhedābheda* theory: just as a drop of water appears to be different from the sheet of water in which it is held, but in fact has no other reality than that water, ultimate reality shows itself in various forms without losing its nature as the ultimate real (chapter V). The second lesson, entitled "Contemplation on the constitution of the body", is largely concerned with yogic and tantric conceptions of the subtle body and the methods of contemplation upon its component parts. In the third lesson the compiler points out the identity of the individual body and the cosmic body which is conceived as an organism, the self-embodiment of Śiva: the *yogin* attains perfect bliss and freedom by completely realizing this identity and becoming one with the universe. In the fourth chapter it is taught that all bodies are ultimately contained in and sustained by God's Śakti. The last chapter describes the character and conduct of an *avadhūta yogin*.<sup>48</sup>

Returning for a moment to the worshippers of Dattātreya—who in modern times regard him usually as an incarnation of the Hindu trinity and the bestower of both worldly enjoyment and emancipation—it must be comprehensively noticed that in Indian libraries there is much unpublished literature on their *saṃpradāya*.<sup>49</sup> A good many of these writings belong to the usual genres produced and handed down in various religious communities, such as *stotras* (hymns of praise), *sahasranāma-stotras* ("thousand names"), *mantras*, *kavacas* ('armours', i.e. preservative charms). There is a Dattātreya-Gāyatrī, a Dattātreya-Gītā, a Dattātreya-Campū, a Dattātreya-Tantra etc. The Datta-Māhātmya dealing with the life of the deity contains in the form of a dialogue between Maitreya and Vidura the story of Atri<sup>50</sup> observing penance to obtain a boon from the three gods of the trinity who wished to be born as his sons, and other mythological themes as well as Dattātreya's attachment to wine and women.<sup>51</sup> Other works deal with ritual: Dattātreya-Kalpa, a Dattātreya-Pūjā-Paddhati (a ritual manual of Dattātreya worship). Special mention must be made of a work which—besides the Avadhūta- and Jīvanmukta-Gītās—is attributed to Dattātreya himself—who may perhaps have been a deified historical teacher—, viz. the Tripurā-Rahasya "Secret Know-

<sup>48</sup> The Siddha-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha is a summary in verse, edited by GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, 1925. The Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha of uncertain authorship is another Sanskrit treatise (in prose) on the religious and philosophical views of the *saṃpradāya* (edited by the same, 1925).

<sup>49</sup> For a list numbering 126 items see JOSHI, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>50</sup> For the Vedic sage Atri see GONDA, V.L., p. 447 (Index).

<sup>51</sup> See JOSHI, op. cit., p. 60; 67; 163.

ledge about (the goddess) Tripurā” or Hāritāyana-Saṃhitā which, comprising three parts—a Māhātmya-Khaṇḍa, a Jñāna-Khaṇḍa and a Caryā-Khaṇḍa<sup>52</sup>—is said to have consisted of 12000 stanzas, to have been revealed by Śaṅkara (Śiva) to Viṣṇu who gave it to Brahmā, been communicated by Dattātreya (as an incarnation of Viṣṇu) to Paraśurāma who taught it to Hāritāyana etc. The first part relates many legends connected with Tripurā and her principal forms (Kumārī, Gaurī, Kālī, Durgā, Lalitā etc.). The second part deals with the philosophy and worship of Tripurā and includes many stories about related topics. Dattātreya’s biography entitled Gurudeva-Caritra and written in Marathi was “for the betterment of people other than Marathi-knowing persons” translated into Sanskrit by Vāsudevānanda.<sup>53</sup>

Just as did prominent scholars adhering to other schools of religious or philosophical thought, several exponents of the Dattātreya school held the pen to explain and defend their traditional doctrine. Part of their writings are in Sanskrit. Thus Dāsopanta (±1550–1615)<sup>54</sup> composed a Dattātreya-Māhātmya eulogizing the work of the founder and other works in that language. In later times Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī (1854–1914) collected much material about Dattātreya worship to work it up in publications in Marathi and Sanskrit.<sup>55</sup>

Proceeding to the religious literature of the Vīra-Śaivas I must, to begin with, observe that Farquhar’s<sup>56</sup> words, written more than fifty years ago, can still be quoted to characterize the actual position of affairs: “Their early history is, in many respects, still obscure; and their literature, Sanskrit, Kannada, and Telugu<sup>57</sup> has not yet been carefully studied”. The Sanskrit works produced by the adherents of this religion are, as far as I am aware, almost unknown outside their own community. “So little critical study has as yet been spent on them that, in many cases, it is impossible to assign dates or to sketch their contents”.

Farquhar<sup>58</sup> already noticed that some *śaiva āgamas*—the Sūkṣma, but also

<sup>52</sup> The Caryā-Khaṇḍa is not available. The Jñāna-Khaṇḍa has been commented upon (Tātparyadīpikā) by the Dravidian scholar Shrinivāsa in 1831 and edited by GOPINATH KAVIRAJ (Sarasvatī Bhavan Texts, 15).

<sup>53</sup> VĀSDEVĀNANDA SARASVATĪ, Datta-Purāṇa and other works, together with his biography Gurudeva-Caritra, Poona 1954.

<sup>54</sup> I refer to JOSHI, op. cit., p. 111; 114; 120, who may also be consulted for information on other authors.

<sup>55</sup> See n. 53.

<sup>56</sup> FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 260; 264. SHIVAMURTHI SASTRI compiled a History of Vīraśaiva literature in Kannada (Vīraśaiva Sāhitya Mattu Itihāsa), in 3 volumes, 1953 (not accessible to the present author).

<sup>57</sup> For those works which are not written in Sanskrit the reader may be referred to the fascicles on the Telugu and Kannada literatures. See also S. C. NANDIMATH, A handbook of Vīraśaivism, Dharwar 1942, chapter II. Some authors were well versed in all three languages (see e.g. NANDIMATH, op. cit., p. 38 on Someśvara).

<sup>58</sup> FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 264.

the Kāmika, Suprabhedā, Svāyambhuva, Parameśvara and Vātula<sup>59</sup>—contain Vira-Śaiva material, but a thorough study of these elements and the part played by these texts in the Vira-Śaiva community is still a desideratum. It is not even certain that part of those tenets of the *āgama* literature which have sometimes been claimed by Vira-Śaivism are not common *śaiva* doctrines.<sup>60</sup> Mention has already been made<sup>61</sup> of the reference to the doctrine of *līngadhāraṇa* (the wearing of a *līṅga*) of the Vira-Śaivas. It seems that there exists, in manuscript, an appendix to a recension of the Vātula-Tantra which is also acquainted with the specifically Vira-Śaivaite *ṣaṭsthala* doctrine, viz. that of an upward journey through a hierarchy of stations by which alone the unity with Śiva can be realized.<sup>62</sup> There exists, likewise in manuscript, also a Vira-Śaiva-Āgama which gives, *inter alia*, information on the four pontifical seats (*piṭha*) of the religion, the four mythical teachers who are said to be mentioned in the different Vedas (chapter VIII)<sup>63</sup> and on the infinite variety of schools of thought or communities of devotees into which Śivaism had split as well as the huge Śvaite literature. An author and prominent teacher called Siddhanātha, the son of Muddadeva, wrote the Śiva-Siddhānta-Nirṇaya “Demonstration of the received truth of Śvaism”, containing the purport of the *āgamas*.

In continuation of the reference to the Vātula-Tantra made in the preceding chapter<sup>64</sup> it may be noticed here that its second part, called Pradīpa (“Light”, i. e. “Elucidation”) contains the Śiva-Siddhānta-Tantra, the second part of which is called Anubhava-Sūtra.<sup>65</sup> This text, written by (Moggeya) Māyideva, deals, not only with the succession of the *gurus* of the community and a definition of its important concept *sthala*, but also, and mainly, with some doctrines in connexion with the *līṅga*, the eternity and purity of the individual soul as part of Śiva himself, the theory of the threefold body in which the self worships

<sup>59</sup> Compare also DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 46 on the Sūta-Samhitā belonging to the Skanda-Purāṇa. The Śivāgama-Saṃgraha (“Compendium of Śivāgamas”), published by PT. KASHINATH SHASTRI, Mysore 1940 includes Candrajñānāgama, Kāraṇāgama, Makuṭāgama, Sūkṣmāgama; the Tantra-Saṃgraha, edited by SHANKARAPPA ACCAPPA TOPIGI, Hubli 1914, Pārameśvara-Tantra, Sūkṣmāgama, Vātulaśuddhākhyā-Tantra.

<sup>60</sup> Vira-Śaivic tradition attempts to solve this problem on the strength of the supposition that the first parts of the twenty-eight *āgamas* deal with the Śaiva-Siddhānta, the later parts with Vira-Śaivism (cf. NANDIMATH, op. cit., p. 12).

<sup>61</sup> Chapter XII, p. 202; cf. DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 42.

<sup>62</sup> Hence Ṣaṭsthala-Siddhānta besides Vira-Śaiva-Siddhānta as a name of the philosophical system. However, the interpretation of *ṣaṭsthala* is rather different in the works dealing with this doctrine. See DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 42.

<sup>63</sup> The information given in the small Vira-Śaiva-guru-paramparā (“Succession of Vira-Śaiva *gurus*”) seems to be more reliable; see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 46. No Sanskrit texts are ascribed to the twelve teachers mentioned there, probably because they preached or wrote in Dravidian languages.

<sup>64</sup> See p. 202.

<sup>65</sup> Edited by PT. Y. NAGESHASHASTRI under the title Śivānubhava-Sūtra, Dharwar 1958. For philosophical particulars see DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 61.

the threefold *linga*,<sup>66</sup> and the different manifestations of *bhakti* which is conceived as pure oneness or identity with God. From this conception of *bhakti* it follows that all ceremonial forms of worship involving duality are regarded as imaginary. Among the other works of Māyideva, whose floruit may have been ca. 1430,<sup>67</sup> are Śaṣṭhalagadya, Śatakatrāya and Ekottaraśatasthalāṣaṭpadi.<sup>68</sup>

In contradistinction to the *āgamas* which make no mention of Basava<sup>69</sup> the Basavarājīya (or Vira-Śaiva-Sāroddhāra "Extract of the quintessence of Vira-Śaivism") refers to the founder of the community, regarding him as an incarnation of Śiva's bull Nandin.<sup>70</sup> The information which it gives on Basava's philosophy is however very meagre. The work has, in a *bhāṣya*, been commented upon by Somanātha.

One of the earliest works is Somanātha's Paṇḍitārādhyā or Life of Paṇḍitārādhyā, the superior (*mahant*) of one of the five chief monasteries of Vira-Śaivism, who is believed to have been an incarnation of one of the five 'prophets' or founders of the remote past to whom this religion traces its origin.<sup>71</sup> The author,<sup>72</sup> who composed this biography in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu verse, lived at Pālakūrki near Warangal in the last decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The doctrine of the "stations" (*sthala*) is associated with Vira-Śaivism in a work entitled Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi ("Crest-jewel of the received doctrine")<sup>73</sup> and written by Reṇukācārya—he called himself also Śivayogin—who must have lived in the period between Basava (12<sup>th</sup> century) and Śrīpati, because he refers to the former and is known by the latter. The author deals systematically with the path of salvation: definite forms of worship and adoration correspond with definite manifestations of God's essence: thus the successive worship of Śiva's emblem, the *guru*, the cosmic Śiva, the infinite Śiva should lead to the ultimate goal, the realization of one's identity with the Highest Śiva. He asserts that he relates the gist of a conversation that took place between the first teacher Reṇuka-Siddha (or Revāṇa-Siddha) and Agastya in the beginning of the Kali age; Agastya became the first expounder of the doctrine. The

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Anubhavasūtra 5, 21 (p. 66); 5, 61 (p. 75); 5, 63 (p. 76).

<sup>67</sup> NANDIMATH, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. NANDIMATH, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>69</sup> Compare also DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 52. For their founder—or, according to the believers themselves, reformer—Basava (middle 12<sup>th</sup> century) see GONDA, R.I. II, p. 243.

<sup>70</sup> See also GONDA, R.I. II, p. 245.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRĪ in Memorial Volume L. Sarup, Hoshiarpur 1954, p. 301.

<sup>72</sup> He wrote also, in a mythical and purāṇic manner, the original hagiography Basava-Purāṇa in Telugu verse. There exists a Sanskrit version which was published at Sholapur in 1905.

<sup>73</sup> Edited by SRI MALLIKARJUNA SHASTRI, Sholapur 1905; with a Kannada commentary by N.R. KARIBASAVA SHASTRI, Mysore 21921; by PT. KASHINATH SHASTRI, Mysore 1955. Translated into Tamil in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



author also says that, in composing his book for the elucidation of Śīva's nature, he consulted the *śaiva tantras* beginning from the Kāmikāgama to the Vātulāgama as well as the *purāṇas*, adding that the Vīra-Śaiva-Tantra is the last and the essence of all the *āgamas* (1, 31 f.). Being based on these texts the philosophical and theological outlook of the work is of the same eclectic and oscillating nature as is found in that literature.<sup>74</sup> For instance, side by side with an impersonal and monistic view of the Highest (Brahman) which expands itself to become the world the author proclaims Śīva the sole God who creates and destroys the universe. While admitting the force of Śaṅkara's opinions with regard to the theory of *māyā* and *avidyā* ("nescience, blindness"), he is as to his idea of *karman* influenced by the Pāsupatas who hold that the distribution of *karman* is managed and controlled by Śīva. The "inner *bhakti*" preached by the author consists mainly of the realization of the unity of one's life-breath with Śīva as represented by his *līṅga*. As to the doctrine of the *sthalas* the author recognizes the principle of the division of the six (main) *sthalas* into 101 sub-*sthalas*, a division which seems to have been unknown to Basava and his contemporaries, but is very popular among modern believers.<sup>75</sup> This work is also of some importance as a source of knowledge of some characteristic convictions of the community. Relating Basava's view that those who deery Śīva should be killed or laid under a malediction (9, 36) it also points out that a Vīra-Śaiva should risk his life in preventing the destruction of a *līṅga*. As far as I know this book, probably of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, constitutes the earliest account of this Śīvaite religion available.

Among the many fresh so-called sectarian "expositions" or "commentaries" (*bhāṣya*) on the Brahmasūtras composed by adherents of religious communities to reconcile their tenets and doctrines with the Vedānta system—a famous instance is Rāmānuja's Śrī-Bhāṣya—is also a Līṅgāyat work, Śrīpati Paṇḍita's Śrīkara-Bhāṣya.<sup>76</sup> Its philosophical point of view<sup>77</sup> is Śakti-Viśeṣādvaita, the doctrine of the "Non-dualism with distinctions"—probably evolved under the influence of Rāmānuja—modified by Śakti ideas, and the *bhedābheda* point(s) of view: the individual self is part of the Universal Self (Brahman), but between both there is difference and non-difference.<sup>78</sup> According to the author *yoga* and the discharge of socio-religious duties are of great value as means of attaining salvation. The true Śīvaite should aim at an always more perfect knowledge of God and with that end in view be self-controlled, study the scriptures and meditate. The date of this work seems to be somewhat uncertain; though it has been held to belong to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, its author being posterior to

<sup>74</sup> For particulars see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 48.

<sup>75</sup> For particulars see NANDIMATH, op. cit., p. 206. A text called Ekottaraśa-tasthali dealing with this subject was compiled by Girinātha.

<sup>76</sup> The first half of the work was published at Secunderabad 1893 (Telugu script).

<sup>77</sup> See DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 173.

<sup>78</sup> Śrīkara-Bhāṣya, ed. II, p. 272f.

Mādhava, the writer of the Sarvadarśanasamgraha, it has been argued<sup>79</sup> that Śrīpati must have lived in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>80</sup>

The Kriyāsāra ("Essence of ritual practice")<sup>81</sup> is a bulky Śivaite manual composed by Nilakaṇṭha, after 1340—because the author mentions Vidyāranya—and before 1530 according to its editor, but in any case before 1611 when it was quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu. Having originated in a Vīra-Śaiva milieu in which it is still much used, this work consists of two clearly distinct parts. The former comprises four 'instructions' (*upadeśa*), dealing with epistemology and expounding the doctrine of the community in the form of a running commentary on the Brahmasūtras which, starting from the principles of Vīra-Śaivism, pretends to explain the Nilakaṇṭha-Bhāṣya<sup>82</sup> which is no longer extant. This part is at the same time an anthology of the Vīra-Śaiva literature. The second part deals in twenty-seven *upadeśas* with the religious practices of the Vīra-Śaivas (*pūjā* and its elements such as *mantras*, holy ashes etc.).<sup>83</sup> One of the component treatises of the latter (in *upadeśa* XIV, II, p. 315-333), while being devoid of any trace of Vīra-Śaiva origin, is literally identical with a section of Appaya Dikṣita's Śivārcanācandrikā<sup>84</sup> but the question of who was the borrower has not yet been decided. This treatise<sup>85</sup> deals with a problem which could not fail to occupy the minds of all Śivaïtes, viz. the various contradictory statements made in their texts with regard to the *nirmālya*, i. e. the food prepared for and ceremoniously offered to God. While some authorities prohibited the worshippers from partaking of these offerings, others allowed and even recommended their consumption, because in their opinion it leads to the fulfilment of man's duties and even helps him to attain final emancipation. The exegetes, untrained in historical methods, regarding all Śivaïte *purānas* and *āgamas* as equally authoritative and rejecting any suggestion of doubt about the authority of the scriptures, tried, without convincing each other, to reconcile the different statements. Nilakaṇṭha is one of them. After surveying the theories of his predecessors and quoting their sources and authorities he provides us with a detailed, methodical and ingenious, but likewise very

<sup>79</sup> For Śrīpati's date see C. HAYAVADANA RAO's edition of the Śrīkara-Bhāṣya (I, Introduction, II Sanskrit text), Bangalore City 1936, I, p. 31.

<sup>80</sup> ŚRĪKAṆṬHA ŚĀSTRĪ, in ABORI 19, p. 147.

<sup>81</sup> The Kriyāsāra of Śrī Nilakaṇṭha Śivācārya, edited by R. RAMASASTRI, N.S. VENKATANATHACHARYA, and S. NARAYANASWAMY SASTRI, published by the Or. Res. Inst., Univ. of Mysore 1954-1958, 3 vol.

<sup>82</sup> According to the Śiva-Advaita of this religion the world is not an illusion and in interpreting the Brahmasūtras one should base oneself on Vedas and *āgamas*.

<sup>83</sup> A thirty-second *upadeśa*, referred to by the author himself, may have been lost.

<sup>84</sup> According to N.R. BHATT, quoted by H. BRUNNER, in JA 257, p. 251 (where particulars). The dates of Appaya Dikṣita (for whom see DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 67) seem to have been 1520-1593 (P.S. FILLIOZAT, Oeuvres poétiques de Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, I, Pondicherry 1967, p. 8).

<sup>85</sup> Which has been edited, translated and annotated by H. BRUNNER(-LACHAUX), De la consommation du *nirmālya* de Śiva, JA 257, p. 213.

improbable explanation of himself which is a model of the subtle argumentation in vogue among these priestly circles. The seventeen discourses of the *upadeśas* XV–XXXI—which like V–XIV are based mainly on the *śaiva purāṇas* and *āgamas*—relate to the so-called *aṣṭāvaraṇa* “the eight coverings” (shields or ‘emblems’)<sup>86</sup> of this religion, viz. the *guru*, *līṅga*, *jaṅgama* (itinerant and preaching monks and priests), *pādodaka* (holy water), *prasāda* (grace, i.e. an object given by the *guru*, generally consecrated food), *vībhūti* (“holy ashes”), *rudrākṣa* (the sacred beads associated with Śiva), the *mantra* (*namaḥ śivāya*) and to the *ṣaṭ-sthalas*. There is a commentary on this work by Nirvāṇamantri (18<sup>th</sup> century).

The philosopher Maritoṇṭadārya (±1400 or somewhat later) produced, besides a commentary on the Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, the Kaivalyasāra, a metrical exposition of Vira-Śaivism in twelve cantos.<sup>87</sup> In the former work he explains, *inter alia*, the emanation of the universe from Brahman (Śiva, Ultimate Reality), showing favour to the view that energy (*śakti*) is eternal and abides in Śiva (*brahmaṇiṣṭhā*), the relation between Śiva and *śakti* being that of identity.<sup>88</sup> Another Sanskrit work called Viraśaiva-candrikā<sup>89</sup> and written by an author of the same name belongs to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. To the 15<sup>th</sup> century belongs Gurudeva, the author of the Viraśaiva-cārapradīpikā “Explanation of the established rules of conduct of the Vira-Śaivas”.<sup>90</sup> Generally speaking, the rulers of the kingdom of Vijayanagara promoted, from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the progress of this religion and honoured its scholars recognizing them as preceptors.<sup>91</sup> Among the latter was also Svaprabhānanda, the author of the Śivādvaitamañjarī.<sup>92</sup>

Nijagaṇa Śivayogin, who must have lived between ±1250 and ±1650 A. D., wrote, in addition to works in Kannada, the important Vivekacintāmaṇi (“Thought-gem of the right knowledge enabling a man to separate the higher reality from the phenomenal world”), a Śaiva encyclopaedia which furnishes us with very valuable information about the *āgamas* and their doctrines. It has been translated into Kannada and Tamil.

Nandikeśvara Śivācārya wrote a work entitled Līṅgadhāraṇacandrikā (“Moonlight on, i.e. Elucidation of wearing a *līṅga*”),<sup>93</sup> which emphasizes the necessity of wearing a *līṅga* and dwells on the good results ensuing from it. The theory of the *līṅga* as sketched by this author demands a dual approach, viz. a

<sup>86</sup> Cf. GONDA, R. I. II, p. 249.

<sup>87</sup> Published with a Marathi translation, Sholapur 1907.

<sup>88</sup> See Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi I, ch. 5, with the comm., p. 65f.; cf. also H. P. MALLEDEVARU, Essentials of Viraśaivism, Bombay 1973, p. 55f.

<sup>89</sup> Ed. D. V. G. DEVARU, Hubli 1936.

<sup>90</sup> Edited by SRI MALLIKARJUNA SHASTRI, Sholapur 1905.

<sup>91</sup> See G. MARULASIDDIAH, Viraśaiva literature during the Vijayanagara empire, in Vol. Kaviraj, p. 136.

<sup>92</sup> Published at Mysore 1957.

<sup>93</sup> Edited by M. R. SAKHARE, Belgaum 1942 (with an introduction: History and philosophy of Līṅgayat religion).

psychological and a cosmological. The date of the work seems to be uncertain; according to some<sup>94</sup> it was composed in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Among the works of Ṣaḍakṣaradeva (in the same period) who was not only one of the great Kannada poets, but also a master of Sanskrit, are three productions in the latter language, viz. Śivādikya, Bhaktādhikya, and Kavikarnārasāgama. Besides, he is said to be the author of Sanskrit *stotras*.

More or less encyclopaedic works or compendia of the dogmatic knowledge of this religion are, *inter alia*, the Śivatattvaratnākara "Jewel-mine of Śivatattva" (± 1700–1715)<sup>95</sup> by Basavappa Nāyaka, a monumental work comprising the traditional number of 108 sections and surveying almost all Indian arts and sciences with special reference to Vira-Śaivic morals, philosophy, and religion, and the Anādi-Vira-Śaiva-Saṃgraha "Compendium of beginningless Vira-Śaivism" by Sampādane Siddhavīra Śivayogi<sup>96</sup> of uncertain date.<sup>97</sup>

Since the religion spread also over Keladi, Mysore, Coorg and other regions and princes often promoted the production of literature—literary men were here also their advisers and preceptors—, it is not surprising that a member of the royal family of Keladi wrote a Keladinrpavijaya "Victory of the princes of Keladi" and that a minister named Ṣaḍakṣari Mantri composed a chronicle Viraśaivadharmāśiromaṇi (18<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Compare also H.M. SADASIVAIAH, A comparative study of two Viraśaiva monasteries, Mysore 1967, p. 17.

<sup>95</sup> Edited by B. RAMARAO and P. SUNDARA SHASTRIAR, Madras 1927.

<sup>96</sup> Edited by SRI MALLIKARJUNA SHASTRI, Sholapur 1905. Mention is also made (N. C. C.) of a text of this name by one Siddha Revāṇa and of an edition at Sholapur 1926.

<sup>97</sup> For some other titles see MALLEDEVARU, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>98</sup> Edited by BASAVALINGA SHASTRI and others, Mysore 1908.

## CHAPTER XIV

### STOTRA LITERATURE

Hymns of praise (*stotra*, *stuti*, *stava*) and collections of more or less separate eulogistic stanzas have been composed in all the literary languages of India, whether modern or classical.<sup>1</sup> The heterodox traditions<sup>2</sup> know them as much as the religions of the brahmanic tradition. Quantitatively, however, Hindu devotional poetry greatly exceeds that of the Jains and Buddhists. The number of eulogistic and devotional poems is indeed enormous,<sup>3</sup> the wealth of their contents often beyond expectation. Many of them form part of collections which as manuals of worship, family prayer books and reference texts for daily use were from the remote past preserved by generations of devout worshippers. Only part of these eulogies have found their way into print, and it is significant that not a few of those that did appear in printed form were published "in order to help people to follow the path of devotion and engage themselves in prayer".<sup>4</sup> Many large collections which still exist in manuscript have not yet been studied or made known to a larger circle of scholars. And that notwithstanding the great influence this class of literature has exercised upon Hindu moral and religious life, notwithstanding the rich material it affords to study various forms of worship and devotional cults.

While throwing much light on the religious feelings, not only of the authors, but also of the thousands of Indians who in the course of the centuries have recited, memorized and enjoyed these poems, they are indeed an important

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<sup>1</sup> See S. BHATTACHARYYA, The stotra literature of Old India, *IHQ* 1 (1925), p. 340; the same, Indian hymnology, in *C.H.I.* IV, p. 464; S.K. DE, Sanskrit devotional poetry and hymnology, in *NIA* 9, p. 129; S.N. DASGUPTA and S.K. DE, A history of Sanskrit literature. Classical period. I, Calcutta 1947 (1962), p. 375; DE, Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961, p. 649; M.BH. JHAVERY, Comparative and critical study of Mantraśāstra, Ahmedabad 1944. For a useful bibliography on an allied subject see M. SINGER (ed.), Krishna, Chicago and London 1966 (1968), p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Neither the Buddhist hymns nor the large mass of devotional poetry produced by the Jainas will be considered in this chapter. For Balinese *stotra* literature (in Sanskrit) see T. GOUDRIAAN and C. HOOYKAAS, *Stuti and stava*, Amsterdam Acad. 1971; GOUDRIAAN, in *ALB* 31-32, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> The chapter Stotra literature in the Catalogue of Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras covers three big volumes.

<sup>4</sup> T. CHANDRASEKHARAN, in *Stotrāṇavaḥ*, Madras 1961 (Madras Government publication), Introduction, p. 10.

source of information on the history of the religious schools, on the development and spread of *bhakti* cults, and on the differentiating tendencies of these communities, as well as the reception of foreign deities into the Hindu pantheon and the blend of elements belonging to various traditions. As to their practical use, they can serve contemplative purposes, are chanted either individually or in unison, and are read by priests in places of worship or by those who circumambulate a shrine.<sup>5</sup> It appears from many passages in *purāṇas* and *tantras* as well as from internal evidence that they often were recited for one's personal welfare or longevity,<sup>6</sup> for obtaining 'knowledge' or final emancipation<sup>7</sup> from a deity, for victory over antagonists<sup>8</sup> in practices such as subjugation (*vaśīkaraṇa*), expulsion or eradication (*uccāṭana*), causing hatred or enmity (*vidveṣaṇa*), obstruction (*stambhana*) or death (*māraṇa*), or to safeguard oneself against every form of evil or misfortune. A *stotra* can also be part of an observance or vow (*vrata*) undertaken to please a deity.<sup>9</sup> But in many hymns egoism or a materialistic outlook remain in the background or are entirely absent.

The hymnic tradition goes back to Vedic times.<sup>10</sup> There are no serious reasons for the supposition that after the Vedic period the production of eulogies ever was completely interrupted. Hymns of greater or lesser extent—and as a rule of greater religious than literary interest—are included in the epics and the *purāṇas*.<sup>11</sup> The praise of the Sun which is inserted in the Rāmāyaṇa (after 6, 93 in the critical edition) is an excellent specimen of an ancient eulogy in which the names, epithets, functions and qualities of the Divine Luminary are enumerated in order to strengthen the deity's power and while doing so to induce him to fulfil the reciter's wishes. A typical instance is also the Durgāstava, existing in many versions (Mbh. 4, 6 B.).<sup>12</sup> The *purāṇic*

<sup>5</sup> The Śivatāṇḍavastotra, traditionally ascribed to Rāvaṇa, in *Brhatstotraratnākara*, 19, Varanasi 1957, p. 55 may be quoted as an instance of a eulogy "for its own sake".

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *Brhatstotraratnākara* 33.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the *Gajendrastuti* in *BhāgP.* 8, 3.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the *stotra* recited by Rāma in *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, cr. ed., app. I, 65, p. 1082.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. the *Vāsudevastuti* in *BhāgP.* 8, 16, 29ff. enjoined by Kaśyapa to his wife Aditi. See A.S. GUPTA, in *Purāṇa* 11 (1969), p. 207.

<sup>10</sup> For the Vedic hymns of praise etc. see GONDA, V.L., p. 105 and Index sub eulogy and praise. It may be noticed that some *stotras* or collections of hymnic poetry are mentioned in other chapters of this book.

<sup>11</sup> The periodical *Purāṇa* (Varanasi) publishes at the beginning of each number a *stotra* taken from a *purāṇa*. See, moreover, V.S. AGRAWALA on the *Sarasvatīstotra* in *MarkP.* 23, 30–47; *Purāṇa* 1, p. 139, a list of the *stotras* in the *PadmaP.* *ibidem*, p. 151; A.S. GUPTA on the eulogies in the *MatsyaP.*, *ibidem*, p. 156. For a *Sāmba* eulogy (*Stavarāja*) in *SāmbaP.* ch. 25 see H. v. STIETENCROON, *Indische Sonnenpriester*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 54. For a survey see S.K. DE, in *NIA* 9, p. 130; 135.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the Critical Edition, V, Poona 1936, p. 300.

hymns composed on a ritualistic and philosophical background attest to fervent worship and intensely devout feeling. Hymns are also found in the compositions of the great classical authors. After describing the awakening of Viṣṇu as seen by the gods Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, 10, 16ff. has the latter pronounce a eulogy upon him in which they emphasize his important functions, characterize his exalted power, make mention of his lordship and omniscience, of his form consisting of light and his abiding in man's hearts, his actions, glory, and greatness and so on.<sup>13</sup> Even when they are embedded in other compositions—not only *kāvya* works but also *purāṇas*, *upapurāṇas*, *māhātmyas* etc.—these hymns stand out by their specific form. Elsewhere however they emerged as an independent genre of poetry at a comparatively early date to acquire a specific character and status as a new literary species, different from the Vedic hymns. The absence of evidence of independent *stotras* unequivocally dating from epic times should not however induce us to suppose<sup>14</sup> this genre to have established itself as late as the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. That the rise and spread of the many medieval religions made their number multiply is of course beyond doubt.

As to their literary merit and quality the—older as well as later—*stotras* are very unequal. Many of them—especially many of the late ones which are much more numerous—composed of time-worn phrases and traditional figures of speech, make for a modern Westerner dull and monotonous reading. One of the reasons for their strikingly stereotyped features lies in the fact that the visualization of their makers followed the forms that had been stabilized by the iconographical tradition, a conformity required or presupposed by their function as aids to meditation. Moreover, the many memories of the mythological exploits of the deities eulogized and references to their theology becoming obligatory elements left little room for genuine and spontaneous religious sentiment. Other poems, however, stand out by a certain originality, the avoidance of cliché phrases, vivid imagery, devotional appeal, sincerity of emotion and a spirit of tolerance and humanity so that they may, also because of their views of the deities eulogized, be called really imaginative poetry or religious lyric. There are many *stotras* in which form and metre, rhythm and cadence are not less charming<sup>15</sup> and successful than the contents and sentiments expressed.

<sup>13</sup> See also Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava* 2, 4–15; the eulogies upon Mahādeva by Arjuna in the closing canto of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuniya* etc. For other examples see BHATTACHARYYA, C.H.I. IV, p. 469.

<sup>14</sup> With S.K. DE, in *NIA* 9, p. 134. Were all the 'hymns' inserted in epics and *purāṇas* made for that special purpose?

<sup>15</sup> From a Gaṅgāstava:

*devi sureśvari bhagavati gaṅge*  
*tribhuvanatārīṇi taralatarāṅge*

"O goddess, mistress of the gods, venerable one, Ganges,

O thou that conveyest across the three worlds, of tremulous waves."

The good and original specimens of this genre are products of earnest faith, pious enthusiasm and real poetic vision and inspiration and as such indicative of the psychological mood with which Hindu worship is performed; expressive of the misery of *karman* and rebirth, as well as the hope of emancipation; characterized by a felicitous harmony of rhythm, symmetry in form and harmony in expression; by images and figurative expressions pointing to a sphere or reality other than mundane existence; by the almost obligatory occurrence of symbols, metaphores and references to myths which as a rule are liable to different—and fresh—interpretations. Although the devotional character is not always prominent and although their wordings often tend to be stereotyped, a modern reader may, through the Sanskrit garb,<sup>16</sup> often perceive true poetic thought and genuine religious feelings.

In spite of the fact that the hymnal literature generally did not lose touch with the life of the people and was a powerful means of propagating religious ideas the conviction that a polished style contributes to the efficacy of eulogies<sup>17</sup> facilitated the introduction of sophisticated stylistic features. When *kāvya* literature became the vogue in educated and aristocratic circles the religious hymns also underwent the influence of poetical customs, subtleties, theories, classifications and conventionalities; there was a tendency to adapt the style of hymns and eulogies to the conventions of *kāvya* literature. Instead of the comparatively simple style of the popular hymns poets often preferred long metres<sup>18</sup> and artificial compounds as well as other forms of artificiality, especially, but not exclusively, when they dealt with philosophical topics. *Stotras* composed in *kāvya* style by sincere devotees may be supposed to show that the authors, whilst illustrating the ambiguities of which the Sanskrit language is capable, nevertheless felt that, just as human connoisseurs delight in these stylistic refinements, the offering of such a poem to a god will evoke his pleasure. That is to say that one might consider the elaborateness of this poetry in the light of a sacrificial offering to the god for whom only a really finished and perfect poem could suffice. A good (early) instance—one out of many—is the *Vakroktipañcāśikā* “Fifty stanzas of equivocation”<sup>19</sup> in *śārdūlavikriḍita* metre of the Kashmirian poet Rājānaka Ratnākara (9th century), a devotee of Śiva. This development could not of course fail to lead to the production of hymns that are literary rather than devotional.

In the later history of *stotra* literature a distinction should be made between the reflective and speculative *stotras*, continuing the older ‘descriptive’ eulogies and typically represented by the Vedāntic hymns ascribed to Śaṅkara

<sup>16</sup> The language of popular *stotras*, especially those of tantric origin is often far from correct.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. Kavikarṇapūra, Alamkāraakaustubha, 1, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Compare also BHATTACHARYYA, in C.H.I. IV, p. 474.

<sup>19</sup> Published (with Vallabhadeva’s commentary) in the *Kāvya-mālā* series 1, Bombay 1885, p. 101; partly translated by C. BERNHEIMER, in ZDMG 63 (1909), p. 816; cf. also KERTH, H.S.L., p. 215.



and the later, mainly Viṣṇuite impassioned devotional eulogies, especially those dealing with the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā legend. Occasionally both currents blend. A personal note is present in both, in the guise of religious thought in the former, of emotion in the other. The latter—which could ally themselves with song, dance and music—evolving a new literary genre, distinguish themselves by the absence of elaborate metaphysical speculations, by their more passionate and even sensuous content and wordings, by their—often erotic—mystic sensibility, by their propensity to express religious feelings in the imagery of earthly passion. When in the course of time these hymns of praise, though mostly springing from personal religious emotions, underwent the influence of literary traditions of long standing, this did not as a rule result in that dullness which is so often a characteristic of the longer *kāvya* poems of the later centuries. However mediocre they often are, many religious *stotras* retain a certain charm and smoothness of diction. Yet the hymns used as liturgical stanzas or litanies of magnification became popular not because of their literary value but because they expressed the religious feelings of the masses to which they succeeded in appealing.

It is from our point of view often very difficult to classify these poems, because the eulogistic element often alternates, not only with prayers, litanies and strings of names but also with philosophical—especially Vedāntic—passages. Moreover, some hymns or passages are argumentative rather than eulogistic in character.<sup>20</sup> Those hymns that are composed for the purposes of a particular cult are often filled with its theological ideas. Nor are formal criteria easily applicable because beside poetry in a comparatively simple style there are numerous complicated compositions of the *kāvya* genre, in a variety of difficult metres and overladen with stylistic ornament.

Dates and authorship are in many cases uncertain. Not infrequently, the reader of a hymn in traditional style may have an impression that it is of much later origin than contents and phraseology would at first sight suggest. Many authors preferred to remain anonymous or to use pen-names, and their products were in India never subjected to historical investigations. Nevertheless, traditions, quotations and internal evidence—metrical peculiarities, the preponderance of definite stylistic features—often allow some conclusions or hypotheses with regard to hymns composed by unknown authors or by poets of uncertain date or identity. From the inclusion of similar poems in more or less datable works—*purāṇas* etc.—it may be inferred that many of them date back to the pre-Moslem period. Often it is also hardly possible to come to a decision concerning the place of origin of these poems. Internal evidence such as references to sanctuaries<sup>21</sup> or special relations to holy places or local or region-

<sup>20</sup> E.g. SS. 90 emphasizing the importance of meditative worship as a way to emancipation as well as the identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. V. RAGHAVAN, in SS. I, Introduction, p. XI on SS. 2, the refrain of which refers to the famous shrine of Tiruvaṅṅāmalai (Aruṅācala).

al deities can however, here also, guide us to a solution of the problem. Thus the hymn known as Pārvatīstotra in honour of the goddess Sundarakucāmbikā—who, being worshipped at Tejinīvana, is identified with Śiva's spouse—must have originated in the region of Kumbhakonam<sup>22</sup> and the Ghaṭikādrināthaśataka, a eulogy on Nṛsiṃha at Ghaṭikācala, in the North Arcot District. The greater number of these poems seem, indeed, to be of Southern origin.

The fact that many of them are in praise of local manifestations of the deities, e.g. the "God at Tirupati" (Veṅkaṭeśvara, worshipped on the famous hill, Tirumalai), "the God Nṛsiṃha at Ghaṭikācala or Sholinghur in North Arcot"; "the God at Tirucheraī near Kumbhakonam",<sup>23</sup> and so on is in harmony with the small number of manuscripts available for many hymns which show that the circulation often was limited to definite centres or regions.

The intimate relations between many specimens of this most prolific literature and important shrines and places of pilgrimage<sup>24</sup> would deserve a systematic and comprehensive study.

The titles given to these hymns are of course often handed down in the text itself, in the colophon,<sup>25</sup> or in both. An example of the last procedure is SS. 67, 42 where "the grace (favour) of Mukunda (= Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa)" is the last word of the poem as well as its title:

"(It) produces welfare, (it) removes anxiety, (it) quickly confers happiness (protection), it produces (good) results, it gives . . . glory and emancipation, the favour of (Lord) Mukunda".

The titles often end, either simply in *-stotra* or *-stava*, or in words such as "handful of flowers of . . ." (*puṣpāñjali*), "cluster of blossoms of . . ." (*mañjarī*); "series of . . ." (*āvali*), or also "request, prayer" (*prārthanā*). Very often the title containing, for instance, the name of the deity praised gives a reliable indication of the contents.<sup>26</sup> The name often rests on the (approximate) number of stanzas,<sup>27</sup> that is to say, in various cases the length of a poem has determined its title. Thus, the Ambikātrīsatī, composed by Gaṅgādharamakhin deals in 300 (301, but the final stanza states the poet's success in making the hymn) stanzas with Devī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.<sup>28</sup> There are numerous *aṣṭakas*, short poems of eight stanzas, such as the Goṣṭheśvarāṣṭaka, a modern poem from Coimbatore<sup>29</sup> and *śatakas*, of a hundred stanzas. Other eulogies are named after their metre or the stylistic embellishments occurring in them.

<sup>22</sup> SS. 13, see V. RAGHAVAN, Introduction, I, p. XII; n° 57, and II, p. X; see also 11, 18; 14, 1 etc.

<sup>23</sup> SS. 56; 57; 59; 68; 76.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. RAGHAVAN, op. cit., I, p. Xff.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. SS. 68; 69; 70; SA., p. 373.

<sup>26</sup> Sometimes the initial word of a *stotra* is traditionally regarded as its title (e.g. SS. 9).

<sup>27</sup> Thus SS. 79 (Haryaṣṭaprāsaṇicakam) consists of five, 92 (Gururājasaptatī) of seventy-two stanzas.

<sup>28</sup> SS. 9; see RAGHAVAN, Introduction, I, p. XII.

<sup>29</sup> SS. 30; see RAGHAVAN, Introduction, I, p. XIII.

It is not surprising that sometimes the same title is given to more than one collection or that the identification of collections as well as the relations between the contents of more or less identical anthologies present problems, unsolved or insoluble.<sup>30</sup>

Although many *stotras* are dateless and anonymous or of doubtful authorship the name of the author is not infrequently mentioned in the text itself, for instance in the closing stanza(s).<sup>31</sup> The name is sometimes accompanied by an indication about his residence or the place of the poem's origin.<sup>32</sup> In many other cases the name of the author is handed down in a colophon.<sup>33</sup> Among the authors are not only many persons otherwise unknown<sup>34</sup> but also poets and spiritual teachers of renown. The frequent ascriptions to figures such as Vyāsa, Vālmiki or Yājñavalkya are of course most unreliable.<sup>35</sup>

Later Sanskrit literature abounds in eulogistic poetry of the *stotra* type.<sup>36</sup> Following their earlier models these often popular poems are as to their style and phraseology saturated with the atmosphere of devotion, theology and popular philosophy and often illustrated by allusions to mythology and the special traditions of the community in which they were produced. For following the example of the adherents of Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja and others, modern movements such as that inaugurated by Rāmakṛṣṇa continued to compose *stotras* adjusted to their own needs and ideals<sup>37</sup>. Although the greater part of the comparatively recent *stotras* are imitative, standardized and devoid of literary value, some of them are as pieces of poetry not without merit. Part of these *stotras* are up to the present day quoted or even regularly recited by a considerable number of Hindus to renew their mental relations with their chosen deities and to evoke the proper emotional frame of mind for undertaking the ritual of worship.

<sup>30</sup> I am not in a position to say, for instance, whether the *Bṛhatstotratrānākara* which according to Krishnamachariar, H.S.L., p. 313 was published at Madras is identical with the work of the same title (Bombay 1899), the 13<sup>th</sup> edition of which was published at Bombay in 1947.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. SS. 4, 42 (Cidambarasuri); 28, 53; 32, 112; 52, 29 (Rāghavendra); 59, 347 (Subrahmaṇya); 71, 12 (Rāghavendra); 72, 9 (Mahādeva); 73, 21 (Parāṅkuśa); 74, 102 (Govindācārya); 80, 51f. (Virārāghava).

<sup>32</sup> E.g. SS. 66, 50f.; 74, 104: in Tanjore (*cole tañjapurasthena*), followed by the date: Kaliyuga 4963 = 1861 A.D.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. SS. 6; 51; 63 (Kauśika-Raṅganāthasūri).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, Prayers, Praises and psalms, Madras 1938; God and prayer in Hinduism, Vedanta-Kesari, Dec. 1938, p. 308.

<sup>35</sup> Among these are some meritorious pieces of work, e.g. Yājñavalkya's *Sū-ryāryāstotra*.

<sup>36</sup> On modern Sanskrit *stotras* see V. RAGHAVAN, in Vedanta-Kesari, Madras May 1958, p. 54.

<sup>37</sup> The hymns known to the average devotee are long since composed in 'modern' Indian languages.

Among the most striking features of this hymnal literature are, on the one hand, the inclusion within its orbit of almost every being and object worth adoring and worshipping—Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Devī, Rāma, Govinda, Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī, Rādhā, the Sun, the Fathers, the spiritual guide,<sup>38</sup> religious reformers, holy rivers, plants and trees—and on the other the marked tendency to monolatry, the inclination on the part of individual poets to address and adore one of these divine powers, their 'chosen deity' (*iṣṭadevatā*). Whereas, moreover, Hindu ritual, including the liturgical prayers, is rigidly fixed, the *stotras* offer scope for variation and individual originality.

The eulogistic character of these hymns involves paying special attention to the deities' nature, functions, feats, activities and other characteristics.<sup>39</sup> The effects produced by divine intervention are often described in plain statements: the god or goddess bestows blessings and advantages, brings the enemies to nothing, pervades the universe, pours forth the draught of immortality, resides in the hearts of all creatures, absorbs the threefold universe, is a source of well-being.<sup>40</sup> Thus a text such as the *Haristuti*<sup>41</sup> ascribed to Śaṅkara is, in forty-four stanzas, hardly more than a definition of the nature of the god praised, statements of his qualities, functions, and descriptions of his manifestations and his relations with his worshippers. Another text which gives a résumé of the feats of a deity is for instance the *Gopālaśataka* composed by (Aśoka) Raghunāthācārya and devoted to Kṛṣṇa.<sup>42</sup>

'Some hymns take the form of a résumé of a well-known story: thus SA., p. 258, n° 12 summarizes in 117 stanzas the contents of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Another epitome of the same epic (SS. 71) was composed by a Vaiṣṇava saint, Rāghavendrātīrtha (1623–1671), who also, in his *Kṛṣṇacāritramāñjarī* (SS. 52), celebrated important episodes in the life of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>43</sup> Viṣṇu's *avatāras* are—not always in the 'classical series'—the subject of various eulogies or references.<sup>44</sup> There is also a *stotra* on the consorts of Lord Viṣṇu worshipped in eight different

<sup>38</sup> For a so-called *Guru-stotra* see e.g. SRĪSA CHANDRA VASU, *The daily practice of the Hindus*, Allahabad 1909, p. 176. A special type of *stotra* is the *Guruparamparāstotra* (represented, for instance, by Government Or. Mss. Library Madras, n° 5234f.): groups of stanzas in praise of a definite line of spiritual guides to be repeated before an adept is branded on the arms with metallic medals representing Viṣṇu's disc and conch. For many *stotra* manuscripts see e.g. HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII, Calcutta 1934, p. 449–626.

<sup>39</sup> See also SA., Gaṇeśa 1; Śiva 15; 16; Viṣṇu 16; p. 249, n° 8 (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa); 594, n° 41 (Kṛṣṇa); 648, n° 6, 4; 659, n° 10; 663; n° 11, 2; 667, n° 12, 2; 671, 15, 5 (Pārvatī); 681, n° 20, 1; SS. 7, 3 (Subrahmaṇya = Skanda); 53, 7; 59, 3; 83 *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. SS. 9, 136; 14, 32; 18, 2; 23, 26; 25, 2; SA., Śiva 51, 4; Viṣṇu 12, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Text and translation: S. VENKATARAMAN, Madras n.d., p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> SS. 55; cf. also 72 (*Rāmamattebhastotra* by Mahādeva).

<sup>43</sup> For this author see B.N.K. SHARMA, *A history of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its literature*, II, Bombay 1961, p. 274.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. SA., Viṣṇu 2; 3; p. 258, n° 12, 1; 434, n° 5, 41 ff.; 563, n° 37, 51 ff.; SS. 61.

sacred places: at Kāñcīpuram, where Viṣṇu is Śrī Varadarāja, his spouse is Mahādevī or Perundeṅgā etc.<sup>45</sup>

Mythology being the very framework of a considerable number of hymns and an important element of the authors' expositions, there are many references to myths or mythical narratives,<sup>46</sup> though scarcely complete stories; to holy rivers and other places;<sup>47</sup> to famous sages of antiquity, among whom of course great figures such as Vyāsa and Nārada<sup>48</sup> or Prahlāda and his son Virocana,<sup>49</sup> to great teachers and saints, as well as to legends and doctrines associated with them. Themes borrowed from the great epics and *purāṇas* were transformed into devotional literature.

As one might reasonably expect, cases of adaptation or borrowing from other texts are not rare.<sup>50</sup> There is indeed ample evidence that much of the contents of these eulogies is common property and that the authors often reproduced or varied models which they had retained. One extreme case of adaptation may be quoted in illustration: SA. Viṣṇu 13, in honour of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, is nothing but a reproduction of a longer version of Mbh. 12, 47, the main differences being the insertion st. 76–85 dealing with the ten 'classical *avatāras*', unknown to the Mahābhārata—each stanza of which finishes with a varied refrain *tasmā matsyātmane (kūrmātmane etc.) namaḥ* "homage to him whose shape is the fish (the tortoise etc.)"—and at the end a long *śravaṇa-phala* which holds out the prospect of "entering Viṣṇu-Janārdana" after death as well as the statement that this "king of eulogies" which neutralizes grave crimes was in former times recited by Bhīṣma: as is well known this epic hero had in the above chapter of the epic invoked Kṛṣṇa in a long hymn of adoration.<sup>51</sup>

To this genre of literature also the tendency was not alien to quote, or refer to, authorities of repute, for instance to Vyāsa and Patañjali.<sup>52</sup> References to Vedas and Vedānta, the Pāñcarātra school of religious thought etc. are not absent either.<sup>53</sup> Occasionally we even find literal quotations from authorities and references to definite *mantras*. Thus SS. 98, a Sūryāryadvādaśaka, twelve *ārya* stanzas in honour of the Sun to which some special sacredness is attached,

<sup>45</sup> SS. 81; see II, p. 236, n. 1 for particulars.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 29, 8; p. 563, n° 37; SS. 11, 1f.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. SA., Viṣṇu 8, 2f.; 15, 2; 16, 13.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. SA., Viṣṇu 16, 2; p. 237, n° 4, 1; 6.

<sup>49</sup> SA., p. 581, n° 40, 6f.

<sup>50</sup> Thus some of the stanzas of SS. 54 are also found in the Rāmakaṇṭhāra (for which see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 337).

<sup>51</sup> Also in other cases it is sometimes possible to arrive at a conclusion with regard to an author's model. Thus SS. 56 in honour of the god at Tirupati is modelled upon the Venkaṭeśvaraprapatti on the god of the famous hill (Tirumalai). In SS. 48, 25 it is expressly stated that the hymn is on the model of Śaṅkara's Bhajagovindastotra. See also V. RAGHAVAN, Malayamāruta, Tirupati 1966, p. 25.

<sup>52</sup> SA., p. 434, n° 5, 3.

<sup>53</sup> SA., p. 446, n° 6, 2f.; 476, 15, 21; 29; 510, n° 28, 2; 576, n° 38, 6; SS. 26, 54 (*śruti*).

begins with a nearly literal reproduction of R̥gveda 1, 50, 11, the manuscripts adding to each stanza one quarter of the triplet R̥V. 1, 50, 11–13, *bijamantras*<sup>54</sup> and one of Sūrya's twelve significant names (e.g. *hrām mitrāya namaḥ*). The text seems to have been intended for a popular form of Sun worship;<sup>55</sup> the reciter will be restored to health.

Among the curiosities of the ornate Sanskrit literature are attempts to compose poems by the combination of the words quoted from an existing text and original supplements of the author. An interesting instance is SS. 36 in which the poet Aruṇādri transformed the Śatarudriya litany of Taittirīya-Samhitā 4, 5, 1–11—which is recited in Śivaite temples—into a devotional hymn entitled Rudrārthasāra, thus creating the impression that the latter is an explanation and an uninterrupted continuation of the former which, with the authority of the Veda, embodies eternal lore.<sup>56</sup>

It was also inevitable that these works, taken as a whole, should be full of descriptions of the deities' outward appearance—among them those of a god's body from head to heel, already found in *ālvār* poetry—, emblems, attributes, weapons and ornaments; being in harmony with the iconography of the cult images these passages enhance the value of the poems for meditative purposes.<sup>57</sup> The poison in Śiva's throat, the Ganges in his hair, his five mouths, his snake ornament, his garland of skulls<sup>58</sup> attract no less attention than his might, greatness and superiority.<sup>59</sup> One poet refers to his asceticism, another describes the Tāṇḍava dance. The *liṅga* is the object of separate eulogies.<sup>60</sup> In dealing with the Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* poets do not forget the adventures of the youthful cowherd god.<sup>61</sup> Special attention to Kṛṣṇa as child and boy is the main characteristic of a prolific genre of poem, already represented in the work of the *ālvār* Periyālvār (9<sup>th</sup> century).

That these eulogistic hymns abound in epithets,<sup>62</sup> vocatives<sup>63</sup> and laudatory

<sup>54</sup> For *bijamantras* see also SS. 15; 17; 19; SA., p. 266, n° 13; 687, n° 24 etc.

<sup>55</sup> Viz. the Tṛcakalpaividhi of which these *mantras* and names are part. See the R̥gvedīyabrahmakarmasamuccaya, Bombay 1936, p. 13 and Introduction to SS., p. XVII.

<sup>56</sup> I need not dwell on other curiosities such as the absence of labials in the poem SS. 82 (101 stanzas).

<sup>57</sup> There are of course references to meditation, e.g. SA., Viṣṇu 5, 4.

<sup>58</sup> SA., Śiva 19, 4; 24, 3; 31, 6; 49, 7; 13; 51, 2; Viṣṇu 9; see also p. 232, n° 2; 434, n° 5, 21; 447, n° 6, 5f.; 510, n° 20, 1 (Rāma); SS. 1 (Gaṇeśa); 6 (Subrahmanya); 29; 65; 87 etc.

<sup>59</sup> SA., Śiva 25, 1; see also p. 514, n° 31, 27; 523, n° 32, 40 (Gaṇeśa); 541, n° 34, 1; 15 etc.

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. SA., Śiva 54.

<sup>61</sup> SA., Śiva 38; 51, 5; SS. 55, 4 etc. For Śiva Raṅganātha "Lord of dance" e.g. SA., p. 547, n° 35.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. SA., Gaṇeśa 1; 2; Śiva 48; p. 492, n° 16, 17, 27; 652, n° 3, 1; 663, n° 11, 1. Accumulation of epithets sometimes adds to monotony: SA., Śiva 35; 36.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 56, 1 *śambo śankara śānta śāsvata śiva sthāno bhavomapate*; p. 520, n° 32, 100.

qualifications is self-evident. Also that these often occur in long successions. Professions of faith and veneration<sup>64</sup> are not less frequent than affirmations of one's loyalty and devotion (*bhakti*).<sup>65</sup> The existence of confidential and intimate relations between the devotee and his god is apparent from the frequent vocative "mother" addressed to female deities.<sup>66</sup> The "mother of the world" is said to sprinkle the author or the devotee with whom he identifies himself with cool showers from her eyes (SS. 9, 36).

Many *stotras* can best be characterized as prayers. Thus the Sun, called Pūṣan, Vivasvān etc., is in twelve *ārya* stanzas<sup>67</sup> not only the object of the poet's homage and the addressee of statements of his auspicious activities and his identity with other great deities, but also throughout the poem implored to give recovery and health: among the diseases are blindness and affections of the skin.<sup>68</sup> However, the effect of the prayer is, in a thirteenth stanza, said to follow automatically for those who duly recite it. A short Annapūrṇastotra<sup>69</sup> ascribed to Śāṅkara is hardly more than a prayer—repeated in all stanzas but the last—to the divine representative of plenty of food, considered to be a form of Devī,<sup>70</sup> to give 'alms' (means of subsistence: *bhikṣā*) preceded by series of epithets generally ending in "making . . ." (*-kari*) and expressing the activities the goddess is believed to perform and the services she is expected to render. The text is recited at Benares up to modern times. Prayers for grace and favour, assistance, protection, the fulfilment of wishes, happiness or commiseration<sup>71</sup> are of course often interspersed in eulogistic contexts or added to conclude a hymn.<sup>72</sup> Accordingly many stanzas of these hymns are in the so-called benedictive (*āśis*) form containing (ending with) blessings such

<sup>64</sup> For a consistent repetition of *namaḥ* "homage" at the beginning of every stanza and a double *namaḥ* at the beginning of the refrain see SA., Śiva 17; cf. 45; 46; p. 501, n° 20, 9; 643, n° 4, 19f.; SS. 6, 21ff.; 80, 3. For exclusive worship of a deity: SS. 6, 19.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. SA., p. 524, n° 32, 50; 68; 70; 78; 528, n° 33, 3; 40; 563, n° 37, 3; SS. 6, 17; 9, 104; 107; 112; 288; 15, 10f.; 18, 2f.; 20, 1; 25, 13; 29, 3; 25; 56, 14; 66, 28; 75, 11; 76, 10; 83, 43 etc. Cf. D. R. KINSLEY, *The sword and the lute*, Berkeley 1975.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. SS. 16, 9; 18, 5; 87, 4; cf. also 9, 121f.; 14, 23f.; 24, 1; 83, 21 etc.

<sup>67</sup> SS. n° 98.

<sup>68</sup> Continuation of Vedic belief: V. HENRY, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 284 (s.v. soleil); J. FILLIOZAT, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 89. The manuscript adds to each stanza one quarter of the Rgvedic triplet 1, 50, 11–13.

<sup>69</sup> Published at Vārānasi (Benares) 21966.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. e.g. M. TH. DE MALLMANN, in *Artibus Asiae* 19, p. 328; E. B. HAVELL, *Benares*, London 1905, p. 173; H. VON GLASENAPP, *Der Hinduismus*, München 1922, p. 142.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 56; Viṣṇu 7, 3; p. 430, n° 3, 3; 434, n° 5, 7; 14; 24; 492, n° 16, 17; 497, n° 18, 2; 504, n° 22, 11; 568, n° 37, 37; 41; 638, n° 1, 3; 645, n° 4, 18; 647, n° 6, 1; 659, n° 10, 2f.; 663, n° 11, 1; 681, n° 20, 2; 5; 6; SS. 6, 17; 34, 15; 35, 3; 36, 2ff.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. SA., p. 547, n° 34, 50; SS. 59, 4; 8; 12 etc.

as "May the god(dess) protect us, grant you prosperity, destroy your sins, ward off troubles etc.", the benediction being mostly expressed by an imperative form.

Among those particular features which strike us in perusing collections of *stotras* is the emphasis laid upon the poet's or devotee's weakness, failings or imperfections, upon his blindness and infatuation, on the transitoriness of his life, his miserable condition and incapability of understanding and finding the deity.<sup>73</sup> Wholly wretched and helpless, without resources, weeping and screaming, trapped in the snares of *samsāra* and death the faithful try to find solace from grief in devotion and to relieve their distress by praise and glorification, and by praying the deity, who is their sole refuge and saviour, for help and protection.<sup>74</sup>

"(I am) wicked, very mischievous, out of heart, ruined, depraved, cruel, shameless, miserable, ungrateful, impure, eating (too) much, injurious, (my) mind is bound with hundreds of bonds of false expectations, (I am) liable to stand in bad repute, stupid. O ocean of mines of compassion, Father, save me who am a mine of sins".

Sometimes a *stotra* is to obtain remission of sins or the deity's forgiveness of transgressions actually or supposedly committed.<sup>75</sup>

Accordingly, the devotee defines himself as the deity's "servant" or "slave" (*dāsa*),<sup>76</sup> as "wretched" or "miserable" (*dīna*).<sup>77</sup> Displaying ignorance, modesty and humility,<sup>78</sup> he invokes the god's compassion.<sup>79</sup> But this is only one aspect of the relations between the devotee and his god. There is in this literature an emphasis on surrender and faithfulness, and, in more general terms, on a constant personal and even intimate relationship of the Lord and the devotee, a relationship which is already characterized in the *Bhagavadgītā* (9, 27): "Whatever you do, offer, give, do it as an offering to Me" and (11, 40) "On every side I pay homage to Thee, O Lord". Many hymns attest to a combination of awe inspired by the deity's majesty (*aiśvarya*) and endearment engendered by that fascinating amiability (*mādhurya*) which instils confidence.

The very frequent occurrence of verbs and pronouns of the singular first person<sup>80</sup> in these devotional and sometimes more or less 'penitential' passages

<sup>73</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 15; 44, 3ff.; 21; SS. 53, 1; 57, 11; 66, 6; 75, 10; 83, 21; 34. Cf. also P.S. FILLIOZAT, in JA 253, p. 52 on Appaya Dikṣita's Āryāśataka. There is of course no criticism of society and the traditional socio-religious system.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. SA., Śiva 15; p. 434, n° 5, 7.

<sup>75</sup> An instance is the Gaṅgālaharī, published at Benares 1938 (Chowkhambā). Also the Devī- and Śiva-aparādhakṣamāpanastotras in Bṛhatstotraratnākara 67 and 18.

<sup>76</sup> SA., p. 195, n° 7, 3; 650, n° 1, 8; SS. 9, 143.

<sup>77</sup> SA., p. 434, n° 5, 10; 681, n° 20, 3 etc.; SS. 53, 11.

<sup>78</sup> SA., p. 513, n° 31, 3; SS. 7, 1.

<sup>79</sup> SA., p. 681, n° 20, 5 etc.; SS. 53, 1; 76, 5.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 15, 35; p. 541, n° 34, 15; 658, n° 9, 9; 663, n° 11, 3; SS. 53, 13; 16; 56, 1; 83, 18; 66, 8; 12; 28. See e.g. also SA., Śiva 20, 5; p. 521, 32, 13 (*dhyāyāmi* "I meditate"); 528, n° 33, 28; 31; 40; 541, n° 34, 10; SS. 51, 1; 59, 10; 63, 2ff.; 74, 1.



may remind us to a certain extent of the style of some of the Psalms in the Old Testament:<sup>81</sup>

“I am not able to know thy (high) resort nor to perform the ritual acts practised with systematic concentration (*yoga*); I can only take refuge with thee”.

It is also in perfect harmony with the poets' identification with the devotees, the use to be made of these texts and the personal relations with the deity into which the devotee wishes to enter<sup>82</sup> that verbs for “having recourse to, adoring, worshipping”, “saluting, paying homage” or “praising” are so often in the first person (*bhaje, vande, naumi, pūjaye*).<sup>83</sup> And that the deity is requested to grant final emancipation to the one who recites the hymn: “Give me that liberation that interrupts the effects of *karman*”.<sup>84</sup>

Most of these poems are dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, and it seems that Śiva, worshipped in appealing and spiritual aspects is best represented. Viṣṇu is of course eulogized also as Rāma or Kṛṣṇa and some *stavas* in honour of his ten *avatāras* are a small genre by themselves. After them comes the Sun, Sūrya, the old Vedic god able to adapt, to a certain extent, his character to the Hindu conditions of life. Unlike Brahmā who practically speaking has no cult of his own, Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati,<sup>85</sup> also appearing under such names as Vināyaka, Vighnarāja, Śeṣaputra, or, in the South, Dhunḍirāja, was not forgotten by these poets: there is a Gaṇeśamahimnaḥ stotram, a Gaṇeśāṣṭottaraśatanāma-stotram etc. In contradistinction to Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech and learning, who is seldom honoured in this way the goddess of fortune, Lakṣmī, has got some eulogies addressed to her.<sup>86</sup> Among the minor and local divine recipients of praise the river goddesses seem to rank first.

Certain *stotras*—for instance the Mohamudgara “The hammer (destroying) ignorance” attributed to Śaṅkara—were no doubt intended for the select few who could appreciate their onesided emphasis on philosophical tenets, and especially on the importance of direct knowledge of Supreme Reality (*jñāna*) or on the unreality of the phenomenal world. This is not to assert that philosophy is absent in the devotional hymns meant for the masses, but there it is as a rule hardly more than a digressive element.

It cannot be said that in this class of poetry philosophical or theological problems are pursued with intensity or fullness of detail, but references to or reminiscences of dogmatic tenets or philosophical doctrines are

<sup>81</sup> Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.

<sup>82</sup> See e.g. SA., Śiva 15.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. SA., p. 624, n° 44, 1; 2; 17; 643, n° 4, 1; 8; 513, n° 31, 1; 522, n° 32, 29; 528, n° 33, 31 ff.; 576, n° 38, 1; 2; 581, n° 40, 1; 3; 610, n° 43, 3; 659, n° 10, 1; 671, n° 15, 1; SS. 2; 4; 51, 9 etc.; 55, 1 f.; 62, 1; 76, 1. See also 541, n° 34, 1. For *na jāne* “I do not know” SA., p. 541, n° 33, 101; 645, n° 4, 21.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. SA., p. 624, n° 44, 3 ff.

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. SA., p. 1–32.

<sup>86</sup> For Śakti see the fascicle on Tantrist literature.

not rare: Śīva's eight aspects are, quite intelligibly, as well known to the authors as, for instance, the fundamental principles of the monistic Vedānta or the function of God's Śakti.<sup>87</sup> Philosophical terminology, reminiscent of various currents of thought, is occasionally found among other elements.<sup>88</sup> A definition such as "Thou art the *rasa* (liquid, savour) in the water, light in the sun . . ." reminds us, not only of one of the fundamentals of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, but also of well-known passages of the Bhagavadgītā.<sup>89</sup>

Theology and philosophy are often couched in poetic style:

"To the one who quenches the forest-fire of *samsāra*, who conquers death, whose prowess is boundless, whose sandals are worshipped by the multitudes of gods and anti-gods, who is accompanied by Pārvatī, to Śīva homage!"<sup>90</sup>

The Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Stotra<sup>91</sup> attributed to Śāṅkara is in ten stanzas a versified and mnemonic compendium of the religious and philosophical convictions about a tantric form of Śīva. That this piece of dogmatics was none the less designed for practical purposes is however apparent from stanza 10:

"Since in this hymn of praise (*stava*) the oneness of the Self with the All has been made clear, one will, by listening to it, by reflecting on its meaning, by meditating (on it) and by repeating it devotionally spontaneously acquire the state of being Īśvara (identity with the Lord) together with the supreme super-normal power and identity with the All . . ."

*Stotras* to which some special sacredness is attached are in manuscript sometimes accompanied by quotations from the R̥gveda or by the name of the seer (*ṛṣi*) to whom the text was revealed, the metre, its deity (*devatā*) and the indication that it is intended for meditation (*dhyāna*).<sup>92</sup> For instance:<sup>93</sup>

After the well-known introductory formula 'Homage to Gaṇeśa' there follows: Brahmā is the seer of this armour (*kavaca*)-*stotra-mantra* of Śrī-Śīva, the *anuṣṭubh* is the metre; Śrī-Sadāśīva-Rudra is the deity; (the mystic syllable) *hrīm* the Śakti . . . Its application consists in muttering for pleasing Śrī-Sadāśīva. After an indication with regard to *nyāsa* and the pertinent formulas there follows "Then *dhyāna*: 'I salute Śambhu, the lord (husband) of Umā whose teeth are like the thunderbolt (adamantine), who has three eyes . . .'"

<sup>87</sup> E.g. SA., Śīva 15, 5, 15; SS. 24, 1.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. SA., Śīva 48, 20f.; p. 232, 2, 1; 487, 15, 86; 667, 12, 3; SS. 24, 1ff.; 25 passim; 76, 2. Cf. also SA., p. 624, n° 44, passim (elements, organs of sense etc.); SS. 41 entitled Śīvapūjāstava deals with the doctrines of Āgamas and the Śaiva-Siddhānta.

<sup>89</sup> SS. 67, 15ff.; cf. BhG. 7, 8f.; 10, 21.

<sup>90</sup> SA., Śīva 24, 1; cf. e.g. 25, 3.

<sup>91</sup> Text and translation: S. VENKATARAMANAN, Select works of Śrī Śāṅkarācārya, Madras n.d., p. 32.

<sup>92</sup> References to meditation also SS. 59, 10; 74, 1; SA., p. 428, n° 2, 1. Cf. SS. II, p. XVII.

<sup>93</sup> From a Śīvakavaca belonging to the Skanda-Purāṇa, published together with other Śīvastotras in the Caukhambā-stotra-granthamālā 26, Vārāṇasī 21959. For other instances: SS. 98 (Sūryāryadvādaśakam); SA., Gaṇeśa 6, 3; p. 232, 1; 2.

The inherent power of these hymns is indeed often referred to: they annihilate every form of evil, eliminate hindrances and obstacles, cure various diseases, enable one to attain to prosperity, to gain wealth and become rich in offspring.<sup>94</sup> Or they are even such as to purify the threefold universe.<sup>95</sup>

Statements in this tenor often assume the form and character of formulaic *śrutiphālas* or *śravaṇaphālas* expressing the good results of listening to a *stotra*. They are sometimes found in the middle of a hymn, but mostly at its end,<sup>96</sup> holding out a prospect of health, a long life, final emancipation and so on.<sup>97</sup> In most of these statements it is the recitation as such which produces the effects desired: SA., p. 576, 101:

“He who with devotion recites this eulogy on Viṣṇu . . . which increases devotion . . . after having risen early in the morning, goes when he breathes his last to Viṣṇu’s presence (*dhāman*) called *nirvāṇa*”.<sup>98</sup>

The power of these hymns is, with all clearness desirable, described in the *Ādityahr̥daya* “Secret knowledge of the Sun”, which is handed down in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>99</sup> When Rāma is exhausted by the fight and Rāvaṇa prepares to attack him anew, Agastya who had joined the gods approaches the former and instructs him in the Hymn to the Sun,

“the eternal secret which will enable you to overcome all your adversaries. (This hymn) is sacred and brings victory; . . . it is an eternal, imperishable, exalted and auspicious prayer, a bringer of good fortune in everything auspicious, the destroyer of all evil, the allayer of fear and anxiety, the increaser of life and the most excellent (of all verses) . . . He who recites this hymn in the time of peril . . . does not succumb to it. Worship that god of gods . . .”

Stories illustrating the miraculous powers of these *stotras* as well as the interest taken in them by important personages stand high in the devotees’ favour.<sup>100</sup> A well-known, but chronologically impossible tradition is, for instance, that about the three authors Mayūra, Bāṇa and Mānatuṅga. After the first had composed his century on the Sun (*Sūryaśataka*) in order to cure himself of leprosy and the second recovered his hands and feet which he had wilfully lost by making his Hundred stanzas in honour of Caṇḍikā (*Caṇḍikāśataka*), the Jaina poet Mānatuṅga, in order to show that his religion also

<sup>94</sup> SA., Gaṇeśa 9, 2; 5f.; 8f.; 25; p. 476, n° 15, 93. Compare also places such as 434, n° 5, 2; 476, n° 15, 98 (*bhakti mukti*); 528, n° 33, 3.

<sup>95</sup> SS. 86, 5 (Lakṣmī is the deity).

<sup>96</sup> Not infrequently in an additional or supernumerary stanza: SS. 25, 101; 58, 9; 62, 9; 88, 8; 89, 10; SA., Viṣṇu 13, 119–122.

<sup>97</sup> See e.g. SA., Śiva 54, 25; SS. 25, 101; 55, 126.

<sup>98</sup> See also SA., p. 434, n° 4, 17; 581, n° 39, 10; 641, n° 6, 9; SS. 17, 17.

<sup>99</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, cr. ed. after 6, 93; Bombay ed. 6, 105.

<sup>100</sup> The authors are of course also convinced of the positive force of *bhakti* which for instance according to SS. 18, 2 enables a person to overcome adversities, to conquer enemies, to subdue the world and so on.

enabled its faithful adherents to work wonders, composed his famous Bhaktā-marastotra, which freed him from chains and imprisonment and induced king Bhoja to embrace Jainism.<sup>101</sup>

To the traditional Hindu the so-called *varman* and *kavaca* types of formulaic verse are as much part of this literature as those compositions which may bear the name of *stotra*. A *kavaca* ("armour, coat of mail") is a protective charm,<sup>102</sup> a powerful *mantra*, believed to enable the person who, while knowing its meaning, pronounces it, to neutralize evil influences, to propitiate the planets, to protect children, to ward off death etc. A *varman* is a preservative formulaic text such as the Nārāyaṇa-varman in Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 6, 8 which one has "to gird on in case of danger".

Among the works of this genre, traditionally but incorrectly or improbably attributed to authors of repute, are also some collections of stanzas which because of their contents should find a place in a survey of the Tantrist literature.<sup>103</sup> One of these is the famous ode to the Supreme Being in its feminine aspect of the Śakti or Goddess in a hundred (103) stanzas. It is a hymn in praise of Tripurasundarī (i.e. Durgā) and an exposition of āgamic and tantric ideas as well as a series of *mantras* to be used along with the corresponding *yantras* in which the goddess is believed to abide. The poem is called Saundaryalaharī "The Great Flood of Beauty" and was already by Lakṣmīdhara, one of its many commentators, who belongs to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, ascribed to Śaṅkara.<sup>104</sup> The stanzas 1-41 are known as Ānandalaharī.

As to the outward form, the stanzas of many *stotras*—e.g. the Haristuti, Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra and Śivapañcākṣarasottra attributed to Śaṅkara—end in a refrain.<sup>105</sup> In the last mentioned small poem expressing the wish of the maker or reciter to prostrate himself before the god whose main features are mentioned in the preceding lines the varied refrain expresses also the words 'Homage to Śiva' (*namaḥ śivāya*).<sup>106</sup> Many refrains are indeed to emphasize the speaker's desire to adore or "remember" the deity or his conviction that the deity is the refuge of those who are oppressed by calamity, to implore his compassion, protection, or help, for instance in attaining final emancipation;

<sup>101</sup> For particulars see WINTERNITZ, G.I.L. II, p. 340.

<sup>102</sup> See e.g. the Śivastotram published in the Caukhambā-stotra-granthamālā 26, Vārāṇasī 1959.

<sup>103</sup> E.g. the very characteristic Karpūrādistotra, translated by A. AVALON, Madras 1961.

<sup>104</sup> Editions: Saundarya-laharī, The Ocean of Beauty (with a translation, a commentary etc.) by PT. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI and T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR, Adyar 1937, 21948; 21965; edition, translation, introduction and description of the pertinent paintings: W. NORMAN BROWN, The Saundaryalaharī or Flood of Beauty, Cambridge Mass. 1958; see also M. K. VENKATARAMA IYER, Devī worship in Saundaryalaharī, in Prabuddha-Bharata 1959, p. 371; for a partial English translation: A. AVALON, Wave of Bliss, London 1917.

<sup>105</sup> For other instances see e.g. SA., stotra to Gaṇeśa 3, 8; to Śiva 3; 55; 57.

<sup>106</sup> See J. HERBERT, Shankara, Hymnes à Shiva, Lyon 1944, p. 25.

they may also incite the hearers to adore the god or to mutter his name, to make him the object of their meditation etc.<sup>107</sup> As a structural element these refrains combine the detached stanzas into a whole. As to varied refrains, the name of the deity may be accompanied by various epithets or introduced by different metrical units; or the only constant element is a characteristic term at the end of every stanza.<sup>108</sup> Sometimes the refrain does not occur in all stanzas of the poem, e.g. not in the first.<sup>109</sup>

Repetition of words or sounds is a favourite device sometimes applied to underline the intimate association between a divine proper name and the ideas connoted by epithets. For instance, a definite hymn addressed to Vighneśa (Gaṇeśa)<sup>110</sup> consists almost completely of stanzas of twice four words each, every word beginning with *vi*.<sup>111</sup> Such usual devices as anaphora, internal rhyme, successions of partly identical compounds, repetition of an important name or other word in an initial or otherwise clearly audible position are in this eulogistic poetry almost indispensable means of venting one's feelings or emphasizing the existence of interrelations or identity, e.g. SA., Śiva 20, 1:

"Today is successful my birth, today is successful my asceticism, today is successful my higher knowledge, O Śambhu (Śiva), because of the sight of thy feet".<sup>112</sup>

There are also many instances of more or less functional alliteration, coupling for instance epithets or other characterizations together.<sup>113</sup> Successful attempts to construct succeeding stanzas in such a way that each has its own variety of alliteration are not wanting.<sup>114</sup> Nor are absent series of stanzas introduced by the relative pronoun stringing different feats or characteristics of the deity.<sup>115</sup> A favourite device consisting in the initial repetition of important formulaic expressions followed by other forms of anaphora may be exemplified by SA., p. 650, n° 1:

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. SA., Śiva 13, 4; 15, 21f.; 55; 57; Viṣṇu 6; p. 248, n° 7; 249, n° 8; 335, n° 2; 428, n° 2; 522, n° 30; 594, n° 41; 624, n° 44; 647, n° 1; 650, n° 1; 651, n° 2; 655, n° 6; SS. n° 7; 24; 56.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 19; 22; 25; p. 428, n° 2; 430, n° 3; 492, n° 16; 504, n° 22; 580, n° 39; 646, n° 1; 678, n° 18. Compare also cases such as 497, n° 18; 654, n° 5; SS. n° 8; 23.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. SA., Viṣṇu 6; p. 235, n° 3; 624, n° 44; 638, n° 1; SS. n° 25; 56.

<sup>110</sup> SA., Gaṇeśa 8, p. 13.

<sup>111</sup> Similarly, in a hymn to Viṣṇu, SA., Viṣṇu 7, 7 (cf. GONDA, Aspects, p. 61; 66).

<sup>112</sup> Cf. also ibidem, st. 3; 6; SA., p. 257, n° 11; 309, n° 19, 1; SS. 63. For internal rhyme see e.g. SA., Śiva n° 22, 1; SS. 75, 13; 80, 4; 86, 5. See also SA., Viṣṇu 1, 17; 21; p. 335, n° 2; 434, n° 5, 4; 5; 497, n° 18, 1, 4; 643, n° 4. Stereotyped assonant compounds are of course not avoided: SA., p. 667, n° 12, 2 *āśāpāśa*. For various forms of assonance see e.g. SA., Viṣṇu 10, 1; p. 531, st. 28; SS. 33, 7; 23.

<sup>113</sup> See e.g. SA., Viṣṇu 8, 1; p. 333, n° 1; 497, n° 18, 4; SS. 76, 1ff.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. SA., Viṣṇu 8; p. 324, n° 21 (partly in the alphabetical order); p. 505, n° 23; 651, n° 2; SS. 6, 1; 7; 20; 29, 8.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. SA., p. 309, n° 19; 513, n° 31, 7f.

(1) *omkārārnavamadhyago . . . . | omkāreṇa . . . | omkāre . . . | refrain*; (2) *hrīṅkārārnava- . . . hrīṅkārārnavamadhyānilāye . . . | hrīṅkāre . . . | refrain*; (3) *śrīcakra- . . . | śrīkaṅṭha- . . . | śrīkāntasya . . .*; (4) *ka- (kā) . . .*; (5) *nā- . . . etc.*

It is worth mentioning that addresses in the vocative often alternate with passages in which the deity addresses figures in the third person, his name occurring in another case form.<sup>116</sup>

A poet may occasionally succeed in combining the consistent application of the same stylistic device, for instance alliteration, with a practically exhaustive description or characterization, e.g. SA., Śiva, 4, 4:

“Favour him whose mind is without desire, without deceit, continuously happy, without impurity, without attachment, without passion . . ., without anguish . . .”,

in which all words begin with *nir-* or *nī-*.

In later times many eulogistic productions continued to attest to the predilection for the *kāvya* style. Long compounds,<sup>117</sup> partly embellished by assonance,<sup>118</sup> the well-known longer metres,<sup>119</sup> the use of different metres in the same composition,<sup>120</sup> descriptive passages<sup>121</sup>—which however are as a rule rather short and alternate with other forms of praise—, the occurrence of stereotyped images and metaphors, the variety of synonyms show that many of these poets, if not masters of learning and poetry, were well trained in the use of the ornate Sanskrit style. This is also apparent from the supply of—mostly, it is true, traditional—synonymous expressions which many poets have at their disposal. For instance, a deity’s “lotus-like foot”, a frequent object of adoration, is indicated by a considerable variety of synonymous compounds.<sup>122</sup> However, this literature includes also hymns composed in an easy and comparatively simple style,<sup>123</sup> which sometimes enables a poet to insert pointed or felicitous formulations, e.g. SA., Śiva 15, 35:

“Where the great reside even for a moment there they destroy every distress . . .”

Although these hymns have their eulogistic character in common, they are also, in many other respects, of a considerable variety. In the modern collections there are short ones and very long ones.<sup>124</sup> In a minority of cases the text has to a certain extent the form of a dialogue, or rather there is a narrator

<sup>116</sup> E.g. SA., p. 681, n° 20, 1f.

<sup>117</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 16; 34; Viṣṇu 7; p. 449, n° 1; 652, n° 1; 671, n° 15; SS. 2, 1; 6, 2; 9, 3; 102; 114 etc.; 15, 2; 29, 3; 31, 1; 33, 17.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. SA., Śiva 40.

<sup>119</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 10; 16; 34; 37; 49; 50; p. 446, n° 6; SS. 4; 16; 17; 58.

<sup>120</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 51; Viṣṇu 7; p. 581, n° 40; SS. 1; 10; 75.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. SA., p. 563, n° 37, 35; 580, n° 39; 594, n° 41, 3.

<sup>122</sup> SS. 25, 1 *caranākamaladvandvam*; 11 *padāravindayugala-*; 34, 7 *paḍa- paṅkeruham*; 57, 2 *caranākamala-*; 87, 6; SA., p. 434, n° 5, 20; 446, n° 6, 1f.; 652, n° 3, 3; 660, n° 10, 5; 667, n° 12, 2 etc.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. SA., p. 353, n° 9.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. SA., p. 237, n° 4; 357, n° 10 (123 stanzas); 392, n° 17 (151); p. 250, n° 9; SS. 59 (347 stanzas); 74 (104); 83 (301).

who in the usual way complies with the request of an interrogator; sometimes the poet introduces more than two persons.<sup>125</sup> There are unmistakable continuations or imitations of the purāṇic and āgamic style: hymns pronounced—after an introduction—by Nārada. In a small number of cases the *stotra* beginning with an introductory question—in a Śiva *stotra* put by Devī (Pārvatī)<sup>126</sup>—is presented as a piece of advice or instruction communicated by a god—in *casu* Śiva (Maheśvara); the question may even be omitted. Even if there is no dialogue proper a dramatic touch is given to many stanzas by the introduction of a person speaking in the first person. Specimens of the style of verses mingled with prose are not entirely absent.<sup>127</sup> A few hymns of praise consist almost completely of prose, e.g. the much praised *stuti* of the Sun ascribed to Yājñavalkya in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (12, 6, 37ff.) and SA., p. 255, n° 10 in which the seven great *ṛṣis* of yore enjoin, in the same number of sections, the worship of Rāma upon those who live in this imperfect world.<sup>128</sup>

Many eulogistic compositions belong to the so-called *cūrṇaka* type: that is, they are in easy prose which has very few compounds and does not contain harsh sounds. Part of them, though attributed to famous names such as Vālmiki or Kālidāsa, are of uncertain authorship or completely anonymous. Although replete with long compounds SS. 46, a eulogy on Pañcāpageśa at Tiruvayāru on the occasion of the *saptasthāna* festival (which takes place in seven shrines), calls itself Saptasthāna-Cūrṇikā.

Many hymns consist—or pretend to consist—of a fixed number of stanzas. Among these centuries (*śataka*) were composed with special favour.<sup>129</sup> Already at an early date there has been a tendency to compose collections of a hundred stanzas in honour of some deity, many of which are not without literary merit.

One of the oldest *śatakas* is that devoted to the goddess Caṇḍī (Caṇḍī-Śataka),<sup>130</sup> a manifestation of Śiva's spouse. The poet, Bāṇa (7<sup>th</sup> century) whose prose works are dealt with in another volume of this History,<sup>131</sup> gives a detailed description of the goddess, especially of her left foot—including her

<sup>125</sup> E.g. SA., Śiva 42; p. 342, n° 7.

<sup>126</sup> E.g. SA., Gaṇeśa n° 2; 6; cf. 9; the above-mentioned Vakroktipañcāśikā.

<sup>127</sup> There are more instances of a prose introduction.

<sup>128</sup> See also SA., Śiva 2; p. 668, n° 13 and p. 670, n° 14, addressed to the Goddess (Devī, Umā) and characteristically beginning with the benediction or salutation *jaya jaya* "be victorious". Forms of this verb as well as the noun *jaya* "victory, hail (to)" are used as a substitute for *āśis* "benediction".

<sup>129</sup> E.g. SA., p. 528, n° 33; SS. 25; 82. The number of stanzas is often not exactly a hundred (SA., p. 270, n° 14: 113; 434, n° 5: 99; 520, n° 31 Śrīgaṇeśapūrvaśatakam: 110; 32 Śrīgaṇeśottaraśatakam: 113; SS. 31 (109).

<sup>130</sup> Edited in the series Kāvyaṃālā, Bombay 1887, p. 1ff. (with a commentary); text and translation, in G.P. QUACKENBOS, The Sanskrit poems of Mayūra, New York 1917 (1965), p. 243. See also KEITH, H.S.L., p. 210.

<sup>131</sup> In the following survey little or no attention will be paid to the aesthetic and purely literary aspects of those poems which may be expected to find a place in other fascicles of this History.

toe-nails—with which she killed the buffalo-shaped demon Mahiṣa. All but four of the stanzas picture some detail of the prolonged struggle between the goddess and the demon, who at the end is killed.<sup>132</sup> Although part of the 102 stanzas—mainly in *sragdharā* metre—are apt to degenerate into a facile mannerism—an occurrence far from rare in later hymns—there are many passages that attest to the poet's special ability in achieving a sublimation of the erotic sentiment into the religious. Since the goddess is in every stanza invoked to protect her worshippers, the poem serves also as a prayer. In her manifestation as Caṇḍī the great goddess has been the subject of many eulogies, part of which impressed as queer those western scholars<sup>133</sup> who did not realize the scope and importance of her generative activities. There are, for instance, some poems praising her breasts, a Caṇḍikucasaptati and a Caṇḍikucapañcāśīkā made by a certain Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya, the son of Venimādhava,<sup>134</sup> and in addition to these, a Caṇḍicaritacandrikā by Bhairavānanda.<sup>135</sup>

To Bāṇa's Śataka the Indian experts<sup>136</sup> preferred the Sūrya-Śataka of his contemporary Mayūra<sup>137</sup> (first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century), a man who produced more religious poetry.<sup>138</sup> This eulogy—likewise in *sragdharā* stanzas—celebrates in turn the rays, horses, charioteer, chariot of the Sun, his beneficent activity and incomprehensible nature, his twelve personalities and the great luminary itself. After comparing the Sun to the great gods Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā the poet shows him to be superior to these divinities because he is 'constantly conferring blessings upon the whole universe (88). The poem is replete with various mythological allusions, most of which Vedic, epic or purāṇic. There are hardly reasons for doubting Mayūra's familiarity with the hymns to the Sun, or with accounts of that deity, in the Mahābhārata and *purāṇas*.<sup>139</sup> His style is elegant and many of his images are ingenious. For instance the rays of the sun are the ships that carry man over the dread ocean of rebirth, the cause of human sorrow (st. 9); the sun itself is (in harmony with ChU. 8, 6, 5f.) the door to the final release. The sun—which is described as nourishing gods and men, upholding cosmic order, being one with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—is not given any anthropomorphic form, but seen as the

<sup>132</sup> For the mythical story see QUACKENBOS, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. WINTERNITZ, G. I. L. III, p. 126.

<sup>134</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series 9, Bombay 1893, p. 80. The poem consists of eighty-three, not of fifty stanzas; however 1-18 constitute an introduction; 69-83 an epilogue.

<sup>135</sup> For other titles see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, op. cit., p. 329.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. QUACKENBOS, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>137</sup> Edited by J. HAEBERLIN, Kāvyaśaṃgraha, Calcutta 1847, p. 197; (with a commentary) in the Kāvyaṃālā series 19, Bombay 1889, 1900; by DURGĀPRASĀD and K. P. PARAB, Bombay 1900 (1927); with a translation in QUACKENBOS, op. cit., p. 81 (mentioning other editions, p. 83; 103).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. QUACKENBOS, op. cit., p. 60; 229. For his Dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī see L. STERNBACH, Subhāṣita, in this History, IV, p. 60.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Mbh. 3, 3, 16ff.; MārKP. 107-110; ViP. 2, 8-11.



ultimate power behind creation and the source of life-sustaining energy. Like so many other eulogies this work, composed for the good of the world, also promises in an extra stanza (101), added by the author or else some redactor or commentator, all kinds of prosperity to anyone who, imbued with devotion, will read the poem.

Another hymn in praise of Sūrya is attributed to a certain Sāmba. It is possible that the meritorious poet of this Sāmbapañcāśika<sup>140</sup> called himself after Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son, who according to tradition was the promulgator of a sun cult<sup>141</sup> but a more probable supposition would be that in accordance with the usual practice of devout writers he assigned the authorship of his work to his favourite god (or *guru*).<sup>142</sup> Since the poet was in style influenced not only by Kālidāsa but also by Bhavabhūti he cannot have lived before the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. There is a commentary on this work by Kṣemarāja, the pupil of Abhinavagupta, who produced also some *stotras* (in honour of Śīva, and a Bhairavānukaraṇa-Stotra) of his own.<sup>143</sup> So the Sāmbapañcāśika may be a Kashmirian work.

Panegyric poems (*praśasti*) preserved in inscriptions are not infrequently of interest to those who study the history of the devotional *stotras*. For instance, to a poet called Rāma, who must have lived between 700 and 800, we owe a *stotra* in artificial style, each stanza of which can be read as eulogizing Śīva as well as his consort Gaurī.<sup>144</sup>

It is difficult to decide how many of the hymns in praise of Śīva, Devī, Viṣṇu or various other deities attributed to Śāṅkara (8<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>145</sup> were really written by the great philosopher.<sup>146</sup> As is often the case in traditions of this sort posterity has ascribed to him more eulogistic poems than he has made himself.<sup>147</sup> There can be no doubt that the majority are the work of later teach-

<sup>140</sup> Published (with Kṣemarāja's commentary) by DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, Bombay 1889; 1910.

<sup>141</sup> H. VON STIETENCRON, Indische Sonnenpriester. Sāmba und die Śākadvipīya Brāhmaṇa, Wiesbaden 1966.

<sup>142</sup> A prayer addressed to Sūrya in SS., n° 98 is in its last stanza also associated with the name of Sāmba. A Sāmbapañcāśika(stuti) was, with a commentary, published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

<sup>143</sup> For the text see R. GNOLI, in EW 9, p. 223.

<sup>144</sup> See G. BÜHLER, Epigraphia Indica, I, p. 97; WINTERNITZ, G.I.L. III, p. 83.

<sup>145</sup> See e.g. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 323; S.K. DE, in NIA 9, p. 141.

<sup>146</sup> See e.g. S. BHATTACHARYYA, in IHQ 1, p. 349; S.K. BELVALKAR, Srigopāla Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta philosophy, Poona 1929, p. 220, relying as to their authenticity mainly on their being commented upon by ancient commentators.

<sup>147</sup> T.P.M. MAHADEVAN, The hymns of Śāṅkara, edited and translated, Madras 1970 (for other publications by Mahadevan see the preface); H.R. BHAGAVAT, Select works of Śāṅkarācārya, Poona 1925, II; Subodhastotrasaṅgraha, a collection of Śāṅkara's stotras, edited with Marathi translation by P.G. GOVSAMI, I, Poona 1962; in the Bṛhatstotraratnākara, Bombay; for a collection of eight hymns (with translation) see S. VENKATARAMANAN, Select works of Śrī Śāṅkarācārya, Madras

ers or followers of his school.<sup>148</sup> One should however not reject the tradition of Śaṅkara's authorship of some hymns on the strength of the argument that such an activity would have been inconsistent with his philosophy: his doctrine of the higher and the lower truth permitted him to adopt popular religious beliefs. Some of these hymns—and especially the stanzas addressed to Devī, the Divine Mother:<sup>149</sup> Devyaparādhakṣamāpana<sup>150</sup> "Begging the Goddess' pardon for 'sins", in which "devotion and confidence reach their height of expression"; Bhavānyaṣṭaka "Eight stanzas addressed to Bhavānī"<sup>151</sup>—rank with the finest specimens of Sanskrit hymnic poetry. Whether genuine or spurious, some of these hymns are deservedly praised as a special class of Vedānta literature.

Other titles are Harim-īde-stotram "The *stotra* 'I praise Hari (Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa)'"<sup>152</sup> one of those hymns which combine religious rapture and philosophic doctrine; Viṣṇupādādikēśāntastotram "Praise of Viṣṇu from head to foot";<sup>153</sup> Lakṣmīṅṣiṃhastotra;<sup>154</sup> a Lalitātrīśeṭistotram "Eulogy upon Lalitā (i. e. Durgā) in three hundred verses",<sup>155</sup> the famous devotional hymn Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra in honour of a tantric form of Śīva;<sup>156</sup> a Hastāmala-kastotra, devoted to "the fruit of the myrobalan held in the hand"—a phrase used to

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n. d.; the Viṣṇusahasranāma, various *stotras* and many other works ascribed to him in The works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, Memorial edition by T. K. BALASUBRAHMANYAM IYER GURUBHAKTASIKHAMANI, Śrīraṅgam 1910 ff.; some *stotras* also in The Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume of Advaitasabhā, Kumbhakonam 1960. For a bibliography of Śaṅkara's works (editions and translations) see M. PIANTELLI, Śaṅkara e la rinascita del Brāhmanesimo, Fossano 1974, p. 279.

<sup>148</sup> The famous philosopher was not the only author of the name Śaṅkara. Appellations occurring in the spurious hymns which at first sight might point to his authorship may have been used to conceal the real author rather than to identify him. For some information on later 'Śaṅkaras' and their *stotras* see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 323.

<sup>149</sup> A. AVALON, Hymns to the Goddess by Śaṅkara and others, edited with English translation, London 1913; Madras <sup>2</sup>1952; <sup>3</sup>1964.

<sup>150</sup> For a partial German translation see WINTERNITZ, G. I. L. III, p. 123; cf. also KEITH, H. S. L., p. 217.

<sup>151</sup> Edited and translated (into German) by A. HOEFER, Sanskrit-Lesebuch, Berlin 1849, p. 93 ff.

<sup>152</sup> Edited and translated into Marathi by V. V. BAPAT, Bombay 1909.

<sup>153</sup> Edited with Tamil and English translations by A. M. SRINIVĀSĀCĀRYA and V. NĀRĀYANAN, Madras <sup>2</sup>1953.

<sup>154</sup> Edited and translated by P. KRṢṆAMŪRTI, Secunderabad 1963.

<sup>155</sup> Published, with the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya, at Śrīraṅgam 1911 and by C. ŚAṅKARĀRĀMA ŚĀSTRĪ, Madras 1949; English translation by C. SŪRYANĀRĀYAṆA MŪRTI, Madras 1967.

<sup>156</sup> Edited with a Telugu and English translation by KRṢṆAMŪRTI, Secunderabad 1962. By the same: Kanakadhārāstotra (same place and year); with an English translation by MAHADEVAN, op. cit., p. 1. For the Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotravārttika (*vārttika*: "explanation") or Mānasollāsa, a Vedānta work, paraphrasing in 354 stanzas the *stotra* and attributed to Śaṅkara's pupil Sureśvara, see R. B. AMARANATH RAY, in JOR 6, p. 121.

denote that which can be clearly and easily understood;<sup>157</sup> a Prātaḥsmaraṇa-stotra "Praise of the morning mental recitation";<sup>158</sup> a Śivāandalaharī "Billow of Śiva-bliss".<sup>159</sup>

Successful stanzas occur in the Śivāparādhakṣamāṇastotra, a prayer for remission of sins addressed to Śiva, e. g.:

"Life perishes daily before our eyes, youth departs; the days that have fled never return again, time consumes the world; fortune is as transient as a ripple on the waves of the ocean, life as unstable as the lightning; guard, guard me today who am come to Thee for succour, O giver of succour".<sup>160</sup>

Like Bhavānyaṣṭaka addressed to Devī-Pārvatī, the Dvādaśapañjarikāstotra is among those poems which deserve special attention.<sup>161</sup>

Mention may also be made of the Gurvaṣṭakam,<sup>162</sup> eight stanzas "sweet both in sound and sense" inculcating the need for devotion to the spiritual guide; st. 1

"One's body may be handsome, (one's) wife (beautiful), fame excellent and varied, wealth like Mount Meru; but if one's mind be not attached to the lotus-feet of one's *guru*, what thence, what thence, what thence, what thence?(refrain)".

According to tradition<sup>163</sup> twelve stanzas of the Mohamudgara—popularly known after the initial words *Bhaje Govindam* "I worship Govinda (Kṛṣṇa)"—were composed by Śaṅkara himself, fourteen by each of his disciples when they met an old grammarian whom they advised to turn his mind to God.

Some eight hymnic compositions of the more than two hundred attributed to Śaṅkara are often regarded as genuine, but scholars are at variance on the question as to which.<sup>164</sup> Among these is the Śivāandalaharī, a hymn to Śiva

<sup>157</sup> Edited with the Vākyasudhā of Śaṅkara and a Gujarati translation by G. MĀYĀŚAṅKARA ŚĀSTRIN, Ahmedabad 1949.

<sup>158</sup> Edited with a commentary by SACCIDANANDENDRA SARASVATI, Holenasirpur 1959.

<sup>159</sup> Published with an English translation at Madras 1965. For some other texts (Śivapañcākṣara, Śivanāmāvali, Vedasāraśivastotra, Śivamānasapūjā) see HERBERT, op. cit.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. KEITH, H. S. L., p. 216, where also some other translations.

<sup>161</sup> For other hymns to Devī see the Kāvyaṃālā series, 9, Bombay 1893, p. 114; 140; 11, p. 1 (Durvāsa), Bombay 1895.

<sup>162</sup> MAHADEVAN, The hymns of Śaṅkara, p. 28.

<sup>163</sup> MAHADEVAN, op. cit., p. 39. For the text see also The Works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, Memorial edition, Sriraṅgam XVIII, p. 62.

<sup>164</sup> E. g. according to some the shorter Āandalaharī (of 20 stanzas), Govindāṣṭaka, Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Stotra, Daśaśloki, Mohamudgara, Bhaja Govindam, Ṣaṭ-padi, Harim iḍe; to S. BHATTACHARYYA, in IHQ 1, p. 349 the hymns to the Ganges, Annapūrṇā, the Vedasāra-Śivastotra, the Carpaṭapañjarikā hymn, the Āandalaharī (see p. 247; text and translation: A. AVALON, Madras 1953) and the Kāṣṭi-pañcaka; according to others also the Govindāṣṭaka, Mohamudgara, Śivāandalaharī, but not the four mentioned first (K. CHAITANYA, A new history of Sanskrit literature, London 1962, p. 407). See also KEITH, H. S. L., p. 216.

called a "billow of bliss".<sup>165</sup> Its hundred stanzas are much praised: "the graces that adorn the poem cover both style and sense. The lilting cadences and divine music of the words will enthrall the reader's heart; the profound truths expressed in those words will exalt his mind".<sup>166</sup> In any case the hymn shows that the philosopher, if he was the maker, was also a poet of no mean accomplishment. Emphasizing Śiva's greatness and his willingness to forgive and protect, and illustrating the benevolent nature of the God who is auspiciousness itself and the gracious saviour by various references to his abodes, manifestations and activities as told in purāṇic tales the poet stresses, on the part of the worshipper, the necessity of *bhakti*, adoration and service.<sup>167</sup> *Bhakti*<sup>168</sup> is in a typical string of similes defined as follows, 61:

"Just as in the world the seeds of the *āṅkola* tree falling attach themselves to the tree, the needle sticks to the magnet, the chaste woman to her lord, the creeper to the tree, the river (runs) to the beloved of the rivers (ocean), even so if the active mind reaches the lotus-feet of Paśupati (the Lord of the souls) to remain there always, that is called *bhakti*",

the point in these similes being the constancy of attachment. This stanza is introduced by two<sup>169</sup> others in which the longing of the devoted mind is compared to the goose's longing for the lotus-tank, the tired traveller's longing for the shade of a tree etc. A case of re-interpretation of religious concepts or practice, a well-known device, occurs at st. 12 "To remain always at Thy feet, that verily is *yoga*".

The poet Mūka ("the Dumb") who according to one tradition was a contemporary of Śaṅkara, according to another<sup>170</sup> (much less probable) tradition lived much earlier (± 400 A.D.) composed a laudatory poem of five hundred stanzas (hence Pañcaśatī<sup>171</sup>) in honour of Devī (Kāmākṣī of Kāñci), pouring forth his feelings in melodious verse, after he, being dumb from birth, had recovered his power of speech. In each century of verse he described the goddess' charms (smile, glances, feet etc.). It may be noticed, first that hymns of thanksgiving proper are comparatively rare; secondly that this is not the only description of a deity's physical charms. The comparatively modern Caṅḍikucapañcāśika for instance eulogizes the breasts of the Mother-goddess.<sup>172</sup> Generally speaking, these descriptions as well as highly sensuous narrations of divine love-stories become striking features of medieval erotic mysticism and devotional *stotras*. However metaphorically these eulogies may be explained,

<sup>165</sup> Text, translation and commentary by T.M.P. MAHADEVAN, Śaṅkara's hymns to Śiva, Madras 1963 und The hymns of Śaṅkara, p. 105. Cf. fn. 159.

<sup>166</sup> MAHADEVAN, Ānandalaharī, p. VII.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. st. 7; 10; 12; 33.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. also st. 20, 76, 96 etc.

<sup>169</sup> St. 59 and 60; there are more pairs of stanzas expressing similar thoughts: 24f. (cf. also 26); 31f.; 96f.

<sup>170</sup> KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L. p. 324.

<sup>171</sup> Edited in the Kāvya-mālā series, 5, Bombay 1888, p. 1.

<sup>172</sup> See fn. 134 above.

their basically erotic emotionalism transformed into religious feelings is much in evidence.

The *Deviśataka*<sup>173</sup> made by Ānandavardhana (c. 850) is curious in that this leading Kashmirian advocate of the *dhvani* theory—the soul or essence of poetry is not style nor sentiment but ‘tone’, i. e. an implied or suggested sense—embellished this century with the most exquisite and elaborate stylistic devices: in his opinion the *dhvani* is in eulogies addressed to gods of secondary importance.<sup>174</sup> A work of a similar character is Avatāra’s *Īśvaraśataka*.<sup>175</sup>

The Viṣṇuite saint Kulaśekhara, a devout king of Kerala, who probably belonged to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, composed his *Mukundamālā* “A garland of precious stones”<sup>176</sup> in honour of Viṣṇu. Being somewhat elaborate it has stylistic affectations which do not however detract from its devotional seriousness.

Avadhūtasiddha, who as an author enjoyed a certain reputation and seems to have lived in the same century, wrote, not without merit, a *Bhagavadbhaktistotra*.<sup>177</sup>

Yāmuna, the well-known temple priest at the Raṅganātha sanctuary at Śrīraṅgam and the second leading figure in the Śrīvaiṣṇava *saṃpradāya*—he must have lived between 918 and 1038—left us a *Stotraratna* and a *Śrīstuti* which are famous for their devotion and melodiousness.<sup>178</sup> His *Catusślokī*—consisting of four stanzas—propounds a doctrine of Śrī, the goddess, in the light of the *ālvār* literature: in her transcendent aspect she abides in the Lord and shares all his qualities, in her immanent aspect she is active in the evolution of the world through her *māyā* or ‘nature’ (*prakṛti*).<sup>179</sup>

Within the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava community there is complete agreement that Yāmuna’s successor as head of the ‘school’ and the temple at Śrīraṅga, Rāmānuja (first decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>180</sup> wrote also four short works in Sans-

<sup>173</sup> Published, with Kavyaṭa’s commentary (978 A. D.) in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, 9, Bombay 1893, p. 1.

<sup>174</sup> See Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka*, 3, 43, translated by H. JACOBI, in *Separatabdruck* aus ZDMG 56 and 57, Leipzig 1903, p. 138.

<sup>175</sup> Published in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, 9, Bombay 1893, p. 31.

<sup>176</sup> Edited (22 stanzas) in HAEBERLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 515; (34 stanzas) in *Kāvya-mālā*, 1, Bombay 1885, p. 11; K. RĀMA PISHAROTI (with Rāghavendra’s commentary), *Annamalai Univ.* 1933. It is interesting to find a stanza cited in an inscription of Pagan in Burma (13<sup>th</sup> century); see E. HULTZSCH, *Epigraphia Indica* VII, p. 197. *Mukunda* is also a name of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. For particulars about the poet and references see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 325; 1037; ZVELEBIL, *Tamil literature*, in this *History*, X, p. 102.

<sup>177</sup> R. GNOLI, in *EW* 9 (1958), p. 215.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. L. D. BARNETT, *Heart of India*, London 1908, p. 42. The *Śrīstuti* was printed at Madras.

<sup>179</sup> See M. DHAVAMONY, *Yāmuna’s Catusślokī*, in *Indologica Taurinensia*, 3.

<sup>180</sup> For a recent discussion of Rāmānuja’s dates (1017–1137, sic; 1050–1137; 1077–1157 etc.) see J. B. CARMAN, *The theology of Rāmānuja*, New Haven and London 1974, p. 27. Rāmānuja’s pupil Parāśara-Bhaṭṭar wrote a *Śrīraṅgarājastava* in Sanskrit.

krit, viz. three prose hymns (*gadya*)<sup>181</sup> and a manual of daily worship, the Nityagrantha. His authorship of these works, which has been challenged, has recently, with sound arguments, been maintained.<sup>182</sup> Although the prose hymns are scarcely known outside Śrī-Vaiṣṇava circles, they fully deserve to be included in this survey. The first of them, the Śaraṇāgati-Gadya became very important in the cultic life of the community because it was taken as a model of the complete surrender to the mercy of God (*prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati*) which came to be the accepted approach to the Lord. Since the precise nature of *prapatti* became a major point of dispute between the northern and southern schools the *gadyas* (and the commentaries on them) were more than devotional texts; they became a starting-point for doctrinal controversy. In the Śaraṇāgati-Gadya which is in the form of a dialogue between Rāmānuja on the one hand and Śrī and Nārāyaṇa on the other, the author surrenders himself to the mercy of the goddess and prays for her blessing on his act of surrender which then takes place after a brief favourable response from the goddess. The Lord grants Rāmānuja all that he has asked for, viz. forgiveness of his many sins, the state of a superior devotee (*jñānin*) described in the Bhagavadgītā, and the "highest devotion". The much shorter Śrīraṅga-Gadya is a prayer of surrender pronounced at the feet of Lord Raṅganātha. The third text, called Vaikuṅṭha-Gadya consists of a detailed description of Viṣṇu's heaven Vaikuṅṭha on which one should regularly meditate after one has surrendered oneself. The meditation is therefore not, as usual, a means of achieving salvation but a spiritual discipline after the act of *prapatti*. This *gadya* has an auspicious verse (*maṅgalaśloka*) in praise of Yāmuna which is modelled on the first three stanzas of Yāmuna's Stotraratna.

In many cases it is very difficult to distinguish in describing the activities and achievements of one and the same figure between the mystic, the philosopher, and the poet.<sup>183</sup> Great masters had no scruples about summarizing the essence of their teachings in poetical form. Some of the most interesting and representative specimens of this genre are the resumptive philosophical 'hymns' of the famous mystic and scholar Abhinavagupta (± 1000)<sup>184</sup> in which the great thinker, on the basis of his mystical experience and for the benefit of the advanced few, expresses in well-chosen words, compact style and felicitous alliterative verses and under the guise of a certain *prima facie* simplicity his most profound thoughts and many allusions to the contents of his other

<sup>181</sup> M.R. RAJAGOPALA AYYANGAR, The Gadyatraya of Rāmānuja, text and translation, Madras, n. d. Compare also Vedānta Deśika, Gadyabhāṣyam (Sanskrit commentary) with other commentaries (Sanskrit and Tamil text in Telugu script), Kāñcīpuram 1916. For other titles see CARMAN, op. cit., p. 317.

<sup>182</sup> CARMAN, op. cit., p. 50; 230.

<sup>183</sup> That is why some poets and their *stotra* works (Rūpa Gosvāmin, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Utpaladeva, Jagaddhara-Bhaṭṭa) have been discussed in chapter I, section 3.

<sup>184</sup> L. SILBURN, Hymnes de Abhinavagupta, Paris 1970.

works. It seems indeed that Abhinavagupta wrote them towards the end of his life because they have a certain resemblance to some of his later books. Five of these poems, in various metres, are in praise of Śiva, viz. the Paramārthacarā “Inquiry into Ultimate Reality”, of which stanza 7 runs as follows:

“Thus I praise the Lord Bhairava, the eternal, omnipresent ruler who is beyond time and space, full of energies proper to himself, the one who is above demonstration, the Self, the Lord without a lord, who (se being or existence) is intuitively perceived, who is the first (source) of everything certain”;

the Mahopadeśaviṃśatika “The Twenty Stanzas relating to the Great Instruction”, beginning (st. 1):

“Homage to Thee, (my) own Self with infinite energies, eternal bliss and light, (to Thee) in thy concrete form (which consists) of the universe, of which the essence transcends the diversity of the phenomenal world”;

the Dehasthadevatācakrastotra “Eulogy on the ‘wheel’ (circle) of divinities existing in the body”—that is of the divine energies in the body of that man who has succeeded in identifying himself with Śiva. The Bhairavastava is a “Eulogy on the Absolute Reality”.<sup>185</sup> The Anubhavanivedana “The offering of the direct experience of Reality” is devoted to the *bhairavi mudrā*, the attitude of the mystic who has found the Self. In three other poems, addressed, not to Śiva but to the reader, Abhinavagupta celebrates the Absolute Consciousness under various names.

As one might reasonably expect there is ample evidence that not only deities but also revered spiritual guides were made subjects of *stotras*. Already in his lifetime Abhinavagupta was eulogized by one of his disciples, Madhurāja, an itinerant *yogin*, a native of Madhurā in the South. The short poem, Guronāthaparāmarśa,<sup>186</sup> describes the person of the master surrounded by his pupils in the beautiful Kashmir valley and commemorates his being recognized as the peerless master of all Śivaite schools, an *avatāra* of Śiva Śrikanṭha himself.

Some *stotras* are, without any plausibility, ascribed to Kālidāsa. These include, besides a Sarasvatīstotra and a Maṅgalāṣṭaka, the Śyāmalādaṇḍaka which is mainly in a peculiar variety of prose that has a fixed melody (*daṇḍaka*) and eulogizes Sarasvatī. The date and authorship are now settled: according to a manuscript of this poem the author was Purāntaka, a worshipper in the temple of Mahākālī who because of this piece of work was amply rewarded by king Bhoja of Dhārā in the year 1001.<sup>187</sup>

Really classical *stotras* that can be assigned to an early date are comparatively few in number. One of the most highly venerated religious lyrics—and a precursor of other *stotras* of the same type in praise of other deities—is the

<sup>185</sup> Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, in ALB 2, p. 116.

<sup>186</sup> Edited by P. N. PUSHP, in Kashmir Research bi-annual, 1, 1 (Srinagar 1960); SILBURN, Hymnes de Abhinavagupta, p. 4.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 492, n. 1.

Mahimnastava or Mahimnastotra "Ode in praise of (Śiva's) majesty",<sup>188</sup> a poem which has long received too little attention in the West. It is one of the few eulogies which have been illustrated with manuscript paintings, each stanza being accompanied by a miniature. There is positive evidence that this small work—it has thirty-one<sup>189</sup> stanzas in the oldest text, which has however been preserved with much fidelity—has been known for some nine hundred years, but both authorship and date are unascertainable. The earliest known text is a stone inscription at the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the northern bank of the Narmadā, viz. 1063 or 1163 A.D. (the second digit of the date is illegible). Contrary to this inscription the manuscripts ascribe the poem to a *gandharva*, Puṣpadanta by name,<sup>190</sup> who is the principal figure of a legend reported in some of the commentaries:<sup>191</sup> this heavenly attendant upon Śiva is said to have composed the *stava* in order to regain the god's favour which he had inadvertently lost. However, a poet Puṣpadanta is otherwise scarcely known.<sup>192</sup>

Although some Hindus have tried to read a eulogy on Viṣṇu in it, the *stava* is decidedly Śivaite in character and contents: it is Śiva to whom Brahmā and the other gods address their praise (st. 1), Śiva who punishes Brahmā for incest with his own daughter (22), Śiva who is worshipped by Viṣṇu, st. 19:

"When Hari (Viṣṇu) who (daily) used to offer a thousand lotus flowers at thy feet, was (once) short by one, he extracted one of his lotus-like eyes. That bit of excess devotion (his eye) underwent evolution, and in the form of his discus ever stays alert, O destroyer of the three cities, to protect the three worlds".

(Transl. Norman Brown)

Apart from comparatively numerous references to well-known mythological themes there is ample room left for the traditional popularization of Śiva philosophy and theology and for descriptions of the god's might and glory. The poet regards asking questions about Śiva's omnipotence as "inopportune

<sup>188</sup> Edited, translated, and presented in illustrations by W. NORMAN BROWN, *The Mahimnastava or Praise of Shiva's Greatness*, Poona 1965 (with references); with the commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, <sup>7</sup>Bombay 1937. See also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 381 and for commentaries etc. HARAPRASADA SHĀSTRĪ, op. cit. VII, p. 482ff.

<sup>189</sup> There are fifteen spurious stanzas.

<sup>190</sup> A Gaṇeśamahimnaḥ stotram, though attributed to the same author, is presumably of later redaction; a similar work in honour of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇumahimnaḥ stotram) is not even associated with his name but attributed to Brahmānanda Svāmin. Durvāśas is held to be the author of a similar poem in honour of Tripurā (=Durgā): the existence of these imitations shows the popularity of the poem.—See also DASGUPTA and DE, op. cit. I, p. 660.

<sup>191</sup> For particulars see NORMAN BROWN, op. cit., p. 2 (also on the possibility of identity with Puṣpadanta in the frame story of the Kathāsaritsāgara).

<sup>192</sup> S. BHATTACHARYYA, in *IHQ* 1, p. 350 refers to a tradition current about Puṣpadanta at Benares which would allow to assign him to the early decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.



sophistry" (st. 5) and is well disposed to interpret the god's shortcomings as virtues; st. 14:

"The stain which Thou receivedst when Thou swallowedst the poison when Thou wast swayed by compassion for the gods and the *asuras* who feared the sudden destruction of the universe, that stain on Thy throat does not fail to produce beauty. Even disfigurement commands praise for one engaged in removing a danger to the world".  
(Transl. Norman Brown)

So "the essence of the poem is a deep and genuine devotion, eloquently expressed, which embodied the author's feelings when he composed it and has made it ever since a vehicle for Śiva's votaries to express theirs".<sup>193</sup>

A poet of the 11<sup>th</sup> century by the name of Cakrapāṇi Nātha wrote the Bhavopahāra,<sup>194</sup> an oblation of worship to Śiva, stanza 7 of which runs as follows:

"Bathing in the internal sacred waters, the lake of my own being, and wearing the pure garment of knowledge, I worship Śiva".

Among the numerous writings of the philosopher Madhva (ca. 1199–1294 or 1238–1317) is a *stotra* on Kṛṣṇa called Sarvamūla<sup>195</sup> as well as some works of the same genre, entitled Āryastotra, Gurustotra, Dvādaśastotra, Kṛṣṇastuti.<sup>196</sup>

Lilāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, who is credited with the authorship of the Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, is according to tradition also the compiler of a number of *stotras*, among them a Durgāstava, a Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava, a Sūryastotra.<sup>197</sup>

Jagaddhara (middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) wrote a long *kāvya* eulogy, Stutikusumāñjali "Handful of praise-flowers" in thirty-eight<sup>198</sup> chapters in honour of Śiva.<sup>199</sup> With the exception of chapter 20 the titles of all chapters are compounds ending in *stotram*, the first members indicating themes such as respectful salutation (2), benediction (3), encouragement of service (7), having recourse for protection (8), invocation for the miserable (*dīna*: 11, the longest chapter: 143 stanzas), instruction (16), *bhakti* (17), the Lord Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara (half male, half female: 21). Chapter 22ff. are specimens of *citrakāvya* (a genre embracing all ingenious forms of poetic composition):<sup>200</sup> all words

<sup>193</sup> NORMAN BROWN, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>194</sup> Published in K. S. T. S. 14.

<sup>195</sup> The Collected Works of Madhvācārya, edited by R. KRṢṆĀCĀRYA and RĀMĀCĀRYA, III, Bombay 1892, p. 1149. See F. WILSON, The love of Krishna, Philadelphia 1975, p. 17.

<sup>196</sup> These *stotras* were printed at Madras and Bombay.

<sup>197</sup> For further information see WILSON, op. cit., p. 23; DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 689 (Index). T. GANAPATI SASTRI edited Abhinavakaustubhamālā and Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava, Trivandrum 1905.

<sup>198</sup> Section 39 describes the poet's pedigree.

<sup>199</sup> Edited by PT. DURGĀPRASĀD and K. P. PARAB in the Kāvya-mālā series, 23, Bombay 1891 with the commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṅṭha (1439 stanzas, over 450 pages). See B. N. BHATT, The position of Stutikusumāñjali in Sanskrit Stotra-literature, in JOIB 21 (1972), p. 318.

<sup>200</sup> This is not to say that other chapters are free from such stylistic 'figures'.

contained in 22 begin with *k*; ch. 23 is composed in so-called *śrīkhalabandha*, that is a variety of the sound-repetition called *yamaka*, viz. repetition of three successive syllables, other chapters consist of verse quarters with repetition of syllables in the middle or at the end, and so on. The closing chapters are a *stutiphalā*, “a eulogy of praise” and “a ripening of merit”.

The poet, who aims at surrendering himself (*ātmanivedana*) to Śiva by composing this thoroughly devotional eulogy in the poetical and psychical emotion (*bhāva*) of servitude (*dāśya*), has succeeded in producing passages so pathetic that even nowadays “the heart of the reciter melts and his eyes begin to shed tears”.<sup>201</sup> Two random quotations must suffice; 11, 29; 102:

“Just as the river Ganges which rests in Thy (Śiva is addressed) diadem is unable to quench the fire of (Thy) forehead, Sarasvatī, though residing in my mouth, cannot (scil. without Thy compassion) extinguish the fire of sorrow which is ceaselessly blazing in my heart”.

“Fie! Why dost Thou not protect me? Here Antaka (Yama, the ruler of the deceased) carries me off. Is it (now), O Lord, the proper time for (such) playful contempt? Perhaps (but I am not sure) Thy heart will feel oppressed with compassion. (Then) Thou needst not be ashamed of Thyself for having abandoned someone who has approached Thee for protection”.

This Kashmirian Śivaite *bhakti* poet of the 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Jagaddhara-Bhaṭṭa, was also known as Jagadar and Mahākavi. His *Stutikusumāñjali* “A respectfully offered handful of praise-flowers”<sup>202</sup> comprises a thousand verses in praise of Śiva.

Sūrya or Sūryadeva wrote, about 1540, a poem in honour of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (Rāmakṛṣṇakāvya).<sup>203</sup> Both *avatāras* are eulogized alternately in half-stanzas, the second being in each case identical with the first when read backwards.

Besides several works on Advaita philosophy and *bhakti* cult as well as a number of commentaries the philosopher Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (16<sup>th</sup> century) composed, in a highly ornate style, two poems in honour of Kṛṣṇa entitled *Harilīlā*<sup>204</sup> and *Ānandamandākinī* “The (celestial) Ganges of bliss”:<sup>205</sup> this author who is often credited with being the first fully to reconcile Advaita metaphysics with the devotion to a personal deity is famous for his characteristic confessions of love for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>201</sup> BHATT, op. cit., p. 322, who p. 320, n. 15 refers to an article by M. DVIVEDI in *Kalyāṇa-Śivāṅka*, Gorakhpur 1933, p. 320.

<sup>202</sup> Compare also fn. 199. For other authors of this name see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 983.

<sup>203</sup> Published in HAEBERLIN, op. cit., p. 463 and (with the author's commentary) in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, 11, Bombay 1895, p. 147.

<sup>204</sup> Published in the Calcutta Oriental Series and Chowkhambā n° 411, Benares 1933.

<sup>205</sup> Published in the Pandit N.S. 1, (1876–1877), p. 498 and in the *Kāvya-mālā* series, 2, Bombay 1886, p. 138.

<sup>206</sup> Quoted by S. BHATTACHARYA, in C.H.I. IV, p. 466.

“Some virtuous persons entrust their hearts somewhere to the Infinite (an Infinite Being) and thus quench (the thirst for) the other objects of enjoyment. But as to me, O Madhu-slayer, my mind, after having tasted the honey drops dripping from Thy lotus-feet, revels in them over and over again”.

Many *stotra* works produced by the followers of Caitanya—which are so typical of the picturesque and emotional Bengal devotionism—have already been mentioned.<sup>207</sup> One title may be added here. Raghunātha Dāsa (16<sup>th</sup> century) is the author of “a series of fervent poems of praise and prayer”,<sup>208</sup> viz. the twenty-nine eulogies of his Stavāvalī “String of eulogies”, which, though of unequal merit, give expression to his loving obeisance to the Master, his vivid realization of Kṛṣṇa’s beatific sports and his belief that he is, not a companion (*sakhī*), but a humble handmaid (*dāsi*) of Rādhā. This last characteristic, viz. the realization of the so-called *rāyānuṅā* form of *bhakti*, illustrates one of the aspects of the devotional attitude. It is Rādhā who, besides Vṛndāvana, is ecstatically adored and is the sole object of his praise and prayer. “Raghunātha Dāsa has been able to communicate to his *stotras* the rich and intimate picturesqueness of his devotional fancy and exuberant sentiment”.

To the 16<sup>th</sup> century belongs also Vādirāja,<sup>209</sup> a prolific and generally admired author on the *dvaita* system (dualism) of philosophical thought. His Maṅgalāṣṭaka,<sup>210</sup> a popular invocation of all divinities, *ṛṣis*, ancient kings, mountains, rivers, heavenly bodies and so on, is in South Kanara recited daily as well as on auspicious occasions.

A Śivaite poet who lived in Malabar about the 16<sup>th</sup> century and whose real name appears to be Gokula, wrote under the name Utpreksāvallabha—he was also known as Śivabhaktadāsa—the *Bhikṣāṭanakāvya*,<sup>211</sup> a long work (over a hundred pages in print) of forty cantos. It describes how Śiva in the garb of an ascetic went about as a mendicant for alms (*bhikṣāṭana*) in Indra’s heaven, and enlarges mainly upon the deportment of the female inhabitants of the celestial regions who fall in love, on their toilets, discussions, coquetry, amorous behaviour, including also other descriptions such as the rising of the moon. Although the poem admits of a spiritual interpretation—the adoration of the god being expressed in terms of earthly amorousness—the erotic element prevails over the religious. Śiva’s erotic appeal being also elsewhere a well-

<sup>207</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>208</sup> For particulars see DE, Vaiṣṇava faith, p. 653; also p. 121; 658; W. EIDLITZ, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, Stockholm 1968, p. 432; 478; 509 etc. The Stavāvalī was edited (in Bengali characters, with a Sanskrit commentary) at Murśidābād-Berhampur (Rādhāramaṇa Press). For other collections of stanzas produced by Caitanya’s adherents see also EIDLITZ, op. cit., p. 547.

<sup>209</sup> For his numerous works see B. N. K. SHARMA, A history of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its literature, II, Bombay 1961, p. 190.

<sup>210</sup> Published in the Brhatstotraratnākara, I Bombay 1963, p. 1; SS. 101.

<sup>211</sup> Published in the Kāvya-mālā series 12, Bombay 1897, p. 54. See also TH. AUFRÉCHT, in ZDMG 27, p. 12; India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, I, 1448f.

known theme, the *Bhikṣātanakāvya* is an exhibition of the author's acquaintance with the 'science of love' rather than devotional poetry. The same author wrote the *Sundarīśataka*.<sup>212</sup>

Although many of the later authors of *stotras* are not devoid of technical skill works of outstanding merit become rare. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa ( $\pm 1560-1646$ ),<sup>213</sup> a brahmin of Kerala whose name has already been mentioned,<sup>214</sup> is the author of the *Nārāyaṇīya* (finished in 1585)<sup>215</sup> which, consisting of ten decades (*daśaka*) and 1036 *ślokas*, is a résumé of the whole Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and as such a hymn in praise of Kṛṣṇa; containing more than a thousand stanzas it is one of the greatest of the so-called *stotra-kāvya*s of this poet and one of the finest specimens of artificial Sanskrit devotional poetry. Tradition has it that his teacher, though not qualified to do so, taught Nārāyaṇa the Vedas and was because of this sin attacked by rheumatism. Nārāyaṇa got the disease transferred to himself and freed himself from it by reciting this poem; after the tenth decade he had completely recovered and attained health, happiness and longevity. The poem became very popular and has often been put on a par with the Bhāgavata itself; in Kerala verses of it are up to modern times daily recited, "and there is no human heart which it cannot melt and mend".<sup>216</sup>

The philosopher and commentator Appaya Dīkṣita (1554-1626), who elaborated the Śrikanṭha school of Śivaite philosophy<sup>217</sup> and was the reputed author of some hundred books covering dialectics, philosophy as well as poetics, left also some works of the eulogistic genre: a *Śivakarṇāmṛta*, a *Bhaktāmarastava*, a *Śāntistava*, a *Rāmāyaṇasāra*stava and some others.<sup>218</sup>

Mention must also be made of the *Ānandasāgarastava* "Praise of the ocean of bliss"<sup>219</sup> and other hymns by the Śivaite philosopher Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita, a grand-nephew of Appaya Dīkṣita who lived in the South (Kāñci, Tanjore, Madurā) to become a *saṃnyāsīn* devoting himself to the praise of Śiva-Viśvanātha. His works as well as his life—which soon became a legend—are most representative of the ideals of the educated brahmin.<sup>220</sup> Besides philosophical books (*Śivatattvarahasya* etc.) and *kāvya* works he produced also a popular

<sup>212</sup> Published at Bombay.

<sup>213</sup> According to KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 254 who gives more information on this poet; an enumeration of his other works, p. 256.

<sup>214</sup> See above, p. 36f.

<sup>215</sup> Edited (with the commentary of Deśamaṅgala Vārya) by GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 18 (a list of his other works on p. II), 1912.

<sup>216</sup> Quotation in KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 255.

<sup>217</sup> I refer to DASGUPTA, H.I.Ph. V, p. 65; T.R. CHINTAMANI, in JOR 1 (1927), p. 183.

<sup>218</sup> For particulars (manuscripts etc.) see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 226.

<sup>219</sup> Published in the Kāvya-mālā series 11, Bombay 1895: p. 76, and, with a translation into French, by P.S. FILLIOZAT (see next note), I, p. 255.

<sup>220</sup> See P.S. FILLIOZAT, Oeuvres poétiques de Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita, I, Pondicherry 1967, Introduction. The dates of his birth ( $\pm 1580?$ ) and death are unknown.

*campū* on the story of the churning of the ocean (1637–1638 A. D.) entitled Nilakaṅṭhaviṅṭaya,<sup>221</sup> a Śivalilārṇava “Ocean of Śiva’s sport”<sup>222</sup> in twenty-two cantos comprehending the legends of Hālāsyānātha, i. e. Śiva as worshipped at Madurā, and some minor poems.<sup>223</sup>

The above somewhat unconventional *stava*—an outpouring of sentiment rather than a eulogy—is interesting in that it attests to the author’s fervent devotion<sup>224</sup> to Devī (Mīnākṣī) who is throughout the poem—108 stanzas in *vasantatilaka* metre—addressed as “Mother”. Besides, considering the character and structure of most *stavas* it can be said that part of the stanzas constitute more or less coherent sections.

There are lamentations on the uncertainty of man’s fate (st. 18), on the transitoriness of mundane existence and the impossibility of attaining to serenity of mind (28), on our own inadequacy (31) and the wheel of time turning without interruption (63), there is doubt about the meaning of *bhakti* (22); there is anxiety and solicitude (46f.) and there are prayers to the Goddess imploring her to annihilate the *karman* which is in course of accumulation and to save those who are worth saving (40; 42). If only the Goddess, who is our sole recourse (6; 32; 44), be compassionate (41; 51), any future is acceptable, whether rebirth in a holy place such as Benares or in the house of an outcast, heaven, perdition or final beatitude (51). The Divine Mother alone will break our chains and carry us over happily (50). Let us therefore lay down our burden at her feet (45), and continually remember and worship her, devoutly place confidence in her (52) and repose our head on her breast (68). She, the soul of the world (23), the mother of all existence (57), is able to chastise the wicked (74) and to lead her worshipper to the state of eternal freedom (26).

Among Nilakaṅṭha’s other works are “trois recueils dictés par la vieillesse et le renoncement”,<sup>225</sup> viz. Śāntivilāsa, Gurutattvamālikā and Vairāgyaśataka which have renunciation as their main theme, and three *stotras* proper.<sup>226</sup> Of these, the Śivotkarṣamañjarī (52 stanzas in the *śārdūlavikriḍita* metre) eulogizes Śiva; as a poem not wholly successful it stresses the god’s heroic feats and cosmic significance, refers to the legends as well as theological and philosophical tenets of his adherents, and alludes to the mythology of other deities to state in the refrain:

“This lord is my God; of another than he I do not even mention the names”.

<sup>221</sup> Published at Madras 1924 (with the commentary of Mahādevasurī and an introduction by S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI); 1941 (editor: C. SANKARARAMA SASTRI) and Varanasi n. d. (with a Hindi commentary by RAMACHANDRA MISRA).

<sup>222</sup> Edited by T. GANAPATI SASTRI in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1909 and published at Śrīraṅgam 1911.

<sup>223</sup> I refer to P. S. FILLIOZAT, op. cit., Introduction; KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H. S. L., p. 237.

<sup>224</sup> The term *bhakti* occurs e. g. st. 5; 22; 23; 70.

<sup>225</sup> P. S. FILLIOZAT, op. cit., I, p. 28; see p. 49.

<sup>226</sup> All three edited and translated into French by P. S. FILLIOZAT, op. cit., I, p. 101; 159; 177.

From details it appears that the main source of this poem was the Skanda-Purāṇa. The Caṇḍirahasya (36 *vasantatilaka* stanzas) is an attempt to reproduce the essence of the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (chapter 81–93), a text of extraordinary religious importance. In the Raghuvīrastava (33 *vasantatilaka* stanzas) the poet summarizes, in the form of a series of allusions to the main episodes of the Rāma legend, the most precious instructions imparted in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and shows the greatness of God's *avatāra*, who however is, in contradistinction to Śiva in the other poems, neither described as higher than the other divinities nor the object of unreserved adoration.

Jagannātha Paṇḍita, a native of the Godāvārī district and a scholar versed in logic, grammar, poetics and other branches of knowledge, was entertained at the Moslem court of Shah Jehan and patronized by prince Dārā Shukoh († 1659). There are various traditions on his intimate relations (or marriage) with a Moslem lady which led to his being expelled from his caste. It is said that the recitation of the fifty-two stanzas of his poem Gaṅgālaharī "Billow of the Ganges"<sup>227</sup> made the Ganges gradually swell to such a height that the river washed away the sins of himself and his wife who were seated on the highest of the fifty-two steps of its bank. Both of them were drowned,<sup>228</sup> but the poem achieved fame in the whole of India. The same poet celebrated Lakṣmī in the Lakṣmīlaharī<sup>229</sup> and the sun in the Sudhālaharī;<sup>230</sup> there are two more "waves" (*laharī*), the Amṛta and the Karuṇā.<sup>231</sup>

A poet belonging to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, wrote a work of fifty-one stanzas arranged in alphabetical order but in simple style in praise of Rāma (Varṇamālāstotra "Alphabet-eulogy"),<sup>232</sup> and in very elaborate *kāvya* style a number of hymns eulogizing Rāma's weapons (bow, arrows, missiles): Rāmacāpastava, Rāmabānastava, Rāmāṣṭaprāsa or Aṣṭaprāsa.<sup>233</sup>

Of a poet Tirumalārya (1645–1706) we have a Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇastava on the god at Melkote near Mysore.<sup>234</sup>

In an interesting so-called *śataka*—actually it comprises only fifty stanzas—the poet Vāñcheśvara or Kuṭṭikavi describes in perfect *kāvya* style Lord Viṣṇu (Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam) mounting on a horse (possibly during a procession). The author of this Turagaśataka ("Śataka of the horse": SS. 60) must have

<sup>227</sup> Often published (also with three commentaries) e.g. at Nagpur 1915; at Bombay 1914–1915; 1924; 1930; Osmania Univ. 1958. There are translations in Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi and Kannada. For information, also on other texts of the same title: N.C.C. V, p. 214.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. L. R. VAIDYA, Bhāminivilāsa, Bombay 1887, Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>229</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series, 2, Bombay 1886, p. 104; Vārāṇasī 21966.

<sup>230</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series, 1, Bombay 1885, p. 16.

<sup>231</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series, 1, p. 99; 2, p. 55.

<sup>232</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series, Bombay 1903, p. 1.

<sup>233</sup> Published in the Kāvyaṃālā series, Bombay 1894–1903.

<sup>234</sup> Published, with an introduction and the commentary by the author's brother ŚIṄGARĀRYA, at Melkote 1933 (Telugu characters) and as SS. 68.

lived about 1700 A.D. because he was a great-grandson of Govinda Dīkṣita, minister of two kings of Tanjore who reigned in the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>235</sup> To him we owe also two other well-known works, a *stotra* called Āśīrvādaśataka and a satirical poem Mahiṣaśataka.<sup>236</sup>

In the year 1844 Govindācārya while residing in the Cera-Kerala region wrote the *Bhagavadvicāralalitāryāḥ*, in 1862, when he lived in Tanjore, the *Viraktimuktāvali*, an elaborate description of the worries of old age.<sup>237</sup>

Praising Śīva's majesty and arguing that God is the only one who recompenses man for his sacrifices Svāmin Pavitrānanda composed a Śivamahimnaḥ Stotram.<sup>238</sup> Here this enumeration must end.

As appears for instance from the grouping of hymns in medieval works there must already at an early date have existed collections and compilations of lesser *stotras*, often of uncertain authorship. Irrespective of age and origin, the very existence of these collections—which in modern time are often printed in several editions—"only testifies to the value the average Hindu still attaches to this department of literature".<sup>239</sup> As already intimated, many Indian libraries possess collections of *stotras* part of which has been published.<sup>240</sup>

An instance of such a collection of various, short *stotras*, 'upaniṣads' and 'gītās'—Viṣṇuite, Śīvaite and other—is the manuscript MA 2807 of the Musée Guimet in Paris.<sup>241</sup> It contains a praise of Viṣṇu's thousand names belonging to the Padma-Purāṇa, the work called Mukundamālā and composed by king Kulaśekhara,<sup>242</sup> a Śrīgītā; Tripurasundaryā laghustava; Indrākṣistotra; Rudrayāmalatantra; Rudramantra; Mahimnastotra; Gauriśvarastotra by Lañkeśvara;<sup>243</sup> Śārikāstotra; the incomplete Bhagavadgītā I–XII; the incomplete

<sup>235</sup> Cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 231; V. RAGHAVAN, Śivagītimālā, Introduction, Kanchi 1969, p. 9.

<sup>236</sup> Among a number of more or less important eulogistic collections of verses (*stuti* or *stotra*) are, to mention only a few, Lañkeśvara's Śivastuti, Lalladikṣita's Ānandamandirāstuti, Śrikanṭha's Ānandasāgarastava. (These works were printed in Bombay). For several more titles see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 331.

<sup>237</sup> SS. 66 and 74; see SS. Introduction, II, p. XII.

<sup>238</sup> Published in Māyavati, at the Advaita Āśrama, Almora 1938, p. 41.

<sup>239</sup> S. BHATTACHARYYA, *Stotra literature*, p. 345 mentioning (in 1925) the eighth edition (Calcutta) of the *Bṛhatstavakavacamālā* (a fairly exhaustive collection).

<sup>240</sup> For bibliographical and other details see Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Adyar Library, IV, p. VII; Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscript Library Madras, XVIII and XIX; Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Mysore 35; 133 and other catalogues of manuscripts, and communications in the Adyar Library Bulletin (e.g. 2, p. 114) and other journals. For a brief history of Sanskrit literature from 1500 to 1850 A.D. based on manuscripts see P. P. S. SASTRI, Descriptive Catalogue of the Sarasvatī Mahal Library's (Tanjore) Sanskrit manuscripts, XIX, Mantra; Stotra, Srirangam 1934.

<sup>241</sup> See J. FILLIOZAT, Un manuscrit sanskrit kaçmirien du Musée Guimet, JA 257 (1969), p. 89. Also, e.g., V. RAGHAVAN, in ALB 4, p. 17.

<sup>242</sup> See above, p. 256.

<sup>243</sup> For Lañkeśvara see KRISHNAMACHARIAR, op. cit., p. 331.

Nārāyaṇopaniṣad; a eulogy called Viṣṇoḥ smaraṇanarakodhāraṇastotra; Paramahamsopaniṣadbrāhmī vidyā;<sup>244</sup> Jvalāmukhistotra (also called Śrī-ratnapañcaka); a Vitastāstotra belonging to the Ādipurāṇa; the Gaṇeśvara-stotra of the Īsvaratantra; Vaikharistotra; Ṣaḍakṣarastotra.

Anthologies continue to appear in modern times. Thus the Madras Government had a large volume compiled comprising 10 *stotras* in praise of Gaṇeśa, 57 in praise of Śiva, 17 in honour of Viṣṇu, 26 in praise of Rāma, 19 in honour of Kṛṣṇa, 44 miscellaneous eulogies, 6 hymns in praise of Subrahmaṇya<sup>245</sup> and 30 *stotras* devoted to Devī. This publication<sup>246</sup> includes in principle only texts kept in the Madras Library that were not printed earlier. A collection of rare and unpublished eulogies preserved in the Adyar Library appeared under the title *Stotrasamuccaya*;<sup>247</sup> it comprises one hundred and one Śivaite, Viṣṇuite and miscellaneous praises and prayers, some of which of special devotional or literary interest.<sup>248</sup>

The importance attached to divine names calls for special attention. A corollary of the significance and cult of names is the practice of recital and celebration of a god's names and epithets (*nāmakīrtana*).<sup>249</sup> Being probably alluded to already in BhG. 9, 14 ("Me do they even glorify") this practice is deep-rooted in Viṣṇuite and Śivaite belief and custom and regarded as highly meritorious. It is the conviction of the devotees that through the merit obtained in this way they are enabled to gain the most desirable advantages, in-

<sup>244</sup> For the Paramahansa-Upaniṣad see P. DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, <sup>3</sup>Leipzig 1921, p. 703.

<sup>245</sup> In the South Śiva's son Skanda.

<sup>246</sup> *Stotrārṇavaḥ* edited by T. CHANDRASEKHARAN, Madras 1961.

<sup>247</sup> *Stotrasamuccaya*, edited by PT. K. PARAMESWARA AITHAL, 2 vol., Adyar Madras 1969. See the Introductions by V. RAGHAVAN.

<sup>248</sup> Other collections of Hindu devotional poems are, *inter alia*: a book containing *Mahīṣa-śatakam*, *Stuti-śatakam* etc., edited by PT. JIVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1874; *Bṛhat-stotra-muktāhāra* (416 *stotras*), 2 vol., Bombay 1916-1923; *Bṛhat-stotra-sarīr-ratnākara*, Bombay 1918; *Stavasamudra* (41 *stotras*), Calcutta 1918; *Bṛhat-stotra-saritsāgara* (306 *stotras*), Bombay 1927; *Stotra-ratnāvali*, anonymously edited at Gorakhpur 1934; *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* (144 *stotras*), Bombay 1885; <sup>3</sup>1899; the same title (240 *stotras*), Bombay 1918, also 1963; (291 *stotras*) Varanasi 1960 (*Chowkhambā* n° 29); (670 stanzas) ed. by NĀRĀYAṆA RĀMA ĀCĀRYA, 2 vol., Bombay <sup>15</sup>1963; Madras 1897; 1905; Varanasi 1957; *Stotra-samāhāra*, edited by K. RAGHAVAN PILLAI, Trivandrum 1964; *Stotra-mañjarī*, published by PAVANJE GURURAO and sons, Udipi 1966. There are a *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnāhāra*, a *Bṛhat-stotra-muktā-hāra*, a *Stotra-mahodadhī* and many other collections. A recent booksellers' catalogue (*Chowkhambā*, Benares, himself the publisher of the *Caukhambā-stotra-granthamālā*) mentions about 200 titles of *stotras* and collections of *stotras*. *Stotras* and other religious literature also in V. RAGHAVAN, *Malayamārutah*, 2 vol., Madras 1966; 1971. See also M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, Śaiva devotional literature referred to in the *Paṇḍitārādhyā Caritra* of Pāṅkuriki Somanātha, in *JOR*, 23 (Madras 1954), p. 71.

<sup>249</sup> See e.g. the article on this subject by Y. JAGANNATHAN, N.M. DE and others in *Indian Philosophy and Culture*, *Vṛndaban* 1958 etc.



cluding even access to the supreme transcendental state which is the aim of their *sādhanā*. "The one who praises Viṣṇu's thousand names will overcome all sorrow". "The name of Hari is equal to the gift of a thousand times ten million cows".<sup>250</sup> Although the actual name given to God in addressing or worshipping Him is largely a matter of choice, the memorization and recitation of 108,<sup>251</sup> 300, 1000 or 1008 names strung together and constituting a hymn came to be a peculiar feature of Hinduism (*nāmastotra* "praise of names")<sup>252</sup> and an important element of the āgamic ritual. Thus the Lakṣmī-Tantra, 34, 125, enjoins the worshipper ritually to satisfy deities by pronouncing the *mantra* consisting of their names preceded by the sacred syllable *Om* and ending in *namah* "homage".

Based on the conviction that a divine name is a means of protection, purification, or salvation this type of 'praise' developed on a large scale—and especially in Viṣṇuīte and other more or less monotheistic milieus—into a literary genre or rather liturgical form of 'literature' considered to be best suited to the present age. It is also a device for meditatively identifying oneself with various aspects of God's nature and therefore the easiest method of promoting one's spiritual welfare and sanctification. However much they are apt to degenerate into verbal magic the recitation of these *nāmastotras* came to be one of the most characteristic expressions of devotion. Thus famous saints living in different regions of India have left many short 'formulae' or collections of utterances expressing faith, devotion, surrender, and obeisance added to a string of divine names. These harangues often assume the character of a mixture of eulogies, identification, statements of the deity's qualities and manifestations, his nature and identity, names, epithets, references to his great exploits, indications of his functions and explanations of the position he occupies in the religious life of his worshippers.<sup>253</sup> For instance, in the 'Thousand names of Viṣṇu' communicated, in Mahābhārata 13, a. 135 by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira, each name of the Lord is believed to condense profound concepts: Viṣṇu is the lord of the world, the god of gods, the highest Puruṣa etc. etc. It is interesting to see how in many of these *nāmastotras* the names and epithets given to the deity vary with almost every change in the aspect in which he is considered and how this very wealth of names becomes, when recited, a form of devotion recommended in all *bhakti* cults.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Mbh. 13, 135, 6; SA., Viṣṇu, 15, 5.

<sup>251</sup> See e.g. NPR. 4, 1, 17ff. (Kṛṣṇa's names): the person who mutters this text day and night becomes dear to all, obtains favour, sons, grandsons, supranormal power, wealth and *sāyujya* with Kṛṣṇa, i.e. participation in his qualities; 4, 3, 10ff. Viṣṇu's thousand names; 5, 5, 11 (Rādhā). Cf. also SanS. Ś. a. 4; I. 6, 44 A.

<sup>252</sup> For a detailed survey see GONDA, Notes on names, Amsterdam Acad. 1970, p. 67.

<sup>253</sup> See e.g. A. AVALON, The Great Liberation, Madras 1953 (tantric); V. RA-GHAVAN, The Indian heritage, Bangalore 1956, p. LXXV.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. A.M. ESNOUL, in BEFEO 48, p. 175.

Part of these *nāmastotras* are published separately, as small pamphlets,<sup>255</sup> others are included in books of larger compass.<sup>256</sup> Thus the anonymous Śrī-Gāyatri-Sahasranāma,<sup>257</sup> being part of the Devī-Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, is recited by Nārāyaṇa at the request of Nārada. The deity reveals that knowledge of the Ultimate Reality which could pave the way for salvation by conquering death. It is a clever piece of work, enumerating the names in 165 verses in alphabetical order. It may also be recalled that in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, 6, 105 B.<sup>258</sup> an Ādityahṛdaya "secret or divine knowledge" of Āditya is put into the mouth of Agastya. This "eternal and auspicious" 'hymn', which is said to enable Rāma to overcome all his adversaries, consists mainly of a long enumeration of names, epithets, characterizations and identifications as well as expressions of homage. There exist texts that have resulted from the author's efforts to demonstrate the religious efficacy of *bhakti* and the utterance of the deity's holy name, for instance, a Bhagavannāmadarpaṇa "Mirror of the Lord's names", composed by Muralīdharadāsa, a disciple of Viṭṭalācārya<sup>259</sup> and a Bhagavannāmavaibhava "Glory of the Lord's names" by the same author (16<sup>th</sup> century?).

Rather than adding to the above a number of titles of less known *stotras* and of collecting a large number of references to specimens of this genre<sup>260</sup>—

<sup>255</sup> E.g. Śīva Sahasranāma Stotra with Nilakaṇṭha's commentary, text edited and English translation by R. ANANTAKRISHNA SASTRI, Madras 1902; K. E. PARTHASARATHY, Śrī-Viṣṇu Sahasranāmam, Madras 1966; M. LUPSA, Chants à Kālī, Pondicherry 1967.

<sup>256</sup> Some relevant texts are also Mbh. 13, 17, 29ff.; 13, a. 135; 14, 8, 12ff.; VāP. 1, 30, 79ff.; VāmanaP. 1, 8, 48ff.; BhāgP. 2, 3, 24; LīngāP. a. 65; 98; SaurāP. a. 41, 10-140 (Viṣṇu praising Śīva), PadmaP., Uttarabhāga, a. 89; Dīptāgama, ch. 77; RĀ. ch. 24, Suprabhedāgamapaddhati; cf. R. G. TIWARI, Dakṣaśivasahasranāmastotra, in Śrī Venkateśvara Univ. Oriental Journal 2 (Tirupati 1959), p. 33; R. N. DANDEKAR, The Anuśāsana-parvan (Mbh. XIII), Poona 1966, p. 124; BHATT, RĀ., edition, I, p. 113, n. 2; 133, n. 9. See also the supplement added to the Ahir-budhnya-Saṃhitā (p. 97).

<sup>257</sup> See R. G. TIWARI, in Śrī Venkateśvara Univ. Or. J. 3 (1960), p. 1; 6, p. 1.

<sup>258</sup> Appendix 65 (p. 1082) in the Critical edition, VI.

<sup>259</sup> Gov. Or. Skt. Library, Madras, n° 5145 and 5146.

<sup>260</sup> For a Gopāla-Sahasranāma produced in circles of Rādhā worshippers see FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 375; for a Śāstrīśvaraṇa-Sahasranāmastotram, Calicut 1931 see M. E. ADICĒAM, Aiyanaṛ-Śāstā, Pondicherry 1967, p. 116; a Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma with a commentary ascribed to Śaṅkara was edited by R. SAMKHYATIRTHA, Murshidabad 1909; also by A. AVALON, Calcutta 1928; a Viṣṇu-Sahasranāmastotra with Śaṅkara's commentary by S. V. RAMA ŚASTRI, Madras 1931; see also the voluminous edition of the Viṣṇusahasranāmastotram by R. RAMA SASTRY, 2 vol., Mysore 1960-1961 (869 and 267 pages) comprising also Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* and the interpretation (*vivṛti*) of this commentary by Tarkabrahmāndasaraswatya, enumerations of the god's thousand names as well as other relevant texts (Śaṅkara-bhāṣyārthasaṃgraha and Padyaprasūnāñjali); an Uchiṣṭa-Ganeśa-Sahasranāma-Stava by V. RAGHAVAN, 1959; with an English translation by R. ANANTAKRISHNA ŚASTRI, Adyar 1927. See also SA., p. 232, n° 1, and e.g. K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, in ALB 4, p. 20 on Sāhibakaula's Śrīnāma-vilāsa, a long *stutikāvya* (Kashmir).

which from the point of view of literary study are rather similar—I would like to draw attention to the popular and highly praised product of religious poetry—“a treasure of lyrical beauty and poetic imagery”<sup>261</sup>—that is the *Lalitāsahasranāma*.<sup>262</sup> Containing 320 *ślokas* in three chapters it forms the second part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* and praises *Lalitā*,<sup>263</sup> a form of *Devī* or *Durgā*, who is “the supporter of the universe, the ruler of creation, preservation and absorption . . . and should be meditated upon as the great *Tripurasundarī*” (*Bhāskararāya*’s initial benediction). The work is couched in the didactic style of a communication of *Hayagrīva* to *Agastya*; the enumeration of the names does not begin before chapter II (stanza 51). It has more than once been commented upon; in 1728 by *Bhāskararāya*, who quotes a number of predecessors. The editor *Ananthakrishna* who in the preface expressed the wish that his text would contribute to a correct performance of the *pūjā* associated with these ‘Thousand names’—which is in many houses and temples performed on definite days and other auspicious occasions—recommends its use also in connexion with a *haṭhayogic* practice.

<sup>261</sup> KRISHNAMACHARIAR, H.S.L., p. 312.

<sup>262</sup> This work has often been published (also as part of the Bombay edition of the *Purāṇa*), e.g. by R. ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRY, Adyar Madras 1970 (1899, 1925) together with an English translation of *Bhāskararāya*’s commentary. See also CH. SURYANARAYANAMURTHY, *Sri-Lalitānāmastotram*, Madras 1962.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. C.L. PRABHAKAR, in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 29 (1969), p. 82.

## CHAPTER XV

### GĪTĀS, MĀHĀTMYAS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

The borderline between 'hymns', 'eulogies proper', works of instruction and other 'genres' of literature is often hard to define. Poems such as the Bhagavadgītā, though primarily designed to teach religious or philosophical doctrines, often have at the same time the character of devotional hymns. And numerous hymns of praise, known as *stotra* or *stava* which all Indian religions have produced in honour of their deities, teachers or places of worship, often take a didactic or moralistic turn.

Special attention may be drawn to a number of works, half lyric or hymnic, half religious-didactic, which, modelled upon the extremely popular Bhagavadgītā (Mbh. 6, a. 23–40), a sort of Hindu gospel admired not only by Viṣṇuites, came to constitute a genre of literature by itself, viz. the so-called *gītās*<sup>1</sup> (the term may, at least originally, have been applied to texts which were not recited in the ordinary way but more or less 'chanted').<sup>2</sup> The redactors of the Great Epic themselves already wanted to recapitulate, continue, supplement, or rather imitate the poem contained in book VI and produced the Anugītā (Mbh. 14, 16–51) which, while dealing with man's salvation, preaches *jñāna* and a complete abstinence from mundane interests that in places impresses us as verging on *bhakti*. That the Bhagavadgītā was the prototype and served the authors of the later *gītās*—a long neglected chapter of Sanskrit literature—as an example is beyond doubt: titles of chapters and even final passages of the

<sup>1</sup> Publication of texts: The Gītāsamgraha or a collection of the Gītās, published by P. N. PATVARDHAN, Poona 1915. For surveys, observations etc. U. CH. BHATTACHARJEE, Gītā literature and its relation with Brahmavidyā, IHQ 2 (1926), p. 537; 761; A. M. ESNOUL, in BEFEO 48, p. 171; K. BHATTACHARYA, in JA 255, p. 211; J. P. K. SUKUL, De Bhagavadgītā, Thesis Utrecht 1958, p. 93; P. AIYAR, Imitations of the Bhagavadgītā, in C. H. I. II, <sup>2</sup>Calcutta 1962, p. 204; R. HAUSCHILD, Die Aṣṭāvakra-Gītā, Abh. d. sächsischen Akad. d. Wiss., 58, 2, Berlin 1967, p. 5. See also H. VON GLASENAPP, Über vier purānische Nachbildungen der Bhagavadgītā, in Festgabe R. v. Garbe, Erlangen 1927, p. 139; E. R. MOROZZI, An introduction to the Śivagītā, JOR 34–35 (1973), p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BHATTACHARJEE, op. cit., p. 538. In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be recalled that the term *gītā* was already in the Mahābhārata also associated with the names of legendary teachers who give counsels, for instance, on *dharma* and good government. Thus Mbh. 12, 91f. the Utathya-Gītā and 12, 93ff. the Vāmadeva-Gītā. For a list and a discussion see BHATTACHARJEE, op. cit., p. 537ff. These *gītās* constitute a group by themselves; most of them are short and deal with brief questions without being interested in the worship of a particular deity.

same are often identical with those of the *Bhagavadgītā*;<sup>3</sup> there are literal reminiscences especially of the culminating point of the famous poem, the chapters X and XI;<sup>4</sup> moreover, several purāṇic passages are in connexion with inserted *gītās* quite explicit on their relation with the *Bhagavadgītā*.<sup>5</sup>

Nor do purpose and outward form of these "songs" belie their origin. They aim at conveying a more or less esoteric lore woven into the narrative background of a discourse between a divine preceptor and a prominent devotee who, being in a serious predicament, seeks help and intervention. As is usual in *purāṇas*, *āgamas* etc. the revelation of the doctrines is said to have taken place in successive stages. Teaching their hearers to find the way to final deliverance they emphasize the personal aspect of the Highest and contain, generally speaking, injunctions to love and serve God, to adore and repeat his name. In doing so most of them give allegiance to one of the well-known Hindu deities, who is often introduced as the teacher of their doctrine, and preach the worship of that particular god or goddess. Since there is a close and clear relation of this literature with the doctrine of the oneness of everything in Brahman as the supreme principle (*brahmavidyā*) of the *upaniṣads*, the authors set themselves to the task to show that the deity of their choice is identical with Brahman. In stating and arguing their case they adopt in the main the same procedure as the *upaniṣads* by which they were influenced and teachings of which they often quote<sup>6</sup> or paraphrase: all the gods are said to be absorbed in Brahman; the whole universe has sprung from Brahman which is the All; certain *yoga* practices can enable the adept to attain Brahman, that is their supreme deity, the *gītās* arguing that this practice has to consist mainly in the worship of their particular god upon which they express themselves at greater length than the author of the *Gītā* par excellence. In their argumentation they are more or less inclined to follow the *Bhagavadgītā*—although some of them, e.g. the *Devī-Gītā*, contain hardly any reminiscences of this prototype—and to change the teachings and expressions of their example in accordance with the cult and doctrines of their particular religion. They approve the path of *bhakti*, but often prefer the method of *jñāna* and tend to embrace various religious and philosophical doctrines of the post-epic period, deriving their cosmology

<sup>3</sup> On the colophons which like those of the *Bhagavadgītā* contain the term *upaniṣad* see V. RAGHAVAN, in *JOR* 12 (1940), p. 86, esp. p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ganeśa-Gītā* 4, 1ff.: *BhG.* 5, 1ff.; ch. 8; *Śiva-Gītā*, ch. 7: *BhG.* ch. 11; *ĪśvaraG.* 11, 75ff.: *BhG.* ch. 12; *Devī-Gītā* 8, 22f. is almost identical with *BhG.* 4, 7 etc. Even the mainly Viṣṇuite *avatāra* doctrine is borrowed; cf. e.g. *Devī-Gītā* 8, 22f.: *BhG.* 4, 7.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 381 (*Yama-Gītā*) and 380 (the substance of the *Bhagavadgītā*): see RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *Agni-Purāṇa*, Calcutta 1873-1879, III, p. XXXV.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. *Śiva-Gītā* 6, 54ff.: *KaivalyaU.* 19ff.; *Devī-Gītā* 3, 32ff.: *KaṭhaU.* 2, 18ff.; 3, 3f.; *Devī-Gītā* ch. 5: *MuṇḍakaU.* 2, ch. 2; see BHATTACHARJEE, op. cit., p. 765.

from the Sāṃkhya and the basis of their practical injunctions—observances, purifications, etc.—from Patañjali's Yoga.

Part of these writings are contained in *purāṇas*. Being similar in form and content the most important of them are the following: Īśvara-Gītā in the Kūrma-Purāṇa, Yama-Gītā in the Agni-Purāṇa; Gaṇeśa-Gītā in the Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa;<sup>7</sup> Śīva-Gītā in the Padma-Purāṇa. Besides, the Sūta-Gītā and Brahma-Gītā belong to the Sūta-Saṃhitā of the Skanda-Purāṇa,<sup>8</sup> the Rāma-Gītā to the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa.

The main difference between the popular Īśvara-Gītā (KūrmaP., Uttara-vibhāga, ch. 1-11)<sup>9</sup> and its model, of which it is strongly reminiscent,<sup>10</sup> consists in its Śivaite character: it is the Īśvara, Lord Śīva, who explains his path of salvation to Sanatkumāra and eleven other ascetics in the hermitage at Badarikā. Being in the main concerned with mysticism and metaphysics its author combines Śivaite theism, *yoga* (indispensable for those who aspire to union with Śīva), *bhakti* (in order to obtain Śīva's help and grace in performing *yoga*), upaniṣadic doctrines, popular Sāṃkhya philosophy and a number of borrowings from the Bhagavadgītā. Yet, 'knowledge' rather than *bhakti* is the main path to final emancipation.

The Gaṇeśa-Gītā (GaṇeśaP., Uttarakhaṇḍa, ch. 138-148)<sup>11</sup> is another interesting example of how Hinduism was modified and enriched by various currents of thought. In accordance with its title this work regards Gaṇeśa as the supreme deity and all-pervading world-soul or Brahman, and his worship as the way to salvation. As appears from chapter VII this Gaṇeśa worship adopts a method of Tantric *yoga*. Higher knowledge (*jñāna*), preceded by disinterested devotional performance of sacrificial rites, is however an indispensable means of becoming free from worldly desires and finding Brahman. Special emphasis is also laid upon compassion (*karuṇā*), not only on the part of Gaṇeśa but also on that of those who have realized the truth on earth (1, 13; 17).

In the Śīva-Gītā<sup>12</sup>—sixteen chapters of the Uparibhāga of the Padma-Purāṇa—Rāma, having lost Sītā, is in a despondent state; on the advice of Agastya he approaches Śīva who gives him the Pāśupata weapon by which he can defeat Rāvaṇa. There is an epiphany in imitation of Bhagavadgītā ch.

<sup>7</sup> See also SUKUL, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> SūtaS., Yajñavaibhavaḥkhanda, ch. 13-20; and 1-12; see also Yogavāsiṣṭha, Nirv. 2, ch. 173-181.

<sup>9</sup> Text and translation: P. E. DUMONT, L'Īśvaragītā, Baltimore-Paris 1933; English translation by M. L. KANNOO MAL, Lahore 1924.

<sup>10</sup> At 11, 131 it even refers to the Bhagavadgītā. Cf. also a. 7: BhG. 10, 20ff.

<sup>11</sup> This *gītā* has also been edited separately (with the commentary of Nilakaṇṭha): H. N. APTE, Poona 1906; together with the Śīva- and Devi-Gītās in Lakṣmīdās Govardhandās' Brhatstotrasaritsāgara, Bombay 1892; English translation with an introduction and a condensed rendering of the commentary: K. YOROI, Gaṇeśa-gītā, Thesis Utrecht 1968. Cf. also v. GLASENAPP, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> See MOROZZI, op. cit.; a small part of this text was translated into Italian by M. VALLAURI, in La Śīvagītā, Torino (Turin) Acad. 1942.

XI and, being “a scripture of *yoga* and an *upaniṣad* (esoteric teaching)” the text expounds, in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Rāma, the “knowledge of Brahman” (colophon). Although this work (806 stanzas) is not very large it is of varied contents, comprising, inter alia, embryology, the theory of the elements, bodies and organs, the soul, death and rebirth, Śiva worship, cult and theology.

Date and authorship of the Rāma-Gītā, which constitutes the portion 7, 5, 1–62 of the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>13</sup> are doubtful. The text of this version of the Rāmāyaṇa theme enjoys great prestige and is in daily use as prayer-book by many Rāma worshippers, among whom Rāmakṛṣṇa (1836–1886) and his followers. The recitation of the whole work as well as the Gītā being regarded as extremely salutary, devout Vaiṣṇavas have it recited on Rāma’s birthday. It is possible that the Rāma-Gītā, which has often been handed down and commented upon separately, is older than the whole work (second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century?) and has been included afterwards. As to its contents it may be noticed that this Gītā is very much opposed to the *samuccaya* (“aggregation”) doctrine, according to which the combination of ritual or religious activity and higher knowledge leads to final emancipation; it defends the thesis that the former is only an indispensable means of preparative purification, no way to the highest goal, because it contributes to the maintenance of corporeal existence.

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 3, 22–33 are known as Kāpileya-Upākhyāna or Kapila-Gītā. These chapters are because of their lofty contents held in high esteem in Viṣṇuite circles.<sup>14</sup> The section 11, 13, 18–42 of the same work is called Haṃsa-Itihāsa or Haṃsa-Gītā; it deals with the three constituent elements of everything material (*guṇa*) which belong (also) to man’s mind, not to his ‘soul’ (*ātman*). Kṛṣṇa relates to Uddhava how he imparted, in the form of a goose (*haṃsa*), the contents of this text to the *ṛṣis*.

The Devī-Gītā, Devībhāgavata-Purāṇa 7, 31–40, revealed by the goddess herself, is a Śāktist rather than a Viṣṇuite work, although the Viṣṇuites do not repudiate its authority. It is no doubt comparatively late because its philosophy—e.g. the argumentation in favour of the non-existence of the world—and other sections presuppose knowledge of the fully developed Vedānta doctrines and its ritual passages an unmistakable influence of advanced Tantrist practices.

The Yama-Gītā, emphasizing the path of *bhakti*, occurs even in three *purāṇas*.<sup>15</sup> Yama, the lord of the deceased, is said to admit that he has no power over those who take refuge with Viṣṇu.

<sup>13</sup> Published by GAṆAPAT KṚṢṆAJI, Bombay 1857. See H. VON GLASENAPP, *Zwei philosophische Rāmāyaṇas*, Mainz Acad. 1951, 6, p. 73 (493).

<sup>14</sup> B. G. TILAK, *Gītārāhasya*, Bombay 1933, p. 4 makes mention of a treatise on *hathayoga* etc. of the same name.

<sup>15</sup> ViṣṇuP. 3, 7; AgniP. ch. 381; NṛsimhaP. ch. 8. For a Vaiṣṇava-Gītā see P. POUCHA, in Volume E Śluszkiewicz, Warsaw 1974, p. 181.

As already observed the groups of ascetics called Avadhūtas, who had striking affinities with the Nātha Yogins,<sup>16</sup> produced an Avadhūta-Gītā<sup>17</sup> consisting of seven chapters and 193 stanzas. According to a translator it is intended for advanced ascetics, *yogins*, *saṁnyāsins* and *brahmacārins*, who, having found everything worth knowing in their hearts, keep "in the calm of the Himalayan valleys, on the banks of the holy Ganges", this text in their caves and huts. The small work, which contains some reminiscences of and references to the Bhagavadgītā (st. 28: BhG. 2, 19) and *upanīśads* (e.g. 129 *tat tvam asi*) as well as traditional Vedāntic imagery (e.g. 29), argues in favour of an advaitic, decidedly Śivaite doctrine of the identity of the Self, i.e. of everybody's changeless and all-pervasive *ātman*, with God i.e. Śiva (e.g. 88), Brahman, the All, the only Reality. Those who are inspired with a disposition to the unity with God are relieved from the great fear of death (1). *Karman* no longer touches them (80); there is no need for them to worship or meditate (169).

The Aṣṭāvakra-Gītā<sup>18</sup>—one of the few *gītās* which are not named after a god—is, especially among Vedāntins, held in high esteem. It is handed down in many manuscripts and among those who admired its contents were Rāma-kṛṣṇa and Vivekānanda (1862–1902).<sup>19</sup> Being 'philosophical' rather than 'religious' it is an independent work which, as far as is known to me, has never been included in a *purāṇa*. Although the author of these 304—originally perhaps 292—stanzas never quotes the Bhagavadgītā he must have been very well acquainted with its contents. His subject, the Advaita philosophy or *brahmavidyā*<sup>20</sup>—which he attempts to popularize—is couched in the hymnic style of a wholly convinced preacher and inspired poet rapt in the absorbing task of proclaiming truth and salvation. We grope in the dark about his identity. The association with Aṣṭāvakra who is represented as teaching the contents of the Gītā to Janaka is in all probability secondary. Already in the Mahābhārata<sup>21</sup> this mythical sage is described as having conversations with

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 221 (also for particulars), and SUKUL, op. cit., p. 93; 100.

<sup>17</sup> Published: Bombay 1872; 1873; with a Bengali commentary, Barisal 1909; in Gītāsamgraha, Poona 1915; Bombay 1933 etc.; English translation in J. CHAMARAJENDRA WADIYAR, Dattatreya, London 1957, p. 151. For other information and the numerous manuscripts: N.C.C. I, p. 415.

<sup>18</sup> C. GIUSSANI, Aṣṭāvakra-gītā, Florence 1868 (Italian translation); English translations: SWAMI NITYASWARUPANANDA, Almora <sup>2</sup>1953; HARI PRASAD SHASTRI, London 1949; German translation (inadequate): H. ZIMMER, Anbetung Mir. Indische Offenbarungsworte, München-Berlin 1929; text, translation and an exhaustive study: HAUSCHILD, op. cit. (for other editions etc. see p. 19); edition and translation: R. MUKHERJEE, Delhi 1971.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. R.C. MAJUMDAR (editor), Swāmi Vivekānanda centenary memorial volume, Calcutta 1963.

<sup>20</sup> The well-known principle of double (esoteric and exoteric, higher and lower) truth manifests itself e.g. in 4, 2; 12, 3 as compared with 1, 15; 15, 20; see HAUSCHILD, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Mahābhārata 3, a. 132ff.; compare also 13, a. 19ff.; BĀU. 4, 1ff.



Janaka, the well-known king mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad. Perhaps the name Avadhūtānubhūti "Experience of an ascetic who has renounced all worldly attachments", which occurs in the closing stanza (21, 6), was the original—and suitable—title of the successful poem, which preaches, inter alia, the indispensability of complete suppression of any desire and attachment and the discontinuance of 'ignorance'. As to the date of the composition of this work, we would probably not be far wrong if we followed Hauschild<sup>22</sup> who arrived at the conclusion that it belongs to the century between ± 1380 and ± 1490.

The Uttara-Gītā,<sup>23</sup> likewise Vedāntic in character, is less popular. It is regarded as a continuation of the Bhagavadgītā—Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are here also the partners in the discussion—but actually it is a sort of manual for *yogins*.

The Sūrya-Gītā must belong to the comparatively late works of this genre because it has undergone the influence of Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy.

The Brahma-Gītā that occurs in the Yogavāsiṣṭha 6, 2, 172–182<sup>24</sup> resembles in thought and meaning those upaniṣadic passages which explain the Brahma-vidyā. Interpreting and amplifying these passages it does not preach a particular god, but teach *brahmavidyā*. While most *gītās* exploited upaniṣadic concepts for propagating a particular form of divine worship, this work seems to have been designed to popularize an upaniṣadic lore and cult.

The Pāṇḍu-Gītā or Pāṇḍava-Gītā, also known as Prapanna-Gītā, is a work on the greatness of Viṣṇu. An Agastya-Gītā appears independently and as Varāha-Purāṇa, a. 51–67. There is a manuscript of a Dattātreya-Gītā in Madras.<sup>25</sup>

Mention may finally be made of the Vyāsa-Gītā (KūrmaP. 2, ch. 12–30).<sup>26</sup>

The literature on holy places, especially places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*), and pilgrimages to places which enjoy a certain sanctity is in all probability far more extensive than any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra.<sup>27</sup> Besides the

<sup>22</sup> HAUSCHILD, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Die Uttara-gītā . . . ins Englische übertragen von D.K. LAHERI, deutsche Ausgabe von E.A. KERNWART, Leipzig 1907. There is a commentary, Uttara-gītātipikā, ascribed to Gauḍapāda and edited by T.K. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, Śrīraṅgam 1910.

<sup>24</sup> There is another Brahma-Gītā which is said to belong to the Skanda-Purāṇa; see BHATTACHARJEE, op. cit., p. 766.

<sup>25</sup> H.S. JOSHI, Origin and development of Dattātreya worship in India, Baroda 1965, p. 211. The Pāṇḍava-Gītā has been printed in the Bṛhatstotraratnākara.

<sup>26</sup> For the possibility of a Buddhist *gītā* see E. LAMOTTE, Notes sur la Bhagavad-Gītā, Paris 1929, p. XII.

<sup>27</sup> KANE, H. Dh. IV, p. 581, according to whom the Mahābhārata and the *purāṇas* contain at least 40 000 stanzas on this subject. I refer to this author, I. cit., and I, p. 554 for many titles and other particulars which need not be repeated in this survey. Viṣṇu-Smṛti, ch. 85, enumerating fifty-two *tīrthas*, is generally held to be a later addition. On holy places: H. VON GLASENAPP, Heilige Stätten Indiens, München 1928; on pilgrimage: J. ENSINK, in Indologica Taurinensia 2 (1974), p. 57.

Great Epic and *purānas* many digests and other works enlarge upon this subject. Among these are the Tirthavivecanakāṇḍa of Lakṣmīdhara's (between 1100–1160) Kalpataru ( $\pm$  1110–1120)<sup>28</sup> which deals mainly with Benares and Prayāga; Vācaspatimiśra's (1450–1480) Tirthacintāmaṇi<sup>29</sup> which, being divided into five chapters (*prakāśa*), informs its readers on Prayāga, Purī, Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī (Benares) and topics such as the purpose and preliminaries of pilgrimages, the various rites to be performed at the holy places and so on;<sup>30</sup> the Tirthasāra—a part of the encyclopaedic Nṛsimhaprasāda "The fruit of the grace of Viṣṇu's man-lion *avatāra*" ( $\pm$  1500)<sup>31</sup>—which is mainly concerned with the *tirthas* of the Deccan and the South; Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa's Tristhalīsetu "Bridge to the three holy places (Prayāga, Kāśī or Benares, and Gayā)",<sup>32</sup> which, being written about 1550–1580, deals in its first part with rites common to all sacred places and in its second part with the pilgrimages to the three *tirthas* mentioned. Other books specialize on individual holy places, for instance Vidyāpati's (between 1375 and 1450 A.D.) Gaṅgāvākyāvali (on the Ganges, that is on the advantages of visiting and worshipping that river and bathing in it)<sup>33</sup> and Raghunandana's Gayāśrāddhapaddhati on Gayā.

Besides these *dharma* works on holy places<sup>34</sup> and pilgrimages there exist also other treatises on *tirthas*. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Ananta-bhaṭṭa wrote, at the request of Mahārāja Anup Singhji of Bikaner, a very voluminous compilation on these holy places (nearly 38000 *granthas*, one *grantha* being 32 syllables); being based on *purānas* etc. this Tirtharatnākara is perhaps the largest work on this subject.<sup>35</sup> I focus special attention on the so-called *tirthamāhātmyas*. They are often composed in Sanskrit<sup>36</sup> and profess to be part of a *purāṇa*<sup>37</sup>—in some cases they were actually included in a work of that genre. Their number is very large<sup>38</sup> because every holy place of some importance possesses such a "glorification" in which the legends and eulogies

<sup>28</sup> Edited by K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, Baroda 1942 (Gaekwad Or. Series 98). For particulars see KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 315; J. D. M. DERRETT, Dharmaśāstra, in this History, IV, p. 50.

<sup>29</sup> See KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 400; the work has been edited (Bibl. Indica), Calcutta 1912.

<sup>30</sup> On these points see KANE, H. Dh. IV, p. 552.

<sup>31</sup> See KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 406. The work has been published in the Sarasvati Bhavana series, n° 62, Allahabad 1936.

<sup>32</sup> Published in the Ānandāśrama series, n° 78, Poona 1915; see also KANE, H. Dh. IV, p. 596. There is another work of the same name composed by Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita, edited by SŪRYA NĀRĀYAṆA ŚUKLA, Allahabad 1936.

<sup>33</sup> On Vidyāpati see KANE, H. Dh. I, p. 739; on the Ganges, IV, p. 585.

<sup>34</sup> Much information on *tirthas* is for instance also given in the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, in ALB 10, p. 5; ENSINK, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>36</sup> Nowadays most of them have been translated into, or adapted in, one of the modern languages.

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. WINTERNITZ, G. I. L. I, p. 473. Mbh. 3, a. 81 is a *māhātmya* of Kuru-ṣetra.

<sup>38</sup> One may consult the catalogues of manuscripts.

upon the holiness of the *tīrtha* have been brought together. In accordance with their name these decidedly popular “glorifications of holy places”, mostly compiled<sup>39</sup> by the resident priests, are primarily meant to inform the innumerable pilgrims of the holiness of the *tīrtha* and the rules and customs obtaining there. The journeys of the pilgrims receive comparatively little attention. Most of the authors call special attention to the myths concerning the god worshipped there and to those of his feats which are, or can be, related to that particular place of pilgrimage. That means, that in accordance with a fundamental principle of *bhakti* religion, they propagate the worship of one single deity or one particular *avatāra* or emanation in one particular place.<sup>40</sup> Although the compilers understood very well that the public addressed could best be influenced by legends and mythical tales they have often furthered the dissemination of their views by the insertion of philosophical speculations which—as in the case of the *Cidambaramāhātmya* 15, 18ff.—are to establish the *tīrtha*'s claim to special holiness. There are sound reasons for assuming that *māhātmyas* often served to formulate the aims or to establish the claims of the temple priests and to refute their opponents, among them not only exponents of other religions but also rival priestly groups of their own temple city—the presence of various cults did not fail to evoke tensions—and the political powers of their region. In course of time their views and claims, once they were included in the ‘official’ *māhātmya* of their temple, could easily acquire the reputation of authority.

This genre of literature is not only very useful for deepening our knowledge of the cultural and religious history of India in general but also most valuable for those who want to reconstruct the development of regional history and local cults or to gain a deeper insight into various religious institutions—for instance, the recommendation of pilgrimages to poor people as a substitute for expensive sacrifices—, into beliefs and practices—e.g. “those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again”,<sup>41</sup> and in connexion with this conviction, religious suicide and worship of the deceased—, and into the significance of holy places, local variants of myths and legends and so on. They give information on topography, especially of the localities (sub-*tīrthas*) to be visited by pilgrims. Thus a text such as the *Prayāga-Māhātmya*, eulogizing the glory and greatness of the most sacred place at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā, which is—in various recensions partly dating from about 850–1250<sup>42</sup>—found in several *purāṇas*<sup>43</sup> expatiates, inter alia, upon the

<sup>39</sup> It has been supposed that only part of the more recent works of this class were written by one single author.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. J. C. PLOTT, *Bhakti at the crossroads*, New York 1971; R. GEIB, *Indradyumna-Legende*, Wiesbaden 1975.

<sup>41</sup> *KūrmaP.* 1, 36, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Compare R. C. HAZRA, *Studies in the purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs*, Dacca Univ. 1940, p. 177.

<sup>43</sup> In 261 stanzas in *MatsyaP.* ch. 103–112; see S. G. KANTAWALA, *Prayāgamā-*

miraculous virtues of baths taken in this place, on its religious and mystical significance, its superiority to other *tīrthas*, its innumerable holy localities.

There exist several Gayā-Mähātmyas,<sup>44</sup> claiming to be affiliated to different *purāṇas*. The longest and best-known of these is connected with the Vāyu-Purāṇa.<sup>45</sup> Written in easy Sanskrit and a simple style, it deals in about 500 stanzas and eight chapters mainly with the mythical story of the *asura* Gaya which is communicated by Sanatkumāra to Nārada, and the legend of the holy rock, the story of the *asura* Heti who was killed by Viṣṇu's club, adding information on the pilgrimage, holy days and allied subjects such as the mountains and rivers of the region, Viṣṇu's visible and invisible forms, eulogies upon that god, the ceremonies to be performed in honour of deceased relatives (*śrāddha*), stories of miracles, the tour of the holy place to be made by the pilgrims etc. Many legends have one theme in common: when something extraordinary happens Viṣṇu descends, restores order and grants the desires of the one who has disturbed peace and order; the favour accorded consists in the purity and holiness of Gayā and the promise that those who visit it faithfully will be saved. One cannot escape the conviction that a collection of stories and legends was consciously and intentionally given this uniform structure in order to demonstrate the superiority of the god whose cult was not introduced into Gayā before the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century.

There is a *mähātmya* of Utkala (Orissa)<sup>46</sup>—occupying a large part of the Brahma-Purāṇa—, there is a long (4000 stanzas) glorification of the Panjab<sup>47</sup> and there are at least two glorifications of Kāñci in Sanskrit, one Viṣṇuite in thirty-two chapters which is regarded as a part of the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa<sup>48</sup> and a Śivaite, also known as Kāñci-(Sthala)mähātmya<sup>49</sup> and said to belong to the Skanda-Purāṇa.<sup>50</sup> The other great places of pilgrimage are likewise lauded

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hātmya, in Purāṇa 9 (Varanasi 1967), p. 103; in 121 stanzas in KūrmaP. 1, ch. 36–39; PadmaP. 1, ch. 43–49; SkandaP., Kāśikhanda, ch. 7, 45–65. Compare also Mbh. 3, 83, 69–95; 85, 17ff.; 13, 26, 35ff. and see KANE, H. Dh. IV, p. 597.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. L. P. VIDYARTHI, The sacred complex in Hindu Gayā, London 1961.

<sup>45</sup> Edited: with a Hindi commentary, Benares n. d.; Bombay 1895; with a Hindi commentary and the Gayā-Paddhati, Kalyāṇa 1926; with a French translation, a long introduction etc. by C. JACQUES, Pondicherry 1962. There are many more texts dealing with Gayā.

<sup>46</sup> See K. N. MAHAPATRA, in Orissa Historical Research Journal 11, 1 (Bhubaneswar 1962), p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> Cat. Skt. Mss. Panjab Univ. Library, II, p. 154.

<sup>48</sup> Edited by P. B. ANNANGARACHARIAR, Conjeevaram 1906; (ANANTĀCĀRYA, Kāñci 1907, Śāstramuktāvali n° 26) and with a Kannada translation, Mysore 1945.

<sup>49</sup> A rare edition appeared at Śrīkurveṭinagaram 1889 (Telugu script).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. R. DESSIGANE, P. Z. PATTABRAMIN, J. FILLIOZAT, Les légendes çivaïtes de Kāñcipuram, Pondicherry 1964. For the Tamil Kāñcipurāṇam see K. V. ZVELEBIL, Tamil literature, in this History, X, p. 190. A Kāñci-Mähātmya (50 chapters) belonging to the Skanda-Purāṇa was translated into Tamil, Madras 1910.

in separate texts, the Kāśikhaṇḍa<sup>51</sup> of the Skanda-Purāṇa<sup>52</sup> covering for instance not less than about 15000 stanzas.<sup>53</sup> Holy rivers are—to mention only these—the subject of the Māhātmya on the Narmadā<sup>54</sup> and the Gomatī.<sup>55</sup>

The Cidambara-Māhātmya<sup>56</sup> (compiled between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries) describes in twenty-six chapters and about 1300 stanzas the legendary history of the great Śivaite temple city, the famous centre of the Śiva Naṭarāja worship and residence of many other cults. After the introduction (ch. I–V) the work narrates the journey of the ṛṣi Vyāghrapāda to Cidambaram where he worshipped the *līṅga* on the shore of the holy lake (ch. VI–X). The text proceeds to the description of Śiva's arrival in Cidambaram and his first performance of the Ānanda-Tāṇḍava dance<sup>57</sup> (ch. XI–XVIII). The last chapters deal with the visit of the legendary king Hiranyavarman who in gratitude for his recovery from an illness had three thousand brahmins settle down in the holy place, renovated its temples and founded the great temple festival. The work is interesting in that—as appears from a study of those sections which must, or can, be regarded as interpolated—it throws light on the methods adopted by the priestly compilers in reacting against the popular traditions embodied in the oldest legends—the Tamil folk legends (7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries) were not included—and in transforming these so as to serve their own interests. One of their aims was to prove that Cidambaram was a Śivaite place of worship from the beginning, another to connect the legendary origin of their sanctuary

<sup>51</sup> For Benares compare J. HERBERT, Benares, Calcutta 1957.

<sup>52</sup> This very extensive work comprises many isolated texts of the *māhātmya* genre, e.g. Aruṇācala-Māhātmya, the Māhātmyas of Venkaṭācala, Puruṣottamakeśetra, Vadarikāśrama etc. See H. UEBACH, Das Nepālamāhātmyam des Skandapurāṇam, München 1970; HAZRA, op. cit., p. 157; 162; Studies in the upapurāṇas, Calcutta 1958–1963, Index. There is also a Vārāṇasī-Māhātmya in the Matsya-Purāṇa, a. 180. For other information on purāṇic *māhātmyas* see WINTERNITZ, G.I.L. I, p. 451.

<sup>53</sup> For other texts and particulars see KANE, H.Dh. IV, p. 623. A Kāñcī-Māhātmya (Brahma-Purāṇa) was published at Conjeeveram 1906.

<sup>54</sup> Matsya-Purāṇa, a. 187 ff.

<sup>55</sup> For a Gomatī-Māhātmya of 1700 stanzas see Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Panjab Univ. Library II, Lahore 1941, p. 152; for various *māhātmyas* on the Tāmraparṇī, ibidem, p. 152, etc. There are also legendary works on various sacred places such as the Dharmāranya (HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, Descr. Cat. Skt. mss. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, V, Calcutta 1928, p. 819).

<sup>56</sup> H. KULKE, Cidambaramāhātmya. Eine Untersuchung der religionsgeschichtlichen und historischen Hintergründe für die Entstehung der Tradition einer südindischen Tempelstadt, Wiesbaden 1970. The text has not yet been published; Kulke's study was based on two manuscripts. There also exist *māhātmyas* of this holy place called after its other names Puṇḍarikapura and Vyāghrapura.

<sup>57</sup> Which probably was not introduced before about 1000 A. D. For the Dāruvana story describing the origin of Śiva's dance now see also W. DONTGER O'FLAHERTY, Asceticism and eroticism in the mythology of Śiva, London 1973, p. 172.

and its cult with the great Sanskrit tradition of North India—an endeavour often, and already early, found in the South.<sup>58</sup> This means that they tried to show that the adherents of the ‘heteropractic’ popular Tamil *bhakti* movement could find emancipation—the redeeming unification with Śiva—primarily through pilgrimages to holy places and ‘orthopractic’ cults directed by *śaiva* priests. This Mähātmya moreover allows of conclusions with regard to the relations between the temple clergy and those in political authority. Of special interest is the possibility of viewing the Hiraṇyavarman legend (11<sup>th</sup> century) against the background of historical reality, viz. the life-story of Rājendra II (Kulottuṅga I, ± 1070–1118) which in some respects runs parallel with the legend.<sup>59</sup> That means that the work probably shows that a powerful king could already in his lifetime become a legendary figure; that this figure could then already become part of a famous temple ‘history’, and that one of the purposes this ‘official history’, i.e. the Mähātmya, had to serve was to establish Rājendra’s claims to the throne.<sup>60</sup>

Although it is for the sake of surveyability recommendable to distinguish *bhakti* works, *mähātmyas* proper and so on, classification of these texts is not infrequently difficult. Thus the second of the six books (*saṃhitā*) of the Southern Skanda-(Skānda-)Purāṇa, the Sūta-Saṃhitā,<sup>61</sup> which was perhaps produced in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and impresses us as an independent work—it has indeed been separately commented upon—is an *advaita* treatise with special emphasis on *śaiva bhakti*. Although higher knowledge (*jñāna*) is held to be the only way to final emancipation (which here is realization of Brahman), devotion to Śiva and his grace are both said to be necessary for obtaining *jñāna*. The first thirteen of the fifty chapters are however a long Śiva-Mähātmya. The character of the work—which is no doubt of Southern origin and mentions many South Indian Śiva shrines—accounts for the accretion of a number of *mähātmyas* on sacred places of Śivaism.<sup>62</sup>

The interest of part of this literature centres, indeed, in the figure of a god and the spread of his cult rather than the sanctity of a particular temple city or place of pilgrimage. A well-known instance is the Devī-Mähātmya—also Caṇḍī- or Durgā-Mähātmya, or Saptasatī—, one of the oldest documents of Śāktism, which exists as an independent scripture as well as a section of the

<sup>58</sup> Cf. e.g. K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, History and culture of the Tamils, Calcutta 1963, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> See H. KULKE, Funktionale Erklärung eines südindischen Mähātmyas, in Saeculum 20 (München 1969), p. 412.

<sup>60</sup> “There is a good chance of finding historical causes for a relatively high number of interpolations and textual alterations” (KULKE, Cidambaramähātmya, Summary, p. 224).

<sup>61</sup> Editions Madras 1916 and Poona (Ānandāśrama 25), both with Mādhava-mantrin’s commentary (14<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>62</sup> For particulars: V. RAGHAVAN, The Sūta-Saṃhitā, in ABORI 22 (1941), p. 236.

Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna (ch. 81–93).<sup>63</sup> When the demons under Mahiṣa vanquish the gods, Devī is formed as Caṇḍikā out of their special energies combined; in a great battle she destroys the demons including Mahiṣa himself. Thereupon the gods praise her in a hymn and she promises to help them also in the future. Other occasions, for the goddess to render assistance, and for the gods to praise her present themselves. The three hymns contained in the work refer to the theology of Devī's cult. Finally Devī herself, alluding to her worship and annual festival, enlarges upon the merits of this text and the beneficent results of reading it and listening to it. The gods regain their supremacy and Devī is extolled. This work—which existed already in 998, the date of one of its manuscripts, and dates perhaps from about 600—is up to modern times read in the Durgā temples of Bengal and on the occasion of the great Durgā festival<sup>64</sup> delivered with special solemnity.

The *purānas* contain many versions of a Viṣṇu-Māhātmya, a comparative study of which sheds some light on the various aspects of the Viṣṇuite *bhakti* religion.<sup>65</sup> Among the component parts of the Vāyu-Purāna is also a Māhātmya of Maheśvara (Śiva). The Kāraṇa-Māhātmya is associated with the spread of the teachings of Lakuliśa who was regarded as an incarnation of Śiva: according to this text the god, in order to become the teacher and deity of this name, appeared as the son of a brahmin, to whom the Glorification ascribes some miraculous legendary feats.<sup>66</sup> The Hāṭakeśvara-Māhātmya (Skanda-Purāna) and the independent Yāgīśvara-Māhātmya<sup>67</sup> deal with the Śivaite Dāruvana story.<sup>68</sup> There are glorifications of Viṣṇu as for instance lying on the serpent Ananta, on his sacred *tulasi* plant and so on, and so on.<sup>69</sup>

Occasionally, a *māhātmya* gives welcome information on an important historical person. Thus the early life of the philosopher Rāmānuja is dealt with in the Bhūtapurī-Māhātmya, the glorification of his birth-place.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Published in the editions of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna (e. g. by K. M. BANERJEA, Calcutta 1862; Bombay 1910); translated by F. E. PARGITER, The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna, Calcutta 1904, p. 465; SWAMI JAGADISHVARANANDA, Madras 1953; (text, translation, introduction) V. S. AGRAWALA, Devī-Māhātmya, The glorification of the Great Goddess, Varanasi 1963. See also the same, in Purāna 5 (1963), p. 64; 267; D. SHARMA, *ibidem*, p. 90; K. W. BOLLE, in OH 6 (1958), p. 91.

<sup>64</sup> See e. g. S. Ch. BOSE, The Hindoos as they are, London and Calcutta 1881, p. 95.

<sup>65</sup> See e. g. GaruḍaP. 1, a. 230; 244; MatsyaP. a. 244; LiṅgaP. 2, a. 2; VāyuP. 2, a. 35 f. (Viṣṇu-Māhātmya) and S. PIANO, in Indologica Taurinensia, 3. For a Nilakaṇṭha-Stava see VāyuP. 1, a. 54.

<sup>66</sup> See DALAL, Gaṇakārīka, Introduction (Baroda 1920); DASGUPTA, H. I. Ph. V, p. 7; D. R. BHANDARKAR, Lakuliśa, Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1906–1907, p. 180.

<sup>67</sup> See W. JAHN, in ZDMG 69, p. 545; 70, p. 310.

<sup>68</sup> See KULKE, Cidambaramāhātmya, p. 46. See above, p. 280, n. 57.

<sup>69</sup> Cat. Skt. Mss. Panjab Univ. Library II, p. 150; 153.

<sup>70</sup> FARQUHAR, R. L. I., p. 246.

Whereas some *purāṇas* comprise parts or résumés of the Bhagavadgītā<sup>71</sup> other works of this class contain portions dedicated to the glorification of that important poem and accordingly known as *mähātmya*. Thus the Padma-Purāṇa, Uttarakhanda, ch. 171–188 is a complete Gītā-Mähātmya, consisting, like the Gītā itself, of eighteen chapters each of which begins with the proclamation of the greatness of that work which is illustrated by means of an appropriate narrative. The same Purāṇa includes also the Bhāgavata-Mähātmya—also added to editions of the great Purāṇa which it eulogizes—which contains an interesting passage on the spread and history of the Bhakti movement and can therefore not be older than the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>72</sup> A certain Āśramasvāmin produced a work entitled Nāma-Mähātmya.<sup>73</sup>

An attempt to survey, within the limits of possibility, all those genres of religious literature which have not yet come up for individual discussion would hardly serve a useful purpose. The number of relevant writings, more or less completely preserved in manuscripts or printed in publications of local or regional circulation is almost endless, their diversity and literary value in most cases small.<sup>74</sup> The following notes may suffice.

A considerable part of the matter treated in the āgamic literature is also made the subject of smaller or larger separate writings, mostly in *ślokas* and sometimes of anonymous, in other cases of well-known or even renowned authors. There are various treatises dealing with the details of divine worship as carried out in temples (entitled, for instance, *Ārāadhanotsavasamgraha*); with the preliminary ceremonies relating to the consecration of divine images either in temples or in houses; with the rules in connexion with the ceremonious sowing of grain as a preliminary rite to ensure the auspicious fulfilment of the acts connected with the temple festival; with the various religious ceremonies to be performed when for instance Śiva's *liṅga* is to be re-consecrated—a subject treated in one of the oldest works of this class extant (a manuscript dates from 1090 A. D.), viz. the *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati* by a disciple of Kumāraśiva—or when old and dilapidated sanctuaries are to be repaired or the images are to be renewed or replaced (*jīrṇoddhara*); or with the consecration of new images; with consecration and dedication (*pratiṣṭhā*) in general—for instance, a work entitled *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* (10<sup>th</sup> century or earlier) treats, in the form of

<sup>71</sup> E. g. AgniP. 3, ch. 380 (or 381: Gītāsāra); GaruḍaP. 1, a. 242; PadmaP. Utt. 171–188 (Gītā-Mähātmya).

<sup>72</sup> J. FILLIOZAT, in *Indological studies in honor of W. Norman Brown*, New Haven Conn. 1962, p. 74.

<sup>73</sup> This 'Glorification of the Name' was edited by MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI, Benares 1937. For a eulogy on the month Kārtika (from *purāṇas*, Pañcarātrāgama etc. and published at Benares 1925) see N. C. C. IV, p. 3ff.

<sup>74</sup> The interested reader may be referred to the Catalogues of manuscripts of the great Indian libraries, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* and works of a similar character. There is a good survey in HARAPRASĀDA SHĀSTRĪ, op. cit., V, Calcutta 1925, Preface, p. XXXVII based on Calcutta manuscripts and discussing also some of the works mentioned in the following paragraph.



a discussion between Nārada and Śiva, the consecration of every part of a temple including the gates, flagstaff, water and so on, the procedure of the consecration being Vedic (it is composed for those professing the Mādhyandina branch of the White Yajurveda); another old and authoritative work is the Sarvadevapratiṣṭhāpaddhati by Trivikrama Sūri (probably a Bengali); there are also comparatively modern writings of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries—; with the religious duties of the members of a community to be gone through during the successive periods of the day (*āhnikā, sadācāra, nityakarma*)—among them the Sadācārasmr̥ti by Ānandatīrtha, the founder of the Mādhva school of Vaiṣṇavism (13<sup>th</sup> century), and the Chandogāhnikam on the daily duties of the Sāmavedin brahmins by Śrīdatta of Mithilā (13<sup>th</sup> century), a work on *āhnikā* by Paraśurāma Pāṭhaka (Benares 1795); or in general with *pūjā* and a variety of ritual performances. There are writings setting forth the manifold rules of ritual purity (*āśauca*)—for instance, a short work in *sragdharā* metre on impurity arising from birth or death in the family by Vijñāneśvara (11<sup>th</sup> century) with many commentaries, and some comparatively modern works (17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries)—; discussing marriage or *śrāddha* ceremonies—an early work is the Śrāddhadīpikā, attributed to Nārada, a likewise old and comprehensive text written by Gaṇeśvara Mantri, and entitled Sugatisopānam (“Stairs to happiness”) belongs to the Mithilā school (the oldest manuscript dates from 1340), Viśvanātha’s Śrāddharatnāvali describes the funeral and *śrāddha* ceremonies of *saṃnyāsins* and other categories of people—; dealing with atonement and penances (*prāyaścitta*) or propitiation of offended deities (*śānti*): mention must be made of the very systematic and conveniently arranged Adbhutasāgara, the compilation of which was undertaken by the Bengal king Vallāla Sena (1167) (who was probably assisted by a paṇḍit called Śrīnivāsa; when the king left it unfinished it was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇa Sena) and which treats of the propitiation of deities in case of omens and portents,<sup>75</sup> and of works on the propitiation of fever, plague, pestilence, possession by ghosts etc. such as Dinakara Bhaṭṭa’s voluminous Śāntisāra (17<sup>th</sup> century). There exist treatises inculcating the worship of a particular deity, e.g. Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme being, the importance of worshipping cult images (called, e.g., Arcādījyāprabhava), discussing the characteristics of these images and the *mudrās* etc. to be executed in connexion with temple worship, or the sanctifying of rosaries made of beads. Some of these monographs are in our eyes of considerable length, for instance that on how to fix the date of the birthdays of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Edited by PT. MURALI DHARA JHA JYAUTIṢACHARYA, Benares 1905; see also D.J. KOHLBRUGGE, Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa über Omina, Thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> The manuscript 5248 of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras numbers 92 pages of six lines each.

Among the smaller works which are traditionally—and in all probability rightly—attributed to Rāmānuja is the *Nityagrantha*,<sup>77</sup> a manual for daily worship which is primarily intended for the individual devotee who has performed *prapatti*, worshipping in his home or monastery (not in a temple). It gives detailed instructions for the regular (*nitya*) morning worship, directed either to an image in one's family room or in a monastery chapel; if required, also to a mental image. Neither the images nor the theological significance of the acts are discussed. The text presupposes the doctrines of the author's prose hymns,<sup>78</sup> but does not enlarge upon points of doctrinal interest.

There exist treatises on the characteristics of religiously efficacious gifts (so-called *Dānalakṣaṇa*).<sup>79</sup> There are also manuals for the use of those who undertake a *vrata* (observance) and so-called *kavacas* ("armours")—for instance in the outward form of an interlocution between Bhṛgu and Bharata—considered to protect the reciter from illness or injury. In accordance with its name the Viṣṇuite *Aṣṭākṣaradīpikā* illustrates the sacredness and purificatory efficacy of the eight-syllabled *mantra Om namo nārāyaṇāya*. Another Viṣṇuite work contains a description of the one hundred and eight—a fixed number—ancient and holy shrines in India dedicated to Viṣṇu. There exist collections of memorial stanzas in honour of spiritual preceptors belonging to definite families and so-called *āśīrvādas* containing benedictory sayings pronounced on auspicious occasions. Such a hymn in honour of his deceased guru Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī was written by Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita (17<sup>th</sup> century): the main theme of this *Gurutattvamalikāstotra*<sup>80</sup> is the author's *bhakti* towards that spiritual guide, although an allusion to asceticism is not absent.

Among these works are anthologies composed for religious purposes. The *Parāṅkuśavaibhavam*, for instance, is a collection of authoritative opinions, extracted from Pāñcarātra *āgamas* and other works, on the greatness of the Tamil poet Parāṅkuśa (Nammālvār Śaṭhakopa) and his famous poem *Tiruvāymoḷi*. Other collections deal with, for instance, texts from *purānas* and *dharma* works on the behaviour of the faithful, inter alia on the outward signs to be put on the forehead.

Part of these writings are of a more theoretical nature. For instance, in a work entitled *Puruṣakāramīmāṃsā*<sup>81</sup> a discussion is held of the problem as to whether Lakṣmī has a hand in the salvation of the world or not, the author himself being of the opinion that Viṣṇu is reached only through the mediation of his spouse. Other treatises, among them a *Pañcarātrāgamaprāmānyam* ("On the authenticity of the traditional doctrines or scriptures of the Pāñcarātra school") composed by Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Vedottama<sup>82</sup> assert the authoritativeness

<sup>77</sup> Published in Śrī-Bhagavad-Rāmānuja-Granthamālā (Complete works in Sanskrit), Kāñcīpuram 1956. See CARMAN, op. cit., p. 63; 213; 230.

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 257. <sup>79</sup> E.g. Gov. Or. Mss. Library Madras, 5166.

<sup>80</sup> See P. FILLIOZAT, in JOR 34-35 (1964-66, Madras 1973), p. 95.

<sup>81</sup> Gov. Or. Mss. Library Madras, 5298.

<sup>82</sup> Gov. Or. Mss. Library Madras, 5288.

of a particular *saṃpradāya*, in *casu* the religion of the Pāñcarātrins. Murālidharadāsa—the name means “Servant of the one who holds the flute, i.e. of Kṛṣṇa”—left us a Sevākalpataru, on the nature of the service of, i.e. of the worship to be offered to, Kṛṣṇa and the benefits to be derived therefrom. There are more works of this class produced in various communities and called, for instance, Sevāphalam “The fruit of service”. A short text entitled Hari-dāsasiddhānta “The settled doctrine of Haridāsa” sets forth a devotee’s views regarding self-surrender to Kṛṣṇa.

Goraḅṣa, a native of the Cola region in the South, who, after becoming an adept of the Kashmirian Śivaite philosophy (12<sup>th</sup> century), received on the occasion of his initiation the name Maheśvarānanda “Whose bliss is the Great Lord (Śiva)”, informs us in his commentary Parimala of some details about his life and works. Of the latter a poem remains, the Mahārthamañjarī “The bunch of flowers of (the mystic tradition called) Mahārtha”.<sup>83</sup> In the seventy stanzas of this poem, explained in his own Parimala, he gives by means of symbols and images a clear account of the philosophical ideas of the monist system of Kashmirian Śivaism. The contents of this work which was, he says, revealed to him by a *yoginī*—his yogic power represented as a female deity—was written down in Mahārāṣṭrī and translated by himself into Sanskrit.

Another work of a more theoretical or theological character is, for instance, Bodhendra Sarasvatī’s (16<sup>th</sup> century) Hariharādvaīta-Bhūṣaṇa<sup>84</sup> which is an attempt to prove the identity of the gods Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva).<sup>85</sup> The Sakalādhikāra attributed to Agastya deals with Śivaite saints.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> L. SILBURN, *La Mahārthamañjarī de Maheśvarānanda avec des extraits du Parimala* (text, translation, introduction, commentary), Paris 1968. Older editions are as K. S. T. S. 11, Bombay 1918 and *The Mahārthamañjarī with the commentary Parimala of Maheśvarānanda*, ed. by T. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRĪ, in *Trivandrum Sanskrit series* 66, 1919 (Prākṛit and Sanskrit texts).

<sup>84</sup> *Hariharādvaīta-Bhūṣaṇam* (with *Kārikā*) . . . edited by T. CHANDRĀŚEKHARAN, Madras Gov. Or. Mss. Series 25, 1954; see *Journal Gaṅgānātha Jha Research Institute*, 11–12 (1953–1955).

<sup>85</sup> Other religious literature which is of interest from a philosophical point of view will be discussed in the fascicles on the philosophical schools in volume VI of this *History*.

<sup>86</sup> Ed. (with a translation): V. GOPALA IYENGAR, Thanjavur 1973.

## GLOSSARY

- advaita*, monist, monism, doctrine of the identity of Brahman or the Supreme Soul with the world and the individual souls
- ahimsā*, abstention from injury, respect for human and animal life
- amṛta*, 'immortal(ity)', draught of immortality, continuance of life
- āradhanā*, worship, adoration, propitiation of deities
- ātman*, the 'Self', the supreme universal Soul of which every intelligent soul is a partial individuation as well as the individual 'soul'
- avatāra*, descent, esp. descent of a god, more particularly of the incarnations of Viṣṇu in order to save the world and mankind and to restore the *dharma*
- bhakta*, devoted and faithful worshipper
- bhakti*, devotion (with faith, love and homage) as a means of salvation
- campū*, a form of literary composition in which prose and verse are indifferently and alternately used to deal with the same subject
- caryā*, due observance of all traditional customs, religious rites etc.
- devarṣi*, a *ṛṣi* (saintly sage) of divine origin
- dharma*, the right order, law and moral order and their customary observance
- dhyāna*, profound religious meditation
- dīghbandhana*, fettering the points of the compass (the quarters of the sky or universe) in order to ward off the influence of the evil powers in the cosmos which constantly threaten a worshipper's religious and social endeavours
- gopī*, milkmaid, esp. the female companions of Kṛṣṇa's juvenile sports
- guṇa*, the (three) constituents of *prakṛti* (q.v.), which they permeate in every corner of her being and in various proportions determine and constitute all phenomenal things
- guru*, any respectable or venerable person, esp. a spiritual guide or preceptor
- hathayoga*, a method of forced *yoga* involving strenuous physical exertions
- homa*, burnt-offering, oblation with fire
- Īśvara*, the Lord
- jñāna*, higher knowledge derived from meditation on Brahman or God
- kali*, *kaliyuga*, the present age, the last and worst of the four long mundane periods
- kalpasūtra*, manuals in Sūtra form (short aphoristic rules) for the performance of (Vedic) rites
- karman*, act, any religious act; former acts leading to inevitable results; inevitable results of former acts
- kriḍā*, amusement, (amorous) sport
- kriyā*, activity, esp. a sacrifice or any religious rite or ceremony
- liṅga*, the male organ, esp. that of Śiva worshipped in the form of a stone or column
- maṇḍala*, circle, circumference; esp. a circumference delineating a consecrated superficies and protecting it from invasion by disintegrating forces, and representing a 'map', image and counterpart of the cosmos in its process of emanation and reabsorption
- maṇḍapa*, open hall or temporary pavilion (erected on festive occasions etc.)
- māyā*, the incomprehensible or inscrutable divine creative and transformative power
- mudrā*, particular position of the hands or fingers supposed to possess a religious meaning and efficacy

*nāga*, serpent-demon

*paṇḍit(a)*, learned person, esp. one trained in the traditional Indian methods and who is a master of a branch of Indian learning

*pradakṣiṇa*, reverential moving (circumambulation) from left to right, so that the right side is turned towards a person or object

*prakṛti*, original or primary substance, undifferentiated nature as the origin of the material world

*pūjā*, (Hindu, non-Vedic) worship

*purohita*, domestic chaplain or family priest of a ruler or nobleman

Puruṣa, Primeval Man as the origin and the 'soul' of the universe

*rakṣa*, guarding, watching, protecting, watcher

*sādhanā*, accomplishment, means of effecting, esp. spiritual endeavour

*sādhu*, effective, successful, a man who has succeeded in his spiritual endeavours, holy man

*Śakta*, worshipper of a Śakti, esp. of Durgā, Śiva's spouse

*Śakti*, power, potency, esp. the energy, creative and active energy of a deity, personified as his wife

*samādhi*, intense concentration of the thoughts

*samādhya*, morning or evening twilight, the religious acts performed at these junctures

*saṁnyāsin*, an ascetic who abandons or resigns all worldly affairs or concerns

*saṁpradāya*, established and traditional doctrine, belief, usage; a peculiar system of religious teaching; religious community adhering to definite traditions

*saṁsāra*, circuit of mundane existence, earthly life (with a following rebirth)

*saṁskāra*, a sacred purifying or sanctifying ritual act, *rite de passage*, 'sacrament'

*śastra*, hymn of praise, invocation

*śāstra*, authoritative (religious or scientific) manual, treatise, or compendium

*śilpa*, manual art or craft, handicraft, artistic work

*śloka*, stanza, esp. the common epic, purāṇic etc. stanzas consisting of four quarter verses of eight syllables each

*smṛti*, the whole body of sacred tradition as far as remembered by human teachers

*śraddhā*, faith, esp. in the authenticity of a religious doctrine or tradition, the effectiveness of a rite, and (or) the competence of a teacher or spiritual guide

*śrāddha*, a ceremony for the benefit of the dead ancestors observed at fixed periods as well as on occasions of mourning or rejoicing

*śruti*, that which has been heard, the sacred knowledge of the *ṛṣis*, orally transmitted by brahmins; the eternal and infallible truth which is embodied in the Veda

*stotra*, eulogy, hymn of praise

Tamilnad(u), the Tamil speaking region of South India, one of the federative states of India

*tantra*, system, doctrine; name of a class of esoteric scriptures expressing a definite, 'gnostic', spiritual attitude and the teachings, beliefs, rituals, institutions resulting from it

*tīrtha*, ford, bathing-place in a river, place of pilgrimage on the banks of a sacred stream, holy place, holy or worthy person, holy water

*upāsana*, waiting upon, attendance, adoration, worship

Vṛndāvana, a wood in the district of Mathurā on the left bank of the Yamunā (Jumnā), celebrated as the place where Kṛṣṇa passed his youth among the cow-herds

*yajamāna*, instituter of a Vedic sacrifice, also used of a Hindu sacrificer

*yantra*, any instrument for holding or restraining, contrivance, a *maṇḍala* of greater linear simplicity

## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. Texts (*original sources*)

AhS.	Ahīrbudhnyā-Saṃhitā
AjĀ.	Ajitāgama
AnS.	Aniruddha-Saṃhitā
ĀnS.	Ānanda-Saṃhitā
ĀP.	see Yāmuna
ĀpGS.	Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra
ĀpSS.	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
AtriS.	Atri-Saṃhitā
AVŚ.	Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (Śaunakiya recension)
BĀU.	Bṛhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad
BBS.	Bṛhad-Brahma-Saṃhitā
BhāgP.	Bhāgavata-Purāṇa
BhG., BhagG.	Bhagavadgītā
Bṛgu Y.	Bṛgu, Yajñādhikāra
BhS.	Bhāradvāja-Saṃhitā
BS.	Brahmasūtras
ChU.	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
HP.	Hayaśirṣa-Pāñcarātra
Īs., ĪsvS.	Īśvara-Saṃhitā
JB.	Jaiminiya-Brahmaṇa
JS.	Jayākhya-Saṃhitā
KĀ., KāmĀ.	Kāmikāgama
KapS.	Kapiñjala-Saṃhitā
KaU.	Kaṭha-Upaniṣad
KiĀ., KirĀ.	Kiraṇāgama
LT.	Lakṣmī-Tantra
MĀ.	Mrgendrāgama
MaiU.	Maitrāyaṇiya-Upaniṣad
MālT.	Mālinivijayottara-Tantra
MāṇḍU.	Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad
MārKp.	Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa
MārKS.	Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṃhitā
Mbh.	Mahābhārata (critical edition)
MNU.	Mahā-Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad
MT.	Mrgendra-Tantra
MuU.	Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad
NārS.	Nārada-(Nāradiya-)Saṃhitā
NBS.	Nārada Bhakti-Sūtras
NPR.	Nārada Pañcarātra
NT.	Netra-Tantra
P.	Purāṇa
ParS.	Parama-Saṃhitā
Pās.	Pādma-Saṃhitā (or Pādma-Tantra)
PB.	Pañcaviṃśa-Brahmaṇa

PKārĀ.	Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama
PrmS.	Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā
PS.	Pāsupata-Sūtra (Śivaite)
PS.	Paṣkara-Saṃhitā (Viṣṇuite)
RĀ.	Rauravāgama
Rām.	Rāmāyaṇa
R.V.	Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā
SA.	Stotrārṇava edited by T. Chandrasekharan, Madras 1961
SĀ.	Suprabhedāgama
ŚāṅdS.	Śāṅḍilya-Saṃhitā
SanS.	Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā
ŚB.	Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa
ŚBS.	Śāṅḍilya Bhakti-Sūtras
ŚPS.	Śrīpraśna-Saṃhitā
SS.	Sāttvata-Saṃhitā (Pāñcarātra)
SS.	Stotrasamuccaya. A collection of rare and unpublished stotras, edited by K. Parameswara Aithal, 2 vol., Adyar-Madras 1969
SŚP.	Somaśambhu-Paddhati
SvT.	Svacchanda-Tantra
ŚvU.	Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad
TĀ.	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB.	Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa
TS.	Taittirīya-Saṃhitā
TU.	Taittirīya-Upaniṣad
VaikhSmS.	Vaikhānasa-Smārta-Sūtra
VāP.	Vāyu-Purāna
VāsS.	Vāsiṣṭha-Saṃhitā
Ved. P.R.	Vedāntadeśika, Pañcarātraraksā
ViP.	Viṣṇu-Purāna
ViS.	Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā
ViśvS.	Viśvāmitra-Saṃhitā
ViT.	Viṣṇu-Tantra
ViTil.	Viṣṇu-Tilaka
VksS.	Viṣvaksena-Saṃhitā
Yāmuna ĀP.	Yāmuna, Āgamaprāmānya

## II. Abbreviated titles of books mentioned in the footnotes

Bhandarkar, V.S.	R.G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems, Strassburg 1913
Brunner-Lachaux, SŚP.	H. Brunner-Lachaux, Somaśambhu-Paddhati, 2 vol., Pondicherry 1963; 1968
v. Buitenen, YĀP.	J.A.B. van Buitenen, Yāmuna's Āgama Prāmānyam, Madras 1971
Caland, S.B.V.	W. Caland, On the sacred books of the Vaikhānasas, Amsterdam Acad. 1928
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### III. Periodicals etc.

- ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
- AIOC All India Oriental Conference (Proceedings of)
- ALB Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar-Madras
- AO (Lugd.) Acta Orientalia, Leiden
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient, Saigon, Paris
- EW East and West, Rome
- HR History of Religions, Chicago
- IA Indian Antiquary, Bombay
- IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
- IJJ Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague
- JASO Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Baltimore
- JASB(engal) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- JASB(ombay) Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay

JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Society, Patna
JBRS	Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
NIA	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay
OH	Our Heritage, Calcutta
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
VIJ	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur
WZKSA	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens, Wien (Vienna)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Wiesbaden

#### *IV. General*

a.	<i>adhyāya</i> , chapter
C(ar).	Caryāpāda
ch.	chapter
comm.	commentary
ed.	editor, edited
Int.	International
K(r).	Kriyāpāda
Pt.	Paṇḍit
Sw.	Swāmī, Svāmī
Trans.	Transactions
transl.	translation, translated
Univ.	University
V(id).	Vidyāpāda

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