INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PĀṆCARĀTRA

AND THE

AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

BY

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ADYAR LIBRARY, ADYAR, MADRAS, S.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE book, small in size but rich in contents, which is herewith placed before the public, has been written by a prisoner of war during his captivity at Ahmednagar, though some of the materials on which it is based had, fortunately, been collected by him before the War broke out. Only three of the Samhitā MSS. of the Adyar Library, namely those of nos. 8, 70 and 195 of the synopsis on pp. 6 fl., which were acquired recently, have remained entirely unknown to Dr. Schrader.

The burden of seeing the work through the press has fallen on the undersigned who, though having done all in his power to acquit himself honourably of his task, is fully aware of its difficulties and of the inadequacy of his knowledge of Sanskrit to cope with these with complete success. It was impossible under such circumstances to produce an absolutely faultless work; still, a glance at the list of Additions and Corrections will show that the purely typographical errors found by the Author in the printed sheets are of a trifling nature. Two omissions in the MS., however, have caused a few words of importance to fall out which must be restored at once. These omissions are given in the Errata for p. 16, l. 12 from bottom, p. 32 l. 6 from bottom, and p. 42 l. 10. The reader should also correct immediately the erratum for p. 24.

The Author has undoubtedly doubled the value of his monograph by adding to it copious Indexes and a detailed synopsis of the contents. Together they render the
whole of the subject-matter of the book in all its categories instantaneously available for reference. Thus the work may preliminarily serve as a concise but encyclopaedic reference book on the Pāñcarātra, until it shall be superseded by subsequent more exhaustive publications. The Numeral Index contains some items not found elsewhere in the book.

A personal word in conclusion. The publication of this little work coincides with the severance of the connection with the Adyar Library—though for wholly different reasons—of both Dr. Schrader and myself. I may be permitted to express here my great satisfaction at having had the privilege of watching over the booklet on its way through the press, a last service rendered to the Adyar Library in close and pleasant co-operation with Dr. Schrader, which puts a term to a period of over seven years’ daily collaboration with the same aims, in the same spirit and in complete harmony, for the same object.

May Dr. Schrader’s last official work performed for the Library enhance the renown of that Institution, and may it be judged to constitute a fit conclusion to his eleven years’ tenure of office as Director of the Adyar Library.

The publication of this book also, as that of the two volumes of the text edition of Aḥirbudhnya Samhitā, has been greatly facilitated by the courtesy of the military censors at Ahmednagar, to whom our sincere thanks are due.

Adyar,  
August 1916.  
Assistant Director, Adyar Library.

JOHAN VAN MANEN,
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE PĀṆCARĀTRA AND THE
AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

INTRODUCTORY REMARK

THE publication of the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, by the Adyar Library¹, has been undertaken with a view to starting investigations in a branch of Sanskrit literature which was once cultivated in countries as far distant from each other as Kasmir, Orissa and Mysore, but is now practically extinct except in a very few places of Southern India where considerable remnants of it are still being preserved and partly even studied. Some scanty information about it has, indeed, reached the West, and a few of the Samhitās of the Pāṅcarātras have been published; still, when asked about the latter, most orientalists will even now be likely to confess that they have so far seen only the "Nārada Paṅcarātra", "a Tantric work of little if any value"², while, as to the philosophy of the Pāṅcarātra, the theory of the Avatāras in its common Vaiṣṇavite form and a very elementary conception of the doctrine of the Vyūhas (derived from the commentaries on Brahma Sūtra II, 2, 42) will be found to be all that is known. An attempt will be made in the following pages to provide the future student of this unexplored field with a provisional foundation.

¹ Two volumes, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, S., 1916.
² Au-dessous du médiocre, is the final judgment of the Rev. A. Roussel's Étude du Paṅcarātra, Mélanges de Harlez, p. 265.
I. THE LITERATURE OF THE PĀŃCARĀTRAS

The literature of the Pāńcarātras, like other sectarian literatures, falls into two broad divisions comprising respectively works of inspired or divine origin and such as are of human authorship. The latter class, entirely dependent on the former, consists chiefly of what are called vidhi and prayoga: digests, commentaries, extracts and studies on special subjects, and the like. The former class, with which alone we are here concerned, consists of the Saṃhitās or "compositions" (compendia), that is, metrical works dealing, in so many chapters (adhyāya, paṭala), with a number of topics, if not the whole, of the Pāńcarātra system. The name Saṃhitā, as is well known, is also applied to the Law-books ("Manu Saṃhitā", etc.) and need not, therefore, indicate any intention to imitate or replace the Vedic Saṃhitās, which are compilations of a very different character. Instead of Saṃhitā the name Tantra is often used, evidently in exactly the same sense, and both these words, as also the word Kāṇḍa, are also applied to each of the main topics of a philosophical or religious system. For instance, in the twelfth chapter of Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā we read of the Bhagavat Saṃhitā, Karma Saṃhitā, Vidyā Saṃhitā, and seven other Saṃhitās, and equally of the Pati Tantra, Pasu Tantra, Pāsa Tantra, etc., constituting respectively the Sāttvata and the Pāșupata systems.

It is a strange misfortune that of all the works bearing the name of the Pāńcarātra (Pāńcarātra)1 exactly the one

1 Both the system and its followers are usually called Pāńcarātra, but for the system the name Pāńcarātra and for its followers Pāńcarātrin (Pāńcarātrika) are also used.
Samhitā called Jñānāmṛtasūra or Nāradiya was destined to survive in Northern India in order to be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the name of "Nārada Pañcarātra". For it was taken for granted afterwards that this production, the late origin and apocryphal character of which has now been exposed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and which in the South of India has ever since been rejected as spurious, was a faithful reflection of the real Pañcarātra; and thus it happened that an altogether wrong impression of the latter obtained until quite recently both in Europe and, with the exception of the small Vaiṣṇavite circle mentioned above, even in India.

It was also unknown, until recently, that other Samhitās are extant, and even Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his article on "The Pañcarātra or Bhāgavata system" published in 1913, still speaks of only the Sāttvata Samhitā being available (besides the spurious Nārada P.), thus ignoring the paper on "the Pañcarātras or Bhagavat-Sāstra", by A. Govindacārya Svāmin, published in 1911 in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

To obtain a general view, however imperfect, of the material to be taken into account, is evidently the first thing required of anyone approaching an unknown literature. Now, in the case of the Pañcarātra, tradition mentions one hundred and eight Samhitās, and in a few texts about this number are actually enumerated. Such lists, coquetting with the sacred number 108, are, of course, open to suspicion. The fact, however, that none of the

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3 Which also mentions, on p. 956, our edition of Ahirvadvinya Samhitā (then in the press).
available lists of Samhitās, including those which pretend to give 108 names, actually conforms to this number but all of them enumerate either more names or less, is one thing telling in their favour; and when, as is the case, it can further be shown that a respectable number of the texts enumerated are still available, while not a few of the others are found to be quoted or summarised in the later literature, and that a number of Samhitās which are not included in any of the lists, are either extant or quoted — then the value of the latter can no longer be denied. We have, consequently, collated those lists, four in all, and with them a fifth list found in the Agni Purāṇa, and as a result offer the following table in which all the names occurring in the lists have been arranged in alphabetical order. The figures added to the right of the names indicate the place each Samhitā occupies in the said lists : this, as will be seen, is of some importance for determining the mutual relation of the lists, etc. The following abbreviations are used (in addition to K., P., V., H., A. referring to the lists themselves):

\[\begin{align*}
p. &= \text{published [and preserved in MS.].} \\
l. &= \text{not published but preserved in MS. in a public library [and privately].} \\
v. &= \text{neither published nor in any public library, but known to be preserved privately, in some village, etc.} \\
\dagger &= \text{(Dagger before name) = quoted in some work of the post-Samhitā literature.}
\end{align*}\]

A.L. = Adyar Library.
M.G.L. = Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library.
Grantha type. Editor and publisher
Sañkhapuram Rāghavācārya.

P.U. = Pañcarātrotsavasamgraha, MS. of Adyar
Library.

Neither the number of daggers nor that of v.'s may be
said to be exhaustive. The Kapiñjala list (first column)
comprises 106 names, the list of Pādma Tantra (second
column) 112¹, that of Viśṇu Tantra (third column) 141²,
that of Hayasirsa Saṃhitā (fourth column) 34, and that
found in the 39th adhyāya of Agni (Agneya) Purāṇa
only 25.

A still shorter list, namely that of the apocryphal
Nāradiya mentioned above, has not been taken into
account; it comprises the following seven names:
Brāhma, Saiva³, Kaumāra, Vāsiṣṭha, Kāpila, Gautamiya,
and Nāradiya.

¹ Govindaśārya, loc. cit., p. 954, omits the four Saṃhitās named
in the first half of sloka 105 of the edition, perhaps because this line
was not in his MS., which, however, may be a case of haplography
caused by the identical ending (in Vāmanābhayan) of this and the
preceding line. For, as proved by our table, there were at least
two Vāmana Saṃhitās, and the second padā of the omitted line,
namely Jaiminām Vāmanābhayan, is found in nearly the same form
(Vāmanam Jaiminiyakam) in an otherwise different sloka of the
Kapiñjala list. Still, as it can be proved that the Pādma list is
corrupt in at least one place (Kāśyam for Kāvam, see remark
in our table), it would not be surprising to find that the first or
second Vāmanābhayan is a misreading for Vāsavābhayan (=Vasu
Saṃhitā).

² We do not regard padmatantram mahātantram in sloka 26 as
the names of two Saṃhitās but supply an iti between the two
words; cf. the word mahatantram in the next three lines.

³ This may be the Śiva, Sarva, or Ahirbudhnya of our synopsis.
### Synopsis of the Śaṁhitā lists found in Kapiṇḍula, Pāduña, Visṇu, and Hayasīra Śaṁhitās and in the Agni Purāṇa.

<table>
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<td>2. Āṅgira, Āṅgira (1)</td>
<td>... 50 90 ...</td>
<td>Āṅgirāka (throughout). Āṃanta, K.; Āṃantaracāci, V. The &quot;Śaṁha Śaṁhitā&quot; preserved in A. L. seems too modern to be referred to in the Pāduña list.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. do. (II)</td>
<td>... 84 ...</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Acyuta</td>
<td>... 22 ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Adhokṣaja</td>
<td>... 30 ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. + Āṃanta, Āṃanta (1)</td>
<td>67 37 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. do. (II)</td>
<td>48 ... 51 ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. + Aniruddha</strong></td>
<td>7 ... 6 ...</td>
<td>A. list reads &quot;Āṭṭāṅga&quot;. Cf. Īśāna and Sīva. Agnimprakāsa Pāṇcaritā S.P. (p. 14 l. 2); cf. Pāvaka, Vēka.</td>
</tr>
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<td>9. Aṃbara</td>
<td>... 92 ...</td>
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<td>10. Aṭṭāṅga-ravidaḥ</td>
<td>... ... 25 24</td>
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<td>14. Āṃanta, see Āṃanta.</td>
<td>99 49 ... 19 19</td>
<td>Error for Āṃanta?</td>
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<td>15. Āṃanda</td>
<td>... ... 21 21</td>
<td></td>
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<td>16. Āṭāna</td>
<td>... ... 22 22</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>17. + Īśāna</strong></td>
<td>47 ... 78 ...</td>
<td>Cf. Ahirbudhnya, Sarva, Sīva.</td>
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<td>100 82 115</td>
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<td>... ... 136</td>
<td>M.G.L. 5209 must be a later work than P. 45.</td>
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<td>46 28</td>
<td>P. ed. reads Kāgṛya, but see ibid. IV, 33. 197.</td>
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<td>23. Aṇamāna</td>
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<td>24. Kāṇva, Kāṇva</td>
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*Khagavasana quoted in P. U. may be the same.*

*Cf. Tarkṣya, Vihaṇḍra.*

*Cf. Uttaragārgya.*

Pāreṇa Gālava H.; Gārgya Gālava, A.

*Tattvasaṅgarasana, P. R.*

(p. 23).

Probably = *Tattvasaṅgaṇika,* P. R. (pp. 4, 5).

*Cf. Viṣṇutilaka?*
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Possibly = Yajñāvalkya
Viṣṇo preservd in Srimāngalam.
Cf. Viṣṇuṣoṣa.
Cf. Mahālaksyī.
Cf. Hayasīṣa.
{ Doubt as to which of the three is preserved and quoted. |
Cf. Yajñāmurti |
Cf. Agneya, Pūvaka.
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<td>1. 155. Visnu (1)</td>
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<td>1. 156. do. (II)</td>
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<td>(1) one Visnu Samhitā consisting of 30 patašas (M.G.L., A.L.);</td>
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<td>1. 157. do. (III)</td>
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<td>(2) one + Visnu Tantra being a Vṛṣa-Suṣumna-samudra (A.L.);</td>
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<td>(3) one + Visnu Samhitā being a Vasiṣṭha-Jāhali-samudra (M. G. L.).</td>
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<td>1. 158. + Viṣṇutattva</td>
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<td>Pretends to be part of Khaṇḍesvara S.</td>
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<td>Evidently—Yoga.</td>
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<td>173. Sarva (Sakra?)</td>
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<td>175. Sākaṭeya, Saṅkala, Saṅkalabhāya</td>
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<td>1. 176. + Saṅdilya, Saṅdilīya</td>
<td>71 122 9 9</td>
<td>Cf. Tārksya, etc.; V. list reads Vaikñhama.</td>
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<td>V. list reads Śakra. For Sarva cf. Isāna, Siva.</td>
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To the above 210 names have to be added those of a few Samhītās which are extant but apparently not included in any of the lists, to wit:

211. Another Upendra Samhitā, being an Upendra-Kaṇva-samhitā, recent, perhaps the work mentioned in V. list (cf. our remark in the Synopsis). MS. no. 5200 of M. G. L.

212. Kaśyapottara Samhitā of which M.G.L has no less than four copies (nos. 5215 fol).

213. Paramatattvānirvāṇayaprakāsa Samhitā, containing the instruction of the god Brahmān by Śrīhāṁsa on the origin of the world, an important though not very ancient work of which fifteen adhyāyas of the first parisheda are represented, in MS., in M.G.L. (no. 5300) and twice in A.L.

214. Pādmaśaṁhitā Tantra, M.G.L. 5206, which, however, may be found to be a portion of Śaṅkaraṇām Śaṁhitā (cf. colophon in Descr. Cat.).

215. Bhad Brahma Samhitā, another recent work, published twice (see below).
There are further a number of Saṃhitās quoted or mentioned by name which seem to be different from those of the lists. We mention the following, but a complete list should some day reveal many more names:

Gṛgasikhaṇḍi, Maṅkaṇa Vaṇjampāyana, Sukprasna, Śrikālapara, Sudarsana, Saumantara, Haṃsa, Haṃsapāramesvāra.¹

Among the few Saṃhitās found in libraries outside the Madras Presidency (in India or Europe) there is none which is not also represented in one of its three great public libraries, namely the Taṅjore Palace Library, the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the Adyar Library of the Theosophical Society. The first of these (possessing but a few of the P. Saṃhitās) has made no new acquisitions since Bur nell’s time; the Pāñcarātra MSS. of the second are described in vol. XI of its Descriptive Catalogue; the Adyar Library collection, not described so far and growing constantly², comprises at present the following nos. of our Synopsis: 1, 7, 8, 11, 48, 70, 81, 83, 84, 106, 113, 134, 149, nos. 1 and 2 of the Viṣṇu Saṃhitās, 154, 158, 161, 168, 176, 187, 195, and 206; further no. 213.

The editions of Saṃhitās, most of which are now not easily obtained, are the following eleven³:

¹ For Sukprasna cf. the colophon of M.G.L. 5366 (third Viṣṇu Saṃhitā): iti Sukapāñcaratīre Viṣṇusaṃhitayām, etc., and for the last two names Saṃhitā no. 213 above. Śrikālapara, presumably identical with Śrikālottara quoted in Śrutapratikā, and Haṃsapāramesvāra are both quoted in Spandapradyākā (ed. p. 83); Maṅkaṇa is mentioned in Vedantadesīka’s Rahasyarakṣā; the other names are from Pāñcarātrarakṣā.

² It being one of our special aims to make this collection as complete as possible.

³ The second entry refers to the script used, the last gives the name of the editor (who is also the publisher, if the press is not the publisher). A portion of Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, in the Telugu character, is not worth description.
1. Śvāra Saṃhitā, Telugu, Sadvidyā Press, Mysore, 1890, Yogi Pārthasārathi Aīyyangār.

2. Kapiṇḍa Saṃhitā, Telugu, Kalyāṇakumāravilāsa Press, Tirukkovalūr, no year, Yogi, etc. (see 1).


4. Pādma Tantra, Telugu, 1891, rest as in 1.


7. Bhaṛadvāja Saṃhitā, Telugu, no year, rest as in 1.

8. Lakṣmī Tantra, Telugu, 1888, rest as in 1.


With the exception of Bhṛhad Brahma Saṃhitā all of these need re-editing, a critical edition of 4, 8, and 11 being particularly desirable.

That occasionally the same name has been given to two or even more different works, is nothing unusual in the Āgamic literature. For instance, among the Sākta Tantras there are, according to Dutt’s list, three Prapāṇca Tantras, two Harigauri Tantras, three Kubjikā Tantras, two Yoganī Tantras, and two Mrdani (?) Tantras. It is quite possible, for this reason, that the above Synopsis is wrong here and there in referring the same name in

Translation of Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, Introduction, pp. VII—IX.
different lists to the same work. Vice versa, the identity of Ananta and Seṣa, Vihagendra and Tārkṣya, etc., suggests the possibility that in a few cases two or three different names may have been erroneously reckoned in our table as referring to so many different works.

At any rate, this much may be said with certainty, that the literature we are concerned with is a huge one. For, even supposing there were only 200 Samhitās, and trying to calculate, by means of the extant works, their total extent, we find that the Samhitā literature of the Pāṇcarātras must have once amounted to not less but probably more than one and a half million slokas. Truly, the Samhitās have some right to speak of “the ocean of the Pāṇcarātra”!

The chronology of the Samhitās will, of necessity, remain a problem for some time to come. Not until the extant Samhitās as well as the later literature have been thoroughly examined, will it be possible to fix approximately the century of each of the former and of some even of the lost Samhitās. However, a few general remarks on the subject may already be hazarded now.

Our earliest source of information on the Pāṇcarātra is believed to be the so-called Nāradiya section of the Sānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata. This view seems to receive further support from the fact that apparently all of the extant Samhitās are full of the so-called Tāntric element which in the Mahābhārata is, on the contrary, conspicuous by

1 It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Sriprasaṇa (II, 41), Viṣṇutilaka (I, 140 and 145), and other texts, the original Pāṇcarātra had an extent of one and a half crores.

2 It has often been analysed, most recently by Bhandarkar, loc. cit., pp. 4—8.
its absence. However, it may be questioned whether Tāntrism is really altogether absent in the Mahābhārata, and even granting it is, this would not prove that it did not already exist when the Nārādīya was composed. It is most probable, indeed, that, though the Mahābhārata itself was not, still some, if not most of the heterodox systems referred to in it, were already tinged with the said element. The allusion to Sāttvata-vidhi, at the end of the 66th adhyāya of Bhiṣma Parvan¹, could hardly refer to anything else than a Samhitā of the very character of those extant. Moreover, the Nārādīya account does not give the impression of being based on first-hand knowledge: it may have been composed by an outsider who was impressed by the story of Svetadvipa but not interested in the ritualistic details of the system.

At any rate, the possibility of the existence of Pāñcarātra Samhitās at and before the time of the Nārādīya cannot well be denied. But the assertion, by Pañḍit P. B. Anantācārya, in the Bhūmikā to his edition of Sāttvata Samhitā, that the expression sāttvata-vidhi in the above-mentioned passage of the Bhiṣma Parvan² distinctly refers to that particular Samhitā because of the words "sung by Saṃkarṣaṇa" is unfortunately not admissible. The same claim could be made, with even better reasons, for the present Samhitā, in that it is an account, by Ahirbudhnya, of what he had learnt from Saṃkarṣaṇa himself when the Dvāpara age came to a close.³ The coincidence, however, is quite irrelevant, not only

¹ Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 40.
² Sāttvataṃ vidhīṃ āsthiya gītāḥ Samkarṣaṇena yaḥ
     Dvāparasya yugasyānta āśīrva Kāliyagasya ca ॥
³ Dvāpara-velāyām (I, 71), Dvāpara-sanḍhī-anūṣće (I, 73), prāptam
     Saṃkarṣaṇat sukṣmaḥ (II, 4). In Sāttvata Samhitā Saṃkarṣaṇa is the questioner, not the teacher.
because a Saṃkarṣaṇa Saṃhitā is mentioned and quoted, but most of all because it is, according to the system, Saṃkarṣaṇa’s function to proclaim the Śāstra, which means, according to Ahirb. Saṃhitā (11, 19), that all knowledge comes ultimately from him who, in the beginning, started the great universal system from which all single systems, including the Pāñcarātra, have emanated.

The Pāñcarātra must have originated in the North of India and subsequently spread to the South. Had the opposite taken place, most of the extant Saṃhitās would somehow betray this fact, which is not the case. The story of Śvetadvipa seems even to point to the extreme North, and so do some Saṃhitās, among them Ahirbudhnya, as we shall see. The thesis may therefore be advanced that all Saṃhitās betraying a South-Indian (Dravidian) origin belong to the later stock of the literature.

Of those South Indian Saṃhitās the oldest one now available seems to be the Īsvara Saṃhitā. It enjoins, among other things, the study of the so-called Tamil Veda (drāmīdī srutī) and contains a Māhātmya of Melkote in Mysore. It is quoted thrice by Yāmunācārya, the teacher of Rāmānuja, who died in the first half of the eleventh century (ca. 1040). Yāmuna claiming for the Āgamas the authority of a fifth Veda, the said Saṃhitā must have been in existence at his time for at least two centuries. This would bring us to about the time of Saṅkara whom, then, we may provisionally regard as the landmark between the northern and the southern

1 See our Synopsis, above; the quotation is in Vedāntadesīka’s Pāñcarātrarūkṣā, ed. p. 67, line 5.
2 See below: “The Philosophy of the Pāñcarātras”, section 2; also our summary, in part III, of adhyāya 11.
3 In his Āgamaaprāmānya, ed. p. 72.
Pāñcarātra Samhītās, bearing in mind, however, that
the composition of Samhītās did not necessarily cease in
the North just when it began in the South, and re-
membering also that in the southernmost province of
Āryan India (the Marātha country) something like
Pāñcarātra worship seems to have existed as early as
the first century before Christ.¹

To the South Indian class of Samhītās, which is
very much smaller than the northern one, belongs
also the above-mentioned Upendra Samhītā enjoining
particularly the leading of a virtuous life in Śrīraṅgam,
and further the voluminous Bṛhad Brahma Samhītā (no.
215, above)², with prophecies about Rāmānuja, the only
South Indian Samhītā, as it seems, which has made its
way to the north-west and consequently met with a fate
similar to that of the spurious Nāradiya in Bengal, in
that it is now “popularly known in the Gujarāt country
as the Nārada Pāñcarātra”.³

Yāmuna’s work being the oldest one extant by
a South Indian author quoting from the Samhītā
literature, it is noteworthy that in addition to Īsvara
Samhītā he quotes the Parama, Śaṅḍilya, Sanat-
kumāra, Indrarātra (=third Rātra of Mahāsanatkumāra
Samhītā), and Padmodbhava Samhītā.⁴ Yāmuna’s
successor, Rāmānuja, quotes also Parama Samhītā,
further Pauskara Samhītā and Sāttvata Samhītā.

¹ Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 4. It remains to be seen whether
the worship of only the first two Vyuhas (for which there
are still more ancient testimonies, ibid. p. 3) was not perhaps a
precursor of the Pāñcarātra of the Samhītās.

² Which is too recent to be mentioned in the Pādma list and
therefore not likely to be identical with Brahma Nārada, as
Govindācārya is inclined to believe (loc. cit., p. 955).


⁴ Agamaprāmāṇya ed. pp. 7, 69, 70, 71, 72.
In the fourteenth century the famous Vedāntadesika wrote a special work on the Pāñcarātra in which he mentions particularly Jayākhyā (9 times), Pārāmesvara (6 times), Pauskara (5 times), Pādma (4 times), Nārādiya, Sṛikara, Sāttvata (each thrice), Ahirbudhnya, Bhārgava, Varāha, Vīhabendra, and Hayagrīva (each twice); moreover the Saṃhitās figuring in our Synopsis as nos. 17, 28, 31, 41, 49, 58, 71, 72, 75, 77, 97, 106, 127, 134, 149, 166 (?), 171, 172, 177, 191, 195, 201 (or 202); Citrasikhandi, etc. (see p. 12, note 1); and, finally, a few doubtful names such as Tantrasamjñīka (=Tantrasāgara?), Āgamākhya, etc.

In the North of India the oldest work quoting the Pāñcarātra, which we can lay hands on, seems to be the Spandaprādīpikā of Utpalavaiśnava, who lived in Kasmīr in the tenth century A.D., about one generation before Yāmuna. The Saṃhitās mentioned by name in this work are: Jayākhyā (Sṛijaya, Jayā), Hamsapāramesvara, Vaihāyasā, and Sṛikālaparā; while two more names, namely Nārada Samgraha and Śrī Sāttvataḥ, may, but need not, be connected with some particular Saṃhitā. Of eight other quotations, all of which are vaguely stated to be “in the Pāñcarātra” or “P. Sruti” or “P. Upaniṣad”, one is found, in a slightly different form, in Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā. Utpalavaiśnava quotes also

1 Pāñcarātvarakṣa, of which there is an edition in Grantha characters (see above) p. 4.
2 J. C. Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, pp. 13, 16.
3 See pages 9-11-34, 33, 33, 33 of the Vizianagaram edition.
4 Pp. 54 and 20, ibid.
6 XV, 71b: Prajñā-prāsidam, etc., reproduced by Utpala (ed. p. 41):

Prajñā-prāsidam aruḥya aṣocyaḥ vidence jānān
Bhūmiṣṭhān eva stailasthaḥ sarvān prajñānupasyati
the Paramārthasāra in its original Vaiśṇavite form (not the Śaivite recast by Abhinavagupta). All this, as also his name and that of his father (Trivikrama), proves that Utpala, though a Śaivite author, must have been originally a Vaiśṇavite. And it further seems to enable us, as since the rise of the Śaivite system (Trikā) philosophical Vaiśṇavism is practically extinct in Kasmīr, and as there is no likelihood of any Pāṅcarātra Samhitā (except the few spurious works) having been composed in Aryan India after that time, to fix the eighth century A.D. as the terminus ad quem of the original Pāṅcarātra Samhitās.

From the above it follows that the Samhitā literature falls into three classes: (1) the original Samhitās, to which belong most of the extant works; (2) the much smaller South Indian class comprising the legitimate descendants of class 1; and (3) the still smaller class, North and South Indian, of apocryphal or spurious Samhitās. To the third class must be assigned all Samhitās which are specially connected with some cult or teaching of modern growth such as the exclusive worship of Rāma, Rādhā, etc., and (or) which have given up some essential dogma of the Pāṅcarātra, such as that of the Vyūhas.

1 Cf. Chatterji, loc. cit., pp. 10-14. Prof. Barnett insists that Abhinavagupta's work, being professedly an "extract" (sūra), cannot be based on a work of less extent than itself such as the Vaiśṇavite Paramārthasāra. But surely A. does not mean to say that he has merely extracted, but rather that he has elaborated the essence of the work upon which he based his own.

2 Allowing, as indicated above, a minimum of two centuries to pass before a Samhitā can become "Śrutī" (as which the Pāṅcarātra is regarded by Utpala).

3 Both is the case, for instance, with the spurious Naradiya. Also the Agastya Samhitā mentioned by Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 67 note 2, if a Pāṅcarātra Samhitā, would belong to this class, as does the first of our three Agastya Samhitās.
The number of oldest Saṃhitās mentioned increases through internal references: Aahirbudhnya (5, 60) mentions Sāttvata, and the latter (9, 133) Pauśkara, Vārāha, and Prājāpatya (Brāhma). Direct reference of one Saṃhitā to another will also be found of great value for determining the mutual chronological relations of the Saṃhitās. For instance, the fact that Aahirbudhnya mentions Sāttvata (5, 60) and Jayākhya (19, 64) shows, of course, that these two must be older. So also the hint, in Īsvara S. (1, 64)¹, that the three chief Saṃhitās are Sāttvata, Pauśkara, and Jaya, and their respective expansions Īsvara, Pāramesvara, and Pādma, is well worth noticing²; and also the statement, in Pādma Tantra (IV, 23, 197)³, that we should consider as the Six Gems: Pādma, Sanatkumāra, Parama, Padmodbhava, Māhendra, and Kāṇva. These few data enable us to fix already provisionally the chronology of the most important of the ancient Saṃhitās, in the following way:

1. Pauśkara, Vārāha, Brāhma (order uncertain). | Earlier than 5, order uncertain: Jaya (before 5),
2. Sāttvata
3. Aahirbudhnya
4. Pāramesvara⁴

5. Pādma
6. Īsvara⁵ (before 800 A.D.)

¹ Govindācārya, loc. cit., p. 956.
² And certainly connected with the fact that the only Saṃhitā commentaries extant, besides one on Bhāradvāja Saṃhitā, appear to be the following three, preserved in Śrīraṅgam: one Sāttvata-saṃhitā Bhāṣya by Alasiṅgarabhaṭṭa, son of Yogānandabhaṭṭa; one Īsvara-saṃhitā Vyākhya by the same; and one Pāramesvara-saṃhitā Vyākhya by Nṛsinhasūrya, son of Sampatkumārāsvāmin.
³ Govindācārya, loc. cit., p. 955 fl.
⁴ Mentioned in the Pādma list, therefore earlier, but later than Aahirbudhnya, to judge from the text preserved in A. L.
⁵ To be distinguished from the one mentioned in the Pādma list; see below.
It appears to be a fact that out of these works the triad Pauṣkara, Sāttvata, and Jaya has on the whole been considered the most authoritative part of the Pañcarātra scripture.

The five lists compared in our Synopsis are naturally of little value for chronological purposes on account of their comparatively late origin, and because all of them, except the one of Agni Purāṇa, have almost certainly been interfered with by later hands. The Agneya list, beginning, as it does, with Hayasirsa and agreeing almost completely with the first twenty-five of the names enumerated in that Saṃhitā, must have been copied from it, from which fact it may be further deduced that the remaining names (nos. 26 to 34)¹ were not in the original Saṃhitā. Likewise in the Viṣṇu list the thirty-two names following the 108th are in all probability a later amplification. This would account for the fact of a Saṃhitā being mentioned in that list, to wit Kapiñjala (no. 123), which itself mentions the Viṣṇu Tantra. Kapiñjala, at any rate, does not claim to be one of the 108 Saṃhitās, but only an abstract containing all that is essential (sāra) in them. The Pādma list also seems to have originally consisted of 108 names only, the four added ones being possibly nos. 33 to 36 contained in the second half of sloka 100. For, Īsvara Saṃhitā (no. 36), as it mentions Pādma Tantra, and that, as we have seen, in quite a credible way, cannot well be mentioned in the latter which, for other reasons too, must be older than it. Or were there two Īsvara Saṃhitās? This hypothesis would perhaps best account for the mention

¹ Among which "Purāṇa" and "Sāmānya" are decidedly doubtful.
of an Īsvara Saṃhitā also in the Hayasīrṣa and Āgneya lists.¹

What are the principal subjects treated in the Saṃhitās?

The ideal Pāñcarātra Saṃhitā, like the Saiva Āgamas, is said to consist of four “quarters” (pāda) teaching respectively (1) Jñāna, Knowledge; (2) Yoga, Concentration; (3) Kriyā, Making; and (4) Caryā, Doing. By Making is meant everything connected with the construction and consecration of temples and images, and by Doing, the religious and social observances (daily rites, festivals, varṇāsvama-dharma).² Very few Saṃhitās seem to have actually consisted of these four sections: most of them dealt apparently with one or two only of these subjects, neglecting the others altogether or nearly so. The proportion of interest shown for each of the four branches seems to be well illustrated by Pādma Tantra in the edition of which the Jñāna-pāda occupies 45 pages, the Yoga-pāda 11 pages, the Kriyā-pāda 215 pages, and the Caryā-pāda 376 pages. The practical part, Kriyā and Caryā, is the favourite subject, the rest being treated as a rule by way of introduction or digression. The division into Pādas is, so far as I know, observed in only two of the extant Saṃhitās, namely Pādma Tantra and Viṣṇutattva Saṃhitā. A division into five Rātras (Nights) of mixed contents (cf. the name Pāñcarātra) is found not only in the apocryphal Nārādiya but also in a genuine and older

¹ Ahirbudhnyaya being a somewhat unwieldy word, Īsvara may have, metī cause, been substituted for it in those lists, but, of course, not in the Pādma list, which does contain the name Ahirbudhnya.

² For a fuller description of these four branches see Govindācārya’s article in J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 951 ff.
work, the Mahāsanatkumāra Saṃhitā. The Hayasirṣa Saṃhitā has a position of its own in this and other respects: it consists of four Kāṇḍas called, after their contents, Pratiṣṭhā, Saṃkarsha (so), Liṅga, and Saura Kāṇḍa. The second Kāṇḍa professes to deal with worship (pujā) but contains also a good deal on pratiṣṭhā; the third is altogether Saivyate. Finally the Pārāmesvara Saṃhitā deserves mention here in that it adheres to the well-known division in Jñāna Kāṇḍa and Kriyā Kāṇḍa answering resp. to Pādas 1-2 and 3-4); and perhaps Bhāradvāja Saṃhitā as the rare (if not unique) instance of a Saṃhitā dealing with Conduct only and especially prapatti.

The names of the Rātras of the latter are: Brahma, Śiva, Indra and Śrī Rātra; the fifth is not in the MS. For the former see below.—The following passage of Vihaṅdra Saṃhitā (I, 31—34) is also noteworthy, though it looks like a late compromise: "When the Kṛta Yuga has just appeared, by the grace of Keśava the following five, namely Ananta (the Serpent), Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, the Skull-bearer (Śiva), and Brahmān, hear it (the Śāstra) in parts [as follows]: in the first night Ananta [has his questions answered], in the second night Garuḍa, in the third night Śenaṣṭa, in the fourth [is answered] what has been chosen by Vedhas (Brahmān), and in the fifth Rudra [is the questioner]. Thus each of these hears for himself the Religion of Faith (sraddha-śāstra) in the form of a work on Knowledge, Yoga, Construction, and Conduct, consisting of one hundred thousand [slokas]. [Hence, since the whole of it] has an extent of five lakhs [of slokas], it is called the Pañcarātra."

Containing resp. 42, 39, 20, and 7 patalas. This Saṃhitā has so far been found in Orissa only.

See the summary of contents in the first adhyāya. That the description of the Jñāna Kāṇḍa covers 14½ slokas and that of the Kriyā Kāṇḍa only 3½ is, I believe, due to the author's wish to have done with the former. For the Saṃhitā, though evidently complete (see the total of slokas given for the two Kāṇḍas together) has no other Jñāna Kāṇḍa. Therefore, the last line of the adhyāya will probably have to be interpreted thus: "I shall now [by treating the Kriyā Kāṇḍa] put forward the śāstra twofold in the manner explained; listen to me!"

This is perhaps the most widely spread of all the Saṃhitās. It has a pratiṣṭhā (supplement) contained in the edition, and belongs, as mentioned, to the few Saṃhitās of which a commentary is extant.
It may be supposed that the name Pāñcarātra points to five principal subjects treated in that system. So it is, indeed, understood in the apocryphal Nārādiya, which says that the five kinds of rātra—"knowledge," are tattva, multi-prada, bhakti-prada, yaugika, and vaisēśika, that is to say that they are concerned respectively with (1) ontology (cosmology), (2) liberation, (3) devotion, (4) yoga, and (5) the objects of sense. Though the five books of the said Saṁhitā accord but very imperfectly with this division, and the five Rātras of Mahāsanatkumāra Saṁhitā still less, and though the Nārādiya as a whole can certainly not be used as a Pāñcarātra authority, the above statement may none the less rest on good tradition. In this case rātra, originally "night," would have come to mean—how, we do not know 1—both a cardinal doctrine of a system as well as the chapter or work dealing with that doctrine, that is: it became synonymous with tantra and saṁhitā 2, so that Pāñcarātra would be a designation of the ancient Vaiṣṇavite system in exactly the same manner as, according to the twelfth chapter of Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā, Śaṣṭi Tantra was one of the Śaṁkhyya Yoga. This explanation, though perhaps at variance with the chapter just mentioned stating (in sl. 45—48) that the Pāñcarātra consists of ten cardinal teachings (saṁhitās) 3, is at least not so fanciful as "the night=obscuration, of the five other systems," or "the system, cooking=destroying, the night=ignorance," or the attempts to connect that name with the five sacraments (branding, etc.) or the five daily observances (abhigamanam, etc.) of the

1 For the transition the meaning of "Thousand and one Nights"—as many stories, may perhaps be compared.
2 See above p. 2.
3 See our summary of the chapter, below, last part of this book.
Pāñcarātras. However, it seems to us that the original use of the name is only connected with the first of the ten topics referred to (Bhagavat), namely the peculiar God-conception of the Pāñcarātras, and that it can be discovered in the Pāñcarātra Sattra spoken of in Sūtrapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII 6. 1, which is, moreover, the earliest passage in which the word pāñcarātra occurs. In that passage "Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is mentioned as having conceived the idea of a Pāñcarātra Sattra (continued sacrifice for five days) as a means of obtaining superiority over all beings and becoming all beings"; and the preceding chapter (XII 3. 4) narrates in detail how He, by sacrificing Himself, actually became the whole world. Nārāyaṇa is thus connected with, and even made the author of, the Puruṣa Sūkta which, together with the Sahasraśirṣa section of Mahānārāyaṇa Upanisad, plays such a prominent part in the cosmological accounts and Mantra exegesis of the Pāñcarātrins.

It appears, then, that the sect took its name from its central dogma which was the Pāñcarātra Sattra of Nārāyaṇa interpreted philosophically as the fivefold self-manifestation of God by means of His Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms. This would well agree with the statement of Ahīrī. Saṁh., at the end of the eleventh adhyāya, that the Lord Himself framed out of the original Sāstra "the system (tantra) called Pāñcarātra describing His [fivefold] nature

1 Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 31; spacing-out ours.
2 Ibidem.
3 Note also the importance attached in Ahīrī. Saṁh. (chapter 37) to the meditation on God as a sacrifice (yaśūrāpa-dhara deva, sl. 39).
4 With, or without, the help of Bhagavad-Gītā II, 69.
[known] as Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc., and “that highest Will of Viṣṇu called Sudarsana through which He split into five, appearing five-mouthed.”

To return to the question of the principal subjects treated in the Pāñcarātra, the scientific student will probably find it best to distinguish the following ten:

1. Philosophy;
2. Linguistic occultism (mantra-sāstra);
3. Theory of magical figures (yantra-sāstra);
4. Practical magic (māya-yoga);
5. Yoga;
6. Temple-building (mandira-nirmāna);
7. Image-making (pratīṣṭhā-vidhi);
8. Domestic observances (saṃskāra, ākhīka);
9. Social rules (varṇāśrama-dharma);

Each of these, it is hoped, will in the course of time be made the subject of a monograph based on the available Samhitā material as well as on such monographs (Utsavasamgrahas, etc.) as the Pāñcarātrins themselves have written. In the following, the second part of our Introduction, an outline will be attempted of the first subject only, as the one on which all the others more or less depend.

1 The five forms are also referred to in the very first sloka of our Samhitā. With the idea of Nārāyana’s self-sacrifice is apparently also connected the story of the “Sacrificial Lotus” (yajña-paṇḍuja) springing from the navel of Padmanābha (Lākṣmi T. V, 22, and elsewhere).
2 Which are, of course, not the same as those enumerated in adhyāya 12 of Ahiṁ. Saṁh.; see our summary of the latter in the final section below.
3 And, in addition, perhaps the subject of “worship” in a general treatment combining the materials for it distributed among several of the above subjects, notably 8 and 10.
II. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PĀŃCARĀTRAS

The theoretical philosophy of the Pāṅcarātras is inseparably bound up with the story of creation, and can therefore hardly be treated more conveniently than in taking the latter throughout as our starting point. In doing so we shall mainly follow the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā (particularly chapters 4 to 7), but also have recourse, wherever this seems desirable, to other sources.¹

1. NIGHTS AND DAYS OF NĀRAṆA

There was, and is still, a belief in India that the higher a being climbs on the ladder of existences, the quicker time passes for him, until, when he reaches Liberation, time is no longer a magnitude for him at all.² This idea is contained in the doctrine that a single day of each Brahmān or ruler of a Cosmic Egg

¹ The writer regrets keenly having had practically no access, while writing this Introduction, to the rich collections of Pāṅcarātra MSS. stored up in the Adyar and Madras Libraries. Still he feels confident that the following account will not show any serious gap.—Abbreviations will be easily recognised, except perhaps “P. Prakāsa S.” which is no. 213 mentioned on p. 11 above. The edition quoted of Pillai Lokācārya’s Tattvātraya is the only existing one of the Sanskrit translation, published as no. 4 of the Caukhambā Sanskrit Series; while the edition used of Srinivāsadāsa’s Yatindramata Dipikā is No. 50 of the Anandāśrama Series. Tattvātay (fourteenth century) may almost be called a collection of Pāṅcarātra Sūtras, and its commentary, by Varavaramuni, is specially valuable for its copious extracts from Viśvakṣema Saṃhitā. All references by figures only are to Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā.

² It may, after all, be found to be the same (not the opposite) view when P. Prakāsa Saṃhitā (III, 3 fl.) teaches that a “time-atom” (kala parumāṅkā) is in Jīvaloka (cf. Gītā VII, 5; XV, 7) only 1/100th part of one on earth, in the world of the gods only 1/10,000th part, for the god Brahmān only 1/1,000,000th part, and for Laksñi only 1/10,000,000th part, while Viśnu’s own time-atom is infinitely small.
(brahmāṇḍa) comprizes no less than 432,000,000 years of men. When the day is over, all forms are dissolved by fire, etc., but not so the Tattvas (elements and organs) of which these consist, nor the Cosmic Egg as such. This dissolution is called a Minor or Occasional Dissolution (avāntarā-pralaya, uṇmāttika-pralaya). It is followed by the "Night of Brahmā", of equal length as his day, in which the Egg hibernates as it were. This process is repeated $360 \times 100$ times, after which the life of Brahmā (brahmāya) comes to a close by the Great or Total Dissolution (mahā-pralaya, prākṛta-pralaya) in which all the Cosmic Eggs, including the forces working in them, are completely dissolved or "unified". The Night following it is of the same duration as that of the life of Brahmā, and is followed by another Day similar to the former, and so on. These longest Days and Nights are called, in the Pāñcarātra, Days and Nights of the Puruṣa, the Highest Self, the Lord, etc. For the Puruṣa's life, says one text, there exists no measure. But though infinite as to time, He "accepts" (aṅgī-karotī) the period called Para (that is, the life-period of a Brahmā) as His "day"; and though exempt from being measured

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1 "Solar system" is a somewhat misleading translation, because a Brahmāṇḍa, though believed to possess but one sun, comprises the whole starry host visible to us.

2 Pralaya, as the name says, is the stage in which things are dissolving, and not the much longer one in which they remain dissolved. The occasional employment of the name for the two stages together must be regarded as a misuse, at least from the Pāñcarātra point of view, because, if Primary Creation takes place during the last part of the Night (see below, next paragraph) and the Day and Night are of equal length, Pralaya belongs to the Day, not to the Night.

3 Tāṇya nāyavr-mānam vidhīyate, P. Prakāśa Saṃhitā I, 3, 43, repeated 55.

4 Kālato'nantā, ibid. I, 3, 55.
by nights, etc., He “does the work of the night (rātritvena carati) by causing Brahmān and the rest to fall asleep”.

Our Śamhitā illustrates the Days and Nights of the Lord by an image of dazzling beauty: during the Day the universe is like a sky sprinkled all over with cirrus clouds — the Brāhmic Eggs, of which there are koṭi-arbudas of koṭi-oghas of koṭis (an unimaginably high number); while during the Night it resembles a sky without a single cloud.

2. Higher or “Pure” Creation

(Evolution, First Stage.)

In the eighth and last part of the Cosmic Night (pauruṣī rātri) the great Śakti of Viṣṇu, awakened as it were by His command, “opens her eyes”. This unmesa “opening of the eyes”, says Ahirb. Śamḥ., is like the appearance of a lightning in the sky. And it means that the Śakti, which was so far indistinguishable from the “windless atmosphere” or “motionless ocean” of the Absolute, existing only as it were in a form of “darkness” or “emptiness”, suddenly, “by some independent resolve” (kasmaucit svātantryat), flashes up, with an infinitely small part of herself, in her dual aspect of kriya (acting) and bhūti (becoming), that is Force and Matter.

1 Who, after his “death”, belongs to the liberated.
2 Ibid., I, 3. 55-57.
3 Ahirbudhnya Śamhitā IX, 16, 14, 38.
4 “The eighth part of the Pralaya is called layāntima”, P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 51; cf. I, 3. 42, 57.
5 Ibid., I, 1. 53.
6 XIV, 7-8: Tasyāḥ kotyarbudāṃstena śakti deve, etc.; so VIII, 36, and III, 27-28. Cf. Laksṇi Tantra IV, 4. The Bhūti Śakti, as will be seen, includes what we call soul.
Here it will first be necessary to remark that, in spite of frequent assurances as to the real identity of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu, the two are actually regarded as distinct: even in Pralaya they do not completely coalesce but become only "as it were" a single principle (4. 78), the Lakṣmī eventually emerging from the Great Night being the old Lakṣmī, not a new one. The mutual relation of the two is declared to be one of inseparable connection or inherence like that of an attribute and its bearer (dharma, dharmin), existence and that which exists (bhāva, bhavat), I-ness and I (ahamā, aham), moonshine and moon, sunshine and sun. Still, the dualism is, strictly speaking, a makeshift for preserving the transcendent character of Viṣṇu: Lakṣmī alone acts, but everything she does is the mere expression of the Lord's wishes.

The Kriyā Sakti is "the Sudarsana portion of Lakṣmī"; for it is identical with Viṣṇu's "Will-to-be" symbolised by the Sudarsana or discus. Being independent of space and time it is called "undivided" (niskala), in contradistinction to the Bhūti Sakti which is divided in many ways and is but a "myriadth part (koṭi-amsa) of the Sakti", that is: an infinitely less

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1. Avinābhāva, samanvaya; Lakṣmī Tantra II, 17.
3. Lakṣmyāḥ sudarśanā kalā, III, 45; cf. V, 12.
4. LIX, 57: desakaladikā vyāptis tusya [Sudarśanasya], which, however, is perhaps not meant to exclude plurality; see below, section 6 of this part of our Introduction.
5. Nānabhodavati, XIV, 9; cf. V, 9-11. Kriyā is related to Bhūti as the thread to the pearls, the pin to the leaves; see below our résumé of adhyāya 8.
6. Which elsewhere is said of the two Saktis together: see note on p. 29.
powerful manifestation than the Kriyā Šakti. As the Sudarsana is the instrument of Viṣṇu, we may say that Viṣṇu, Kriyā Šakti and Bhūti Šakti are respectively the causa efficiens, causa instrumentalis, and causa materialis of the world. However, the transcendent aspect of Viṣṇu (Param Brāhma) remains so completely in the background in the Pāñcarātra that we are practically only concerned with the one force (Lakṣmi) which, as Bhūti, appears as the universe, and, as Kriyā, vitalises and governs it. Accordingly, the Kriyā Šakti is called: “Viṣṇu’s resolve consisting of life” (prāṇa-rūpo Viṣṇoḥ samkalpah); “that which keeps existence a-going” (bhūti-paricartaḥ), “makes becoming possible” (bhūtin samabhāavyatī); “joins”, at the time of creation, Primordial Matter to the faculty of evolving, Time to the “work of counting”, and the soul to the “effort for enjoyment”; “preserves” all of these as long as the world lasts; and “withdraws” the said faculties at the time of Dissolution. “Just as a fire or a cloud is kept moving by the wind, even so is the Vibhūti part [of Šakti] impelled by the Sudarsana.”

The first phase of the manifestation of Lakṣmi is called suddhasrṣṭi, “pure creation”, or guṇonmesadasā, that is the stage (following the Waveless Stage) in which the attributes (guṇa) of God make their appearance. These

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¹ For the mutual relation of the two Šaktis the following passages should be compared: III, 44-45; V, 7-8; LIX, 55-57.

² This accounts for the remarkable fact that the Kashmirian philosopher Kṣemarāja has defined the Pāñcarātra as the system teaching the identity of God and Nature, that is to say pantheism (parā prakṛtiḥ bhagavī Vāsudevāh, tad-visphalikā-prāyā eva jīvāḥ−iti Pāñcarātraḥ parasyaḥ prakṛteḥ pariṇāmabhupagamād Ayakte eva bhāvānivaśṭāḥ; Pratyabhijñāhārdyaya, Srinagar ed, p. 17).

³ Or: “made to dance” (pranāyata), XIV, 8, and elsewhere.
Guṇas are aprakṛtu “not belonging to Nature” — for Nature does not exist as yet — and have consequently nothing to do with the three well-known Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas, Tamas); that is to say: the old dogma that God is necessarily “free from [the three] Guṇas” (virguna) does not exclude His possessing the six ideal Guṇas which, on the contrary, must be ascribed to Him, because without them there could be no Pure Creation, and, all further evolution depending thereon, no creation at all. However, the evolution of the Guṇas does not in any way affect the being or essence of God, it being merely concerned with His “becoming” or “manifestation”, that is: His Śakti: “Through the three pairs of what are called the Six Guṇas (sadgūnya), to wit: Knowledge, Lordship, Power, etc., does the Pure Creation [or first stage] of [His] becoming take place.”

Now, the six Guṇas are described as follows:

The first Guṇa is jñāna, “knowledge”, defined as “non-inert, self-conscious, eternal, all-penetrating”, that is: omniscience. “It is both the essence and an attribute of Brāhma”, for which reason the remaining five Guṇas are occasionally called “attributes of jñāna”. Jñāna is, of course, also the essence of Lakṣmi.¹

¹ V, 16; cf. V, 15 and VI, 6; Bhūti and vibhūti are in these passages, like bhava elsewhere (see above p. 30), used in contradistinction to bhavat, and not in the sense of the Bhūti Śakti. For the latter, like the Kriyā Śakti, is connected with three Guṇas only (see below), while in the passages concerned the appearance of all the six Guṇas is referred to.

² Or “channels of jñāna” (jñānasya svatyah), Lakṣmi Tantra II, 35. Yāmunācārya, the teacher of Rāmānuja, has tried to justify, philosophically, this Pāncarātra concept of jñāna. A thing, he says, may be both substance and attribute: āśrayād anyato vrītār, āśrayena samanvayat, which he illustrates by means of the flame (substance) and the light it sheds (attribute).

³ Lakṣmi Tantra II, 25, etc.
The second\(^1\) Guṇa is *aisvarya* “lordship”, that is “activity based on independence”, “unimpeded activity”\(^2\). According to Lakṣmī Tantra (II, 23) this is identical with what is called *icchā* “will” in other Tattvasāstras.

The third Guṇa is *sakti* “ability, potency”, namely to become the material cause of the world (*jagat-prakṛti-bhāva*). It is elsewhere\(^3\) defined as *nghaṭitaghataṇa* “accomplishing the non-accomplished”, that is to say, being able to produce something the cause of which cannot be accounted for by empirical methods.

The fourth Guṇa is *bala* “strength” defined as “absence of fatigue” (*srama-hāni*), or “fatiguelessness in connection with the production of the world”, or “power to sustain all things”, “sustaining-power” (*dhāraṇa-sāmarthya*).

The fifth Guṇa is *vīrya* “virility”, that is “unaffectedness (changelessness, *vikāra-viraha*) in spite of being the material cause”. This is a condition, says Lakṣmī Tantra (2. 31), not found within the world, where “milk quickly loses its nature when curds come into existence”.

The sixth and last Guṇa is *tejas* “splendour, might”, which is said to mean “self-sufficiency” (*sahākāri-anapeksā*) and “power to defeat others” (*parābhībhavana-sāmarthya*). The latter definition is in Lakṣmī Tantra (2. 34), which adds that some philosophers connect (*yajayanti*) *tejas* with *aisvarya*.

The six Guṇas are the material, or instruments, as it were, of Pure Creation, (1) in their totality, and (2)

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\(^1\) The order found on p. 18 of our edition is not the usual one.

\(^2\) “Independence, in creating the universe, of any other cause”, Lakṣmī Tantra, IV, 9.

\(^3\) Varavaramuni’s comm. on Tattvatraya, ed. p. 94.
by pairs, in the following way: the Guṇas, as connected partly with the Bhūti and partly with the Kriyā Sakti (5. 7), are regarded as falling into two sets, namely Guṇas 1 to 3, and Guṇas 4 to 6, called respectively visrama-bhūmayah “stages of rest” and srama-bhūmayah “stages of effort”; and the corresponding Guṇas of each set (1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6) join to form a pair connected with some special divine manifestation, as will be explained presently.

In their totality the Guṇas make up the body of Vāsudeva, the highest personal god, as well as that of his consort Lakṣmī, in the way that these two are constantly seen by the free souls inhabiting the Highest Space. It is mainly in this form, to wit as a person qualified by the six Guṇas and distinct from his Sakti, that God is called Vāsudeva (5. 29).

The apparition of the pairs denotes the beginning of that process of emanation which has been well defined as “a process which, while bringing the product into existence, leaves the source of the product unchanged”. This very ancient conception is commonly (though perhaps not correctly) illustrated by the image of the light emanating from a source such as the sun, which accounts for the Sanskrit term for it, namely, ābhāsa “shining out”.

1 These names are not in Ahirb. Saṣṭha.; see, however, Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 24; II, 46-47; III, 4. Cf. also what is said below on the different condition of the three Vyūhas during and after Pure Creation.

2 Śūḍgūnyā-vigraham devam (VI, 25). The six Guṇas exist also before creation, but without being active (V, 3).

3 See below.

4 Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 59.

5 Cf. the Sānti Purāṇam adol, etc., at the beginning of Isāvāsya and other Upaniṣads.

6 Not found in the Sanhitās, in so far as known to us.
The Pañcarātra teaches a chain, as it were, of emanations; each emanation, except the first, originating from an anterior emanation; and thus the favourite image of the process has, with the Pañcarātrins, become that of one flame proceeding from another flame. Any production, up to the formation of the Egg, is imagined as taking place in this way.

The first three (or, including Vāsudeva, four) beings thus coming into existence are called Vyūhas. This word is a combination of the root uḥ “to shove” and the preposition vi “asunder” and apparently refers to the “shoving asunder” of the six Guṇas into three pairs. This, however, does not mean that each Vyūha has only its two respective Guṇas, but, as is repeatedly emphasized, each Vyūha is Viṣṇu Himself with His six Guṇas, of which, however, two only, in each case, become manifest. Abiding by the image, we may say that each new flame has for its fuel another pair of Guṇas.

The Vyūhas are named after the elder brother, the son, and the grandson, respectively, of Kṛṣṇa, namely Saṃkarsana (or Balarāma, Baladeva), Pradyumna, and Aniruddha; and the pairs of Guṇas connected with these are respectively: jñāna and bala; aisvarya and vīrya; sakti and tejas.

Each Vyūha, after having appeared, remains inactive (avyāprta) for a period of 100 years of his own (kāmya), or 1,600 human years; that is to say: the evolution of Pure Creation, up to its end or up to the point when Aniruddha “together with the two earlier [Śaktis, namely those of Saṃkarsana and Pradyumna] engages

1 See for instance Pādma Tantra I, 2. 21.
2 Caturātmya-sthitir Viṣṇor guṇavyutikaritaḥbhavaḥ (V, 21).
in creation" (5.40), takes $3 \times 1,600 = 4,800$ human years.

The Śaktis of the Vyūhas, hinted at in our Saṃhitā, are mentioned by name in a number of later Saṃhitās. Mahāsañatkumāra Saṃhitā, for instance, teaches that Vāsudeva creates from his mind the white goddess Śānti, and together with her Saṃkārśanā=Sīva; then from the left side of the latter is born the red goddess Śrī, whose son is Pradyumna=Brahmān; the latter, again, creates the yellow Sarasvatī and together with her Aniruddha=Puruṣottama, whose Śakti becomes the black Rati who is the threefold Māyā Kosa to be mentioned below.

Each Vyūha has two activities, a creative and a moral one, that is, one connected with the origin of beings and another one connected with their ethical progress; and each of these activities of a Vyūha is said to be mediated by one of his two Guṇas. For this reason, that is to say because the creative activities necessarily precede the moral ones, it is assumed that during the

1 Which is, of course, also the length of the Pralaya of Pure Creation; see our Saṃhitā pp. 35-36.
2 Indrarātra, sixth adhyāya; cf. Lakṣmī Tantra, sixth adhyāya.
3 It is important to bear in mind that these four couples are all of them bahir-aṅgu-ja "born outside the [Mundane] Egg" and therefore not identical with the prākrtic Gods, Sīva, etc., who belong to Gross Creation (described below, section 5). It is impossible otherwise to understand certain accounts such as the following one of Lakṣmī Tantra, fifth adhyāya: Brahmān and Sarasvatī create an egg (15), Viśnū and Lakṣmī lie down in it (20), from Viśnū’s navel there springs the Sacrificial Lotus (21), and from the Lotus are born Brahmān and Sarasvatī (27-28).

4 Viṣṇukṣena Saṃhitā, in Tatadvstraya ed. pp. 125-127; Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 8-20. The dogma of Guṇas 1 to 3 being connected with creation only, and Guṇas 4 to 6 with moral progress only, is not quite adhered to in several Saṃhitās, it being somewhat hard to believe that Saṃkārśaṇa should create by means of Knowledge but teach philosophy by means of Strength; that Pradyumna should teach ethics by means of Virility rather than Ability, etc.
5 Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 8, Ii. ; IV, 24, and II, 47.
period of Pure Creation those Gunas only are actually manifest, though as mere "stages of rest" (vistrama-
bhamayaḥ), which become active at the beginning of Non-pure Creation, while the "stages of effort" (srutama-
bhamayaḥ) can come forth only after all the Tattvas are created.

The creative activities of the Vyūhas come into play the one after the other, marking out in the following way three successive stages in the creation of the "non-pure" universe.

With Saṃkārśaṇa Non-pure Creation becomes dimly manifest in an embryonic condition, as a chaotic mass without internal distinctions. This is expressed in the Saṃhitās by the grotesque but often repeated statement that Saṃkārśaṇa "carries the whole universe like a tilakālaka (dark spot under the skin)", which apparently signifies that the world he carries is still so to speak under the surface, existing only in a germinal condition¹, as a minute part, as it were, of his body. The Guna with which Saṃkārśaṇa performs his cosmic function, is sometimes stated to be jñāna, but as a rule balā. His name Baladeva (the strong God) is also connected with this aspect of his, and so he is often described by means of such compounds as asesa-bhuvana-ādhāra "support of the whole world ".

Through Pradṛṣṭa the duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛti makes its first appearance²: he is said to perform, by means of his Guna aisvarya, both the mānava sarga and the vaidya sarga³, that is, the creation of the

¹ As maṣṭro vikāraḥ, Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 7.
² Lakṣmī Tantra VI, 10: bhoktr-bhogya-samaṣṭis tu nīśāna tatra tiṣṭhūti.
³ LV, 17; LIX, 31 (Ahirb. S.).
Group Soul and of Primordial Matter plus Subtle Time.\(^1\)

Aniruddha, finally, “gives opportunity for growth to body and soul” (52. 51-52) by taking over the creation of Pradyumna and by evolving out of it Manifest Matter (vyakta) with Gross Time, and, on the other hand, the so-called Mixed Creation (misra-srṣṭi)\(^2\) of souls; that is to say: he becomes, through his Guṇa sakti, ruler of the Cosmic Eggs and their contents.

The cosmic activities of the Vyūhas are also\(^3\) — not, however, as it seems, in the oldest Saṁhitās — stated to be the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe or of the Cosmic Egg. These statements are of a somewhat contradictory nature. Laksṇi Tantra, for instance, teaches (4. 11, 19, 20) that the cosmic function of Aniruddha is creating, that of Pradyumna preserving, and that of Saṁkarṣaṇa destroying; while, according to Viśvakṣena Saṁhitā (loc. cit., p. 125 fl.), Saṁkarṣaṇa “by means of his Guṇa bala takes away all this”, Pradyumna “by means of his Guṇa aistvārya creates that [totality of] moveable and immovable [beings]”, and Aniruddha “by means of his [Guṇa] sakti supports and protects this whole world, the infinite Egg”\(^4\).

The ethical activities of the three Vyūhas are declared to be\(^5\) the teaching (1) by Saṁkarṣaṇa,

\(^1\) VI, 9 fl., and 12. For particulars see the next section of this Introduction.

\(^2\) Viśvakṣena Saṁhitā, loc. cit., p. 129.

\(^3\) Cf. the identification of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Siva, etc., mentioned above p. 36.

\(^4\) In Aḥībuddhyā Saṁhitā also, Aniruddha is occasionally called “protector”, “overseer”, and the like (see, for instance, LIII, 53; LV, 42), but elsewhere (LV, 21; etc.) it ascribes to him all the three activities.

of the sāstra or "theory", namely, of monotheism (ekāntika-mārya); (2) by Pradyumna, of its translation into practice (tatt-krīyā); and (3) by Aniruddha, of the gain resulting from such practice (krīyā-phala), to wit Liberation¹; the instruments applied being respectively the Guṇas jñāna or bala, virya, and tejas. According to Viśvaksena Saṃhitā (Tattvatrāya ed. p. 125) the teaching of Saṃkaraśāna is not confined to the Pāñcarātra, but includes the Veda (that is, of course, its esoteric portions). The same source says (loc. cit., pp. 126, 127) that Pradyumna "introduces all religious rites [to be performed by a Pāñcarātrin]", while Aniruddha "makes known the whole truth about the [ultimate goal of] the soul".

The Vyūhas, however, have, or at least had originally, still another aspect about which something must be said here. In the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Sānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata, in Saṅkara's commentary on Vedānta Sūtra II, 2. 42 fll., and elsewhere, it is stated that Saṃkaraśāna represents the individual soul (jīvātman), Pradyumna the Manas, and Aniruddha the Ahamkāra. This doctrine seems to be gradually disappearing from the Saṃhitā literature, owing, we believe, to the difficulty of connecting the Ahamkāra with such an absolutely pure being as a Vyūha. We have come across only a single passage which openly endeavours to explain the teaching in its entirety, namely, Lakṣmi Tantra 6. 9-14. The idea here expressed is that Saṃkaraśāna, etc., are, as it were, the soul (jīva), the mind (buddhi, manas), and the organ of self-assertion of the "playing" (that is, creating)

¹ Bhuvana-abhaya-da Vaikuntha, LV, 43, and 53.
² The former according to V, 21-22 (Ahirod. Saṃhitā) and Viṣv. S., loc. cit., p. 125; the latter according to Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 15.
Vāsudeva. But the original meaning of the doctrine must have been rather that the Vyūhas are something like tutelar deities of the said principles. This is, indeed, the teaching of Viśvaksena Śamhitā, which declares (loc. cit., pp. 125 ff.) about Śamkarsana: "He is acting as the superintendent of all the souls"\(^1\), and about Pradyumna: "He is the superintendent of the mind (manas); he is declared to be of the nature of the mind (manomaya)." About Aniruddha no similar statement is made\(^2\); still his being declared to be the creator of the misra-varga, that is, of the souls dominated by Rajas and Tamas, shows that he was actually looked at, by the author of that Śamhitā, as the adhiṣṭhātṛ of the Ahamkāra. In the same Śamhitā the superintendence of Śamkarsana is described as follows: "Then Śamkarsana, the Divine Lord, wishing to create the world, made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life and severed it from Nature.\(^3\) And, after having done so, the God obtained the state of Pradyumna." In Ahirbuddhnya Śamhitā, as we have seen, the duality of Soul and Nature appears first with Pradyumna. It is he, not Śamkarsana, who is called there the "Lord of the souls" (53. 48), while Aniruddha is indeed called superintendent, not however of the Ahamkāra but of each of the three Guṇas (6. 53 ff.) or of the whole manifested world (see above p. 38, note 4). But though there is nothing in our Śamhitā, in so far as the account of

\(^{1}\) So‘yam samasta-jivanam adhiṣṭhātṛaya sthitah.

\(^{2}\) For which reason it is also missing in Tattvatraya in the aphorism on the activities of Aniruddha (ed. p. 127).

\(^{3}\) Jiva-tattvam adhiṣṭhāya prakṛtes tu viveçya tat, which the commentary explains thus: "He made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life, which was absorbed in Nature, and on the strength of that superintendence severed it from Nature so as to render the appearance of names and forms possible."

\(^{4}\) Viveka=vivecanam.
creation is concerned, that would make the Vyūhas appear as tutelar deities in the sense mentioned; there are indeed a few passages referring to individual life which could be so interpreted. For example, we read (53. 40 flfl.) of Pradyumna that he is a source of joy by his purifying influence on vidyā (=buddhi), and again that he is the internal ruler (aniñ-ar-niñamaka) of the organ of knowledge (jñānendriya); of Sañkarṣaṇa (59. 28, 25 flfl.) that he causes the soul to flee from the world and reach Liberation by making it obtain correct knowledge; and of Aniruddha (59. 84): "He bestows upon men the fruits [of their actions]", — which fruits (=results) here undoubtedly include, or even exclusively denote, those earned by selfish actions (good and bad).

From each Vyūha descend 1 three Sub-Vyūhas (vyūhāntara, mārtyantara), namely, (1) from Vāsudeva: Kesava, Nārāyaṇa, and Mādhava; (2) from Sañkarṣaṇa: Govinda, Viṣṇu, and Madhusūdana; (3) from Pradyumna: Trivikrama, Vāmana, and Śrīdhara; and (4) from Aniruddha: Hṛṣīkesa, Padmanābha, and Dāmodara. These twelve are the "Lords of the months" 2, that is the tutelar deities (adhidivaṭa) of the twelve months and the twelve suns 3, and as such play an important part in diagrams (yantras), etc. 4 They are usually represented, for the purpose of meditation: Kesava as shining like gold and bearing four discs, Nārāyaṇa as dark (like a blue lotus) and bearing four conches, Mādhava as shining like a gem (saphire) and bearing four clubs, etc. 5; and they are said to protect the

1 Avatāraḥ, says Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.
2 Māsādhikāraḥ, Mahāsanatkumāra S. III, 6. 33.
3 That is, the sun in the twelve months of the year; cf. the ruka, VIII, 47b flfl. of Abhirb. Saṁh., further Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.
4 V, 49; VIII, 49; XXVI, 33 flfl.
5 Yat. Dip., loc. cit., to be compared with the fuller (and slightly different) description in adh. XXVI of our Saṁhitā.
devotee's body is represented on the same (forehead, etc.) by certain painted vertical lines (ārvānapūndra).

Another set of twelve Vidyēśvaras\(^1\) descending from the Vyūhas is mentioned in a number of texts\(^2\) and derived in Padma Tantra I, 2. 28 ff. in the following way: from the Vyūha Vāsudeva springs another Vāsudeva, from the latter Puruṣottama, and from him Janārdana; similarly from Saṃkarsana another Saṃkarsana, Adhokṣaja, and Upendra; and from Aniruddha another Aniruddha, Acyuta, and Kṛṣṇa. These twelve are enumerated after the twelve Sub-Vyūhas and called, together with the latter, "the twenty-four forms" (caturvīṁśatimūrtayāḥ).

To Pure Creation further belong the so-called Vībhāvas (manifestations) or Avatāras (descents), that is incarnations of God or His Vyūhas or Sub-Vyūhas or angels (see below) among this or that class of terrestrial beings.\(^3\) The principal Vībhāvas are, according to Ahirbudhnya Samhitā (5. 50 ff.; cf. 56. 2 ff.), the following thirty-nine:


\(^{1}\) This term in Mahāsamatkamāra S. III, 6. 34.
\(^{2}\) See for example Vihaṅgendra S. II, 18, and the passage mentioned in the preceding note.
This list has been reproduced almost exactly from the ninth pariccheda of Sāttvata Saṃhitā (ed. pp. 79-80); and to that work we are, indeed, referred by our Saṃhitā (5. 57 fll.) for a comprehensive description of the origin, etc., of those Vibhavas. However, the description, though it is actually found there, covering over 160 slokas of the twelfth pariccheda (ed. pp. 97-109), does not, apart from some hints, deal with the origin of the Vibhavas, but only with their form and activity as objects of meditation. Still less can be gathered from the twenty-third pariccheda of the same Saṃhitā and the fifty-sixth adhyāya of the Ahirbudhnya, where the thirty-nine Vibhavas are once more reviewed in connection with certain Mantras. We must, then, try to identify the names without any direct help, which, however, as will be seen, is not very difficult.

We shall naturally begin by picking out the ten Avatāras enumerated in the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śaṅti Parvan, which, for obvious reasons, must be expected to be included in our list. They are nos. 9 (=Haṃsa), 15 (=Kūrma), 28 (=Matsya), 16, 17, 29, 35, 36, 37, and 38.

Four of the others show Viṣṇu under different aspects at the beginning of creation and after Pralaya respectively, namely: (14) as sleeping, with Lakṣmī, on the primeval waters¹; (1) as growing from His navel the lotus from which Brahmān is to spring; (27) as the boy floating on the Nyagrodha branch, in whose mouth Mārkaṇḍeya discovered the dissolved universe²; and (39) as the “Lord of the cataclysmic fire”, clad in a

¹ Sāttvata S. XII, 66: nisānam bhogīṣayāyām; Lakṣmī T. V, 21: Padmāya sāha vidyāya apṣu sustayānām ca sāya.
² Referring to the story related in Vana Parvan, 188 fll.
flaming robe, waited upon by Lakṣmī, Cintā, Nidrā, and Puṣṭi.¹

Again, there are four other Avatāras who rather seem to belong together and therefore, says Sāttvata Saṃhitā (12. 189), may be meditated upon either collectively or singly, namely nos. 31 to 34 (including one already mentioned) who are Viṣṇu appearing as the four sons of Dharma and Ahimsā.² They are described, in Sāttvata S. (12. 182—188), as four ascetics clad in deer-skin, etc., the one reciting Mantras, the second absorbed in meditation, the third teaching meritorious works, and the fourth performing austerities.

Then there are four (including two already mentioned), to wit nos. 1, 5, 29, and 30, who are identical in name, and possibly in some other respect, with four of the twelve Sub-Vyūhas. Two of these, namely Vāmana and Trivikrama, are, according to our sources, merely the two opposite aspects of the well-known Vāmana Avatāra, that is Viṣṇu as the very small one (bhrū-sthā) and the all-pervading one (sarva-vyāpīn, trailokyat-pūraka)³; while no. 5 refers, of course, to Viṣṇu’s victory over the demon Madhu.⁴

Of the rest some are mentioned as Avatāras in the Purāṇa literature, while others are apparently not known in it as such, or altogether unknown.

No. 3, Ananta, is not the serpent Seṣa but Balarāma, the brother of Krṣṇa.⁵ In Pādma Tantra (I, 2. 32) he

¹ Sāttvata S. XII, 165 fll.
² Nārāyaniya, opening chapter; see Bhandarkar, Vaiśṇavism, etc. (E. I. A. R. vol. III, part 6), pp. 32-33. It is clear that this Krṣṇa is not exactly identical with the well-known one.
³ Cf. Taite. Up. : unor anīyān mahato mahīyān, etc.
⁴ Or rather the demons Madhu and Kaitabha; see chapter 41 of Aḥirbudhnya Saṃhitā.
⁵ Who is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of Seṣa rather than of Viṣṇu Himself.
is inserted after Parasurāma as the eighth of the ten Avatāras instead of the first (Hamsa) who is omitted. No. 7, Kapila, is, according to our Saṃhitā (56. 81), the Sāṃkhya philosopher, and he is evidently the same as Kapila the teacher of the Nāga kings referred to elsewhere.¹ No. 10, Krodātman, can be none else, to judge from Sāttvata S. 12. 45 fl., than Viṣṇu as the Yajña-varāha or Yajña-sūkara, — a particular aspect of the Boar incarnation. The description, in 56. 35-36,² of no. 24, Lokanātha, points to Manu Vaivasvata who was saved from the deluge by Brahman as a fish and made the [secondary] creator of all living beings. No. 20, Kāntātman, is described in Sāttvata S. (12. 86 fl.) as a beautiful youth with "eyes unsteady by love", etc., that is to say as Pradyumna, or Kāma reborn (after his destruction by Śiva) as the son of Kṛṣṇa. But in Ahirbudhnya S. (56. 8) he has the epithet amṛta-dhāraka "carrying nectar" which seems rather to point to Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods, or to Dadhibhakta.³ No 26, Dattātreya, is the well-known sage, son of Atri and Anasūyā. No. 37, Vedavid, is, according to Sāttvata S. (12. 154 fl.), the famous Veda-Vyāsa. All of these are among the twenty-two Avatāras enumerated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I, 3), supposing that Krodātman may be identified with Yajña, Kāntātman with Dhanvantari, and Lokanātha with Puruṣa (the Male or Progenitor). The following are also Purānic: Dhruva (No. 2), the Rṣi and polar star, celebrated, in Sāttvata S. 9. 105, as the bearer

¹ Pādma Tāntra I, 1. 23 fl.; Viṣṇuitilaka II, 170 fl.; etc.
² Note especially vairūja and satya-vrata.
³ See below, note 3, on no. 18, next page.
of the Ādhāra Sakti; Vāgīsvara (no. 13), who is Hayasirsa or Hayagriva; and Sāntātman (no. 25), if he is, as may be supposed, either Sanātkumāra (Sanaka) or Nārada as the expounder of the Śattvata system.

Sāktyātman (no. 4) is Viṣṇu as icchā-rūpa-dhāra (Śattvata S. 12. 9), that is, assuming the particular form required for pleasing some devotee. Vidyādhīdeva, “the Lord of Virāj”, is the four-faced Brahmān. No. 8 is Viṣṇu in the form in which He appears to Arjuna in the famous Visvarūpa Adhyāya (11) of the Bhagavad-Gītā. No. 11 is Āurva. No. 12 is Viṣṇu as dharma personified. No. 18, also called Amṛtāharana, is Viṣṇu as the restorer of immortality to the gods. No. 19 is Viṣṇu as the husband of Lakṣmi (who threw herself into His arms when she emerged from the ocean). Nos. 21 and 22 are Viṣṇu conquering respectively Rāhu and Kālanemi. No. 23, finally, is Kṛṣṇa wrestling from Indra the celestial tree.

The enumeration of exactly thirty-nine Avatāras, and the insistence upon this number also in the mantrodilhāra in both the Saṁhitās concerned, seems to prove that the number is meant to be exhaustive. This impression is not removed by Varavaramuni’s statement, in his commentary on Tattvatraya (ed. p. 135),

1 Cf. Ahirbudhāya Saṁhitā, adhy. VIII, 34 ff., where, however, the term has a much wider sense.

2 The only description of Sāntātman is in Śattvata S. XII, 110: “Having a mind full of compassion, carrying the conch and lotus in his hands, showing the threefold path of knowledge, renunciation, and virtuous deeds.”

3 Cf. the story of the churning of the ocean. The epithet would also fit Dādhibhākta to whom Indra is said to owe the Amṛta, and who is mentioned among the chief Avatāras in Viṣvaksena S., loc. cit., p. 135 (Dādhibhāktas ca devaśa dāravi-hastimurtapaśradā). Amṛtāharana is, thirdly, an epithet of Garuḍa as the stealer of Amṛta.
that the real number is only thirty-six, because Kapila, Dattatreya, and Parasurâma are only secondary Avatâras.¹ For there are more "secondary Avatâras" among the thirty-nine as well as outside their number.²

The second point to be emphasized in connection with this list is that it occurs in one of the very oldest Samhitâs (Sâttvata) and therefore may be older than the smaller lists found in later Samhitâs and older even than the Mahâbhârata list mentioned above. Even the smaller Nârâyaniya list (of only six names)³ appears from this view-point not to be the oldest list but merely a selection; for it is inconceivable that, for instance, the ancient and famous story of the Fish should have been overlooked by those who made the Boar an incarnation of Viśṇu.

The distinction referred to in our Samhitâ between primary (mukhya) and secondary (gauña, ñvesa) Avatâras is explained at length in Viśvakṣena Samhitâ (loc. cit., pp. 130-132). There the primary Avatâras only are declared to be like a flame springing from a flame, that is to say Viśṇu Himself with a transcendent (aprâkṛta) body, while a secondary Avatâra is a soul in bondage with a natural body which, however, is possessed (avïṣṭa) or pervaded, for some particular mission or function, by the power (sakti) of Viśṇu. The primary Avatâras only should be worshipped by those seeking Liberation, while for mundane purposes (wealth, power, etc.) the secondary Avatâras may be resorted

¹ See below.
² Nor does the further division of the secondary or ñvesa Avatâras according to śarâgâvesa and śaktîâvesa (loc. cit., p. 130) help to solve the riddle; for Vyâsa belongs necessarily to the same class as Kapila, etc.
³ Namely nos. 16, 17, 29, 36, 34, and 35 of our list; see Bandarkar, loc. cit., p. 41.
⁴ VIII, 51: vibhâvântara-samjñam tad yac chaktyâvesa-samâbhavam.
to. The said Samhitā enumerates as instances of secondary Avatāras: Brahmān, Sīva, Buddha, Vyāsa, Arjuna, Parasurāma, the Vasu called Pāvaka, and Kubera, the god of riches.

As for the origin of the Avatāras, Viśvakṣena Samhitā declares that all of them spring from Aniruddha, either directly or indirectly, examples of the latter class being Mahesvara (Sīva) who descends from Aniruddha through Brahmān, and Hayasiras who comes from the Fish, who himself springs from the direct Avatāra Kṛṣṇa. According to Lākṣmi Tantra also (2, 55) all the Vibhavas descend from Aniruddha. Pādma Tantra, on the other hand, says (I, 2. 31 fll.) that of the ten Avatāras the Fish, the Tortoise, and the Boar have sprung from Viṣudeva; the Man-lion, Dwarf, Śrīrāma and Parasurāma from Śaṅkarāṇa; Balarāma from Pradvumna; and Kṛṣṇa and Kālki from Aniruddha; and it indicates that the other Avatāras are to be distributed in a similar way.

The Avatāras are not confined to human and animal forms: the vegetable kingdom is sometimes chosen, as in the case of the crooked mango-tree in the Daṇḍaka Forest mentioned by Viśvakṣena S. (loc. cit., p. 130) as an instance of this class of incarnations.

Even among inanimate objects an image of Kṛṣṇa, the Man-lion, Garuḍa, etc., becomes an Avatāra of Viṣṇu (endowed with a certain miraculous power felt by the worshipper) as soon as it is duly consecrated according to the Pāncarātra rites, it being supposed that

1 Possessed of the quality of making heretics, therefore called mohana "the bewilderer"!
2 That is, the three manifestations of Prajāpati mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary, sub voce Avatāra).
3 Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Buddha, Dasārha, Sauri, Annesa, Haya-grīva, Nṛsiṁha Śāṅkhodāra, Viśvakṣena (?), Viṣṇukapi, Adivarāha.
Viṣṇu, owing to His omnipotence, is capable of “descending” into such images with a portion of His sakti, that is, with a subtle (“divine”, “non-natural”) body. This is the Aṛcā Avatāra or incarnation for the purposes of ordinary worship. It is exhaustively treated in Viṣṇukṣema Saṁhitā (loc. cit., pp. 122 and 143).

There is, finally, the Antarvāmi Avatāra, which is Aniruddha as the “Inner Ruler” of all souls (niyantā surca-devinām)—a very old conception based on a famous Upaniṣad passage. The Antaryāmin is the mysterious power which appears as instinct and the like, and which as the “smokeless flame” seated in the “lotus of the heart” plays an important part in Yoga practice.

The Avatāras, including those which belong to the past in so far as their visibility on earth is concerned, are held to be eternal aspects of Viṣṇu which are always helpful if properly meditated upon. It is, indeed, for meditation more than for anything else that Viṣṇu is believed to have manifested Himself under different forms.

To Pure Creation, thirdly, belongs the parama-vyoman, “Highest Heaven”, or Vaikuṇṭha, with all the beings and objects contained in it. This Highest

1 The presence of God as a Vibhava in generated bodies such as those of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is also explained in this way; see Yat. Dip. ed. p. 53 where this is the answer to the question: “How can there be a junction between the natural and the non-natural?” (prakṛta-uprākṛta-saṁsargah katham?).

2 Viṣṇukṣema S. loc. cit., p. 122.

3 This conception of God residing in the soul but not identical with it will be found to be responsible for the apparent Advaitism of a good many passages in the Pāṇcarātra literature.

4 See VI, 21 ff. of Ahirb. Saṁhitā. This is the second-highest in the list of Tattvas, Lakṣmi Tantra VII, 43, enumerating: the Lord, Highest Heaven, the Puruṣa, Śakti, Niyati, etc. For vyoman, lit. “space; sphere”, the synonyms ākāśa, nābhas, etc., are also used; cf. loc. cit., VII, 9.

5 This name is ambiguous in that it also denotes, and more often so, the (lower) heaven of Viṣṇu in Satya-loka, — which is a reflection,
Heaven has nothing to do with any of the temporal heavens forming the upper spheres of the Cosmic Egg. This is indicated by its being called *Tripād-vibhūti*, “manifestation of the three-fourths [of God]”, in contradistinction to the one-fourth with which Aniruddha creates the Cosmic Egg. The Highest Heaven, in that it is not reached, at Liberation, until after the “shell” or “wall” of the Cosmic Egg has been “pierced”, is defined as “infinite above, limited below.”

The Highest Heaven with its inhabitants^2^ comes into existence together with the Vyūhas; and when, at the time of the Great Dissolution, the Cosmic Eggs disappear and Lakṣmī becomes indistinguishable from the Lord^3^, it is, of course, also withdrawn.

But there is also another, evidently later, view, according to which the Highest Heaven (including, of course, the divine couple) is not affected by the Great Dissolution. With this second view is probably connected the distinction between the Highest Heaven and the world as *nitya-vibhūti*^5^ and *vilā-vibhūti*, “eternal manifestation” and “play-manifestation” (=manifestation of the play of God, that is, the world).^6^

^1^ *Sa vibhūtir ardha-pradoṣa'nantā, adhā-pradoṣe paricchinna*; Yat. Dip. ed. p. 53. The journey of the liberated soul to the boundary of the Cosmic Egg and further on, is described with infinite detail in chapters 5 to 7 of *Tripādvibhūtaṁhānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

^2^ Among whom also the liberated souls are represented from the beginning, namely by those innumerable ones liberated in former Kalpas; P. Prakāśa S. VI, 7.

^3^ See above, beginning of section 2, p. 29 ffl.

^4^ P. Prakāśa S. I, 14: *Vāsudhādīvihāram hātvā.*

^5^ Or *bhoga-vibhūti*, Tattvārāya ed. p. 76.

^6^ Cf. p. 53, our explanation of the terms *nityādīta* and *sāntiādīta*.
In the Highest Heaven there is, just as on earth, a distinction between matter and souls. For the souls without matter would have no objects of enjoyment. The heavenly matter, however, or "pure matter" (suddha-sattva), as it is called, is not a mixture of the three Guṇas, nor the Sattva Guṇa without an admixture of the other Guṇas, though it is sometimes understood in the latter sense. The Highest Heaven coming into existence together with the Vyūhas (6. 21 ff.), it is clear that the Sattva Guṇa, which originates much later, namely only from Kāla (Time), can have nothing to do with it. Pure Matter, then, is a sort of spiritual matter which exists nowhere except in Pure Creation. It is a necessary hypothesis for explaining: (1) the non-natural (a-prakṛta) bodies of God, the angels, and liberated souls; and (2) the presence, in the "City of Vaikuṇṭha", of inanimate objects, to wit, "instruments of enjoyment" such as sandal, flowers, jewels, etc.; and "places of enjoyment" such as parks, lotus-tanks, pavilions, etc. Pure matter is spiritual, that is "of the nature of Knowledge and Bliss" (6. 22, 24), in so far as it is nowhere an obstacle to the mind, but consists, on the contrary, of nothing but wishes materialised. It is, as it were, the "solidified splendour" (styānā prabhā) of Pure Creation (6. 21-22).

The most prominent figure in Highest Heaven is God Himself in His para or "highest" form, which is the first of his five prakāras or modes of existence, the other four being the Vyūhas and the three kinds of Avatāras

1 See below section 3 of this part of our Introduction.
2 One edition of Yat. Dip. includes women (vadhū)!
3 Cf., for (1) the jñānānandamayā dekāh, and for (2) the ānandamayā bhogāh and ānandalakṣaṇā lokāh mentioned in VI, 24 and 23 resp. of Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā.
treated of above. He assumes this form as a “root of his innumerable Avatāras” and especially for the enjoyment of the angels and the liberated.

The Divine Figure is adorned with nine chief ornaments and weapons, which symbolically represent the principles of the universe, namely, the Kaustubha (a jewel worn on the breast)—the souls, the Śṛivatsa (a curl of hair on the breast)—Prakṛti, a club—Mahat, a conch—the Sattvic Ahamkāra, a bow—the Tāmasic Ahamkāra, a sword—knowledge, its sheath—ignorance, the discus—the mind, the arrows—the senses, a garland—the elements. These weapons and ornaments are not merely regarded as symbols but also as actually connected (as presiding deities or the like) with the Tattvas they represent. In this sense we read, for instance, in Viṣṇutilaka (2.29-31) that during the universal night the soul “in the form of the Kaustubha” rests in


2 Anantāvātāra-kanda, Tattvātṛaya ed. pp. 118-119. In Vihaṅgendra, S. II, 15 the Śaṅkṣāt Śakti is called mārtānam bijam arṣayam.

3 The para form of God is four-armed and of dark-blue complexion (Viṣṇ. S., loc. cit., p. 136; Pādma Tantra I, 2, 13 and 15). It has sprung, according to Pādma Tantra (I, second adhyāya; cf. Viṣṇutilaka II, 5 ff.), from a still higher, the very first, form of God (vṛṇam adhyam samātanam; Viṣṇutilaka II, 10: Vāsudevaṅvayam mahaḥ; cf. Ahirb. Samh., XLIII, 7: mahaḥ paramabhūvanam) which is two-handed (cf. Vihaṅgendra S. II, 16), of the colour of a pure crystal, and clad in a yellow robe—just as the Sudarsana Puruṣa (mantra-tanur Bhagavān) residing in Vaikuṇṭha who appears to Ahirbudhnya, XLIV 22 ff. (cf. XLIII 9 ff.). This is the “best of Puruṣas” and the “Highest Light” seen by Brahman in meditation (Pādma Tantra I, 3, 16 ff.) and “ever to be remembered by Yogins as seated in the lotus of the heart”, —that is, evidently, the Antar-yāmin placed here above the Para. This form, again, has originated from “that which has all forms and no form”, “Brahman without beginning, middle or end”.

4 See next section of this Introduction.

5 The great authority on this subject is for all later writers the Astrabhūṣaṇa Adhyāya of Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I, 22).
the splendour of Brāhman from which it is again sent out into the world (prapañcita) at the beginning of the new cosmic day in order to return once more and for ever when it is liberated.

God as Para is sometimes identified with, and sometimes distinguished from, the Vyūha Vāsudeva. When the two are distinguished, whether as nityōdīta “ever-manifest” and santōdīta “periodically manifest”; or otherwise, the Vyūha Vāsudeva is said to have sprung from the Para Vāsudeva who, again, may be identified with, or [more correctly] distinguished from, the Absolute (Puruṣa, Brāhman, Nārāyaṇa, etc.). Pādma Tantra describes the Para Vāsudeva as dividing himself “for some reason” and becoming with one half the Vyūha Vāsudeva, “crystal-like”, and with the other Nārāyaṇa, “black as a cloud”, the creator of the primeval waters (=Māyā).

God as Para is said to be always in the company of his consort Śrī (Lakṣmī), or of his wives Śrī and Bhūmi, or of Śrī, Bhūmi, and Nīlā, or even of eight or


2 Pādma Tantra I, 2. 16 ill.; cf. Viṣṇutilaka II, 11. Here the Para is not nītya, “eternal”, but a periodical manifestation like the Vyūha Vāsudeva. This is, of necessity, also the standpoint of the Ahrib. Saṁh, which, however, in calling the Absolute nityōdīta (II, 25) and Lakṣmī uditānudātākāra nimeshśeṣëśavāpyāṇ (III, 6) but again the Vyūhas nityōdīta (IX, 31), is not consistent in the use of these terms.

3 The two are clearly distinguished in Pādma Tantra (see note 3 on p. 52), also in P. Prakāśa S.I, 2.3 : Puruṣād Vāsudevodbhūta, cutācya ut abhavaṁ tatāt.

4 Viṣṇutilaka, however (II, 11-16), modifying this account, identifies the Para with Nārāyaṇa.
of twelve Saktis. The first of these views is naturally favoured in such works as Ahirbudhnya Śamhitā, which make Sakti a real philosophical principle. The second view is based (in a rather strained manner) on the weighty authority of the Uttaranārāyaṇa (end) which is the continuation, in the White Yajurveda, of the Puruṣa Sūkta. The third view is the one adopted in the later Visiṣṭādvaita, where, however, it plays such an insignificant part that, for instance, in Tattvātṛtya this is the only item connected with the Para Vāsudeva which is mentioned but not explained. It is apparently not found at all in the older Śamhitā literature. It is, however, expounded at some length in one of the Minor Upaniṣads, namely Sitā Upaniṣad, where (as in Vihagendra S. 2. 6) Śrī, Bhūmi, and Nilā are identified respectively with the Ichchā, Kriyā, and Sāksat Sakti of the Devī; Śrī representing good luck (bhadra), Bhūmi might

1 See Ahirb. Saṃh. VI, 25; IX, 31; XXXVI, 55; Lakṣmi Tantra VII, 9-10.
2 This, of course, does not exclude the admission of the existence, in Highest Heaven, of minor Saktis; cf. XXVIII, 85 of Ahirb. Saṃhitā, enjoining that the worship of God should be followed by that of the gods and [their] Saktis (sakti-yaṣṭāṁ) forming His retinue.
3 Pādma Tantra I, 2. 46; Pāramesvara S. I, 7, where Bhūmi is called Puṣṭi (Lakṣmipuṣṭayoh svārupe ca nīye Bhagavatā sāha).
4 Vihagendra S., 2nd adhyāya; P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 58-59; Parāśāra S., adhy. 8 to 10.
5 Tattvātṛtya, ed. pp. 55, 122; Yat. Dip., ed. p. 84.
6 The comm. makes a futile attempt at excusing the author, ed. p. 122.
7 The comm. both of Tattvātṛtya and Yat. Dip. have no other Smṛti authority for it than a stanza of the Saiva Purāṇa, to which they add, as Śruti quotation, the passage of the Uttaranārāyaṇa mentioned above, Śrīnivāsācārya, explaining that Nilā must be understood implicitly! — In P. Prakāśa S. (hardly earlier than the twelfth century) the three Saktis, regarded as aspects of the one Sakti, are connected with the souls, the white Śrī taking care of the souls in which the Sattva Guṇa dominates, the red Bhū of the Rājasic ones, and the black (nilā) Durgā of the Tāmasic ones (1, 1. 58-59).
(prabhāva), and Nilā the moon, sun, and fire. Śrī, further, is threefold: as Yoga, Bhoga, and Vīra Sakti (connected resp. with Yoga practice, domestic and temple worship); Nilā as Soma is also the goddess of vegetation, and as sun the goddess of time, while as fire she is connected with hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and Bhūdevi, of the nature of the Praṇava, is the sustaining power of the earth with its fourteen planes. The mention, in the Upaniṣad, of the Rṣi Vaikhānasa (though the passages in question are probably interpolated) seems to indicate that we should seek for these doctrines rather in the Vaikhānasa than in the Pāṇcarātra Śaṃhitās. Eight Saktis, namely "Lakṣmī, etc.", are often mentioned but seldom enumerated. They are evidently the following eight, associated in Vihagendra S. (3. 5) with the "hero form" (vīra-mūrti) of the Sudarsana, to wit: Kirti (Fame), Śrī (Fortune), Vijaya (Victress), Śraddhā (Faith), Smṛti (Memory), Medhā (Intelligence), Dhṛti (Endurance), and Kṣamā (Forbearance). In Pāda Tantra (I, 2. 38) and Viṣṇutilaka (2. 21) they are stated to originate from the Śrīvatsa of Viṣṇu. The following twelve Saktis are enumerated in Sāttvata S. (9. 86): Lakṣmī, Puṣṭi (Prosperity), Dayā (Compassion), Nidrā (Sleep), Kṣamā, Kānti (Beauty), Sarasvati (Learning), Dhṛti, Maitri (Benevolence), Rati (Venus), Tuṣṭi (Satisfaction), and Mati (=Medhā). These play a part in the Āvatāra theory and elsewhere. For instance, the fourteenth Āvatāra is said to be waited upon by Lakṣmī, Nidrā,

1 For another "eight women" see XXVI, 37 ff. of Ahirb. Śaṃhitā.

2 Who, as we have seen (p. 52, note 3), is subordinate here to a higher aspect of God.
Priti (=Maitri), and Vidyā (=Sarasvati); and the thirty-ninth by Lakṣmī, Cintā (=Matī), Nidrā and Puṣṭi.

Of the two classes of Jīvas or individual souls existing in the Highest Heaven, the more exalted ones are the so-called Nityas (eternal ones) or Sūris (sages, masters), which two words can be fairly accurately rendered by "angels". They differ from the other class to be dealt with hereafter not in point of knowledge, both being declared to fully participate in the Lord’s omniscience, but (1) in having been always free from defilement, and (2) in holding perpetually certain offices as coadjutors of the Lord. The duties they have to discharge are, however, so mysterious that hardly any attempt has been made at defining the same. These angels are, besides the “door-keepers” and “town-watchmen” of the “Holy City of Vaikuṇṭha”, called respectively Canda, Pracanda, Bhadra, Subhadra, etc., and Kumuda, Kumudākṣa, Puṇḍarika, Vāmana, etc., the so-called Pārśadas or Pāriṣadas, that is “companions” (retinue) of God, and in addition to [or among] these mentioned together in several passages of Ahirb. Saṃh., for instance, IX, 30.

The existence of these angels is based on such scriptural passages as the famous Tād Viṣṇuḥ paramāṃ padaṃ sadā pasyanti sūryayāh and Svetāsvatara Upanisad VI, 13: Nityo nityānāṁ cetanaḥ cetanānāṁ eko balakānām yo vidudhātī kāmān.

Kadāpi samsāram aprāptāḥ, asprṣṭa-samsāra-gandhāḥ (Tattvātṛaya, ed. pp. 26, 28), the others being only niirtta-saṃsārāḥ “who have done with the world” (ibid., p. 28).


The Pārśadas are distinguished from Kumuda, etc., as well as Ananta, etc., in Pādma Tantra I, 2, 36-40, but often the term is used in a wider sense. In Yat. Dip., ed. p. 84, “Ananta, Garuḍa, Viśvaksena, etc.” are called Nityas, but not the “door-keepers” and “watchmen”; still, there being among the Muktas neither office-bearers nor social distinctions at all (see below), the rest can be nothing but Nityas.
the latter the three more prominent beings called Ananta, Garuḍa, and Viśvakṣena. Of these, Ananta or Śeṣa, the serpent, is the couch of Viṣṇu, and Garuḍa, the "king of birds", his so-called vehicle (vāhana), while Viśvakṣena, the "lord of hosts"¹, is described as a sort of chief minister to God in all affairs heavenly and mundane. This part of Viśvakṣena, if taken in earnest, would seem to clash with the activities of the Vyūhas; and he appears to have actually ousted them in that sect described in the thirtieth chapter of Ānandagiri's Saṅkaravijaya, which recommends the worship of him only who "rules the whole universe like a second Avatāra of the Lord residing in Vaikūṇṭha."² Lastly, it must be stated that Nityas can incarnate at will in the world, just as Viṣṇu Himself.³

The lower class of inhabitants of the Highest Heaven are the Muktaṣe or Liberated. They are described (6. 27) as intensely radiating spiritual atoms of the size of a trasareṇu (mote in a sunbeam).⁴ This description is evidently connected with Mahābh. XII, 346. 18 ff. where it is said that the liberated become atomic after having been burned up by the Sun; and in so

¹ Called also Śeṣāṣtana "the eater of leavings", namely, of God, that is, presumably: the executor of His plans; cf. the commentaries, Taitvātraya, ed. p. 28; the explanation, ibid., of the Serpent’s name Śeṣa (the "appurtenance" of Viṣṇu, namely, His bed, seat, etc.) is little convincing. — Viśvakṣena occurs in the story narrated in adhy. XLI of Ahiro. Saṃh., stanzas 18 and 30 ff.

² Ibid. is mentioned a gorgeous Temple of Viśvakṣena in a place [in Northern India] called Marūndha (spelt Marundha in the poetical paraphrase, Ānandāstrama Series no. 22, p. 559).

³ Cf. p. 44, note 5.

⁴ Śoṣeśaṃ aṣamāt.jpeg

Visvaksena S., loc. cit., p. 13; the second half also in Ahiro. Saṃh., VI, 27.

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far as this undoubtedly means that the liberated by passing through the Sun get rid of their subtle body, Tattvatrāya (ed. p. 12) is right in teaching the "atomicity" of any, even the bound, soul, if described in itself.\(^1\) The liberated, then, are bodiless. But this only means that they have no "karma-made" body; they can assume, whenever they like, a "non-natural" body, or even simultaneously several such bodies\(^2\), and freely roam about in the whole world.\(^3\) They are, however, excluded from actual interference in worldly affairs\(^4\), differing in this respect from the angels, as already noticed. Among the Muktas there exists no gradation or social difference of any kind — they being as equal, essentially, as for instance grains of rice\(^5\) — still their mode of life differs by the difference of devotional inclinations preserved from their last earthly existence. "Whatever form [of God] the devotee has been attached to in his mundane existence, that kind does he behold as an inhabitant of the Highest Heaven."\(^6\) We are not told whether the liberated have any intercourse with each other, but if the bodies of Pitṛs (ancestors, etc., lost by death) are created for them by God\(^7\), and if, as is often said, they are intent upon nothing but service (kāravya) to God, then, indeed, they are practically alone with their God.

\(^1\) The soul is also vibhū, in spite of its atomicity; see below section 6 of this part of our Introduction.

\(^2\) As Yogins can do already while still alive, the classical example being that of Saubbhāri (Tattvatrāya ed., p. 31, Yat. Dip. ed., p. 70).

\(^3\) Yat. Dip. ed., p. 78.


\(^5\) Tattvatrāya, ed. p. 33.

\(^6\) AHIRB. SANH. VI, 29-30.

\(^7\) Yat. Dip., ed. p. 53.
The Visistadvaita teaches that there exists a second class of Mukta, namely the so-called Kevalas or “exclusive ones”, who are actually altogether “isolated” because they have reached Liberation, not by devotion to God, but by constant meditation upon the real nature of their own soul. They are said to be living, “like the wife who has lost her husband”, “in some corner” outside both the Highest Heaven and the Cosmic Egg.¹ We have so far not found this doctrine in any of the Pāncarātra Sanhitās but should not be surprised if it were eventually discovered in one or several of them.

3. Intermediate Creation

(Evolution, Second Stage)

“Based” on Pure Creation ² but performed with only one myriadth part of the infinitely small portion of divine energy employed in it, is that other manifestation of the Bhūti Śakti which is “different from the pure one” (suddhētāra), that is, partly “mixed” and partly “impure “, namely the Kūṭastha Puruṣa and the Māyā

² Tannālaika, VI, 7.
³ III, 27; Laksni Tantra IV, 35.

The use, in our Sanhitā, of the terms suddhētāra and suddhāsuddhā is of a bewildering ambiguity. In VII, 68-70 the term suddhētāra has a different meaning in each of the three stanzas, namely, in 68: “comprising the pure and what is different from it”; in 69: “other than pure” ; and in 70: “belonging to both the pure and what is different from it”,— “what is different from it” (iti āsarā=ita-tāra) being in 68 inclusive of, in 70 exclusive of the “mixed” creation, the latter being evidently not included either in 69. Similarly the sense of suddhāsuddhā in V, 9 and LIX, 55 concerns with the first of the above meanings (asuddhā implying the “mixed”), and that of suddhā-suddhī-maya in VI, 34 with the third. — Instead of “mixed” (Viṣvakṣena S., loc. cit., p. 128 ff.) the present Sanhitā says “pure-impure”.

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Sakti with their respective developments. This Non-pure Creation falls into a primary and a secondary one, and the former, again, consists of two well-defined stages of which the first, to be described in this section, may well be called the Intermediate Creation.

The Kūṭaṣṭha Puruṣa, called also simply Kūṭaṣṭha or Puruṣa, is explained in our Šaṁhitā (6. 83-84) in the words: “An aggregate of souls, similar to a bee-hive, the pure-impure condition of Bhūti, — such is the Puruṣa piled up by souls blunted by beginningless Germ-impressions (vāsanā)”; with which should be compared the definition in Lakṣmī Tantra (7. 11-12): “By Puruṣa is meant the all-knowing, all-faced Bhoktr Kūṭaṣṭha: as his parts go forth from him all the eternal souls (jīva), and likewise at [the time of] Dissolution the work[-bound] souls, go back to him, the highest soul (nara).” The Kūṭaṣṭha Puruṣa, then, is the soul of souls, that is to say, the totality, regarded as the source, of all disembodied but karm̄ bound (non-liberated) souls.

1 Treated respectively in adhyāyas VI and VII of our Šaṁhitā.

2 There are several speculations about the meaning of this word which is, of course, the old Śaṁkhya term mentioned already in the Buddhist Nikāyas. The explanation rāṣṭrāsthi “existing in the form of a heap (collection, aggregate)”, seems to be favoured, in our Šaṁhitā, by the image of the bee-hive (see below). Other passages, however (XVI, 38, cf. 46; XXIV, 24; etc.), suggest the idea of the Puruṣa “standing at the top” of the soul’s pedigree. The latter explanation is the one which Vedāntadēśika prefers to the former; see his commentary on Śrībhāṣya for Bhagavadgītā XII, 3 (aṅkeśvāṁ santanāmāntarānāṁ puruṣānāṁ sādharāno hi pūrvāḥ puruṣaḥ Kūṭaṣṭhaḥ).

3 In IX, 25 this image is used for the Māya Sakti, while in IX, 27 the Kūṭaṣṭha is compared with [the hole of] an Udumbara tree swarming with countless bees.

4 The Kūṭaṣṭha (and likewise the four Manus to be mentioned) is not a mere collective being; cf. the description of Brahmān as “consisting of the totality of bound souls.”
before the creation and after the dissolution of the "non-pure" universe.¹

He is of a mixed nature (suddhy-asuddhi-maya, 6. 34) in that he is pure in himself but impure on account of his carrying the above-mentioned Germ-impressions left over from the latest life-period of the souls.

The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, and, as will be seen, also the Mayā Sakti, take their rise from Pradyumna. The origin of the Kūṭastha from Pradyumna is made to agree with the Puruṣa Sūkta by describing the Kūṭastha as consisting of four couples, namely, the male and female ancestors of the four castes, springing respectively from the mouth, arms, legs, and feet of Pradyumna. Accordingly, the Kūṭastha is called "the Puruṣa of four pairs", "the Puruṣa consisting of twice four", "the aggregate of Manus", "the eight Manus", "the four Manus"², or simply "the Manus"; and he is imagined as retaining this form while "descending" the long line of Tattvas in the manner to be described, until he is fully materialized and thus prepared for further multiplication. It is stated (7. 54 fl.)³ that the Manus are the origin merely of the Pitṛs, Devarṣis, and men⁴, and that there are other "wombs" (and, consequently, lines

¹ Note that the liberated souls do not return to the Kūṭastha.
² Viśvaksena S., loc. cit., p. 126. These seem to be the "four Manus" that have puzzled all commentators and translators of Bhagavadgītā X, 6, in which case the above conception of the Kūṭastha (though not necessarily the Pāñcarātra) would be older than the Gītā. Note that the Seven Rṣis mentioned together with the four Manus in the sloka referred to of the Gītā have the same names as the Citrasikhaṇḍins who, according to the Narāyaṇīya, are the first promulgators of the Pāñcarātra.
³ In contradiction to IV, 13: cetana-carga, unless this be meant in a restricted sense.
⁴ Not of all men but only of the Sattvic ones, according to some authorities; see below, fifth section.
of evolution) such as those of the Devas, Daityas, Gandharvas, etc.; but the latter are nowhere described.

The Māyā Šaṅkṣṭi, called also simply Šakti, further Bhagavat Šakti, Mūlaprakṛti, Sasvadvidyā, or simply Vidyā, is the same to the material universe as is the Kūṭastha to the world of souls; that is to say, it is the non-spiritual energy which comes into existence, by the side of the Purusa, as the primitive form of the “matter” or “nature” (prakṛti) into which the Manus are destined to gradually “descend”. As “root-matter”, however (4.4), it differs from the Mūlaprakṛti of the Śaṅkhyas (mentioned as such in 7.1) in that the latter is only one of its two manifestations, namely, its so-called “Guṇa body” (gaṇa or guṇamaya vāpa), the other one being the “Time body” (kālamaya vāpa) consisting of Kāla “Time” and its “subtle” cause, namely Niyati “Restriction”.

These three last-mentioned, that is Niyati, Kāla, and Guṇa, are declared to originate from the forehead, eyebrows, and ears respectively of Pradyumna (6.12),

1 Altogether eight such “forms” (mūrtya-āṣṭaka) are enumerated, along with the Viśhavas, etc., in Pādma Tāntra (I, 2. 29-30), namely, brahmi, prajāpatyā, vaiśvānāri, divya, ārṣi, mānusī, āśuri, and pāśu; cf. Śaṅkhyas Karika 58.

2 And cannot, indeed, be consistently described after the dissection of the Purusa for the purpose of man. Philosophy clashes here with mythology.

3 Of all these names, to which may be added from Lakṣmī Tāntra: Mahālakṣmī, Mahēśvarī, and Bhadrakāli, the first alone (IV, 52; cf. VI, 35-36) is fairly unequivocal. The usual one, in our Śaṁhitā, is Šakti. Vidyā, as an Āgāmic term, means “magical power”, that is much the same as Māyā, Avidyā, and, after all, Šakti, and all of these are synonyms of more than one kind of Prakṛti and therefore, like dhēnu, etc., in constant danger of misinterpretation. The adjective vaidya, rather frequent in our Śaṁhitā, is as a rule a mere substitute for prakṛti.

4 For the connection of Niyati with the forehead cf. the phrase lalāte likhitaṁ “written on the forehead” = fate.
just as the four pairs of Manus have been derived from his mouth, etc.

Having produced the Kūṭastha Puruṣa and the threefold Māyā Sakti, Pradyumna transfers both of them, “the Sakti with the Puruṣa in it” (6. 14), “for further development” (vardhayeti, 6. 15) to Aniruddha.

Developed for a thousand years (55. 48)¹ by the Yoga of Aniruddha (6. 14) there emerge now once more, but this time successively, the already-mentioned material principles (6. 48 ff.): first, directly from Aniruddha, Sakti; then, from Sakti, Niyati; from Niyati, Kāla; from Kāla, the Sattva Guṇa; from the latter the Rajo Guṇa; and, from the latter, the Tamo Guṇa; and simultaneously and in the same order the Manus travel through these Tattvas by “descending” into each of them, after its appearance, and “staying” in it, for some time, “as a foetus” (kalali-bhāta, 6. 48), — which means (to judge from their further development) that they appropriate successively the individual faculty which each of these Tattvas is capable of bestowing. By the way it may be mentioned here that the chapter on Dissolution (4. 54-60) inserts the Kūṭastha between Aniruddha and Sakti, assigning thus to the Kūṭastha a position similar to that of Brahman in the Upaniṣads, creating the world and then entering it.

We have now to say some words on each of those educts of Māyā Sakti.

Māyā Sakti, Niyati, and Kāla occupy in the philosophy of the Pāñcarātra the very place which is

¹ Cf. such passages as Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad I, 1, 2 relating how the Year (that is, time) is born after having been “carried” by Prajāpati for one year.
held in the Saiva systems by the six so-called Kañcukas or “jackets”, that is limiting forces owing to which the soul loses its natural perfections (omniscience, etc.). As a matter of fact, the doctrine of the six Kañcukas called Mâyā, Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Niyati, and Kāla seems to be a mere elaboration of the older doctrine, found with the Pāñcarātras, of only three powers of “limitation” (saṃkoca), namely the three mentioned. These three appear in Lakṣmi Tantra as “the three mothers and creators of the world” called Mahālakṣmi, Mahāvidyā, and Mahākāli, and representing respectively the Rājasic, Sāttvic, and Tāmasic aspect of the Goddess; and they are said to be Aniruddha’s wife Rati in the form of the “Sheath of Māyā” (māyā-kosa).

Niyati, “the Sakti consisting of great knowledge”, is “the subtle regulator of every thing”, such as “the form which [a being] may have, its work, and its nature” (6. 48). It is clear from this definition that Niyati is not only what the Vaiṣeṣikas call Dis, to wit the regulator of positions in space, but that it also regulates, as Kārmic necessity, the intellectual capacity, inclinations,

1 For an able account of these see Chatterji, Kashmir Shaiivism, pp. 75 ff. Cf. also Schomerus, Der Čaitvo-Siddhānta, p. 137.
2 Or Mahāśri, Paramèsvari, Bhadrakāli, etc.
3 Or Mahāvāni, Sarasvati, Mahādhenu, etc.
4 Or Mahāmāya, Kālaratri, Nidrā, etc.
5 Lakṣmi Tantra VII, 13; IV, 67; VI, 18-19; and for the names also IV, 36, 39 ff., 62, and V, VI, VII (passim).
7 Sākṣmaḥ sava-niyāmakaḥ, VI, 46.
8 Which is foreshadowed in Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad III, 8, 9: “By the order of this Imperishable One are kept asunder (vādhetau tiṣṭhataḥ) sun and moon . . . . . . are the gods dependent on the performer of sacrifices, the manes on the funeral gift.” Cf. also ibid. IV, 4, 22: saevr viharanāḥ.
9 Chatterji, Hindu Realism, pp. 58 ff.
and practical ability of every being; that is to say, that it includes the functions of the above-mentioned Saiva principles called Vidyā, Rāga, and Kalā.¹

Kāla, Time, is defined (4. 48) as “the mysterious power existing in time, which urges on everything”, and, in another passage (6. 51), as the principle which “pursues” everything to be matured, as the stream [is after] the bank of the river.” It is further said (6. 49) that this is “the cooking (maturing) form of time”.³ Kāla, then, as originating from Niyati and giving origin to the Guṇas, is not time as it appears to us (subjective time) but a subtle force conditioning it. This distinction between the ordinary or empiric and a higher or transcendental time can be traced back⁴ to the Kāla hymns of the Atharvaveda and is recognizable in the great epic in such phrases as “Time leads me in time”⁵. One Upaniṣad⁶ speaks of “the time that has parts” (sakala kāla) and “non-time having no parts”, the former being “later” than the sun and stars, the latter “earlier”; further on, time that “cooks” (matures) all beings, but is excelled by “him in whom time is cooked”. From these two famous texts and similar ones it was eventually concluded that the

¹ The Saiva principle Niyati, as distinct from Vidyā, etc., was originally in all probability nothing more than the Dis of the Vaiṣeṣikas; but the use of the word in common language in the sense of Fate has (at least in the Dravidian school) obscured its relation to the other Kaṇḍikas.

² Or “counts, measures” (kalayati).

³ Kālasya pācanaṃ riṣipam.

⁴ See my comprehensive sketch of the earlier history of Kāla in Ueber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Budhhas, pp. 17 to 30.

⁵ Kālaḥ kāle nayati mām, XII, 227. 29.

⁶ Maitrāyaṇa VI, 15.
changing time which we observe in daily life is only "time as an effect" (kārya-kāla) the cause of which must be a "time without sections" (akhaṇḍa-kāla) and unchanging; and (2) that there must be a sphere or condition which is totally unaffected by time; though time exists in it as an instrument to be used at will; — that is to say that there are, strictly speaking, three kinds of time, to wit: (1) effected or "gross" time, which plays no part until after the creation of the Tattvas; (2) causal or "subtle" time which, though relatively "eternal" (and often called so) is also created, namely, by Aniruddha (or Pradyumna); and (3) "highest" time existing in Pure Creation. It is, evidently, in this sense that our Samhitā declares (53. 10-11): "Gross is called the time possessing the lava (one-sixth of a second), etc.; subtle the one determining the Tattvas; while that which pervades the activity of the Vyūhas is styled Highest Time". That there may be a still higher time connected with Vāsudeva alone is denied in the words (53. 11-12): "Effecting by time belongs always to the triad of Vyūhas [only]; the Lord Vāsudeva is not a Vyūha nor a possessor of time." It follows, then, that the Tattva called Kāla emanating from Niyati is the second or "subtle" kind of time.

1 Yat. Dip., ed. p. 50, and elsewhere.
2 Tattvatraya, ed. p. 122.
3 Though, as will be seen, it comes into existence already before the latter is completed.
4 Though said to form a tetrad together with the Vyūhas, V, 25-26.
5 There is more material about this subject (for instance, adhyāt. III of P. Prakāśa S.) and it will probably be found that the conception of time is not exactly the same in some Samhitās as in others.
"The Guṇa Body, or that form of Sakti mentioned above which is manifested gradually from Kāla" (6. 51-52) consists of the three Guṇas, as already remarked. It has to be added that each Guṇa, while evolving in the manner described, comes under the special protectorship of Aniruddha in the form of the Trimūrti; that is to say: Aniruddha as Viṣṇu becomes the superintendent of Sattva, as Brahmān that of Rajas, and as Rudra that of Tamas. These three gods, together with their Saktis (Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Gaurī), regarded as the forces underlying the formation of the Aṇvyaṅka, are called in Lakṣmī Tantra (6. 20-21) the "Sheath of Generation" (prasūti-kosa). In the same text (4. 82 fll.) it is stated with regard to the first origin of the Guṇas that they have been formed from [an infinitesimal part of] the first, second, and third of the six Guṇas of the Lord. The qualities which become manifest through the Guṇas are according to Ahirb. Saṃbh.: (1) lightness, brightness, healthiness, pleasure; (2) motion, passion, restlessness, pain; and (3) heaviness, obstruction, inertia, stupefaction.

After the Guṇas have evolved separately, they become, "for the purpose of creation", a uniform mass called as a rule Aṇvyaṅka (the Non-manifest) or Mūlaprakṛti (Root-nature), but also, according to

1 Who, however, according to Lakṣmī Tantra V, 6 fll., have sprung: Brahmān and Lakṣmī from Mahālakṣmī + Pradyumna; Rudra and Sarasvatī from Mahākāli + Saṅkarsana; and Viṣṇu and Gaurī from Mahāvidyā + Aniruddha.

2 This is the third kosa or material "husk" of the Devi, the second being the above-mentioned Māyā Kosa, and the first the Sakti Kosa comprising the Vyuhas and their Saktis. Three more Kosas are connected with the lower primary and the secondary creation to be described in the next two sections of this Introduction.

3 The other three being employed for the creation of Kāla; ibid. V, 24-25.
our Sāṃhitā (6. 68), by such names as Tamas (Darkness)¹, Guṇa-sāmya (Equality of Guṇas)², Avidyā (Ignorance), Svabhāva (Nature), Aksara (the Imperishable), Yoni (Womb), Ayoni (the Unborn), Guṇa-yoni (=guṇamāya yoni, Guṇa-made Womb).

4. LOWER PRIMARY CREATION

(Evolution, Third Stage.)

The “descent” of the Manus into Matter having reached the Tamo Guṇa (6.68), and the three Guṇas having joined to form the Mūlaprakṛti (6. 61 fl.), there follows now that evolution which is the only one known to the Classical Sāṃkhya with which, as we shall see, the Pāñcarātra does on the whole, but not throughout, agree.

At the very outset there is this difference that, whereas the Classical Sāṃkhya has only two principles to start with, namely, Puruṣa and Prakṛti, our Sāṃhitā begins this chapter with stating emphatically (though not in a polemic way) that the development which now sets in, results from the combined activity of three principal agents, namely, Prakṛti, Puruṣa, and Kāla (Matter, Soul, Time).³ The mutual relation of the first two is explained in exactly the same way as in the Classical

¹ That is, undifferentiatedness. Cf. the expression sāntatman used promiscuously with avyakta in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad III, 10-13.

² Meaning that in this condition, as distinguished from the later “inequality of Guṇas” (guṇa-vaiśamya), the three forces are equally distributed in every particle of matter.

³ In the Classical Sāṃkhya time is a mere quality of matter (Sāṃkhya Sūtra II, 12), — an impossible view in an early system; cf. Schrader, Über den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīra und Buddhas.
Sāmkhya: Prakṛti changes, like milk and clay [changing, respectively, to curds, etc., and pots, etc.], owing to the proximity (=magnetic influence) of the unchangeable Puruṣa. But both these Tattvas are being "cooked" by Time.\(^1\) Again, there is this difference, that there are not many Puruṣas, as in classical Sāmkhya, but at this stage only the one Kūṭastha or Samaṣṭī (Collective) Puruṣa.

As the first product of this combined activity of the three there emerges from the Aavyakta the Mahat (masc., neutr.) or "Great One", called also Mahat Tattva "the Great Principle".\(^2\) Our Sāṃhitā enumerates (7. 8-9) the following more or less pregnant synonyms for this term: Vidyā\(^3\), Go (Cow)\(^3\), Avanī (Earth), Brāhma (the Cosmic One), Vadhū (Woman)\(^3\), Vṛddhi (Growth), Mati (Intelect), Madhu (Honey)\(^6\), Akhyāti, (Non-discrimination), Īsvara (Lord), and Prājña (Wise)\(^8\) to which some others, mostly synonyms of Mati, have to be added, notably Buddhī.

About Mahat two seemingly contradictory statements are put side by side, of which the first clearly shows that the Pañcarātra has drawn from an older form of the Sāmkhya philosophy than the one which has survived in the Kārikā and the Sūtras. The

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1 How, in spite of this, the Puruṣa remains "unchanged" (aparipāmin, VII, 6), is not explained.

2 The Mahat and remaining principles are symbolized by the lotus growing from the navel of Padmanābha (Aniruddha); see Indrarātra I, 18 (Mahārājaṣey padukājaṃ), etc.

3 Cf. note 3 on page 62.

4 Cf. Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad II, 5.

5 The last two names are from Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad where they are used with reference to the susupti plane of consciousness. For Akhyāti see below p. 73.
Mahat, we are first told (7. 9-11), is threefold, in conformity with the three Guṇas, its Tamas element appearing as Kāla (time), its Sattva element as Buddhī (reason, intellect), and its Rajas element as Prāṇa (vitality). The next statement, which would hopelessly conflict with the preceding one, unless we refer it not to the cosmic Mahat but to Buddhī as an individual organ (cf. below), is essentially identical with the teaching of the twenty-third āryā of Śāmkhya-Kārikā, namely that Mahat manifests itself in four Sāttvic and four Tāmasic forms, being respectively good actions (dharma), knowledge, dispassion, and might, and their opposites.

Now, as regards Kāla, which is here defined as "consisting of truṭis, lavas, etc." , it is evident that in this passage a different and lower form of Time must be meant than its "subtle" or "cooking" form originating, as we have seen, from Niyati. For, Subtle Time belongs to Unmanifest Nature, while Mahat is the beginning of Manifest Nature. It follows that Kāla as

1 Cf. Lakṣmi Tantra XVI, 2-4:

Sa Mahān nāma, tasyaṃ vidhās tisraḥ prakāritāh
sāttviko Buddhīḥ ity uktā, rājasah Prāṇa svabhāva hi
tamasah Kāla ity uktas; teṣāṃ vyākhyām imām śṛṇu
Buddhīḥ adhyāsāyaṣya, Prāṇaḥ prayaṭanasya ca ut
Kālaḥ kalavārupasya pariṇāmatyā kārṇam ā.

2 The rôle of the Taijasa (Rājasic) Mahat is, according to the twenty-fifth ārya, to co-operate with both the Sāttvika and the Tāmasa.

3 And similarly in the corresponding passage of Lakṣmi Tantra quoted above, note 1 on this page; for which reason we cannot but believe that really time is meant here and not the Time Lotus producing Brāhmaṇ and Sarasvatī, as stated in Lakṣmi Tantra V, 27 fl., which rather appears to be another instance of mythology clashing with philosophy.

4 In the comm. on Tattvātṛaya, ed. p. 79, the relation of the two kinds of time distinguished there are actually likened to that of the A vyakta and the Vyakta.
a form of Mahat can be nothing else but Gross Time referred to above, p. 66. And that this is not only the form of time which we perceive, but first of all the one with which we perceive, must be concluded from the fact that the two other forms of Mahat, namely Budhhi and Prāṇa, are regarded as individual powers acquired by the Manus during their "descent" through the Great Principle. With regard to Budhhi it is expressly stated (7. 18-14) that to the eight Manus, while dwelling in "the womb of Vidyā", there originates that "natural organ (vaidyam indriyam), called Bodhana, by means of which they can ascertain [the nature of] things, discriminating between the real and the unreal." The five Prāṇas are in Classical Sāmkhya 2 a common function of Budhhi, Ahamkāra, and Manas, which three together form the so-called Inner Organ (antah-karana); whereas, according to the mentioned statement of our Śaṃhitā, corroborated by 7. 42-43, they come from Mahat only.3

1 Time as a "form-of-perception", Anschauungsform. We admit that it is almost impossible to believe these mythologizing philosophers to have been capable of discovering a Kantian conception, and we are far from asserting that they were clearly conscious of distinguishing objective and subjective time, but we do not see how the above conclusion can be avoided without straining the passage. Drawing parallels is undoubtedly a dangerous thing in comparative philosophy, but it is equally dangerous to adhere at any cost to one's prejudices. We shall see (in section 6, below) that the idea of spatial transcendence, to which according to Deussen Indian philosophy has not been able to rise, was perfectly familiar to the Pañcarātraṇins, and not only to them, in spite of the misleading terms used for it.

2 Kārikā 29; Sūtra II, 31.

3 There is in Laxmi Tantra (V, 27b-33, ed. 37b-43) an enigmatical explanation of the Mahat which does not agree with the stanzas quoted (p. 70 note 1) from the same work and representing the view of our Śaṃhitā. The Mahat, according to that text, is called so ("The Great One") "on account of its comprehending the Lotus, the Male, and the Woman" (padma-pum-strī-samālmabhāt mahattvam tasya sūdayate), the Lotus being subsequently identified
We now turn to the question: What is Mahat?, which question, on account of its importance for the history of Indian philosophy, must be answered at some length.

The one important thing to be noticed in connection with Mahat is that Buddhi is not a mere synonym for it, as in Classical Sāmkhya, but one of its three forms: the Sāttvic one; and that the individual organ Buddhi is a product of the Sāttvic Mahat in exactly the same sense as Manas is a product of the Sāttvic Ahamkāra. This is a sign of antiquity; for in Kāṭhaka Upanisad also (3. 10-12) Buddhi and Mahat are not yet identical, the former, called jñāna ātman "Knowledge Self", being a lower principle than the "Great Self" which, in its turn, is inferior to the "Quiet Self" (sánta ātman) which; again, is excelled by the Puruṣa. On the other hand, this distinction between Buddhi and Mahat, together with the synonyms of the latter, furnishes the solution to the riddle, never before satisfactorily answered, as to the origin of the term Mahat. The synonyms may be divided into two classes, to wit (1) those that are mere names of Prakṛti, such as Go, Avanī, Brāhmī, Vadhū, Vṛddhi, Madhu; and (2) those referring to consciousness. Of the latter class, again, those which are

with Prāṇa (whose quality is spanda "vibration"), the Woman with Buddhi, and the Male with the Puruṣa as the performer of good and evil deeds. Then there follows, just as in our Samhitā after the description of the threefold Mahat, a passage on the 2×4 Sāttvic and Tāmasic manifestations of Buddhi, and after that the Ahamkāra and the remaining Tattvas are explained. — Yat. Dip., ed. p. 50, in rejecting the view that time is Tāmaso Mahān, evidently means to say that the definition is too narrow. — According to a view mentioned in the comm. on Tattvavatya, ed. p. 79, the several kinds of time differ in the rapidity of vibrations, with which should be compared the statement above, p. 27 note 2.

1 On the latter, generally called Vaikṛta Ahamkāra, see below.
common to Mahat and the organ Buddhi, namely, Buddhi, Mati, Trayi, and Vidyã, are for this reason as little significant in themselves as are the names of Prakṛti. But the remaining three names referring to the subconscious life, namely Akhyāti ¹, Prājñā, and Ṣvara, clearly indicate that nothing else can be meant by Mahat than the Prāṇa or Mukhya Prāṇa of the ancient Upaniṣads, which is both vitality (prāṇa, āyus) and sub- or super-conscious intelligence (prajñā), and on whom the five Prāṇas as well as the senses are said to depend like servants on their master.² Mahat is cosmic Prāṇa, the "Breath of the World", the "Unconscious", that is the physical, yet intelligent energy at work at the building up and preserving of organisms.³ Prāṇa in this sense is called in the Upaniṣads: Brāhmaṇ, protector (ruler, lord) of the world, breath (ātman) of the gods, generator of beings, eater, the one sage; and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad 3, 7 an [apparently current] stanza on the Prāṇa is quoted in which the phrase occurs: "great they call his might (lit.: greatness)" (mahāntam asya mahimānam ānih) which is perhaps the source of the name Mahat. A proof for the correctness of our equation Mahat=Prāṇa is contained in the enumeration, in the twelfth chapter of this Saṅhkhyā, of the principles taught in the Saṅkhya system, where in the tenth place we do not find

¹ The "non-discrimination" in dreamless sleep; for the next two names see note 5 on p. 69.

² The principal passages to be compared, also for the following, are: Kauśitakī, III, IV 20, II 1; Chāndogya IV 3; Maithrayaṇa II 6; Praśna II.

³ Cf. the mahat brahma of Bhagavadgītā XIV, 3-4, and note that Brāhma is among the synonyms of Mahat, and Brāhmaṇ among those of Prāṇa (see below) as well as, in some Saṅkhya treatises (for instance the Comm. on Tattvasamāsa), those of Prakṛti.
Mahat, as should be expected, but Prāṇa. This equation throws also an unexpected light on the connection of Buddhism and Sāṃkhya, namely, in that it permits of the proportion Mahat: Buddhi=Vijñāna-dhātu: Vijñāna-skandha. For, while there can be little doubt as to the correspondence of the organ Buddhi with the Vijñāna-skandha, it is practically certain that Mahat=Prāṇa is the very same thing as that “re-connection consciousness” (pratisandhi-vijñāna) which, according to the Buddha’s doctrine, descends into the womb of the mother, at the time of conception, bridging over death and birth, and to which Liberation alone puts an end, whereas the personal consciousness (vijñāna-skandha) is destroyed in every single death. Again, one cannot help thinking that even the Ātman taught in the famous Yajñavalkiya Kāṇḍa is very nearly identical with our Mahat. He is the subconscious energy, the “place of union” (ekāyana), the Prāṇa to which, in dreamless sleep and death, all our conscious functions return, in order to go forth from it once more in awakening and birth respectively; he is the [sub- and super-] “conscious self” (prājñā ātman) “embraced” by which in dreamless sleep man “has no [longer any] notion of outside and inside” (IV, 3. 21);

1 We were not yet aware of the equation, when writing our article on the Saṣṭiṇtra in Z. D. M. G., 1914, and consequently thought of the five Prāṇas only.
2 Except for those who have made up their minds to distribute the teachings of the Nikāyas between two radically opposed sects.
3 Not, of course, identity.
4 The vijñāna-dhātu of the Nikāyas, therefore, must be regarded as a sort of consciousness in potentī from which the saṇt-aṅgatana, and, through it, the caitūsiḥkāḥ skandhāḥ evolve.
5 Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV, 3, 36: evam evāyaṃ puruṣaḥ . . . .

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he is "this great being (mahād bhūtam), infinite, shoreless, all-consciousness (vijñāna-ghana)" which [in the form of limited conscious functions] arises "from the elements" and vanishes into them again (II, 4. 12); he is the "name" (nāman) surviving the decay of the body (III, 2. 12) and building up the new embryo (IV, 4. 4) — just as the Buddhist vijñāna element which moreover, as contrasted with the body (rūpa), is also called nāman; he is, in short, "that great, unborn Self which, among the Praṇas, is the one consisting of consciousness." And, finally, this description of the "Self" seems to agree, in all essential points, with that also in the Tattvamasi section of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, though there already two higher principles appear than the Praṇa (namely Tejas and Parā Devatā), while in Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad only a very feeble attempt is made at distinguishing the Ātman from the Praṇa. The position of the Praṇa, then, is still unsettled in the older Upaniṣads; and it is, we hold, from this half-settled idea of the Praṇa or Ātman that the pre-classical Sānkhya, on which the Pāñcarātra is based, has derived its conception of the Mahat as the Unconscious consisting of intelligence, vitality, and time.

From Mahat, again, originates the cosmic Tattva called Ahamkāra or "I-maker". As its synonyms the usual ones are given (Abhimāna, Abhimantṛ, Ahamkṛti), besides Prajāpati (Lord of creatures) and Bodhṛ (Attention-maker). It has a Śattvic, a Rājasic, and a Tamasic form called respectively Vaikārika, Taijasa, and Bhūtādi. It manifests itself individually as

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2 Sa vā eṣa mahān aja ātmā yo'gyaṃ vijñānamayoḥ prāñesu (IV, 4.22.)
samrambha (egotistic interest) and sanākālpa (imagination, will) in accordance with the two organs called the [individual] Ahamkāra and Manas with which it endows the Manus passing through its “womb” (7. 20, 42-43). Manas is declared a direct product of the Vaikārika, and Ahamkāra evidently comes from the Bhūtādi, while the Taijasa seems to participate equally in the production of both those organs.

From Ahamkāra the Manus further receive the ten Indriyas (senses), but only indirectly, that is, in the course of the evolution of the Elements. To understand this somewhat complicated last phase in the evolution of Tattvas it will be useful to remember the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahamkāra</th>
<th>Bhūtādi ← Taijasa → Vaikārika</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanmātras:</td>
<td>Bhūtas:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabda → ākāśa</td>
<td>srotra → vāc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparsa → vāyu</td>
<td>tvac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūpa → tejas</td>
<td>caksus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasa → āpas</td>
<td>rasanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandha → pṛthivi</td>
<td>ghrāṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the Bhūtādi, “assisted” by the Taijasa², is produced Sound-in-itself (sabda-tanmātra); the latter is the immediate cause of Ether (ākāśa), while at the same time, with its co-operation (saḥakārītvā) and that of the Taijasa, the Vaikārika produces Hearing (srotra), and then, with the co-operation of the latter, Speech (vāc). Hereafter, from Sound-in-itself is produced Touch-in-itself (sparsa) which in its turn is the immediate

¹ See p. 70, note 2.

² Cf. Sāṃkhya Kārikā 25: Taijasad ubhayam. Laksñmi Tantra, speaking on Non-pure Creation generally, says (IV, 34) that “mostly Rajas” is engaged in it which is, however, “flanked” by Sattva and Tamas (abhitak sattvastham guṇam dvau tasya tiṣṭhataḥ).
cause of Air (vāyu), while as a mediate cause it helps in producing the Skin sense (tmac) with the help of which, finally, the faculty of Handling (pānī) originates. And so forth.

It must be admitted that our Sāṃhitā mentions nothing about "co-operation", and that from the seventh adhyāya it would rather seem as though each Tanmātra originates directly from the Bhūtādi, and, simultaneously, each pair of Indriyas directly and only from the Vaikārika. But according to the chapter on Involution each pair of Indriyas dissolves together with the particular Bhūta in the corresponding Tanmātra, so that evidently for the author of our Sāṃhitā the whole process takes place as in the account accepted as authentic by Tattvatrāya.

The Manus, then, by entering successively the five Elements, are furnished, at each of these steps, with one sensory and one motory faculty, so that they are at last in possession both of the five "Knowledge-senses" and of the five "Action-senses". The equipment of the Manus is herewith complete: provided with all the organs they were in need of they are standing, in perfect loneliness, "on the earth resembling the back of a tortoise" (4. 14).

\footnote{1} As is apparently the doctrine of the Śāmkhya Karikā (cf. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie I, 3, p. 446 bottom). It should, however, not be forgotten that the Karikā gives only the barest outline of the system.

\footnote{2} Adhyāya IV, see especially sl. 35 ff.

\footnote{3} Ed. p. 56 ff. Another Sūtra (ibid., p. 57) mentions the opinion that from ākāśa springs the subda-tanmātra, from the latter vāyu, etc.; and still another view (an intermediate one) is found in Vīśṇutilaka II, 66 ff. where the subda-tanmātra is said to produce ākāśa, the latter (not the former) the sparśa-tanmātra, this one vāyu, etc.

\footnote{4} The following, up to the end of this section, presupposes the creation of the Egg and therefore belongs, properly speaking, to the next section of our Introduction. However, the exact place to be assigned in our account of Secondary Creation
The four couples now place themselves under the protection of Aniruddha\(^1\) and, by his command, begin to multiply: each of the four pairs generates a hundred descendants, male and female, called Mānas, and these, continuing the work of generation, become the ancestors of numberless\(^2\) Mānavamanavas.

There follows\(^3\) what corresponds to the Fall of Man in Jewish and Christian theology, to wit the jñāna-bhramsa or "fall from knowledge" of all the Mānavamanavas (7, 61). This mystic event is narrated thus: Vidya\(^4\) becomes, with "some portion" of herself, a cow; which means, continues our text, that she obtains the condition of a cloud\(^5\); then the milk called varṣa (rain; year) proceeding from the latter becomes food; and the souls eat of that "milk of nature" (material milk; vaidyam payah) and their naturally unlimited knowledge becomes limited (obscured, contracted). Thus religion becomes necessary, and the "Manus of old"\(^6\) start the

to the events related here being rather doubtful, it was not found advisable to interrupt the account of our Sāṃhitā.

\(^1\) Atmany adhyākṣam Isānum Aniruddham dadhati (VII, 45).

\(^2\) Āparimitāḥ (VII, 43.)

\(^3\) In the account we are reproducing, though perhaps not in the order of events, Viṣṇuitaka teaches (II, 63) that at the creation of the Mahat Tattva "there originates, together with the Gunas, the delusion of men"; while, on the other hand, delusion seems to set in gradually towards the end of the first Yuga: see below, next section.

\(^4\) Prakṛti, in the highest sense, namely the Bhūti Sakti which, according to adhyāya IV, 3-5, is alternately a "cow in the form of a cloud" and a "non-cow" "called the Unmanifest". (Correct accordingly the second bracketed gloss on page 70 of the text-edition; the Mahat cannot be meant because it belongs to Manifest Nature.)

\(^5\) That is, a Brahmāṇḍa; cf. above, end of section 1 of this part of our Introduction, p. 29.

\(^6\) Not, of course, the four collective beings, but the historical ones; cf. XLIII, 3.
Sastra by following which the soul may regain its natural purity.

5. SECONDARY OR "GROSS" CREATION

The appearance of the last Tattva (Earth) marks the end of the Cosmic Night and the beginning of the Day.² Not immediately, however, after the Tattvas have originated, can the Manus commence their activity on earth, it being first necessary that the Cosmic Egg (Brahmāṇḍa) and in it the god Brahmān should come into existence; while for the creation of the Egg the Tattvas must first join to form a compound — just as a wall cannot be erected with clay, sand, and water, as long as these are still unmixed.³

Of this so-called Secondary or Gross Creation, referred to but occasionally in our Samhitā in one or two places⁴, Pādma Tantra gives the following short account (I. 5. 19-21)⁵:

"The principles [thus] created, existing separately with their respective faculties, could not without

¹ Origin and internal evolution of the Brahmāṇḍa, that is the Cosmic Egg in the avyakta and in the vyakta stages corresponding respectively to the Brahmāṇḍa Kosā and the Jivadēha Kosā (fifth and sixth Kosās) taught in Lakṣmi Tantra VI, 23-25, unless, as seems to be done in some texts (including perhaps the one in question) the origin of the Egg is reckoned from that of the Lotus (Mahat, etc.), in which case the fourth or Prakṛti Kosā would be merely the Avyakta from which the Lotus originates.

² P. Prakāṣa S. 1, 2 end. Primary (preparatory) creation takes place during the eighth part of the Night.

³ Tattvātraya, ed., p. 64.

⁴ As we may call it, though the use of these terms (sadvārikā "medinate" srṣṭi, sthitā srṣṭi) seems to be, as a rule, restricted to the internal evolution of the Egg; see, for instance, Tattvātraya, ed. p. 65, etc., and Indrarātra, I, 17 flf.

⁵ XXX, 8 flf, XLI, 5-6.

⁶ Cf. Lakṣmi Tantra V, 74 flf.; Viṣvaksena S., loc. cit., p. 64.
coalescing into a mass (sāṃhatiṇa vinā) create beings. They, then, from Mahat down to the Gross Elements, became massed together, under the influence of the foremost Puruṣa. Then [out of them] an egg was produced from the navel of Padmanābha, who is a portion of Myself, and [in the egg] thou, O Lotus-born one, becamest the womb of the world. It is thus that at the beginning of creation this whole world came to arise from Prakṛti.”

A fuller account¹ says that from the navel of Padmanābha there springs a golden egg containing the Tattvas in a subtle condition; and, while the egg is growing, a shining white lotus appears in it (sic), and in (on) the lotus², finally, Aniruddha creates “the four-faced creator (Brahmān).” Then Brahmān³ makes three attempts at creating the world, the third of which only is fully successful, by generating (1) the four Youths (Sanaka, etc.,) who refuse to have offspring; (2) the androgyne Rudra (Siva) who by self-partition creates the eleven principal and many minor Rudras;

¹ Ibd. I, adhy. 3; cf. Viṣṇuṭilaka II, 40 fi.
² In the pericarp, says Prasna S. II, 41.
³ P. Prakṛṣṭa S. (III, 37-38) says that Brahmān has sprung “from the lotus-bud, the prākṛtic one, being of the nature of the world (lokamaya), which [bud] itself has sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu sleeping in its (the egg’s) interior, namely in the midst of the water.” According to Lakṣmi Tantra V. 15 fi. the egg containing the Avyakta was created by Brahmān and Sarasvatī (that is, Pradyumna and his Sakti), after which Hṛṣikesa (=Aniruddha) having “moistened” Avyakta had a “good sleep” in it together with Padmā, the result being the Sacrificial or Time Lotus springing from Hṛṣikesa’s navel and Brahmān and Sarasvatī (Hiraṇyagarbha and his Sakti) springing from the Lotus.

⁴ Prasna S. II, 21 fi. mentions some more events intervening here: Brahmān, desirous to know his origin, makes a futile attempt at getting, through the navel, at the cause of the lotus, then meditates for a thousand years, and finally receives from the Puruṣa appearing to him the instrument of creation, namely the Vedas.
and (3) the six Prajāpatis (Marici, etc.) from whom all the remaining beings, "movable" and "stationary", descend.

The sources are at variance as to the number and names of the Prajāpatis, and between these and Brahmān some authorities insert a "Manu". Mahāsanatkumāra Saṃhitā (Indrarātra 6. 26 fl.) describes as follows the origin of an "intramundane tetrad" (antararādāshthitā caturmārti) corresponding to the four Vyūhas: the first of the Prajāpatis, Dakṣa, had a mind-born son, Acyuta (Vāsudeva), whose mind-born son was Saṃkarsana, called Rudra (Śiva), whose mind-born son was Pradyumna, whose mind-born son was Aniruddha.  

There are, as will be understood from the above, more attempts than one at combining the very ancient story about the Golden Egg giving birth to god Brahmān with the later one of the lotus springing from the navel of Padmanābha and these again with the theory of the Tattvas; as there are also, of course, more authorities than one dispensing advantageously with either the navel or the lotus or both in explaining the origin of the Cosmic Egg.  

The plurality of Brahmāndas is emphasized in several Saṃhitās. "Of such Eggs", says Viśvaksena S. (loc. cit., p. 66), "there are thousands of thousands, or even myriads of them", and more. They are

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1 According to this text there are three Śivas, namely: (1) the Vyūha Saṃkarsana; (2) the son of Brahmān and father of the Rudras; (3) the grandson of Dakṣa; further three Brahmāns, namely: (1) the Vyūha Pradyumna; (2) the "first of Gross Creation" and "Lord of the Egg"; and (3) the great-grandson of Dakṣa.

2 Our Saṃhitā admits (VIII, 2 fl.) that some derive creation from the Egg, others from the Lotus.

3 Referred to already in a Vedic text, namely Bāṣkalamantra Upaniṣad (9): Mama pratiṣṭhā bhava āṇḍakosāḥ.
invariably described as consisting of fourteen spheres (loka) surrounded by seven enclosures (āvarana)\(^1\); and they are said to arise simultaneously like bubbles of water.\(^2\)

Owing, no doubt, to conflicting statements in the Samhitās themselves, the beginning of individual life within the Egg has become a problem to the expounders of the Pāncarātra.\(^3\) The "mediate creation" (advārikā srṣṭi), that is the creation mediated by God Brahmān\(^4\), and the "immediate creation" (advārikā srṣṭi) preceding it, are held to be the same, by the scholiasts, as what is commonly understood, in Indian philosophy, by "individual creation" (vyāṣṭi-srṣṭi) and "collective creation" (samaṣṭi-srṣṭi) respectively. But according to Vyśvaksena Samhitā (loc. cit., pp. 126-129) the offspring of the Manus, namely the so-called Pure Group (ṣuddha-varga), is the creation of Pradyumna, while the Mixed group (misra-varga) of souls [dominated by Rajas or Tamas] is created by Aniruddha through god Brahmān; from which it seems to follow that the Pure Group, in spite of its being vyāṣṭi, is advārikā. The contradiction appears also in the present Samhitā which says, in adhyāya 7, that the Manus, who — like the Devatās, etc. — have emerged as individuals from the Kūṭastha Puruṣa (sl. 58), have "many lineages by which has been spread this whole [mankind]" (sl. 51) including those who, owing to the deteriorating progress of the Yugas, have become addicted to selfish

\(^{1}\) See for instance Pādma Tantra I, adhyāyas 10 to 12.
\(^{2}\) Tattvātma, ed. p. 66.
\(^{3}\) See Varavaramuni's comm. on Tattvātma, ed. p. 118.
\(^{4}\) Who, in evolving the contents of the Egg, is regarded as "consisting of the totality of bound souls": (budhātma-samaṣṭi-rūpa); Tattvātma, ed. p. 65 comm., and elsewhere.
wishes (sl. 58); but then, in adhyāya 15, confronts
the “descendants of the Manus” (manu-sāntuṣṭi-jāh, sl. 7) with “those who have sprung from the
mouth, etc., of Brahmān (brahma-mukhādy-udgatāḥ, sl.
20).” A clue to the solution of the riddle is
furnished by the version contained in Pādma Tantra
(I, 1. 58 ff.) and Viṣṇutilaka (I. 140 ff.), though in
some particulars it is not likely that it represents the
original theory. It runs as follows: The original
religion (ādyā dharma, to wit the Pāṇcarātra) was first,
in the Kṛta age, proclaimed by god Brahmān to
“the sages of sharpened vows”1 who taught it to
their disciples with the result that, everybody
following the Pāṇcarātra, people were liberated [or went
to heaven, Viṣṇutilaka], so that “hell became naught
and a great decrease of creation took place
(sṛṣṭi-kṣayo muhān āsit).” Brahmān, consequently, felt
uneasy, went to the Lord, and, on the latter’s kind
inquiry as to how the world was progressing under
his rule, replied: “What shall I say, O Lord of gods!
All men, being full of faith and masters of their
senses, sacrifice as prescribed in the Great Secret; and so
they go to the Place of Viṣṇu from which there is no
return. There is [now] no heaven and no hell, neither
birth nor death.”2 This, however, was against the plan of
the Lord, and so He started, with the help of Brahmān,
Kapila, and Śiva, five more systems (Yoga, Śāmkhya,
Bauddha, Jaina, and Saiva) conflicting with each other
and the Pāṇcarātra “for the bewilderment of men”.
Now, the sloka containing the phrase “a great decrease
of creation took place” is also in Viṣvaksena Sāṃhitā

1 The Citraśikhandiṣus appear to be meant.
2 That is, no death followed by re-birth.
(loc cit., p. 129), which shows that that Sanshitā, although deriving the Pure Group from Pradyumna and the Mixed Group from Aniruddha and Brahmān, must have held a view similar to the above as regards the mutual relation of the two. Our present Sanshitā speaks twice (6. 13; 7. 47-48) about the Manus passing from Pradyumna’s care to that of Aniruddha, and once about their withdrawal into Aniruddha, in the period of Pralaya (4. 89 ff.). This suggests the idea that, while both classes of souls are introduced into the Egg by Aniruddha (Padmanābha), the pure ones only are so introduced directly, the impure ones, however, indirectly and later, namely, by being first transferred to Brahmān. For, it must be remembered that the great majority of unliberated souls left over from the preceding Kalpa and now to be reborn enter of necessity this new period of their saṃsāra with a remainder of good and bad Karman, or only the latter, that is as “impure” beings. These, evidently, must be re-introduced into earthly life by the highest representative of Rajas, that is the god Brahmān; and they cannot appear on earth as long as the first Yuga, in which Sattva prevails, is not over. The small minority, on the other hand, in whom Sattva predominates, must for this very reason, in order to terminate their career, appear in the first Yuga without passing through Brahmān: the Lord, therefore, says Viṣvaksena Sanshitā (loc. cit., p. 129), creates “with the bit of good Karman” (sukṛta-leśena) they have left, and for which they must still receive an earthly reward, the suddha-sarga. These pure beings of the Kṛta age, then, correspond to the Anāgāmins [and Sakṛdāgāmins] of Buddhism, that is

1 “Pure Creation” or “Pure Group”, the word sarga being also a synonym of varga used elsewhere in this connection.
those almost perfect beings who return for one life [or two lives] only, because they have very nearly reached Liberation in the preceding one. And so, if it is said that at the end of the Kṛta Yuga the “descendants” of the Manus began to deteriorate, this can only refer to their bodily descendants among whom the pure souls were more and more disappearing (having reached Liberation), while the gaps were being filled by Brah- máṇ with the better specimens of the “mixed” ones, the process going on, in this way, in a descending line, until in the Kali age even the most depraved find their chance for reincarnation.

The four hundred Mānavas of the Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā have become eight hundred “Viṣṇus” in Mahāsanatkumāra Samhitā (Indrarātra, sixth adhyāya) which even enumerates the names of them all, locating them in eight ideal realms situated in the eight regions. Among those eight hundred Viṣṇus, each of whom is the chief (nāyaka) of a thousand subjects (cf. the Mānavamaṇavas of our Saṁhitā), there are the original three hundred twice born Mānavas, while the group of original Śūdras has been replaced by five mixed groups in such a way as to eliminate altogether the male Śūdras. The

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1 (1) Brāhmaṇas only live in the eastern realm called Sivāroha; (2) children (descendants) of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Kṣatriya mothers in the Rāma world of the south-east; (3) Kṣatriyas in the Nārasiṁha world of the south; (4) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Vaiśya mothers in the south-western region (name missing); (5) Vaiśyas in Śrīdhara Loka of the west; (6) children of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Vaiśya mothers in Vāmana Loka of the north-east; (7) children of Brāhmaṇa fathers and Śūdra mothers in Hayasirṣa Loka of the north; and (8) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Śūdra mothers in Vāsudeva Loka of the north-east. — The names of the Viṣṇus are partly very strange. For example, Jīravacṛṣa, Śoka, Viśāda, Lobha, Pañcatman, and Bāhyatman are names of north-western Viṣṇus; and Bhūta, Bhavya, Bhavisyat, Deha, Dehavat, and Śarīrasāsana some names from Hayasirṣa Loka.
6. Nature and Destiny of the Soul

When the Day of the Lord has expired and the Great Dissolution is finished, nothing remains but the Waters of Infinity and, floating on them, on the leaf of a banian-tree (nāṭa-pattra), a babe whose name is “the Void” (sūnyā). The babe is Viṣṇu, the sleepless one, sleeping the sleep of Yoga. In His “womb” (kūkṣī) are sleeping all the souls: in the upper part the liberated ones (muktā); in the middle part those who [owing to Sattva prevailing in them] are “fit for Liberation” (mukti-yogya); then, near the navel, the “ever-bound” (nitya-baddha), and, in the region of the loins, those who [on account of the predominance, in them, of Tamas] are “fit for Darkness” (tamo-yogya). The souls in this condition are called Nāras.

The above account, though taken from a fairly recent work, contains undoubtedly the original orthodox

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1 For “Kapila Viṣṇu”, the teacher of the Nāgas in Pātāla, see Pādma Tantra I, 1, 23, and Viṣṇutilaka II, 170 ff. The inhabitants of the netherworlds (Atala, etc.) are said to be so happy as to have no longing for heaven (Viṣṇ-utilaka II, 170).

2 The following, abbreviated from P. Prakāṣa S. I, first adhyāya, will be recognized as an elaboration of the story of Markandeya referred to above in connection with the twenty-seventh Avatāra (described Abhirb. Saṃh. LVI, 28-29).

3 Yoga-nidrām upāgato vinidrāsvapad Isvāraḥ, P. Prakāṣa S. I, 1, 40.

4 From which will spring the Lotus and the representative of Rajas, god Brahmān; cf. above, section 5.

5 P. Prakāṣa S. I, 1, 11 ff. (corrupt); 5, 10-11; etc.

6 Ibid., sl. 14. Cf. the explanation of the name Nārāyaṇa in Manusmṛti I, 10.

7 P. Prakāṣa S. mentions Śrīraṅga and Veṇkaṭesa, further the three classes of Purūravas, and, as belonging to the Sāttvic class, the Bhāgavata (I, 12. 7; 4, 32).
view of the Pāñcarātra as to the fate of the souls during the Great Night; and it is an important document chiefly because it clearly shows that the Liberation taught in the Pāñcarātra is not, as might be understood from certain passages, something like the Gradual Liberation (krama-mukti) of the Advaitins in which the soul finally, together with the God Brahman, loses its individuality. The Pāñcarātra says indeed, using the Advaitic term, that the soul “becomes one” (eki-bhavati) with the Lord in Liberation and then once more in the Great Dissolution; but the meaning of this is, in the former case, that the soul joins the Lord¹ in Vaikuṇṭha, and, in the latter case, that it becomes latent in Him when Vaikuṇṭha with everything else is temporarily withdrawn.²

It is this very view to which we are led by the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā; for, if the soul is a part of Lakṣmi³, it cannot, of course, “become one with the Lord” in any higher sense than that of the “perfect embrace” of the divine couple⁴ from which the two emerge again as separate beings as soon as the time for creation has come.

¹ More exactly: His heavenly form, the Para Vāsudeva.
² The case of Brahmān is peculiar. He ought to join the liberated in Vaikuṇṭha (the withdrawal of which, at Pralaya, is later than that of the Egg). But we can find no reference to this. The Saṁhitās speak of the end of his life but evidently avoid mentioning his “death” or “liberation”. Possibly this has something to do with the difficulty, or impossibility, of deciding to what extent he is a bound soul and to what an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.—The withdrawal of Vaikuṇṭha is mentioned in P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 14: Vaikuṇṭhādi-vikalparam ca hitvā. Note also the following saying, ibid., sl. 18: “That which is called Dissolution by the wise, is not really Dissolution.”
³ Or a “contraction” of Lakṣmi, as the Goddess herself calls it in Lakṣmi Tantra VI, 36: pramātā cetoṣah prakto, mat-saṁkocah sa ucaya.
⁴ See below our résumé of adhyāya IV.
The difficulty, however, is that there are numerous passages in the Samhitās where this view is apparently set aside. For, although animate and inanimate nature, soul and body, subject and object, are declared to be two aspects or parts of the one Bhūti Śakti, still the idea, obtaining since the earliest times in Indian philosophy, of a closer relationship of the soul than of matter with God is by no means absent in our Samhitās and quite conspicuous, naturally, in those Samhitās which operate either not at all or but a little with Lakṣmī as a philosophical principle. And it is this idea, in all probability, which is ultimately responsible for the intrusion into the Pāncarātra of certain foreign elements such as those we will now point out.

If creation means re-appearing, then there seems to be no room for the question of a first beginning or original sin. Still the question is asked and answered in more than one text, for instance in the following way in chapter 14 of Abhiruddhaṇya Samhitā.

In addition to the three well-known powers of creation, preservation, and destruction, the Lord has two more Śaktis called Nigraha (or Tirodhaṇa) and Anugraha, by means of which he prepares and pre-determines the soul for bondage or liberation respectively. The entering of the soul into the wheel of births, commonly accounted for by its own previous acts, is here explained by the Lord’s “obscuring” its divine nature through reducing its original omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence, so as to make it (1) “atomic”, (2) “little-knowing”, and (3) “little-achieving”. Vice versa, those three restrictions called Taints or Fetters

1 Cetana—cetya, dehin—deha, bhoktr—bhoga (V, 9 ff.).
may again be cancelled through the divine grace (anugraha). ¹

Now, whether the five Šaktis mentioned are the Lord's or Lakṣmī's, the fact is undeniable, I believe, that the soul is not here regarded as a mere portion of Lakṣmī but as a third principle distinct from both Vāsudeva and Matter (or Lakṣmī respectively), — just as in those passages (45.2-4; 38.13; etc.) which speak of Avidyā or Māyā as "veiling" the true nature of the jīva and the pava (soul and God). That is to say: we have here nearly the standpoint described in Viṣṇu-tilaka in the words (2.34-35): "There is a triad here: Brāhman, Jiva (soul), and Jagat (world); Brāhman is a mass (rāṣṭa) of Light, Jagat a mass of elements (bhūta), and Jiva a mass of knowledge."

Secondly, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the liberated soul is not only omniscient, as it is, indeed, often described to be, but also omnipotent and even omnipresent. As for its omnipotence, this word may here have the restricted meaning in which it is elsewhere used with regard to the liberated (who cannot interfere with or participate in the governance of the world); but the question remains: how can the liberated soul be omnipresent (sadbhu), which is the less intelligible as in chapter 6 (sl. 27) it has been described as "of the

¹ For further particulars see our résumé of the adhyāya, below, next chapter.

² They are, indeed, also described as the pāṇca kṛṣṇāni of the Devī, for instance in I, 2 and XXI, 12 of Aḥirbudhnya Śamhitā.

³ From the general standpoint of our Śamhitā we should have to say that Viṣṇu causes Lakṣmī to act with one part of herself (namely Nigraha, etc.) upon another part (the soul), thus bringing the latter into connection with a third part of herself (namely matter)! — (which would reduce the cosmic process to something like a physiological disturbance in the Goddess.)

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size of a mote’ (trasareṇu-pramāṇa)? The scholastic view’, namely that the liberated soul, though essentially atomic (like the bound one), is omnipresent in that its consciousness is “ever omnipresent” (sudā-vibhu) — the latter being related to the former as the light spread in a room to the lamp (or flame) from which it radiates — is a plausible explanation of the soul-mote and its millions of rays (2. 27), but must be rejected in the present case where omnipresence is expressly distinguished from omniscience. As a matter of fact, nothing remains but to admit that we have here a Saiva tenet in Vaishnava garb. For, the Saivas do teach that the souls are naturally “omnipresent”’, that is: not hampered by space, though limited, while in bondage, by nityati or spatial restriction.¹ The latter, as we know already’, is one of the five (or, including Mayā, six) limitations of the soul called Kañcukas, and the connection of our chapter (14) with these is the more evident as the two other Taints, to wit those of “Little-knowing” and “Little-achieving” are absolutely identical with the Kañcukas called Vidyā and Kala.² The surprising solution of the problem, then, is that in our passage the word aṇu does not mean “atomic” but “small, little” in the sense of “spatially restricted” and as the opposite

¹ Tattvatrāya, ed. p. 35; Yat Dip., ed. pp. 69 and 75.
² Vībh, an-ānu, vyāpaka: Sarvadarsana Samgraha, Poona ed. p. 69 (ll. 23, 13); Pratyabhijñā Hṛdya, Srinagar ed. p. 22; etc.
³ Pratyabhijñā Hṛdya, loc. cit., and elsewhere.
⁴ See above pp. 63, 64. The Pāñcarātra doctrine of the Mayā Kosā was developed by the Saivas into the theory of the Kañcukas, after which the latter influenced the Pāñcarātra.
⁵ The five Kañcukas called kalā, vidyā, rāga, kāla, and nityati are said to result from the “contraction” of sarvakārtrīteva, sarvasaṅga, pūrṇatva, nityatva, and vyāpakuṭa respectively; Pratyabhijñā Hṛdya, loc. cit.
of that which is, not so much omnipresent, as beyond space.'

The relation between the jīva and the para (individual and highest soul) is, in several Saṃhitās, described in a language so thoroughly Advaitic that an influence from that quarter is, indeed, beyond question, even admitting that several such passages may be mere echoes of those (seemingly or really) Advaitic passages of the Bhagavad Gītā such as 18.27 ff. of the latter work. However, with one or two exceptions, the said borrowing will always be found to be a merely formal one, which is only to be expected, considering that the general trend of the Pañcarātra is clearly non-Advaitic.

The most perplexing passages of this sort are perhaps to be found in Pādma Tantra. In one of them (I, 4, 14-15) Brahmān puts the straight question: "What is the difference, O Highest Spirit, between Thee and the liberated soul?" to which the Lord answers no less directly: "They (the liberated) become I; there is no difference whatever." This seems to be plain Advaita, but the answer goes on: "As I live (vihārāmi), just so live the liberated souls", which immediately brings back the idea of plurality, and so

1 Professor Rehmke of Greifswald, teaching (in his book Die Seele des Menschen) this "ubiquitas of the soul", namely that "the soul is nowhere in the strictest meaning of the word", admits that it is logically possible from this standpoint (though not probable) that one soul should be simultaneously connected with several bodies,—which comes curiously near to the Pañcarātra ideas about liberated souls and Yogins (see above, section 2). Should not also in the Sāmkhya, Mīmāṃsā, and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the doctrine of the vibhūṭa of the soul originally mean this ubiquitas and not "omnipresence" as it is always interpreted?? For an exhaustive definition of the concept in the Saiva sense see Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 77: "Unrestricted access to", etc.

2 Particularly in the treatment of Yoga; cf. below, in part III, our résumé of chapter 31 of Ahirodbhūya Saṃhitā.
renders it at least possible that the Lord is meant to say: "They become like Me, except, of course, with regard to the governance of the world." For, all Pañcarātra Samhitās recognize the existence of the Nityas or "ever-free" beings (Viśvaksena, etc.)\(^1\) and cannot, therefore, admit that a previously bound soul should become more inseparably united with the Lord than these are. In Viṣṇutilaka, which is closely related to Pādma Tantra\(^2\), and which also uses the phrases "he will become Brāhman", "is absorbed in the Highest Brāhman", etc., this union is declared to be one with the Kaustubha of the Lord\(^3\) and is further referred to as follows: "Just as gold, in the midst of fire, shines separately, as though it were not in contact [with the fire], even so he who is clinging to Brāhman (Brāhmaṇi lagnā) is seen to exist in the form of a gem (mani)\(^4\); "He who has become attached to the Jewel of gems (mani-ratna, the Kaustubha) is said to have attained identity [with the Lord]\(^5\)."

In another passage of Pādma Tantra (I, 6. 15 ffl.) the great problem is stated with unusual precision: "Scripture emphasizes the oneness of the highest Self and the one called Kṣetrajña (Knower-of-the-field, the soul); [but] the plurality of this Kṣetrajña is proved by the diversity of bodies." Three well-known Advaitic images

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\(^1\) See above pp. 56 ffl. In Pādma Tantra they are mentioned, for instance in I, 2.35 ffl.

\(^2\) And even one of its sources, to judge from the fact that it is mentioned as No. 6 in the Saṃhitā list of Pādma Tantra. The mutual relation of the two is, however, not quite clear.

\(^3\) I, 33; I, 114; etc.

\(^4\) II, 30; cf. above, pp. 58, 59.

\(^5\) Viṣṇutilaka II, 100. The soul in itself, that is in its natural form, is often compared with a gem.

\(^6\) Maniratne vilagnasya saujayagatir ucycate; II, 54, ibid.
are used to illustrate the relation of the One and the many: the pot in the water, the pot in the air, and the one figure reflected in many mirrors.¹ Yet, none of these (as shown by the rest of the chapter) is used in the Advaitic sense: God as the Inner Ruler pervades the soul, while He is, of course, also outside it; and the reflected images proceed from their original like the rays from the sun: "Just as, by means of gates of various kinds, people go forth from a town, even so the souls go forth from Brāhmaṇ — this is called Creation; and as, through those gates, the inhabitants of that town enter it again, just so [the souls] go [back] to that Brāhmaṇ — this is called Withdrawal."² It may be objected that the rays sent out and again withdrawn by the sun³ have no separate existence in the sun itself, but this is not the common Indian, or, at any rate, not the Pāṇcarātra view; and even the Aupaniṣadic image of the rivers entering the ocean⁴ means for the Pāṇcarātrins only that in Liberation the souls become practically but not really one.⁵

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is: that, although the language of the Advaita is occasionally met with in the Pāṇcarātra Saṁhitās, the chief characteristic of that philosophy, namely its illusionism (māyā-vādu), is altogether absent from them.

¹ The first and second images occur in Maitreya Upaniṣad II, 18 (see my edition of the Minor Upaniṣads, vol. I, p. 118); for an elaboration of the second see Gaudapāda’s Māṇḍukya Kārikā III, 3 ff.; the third is a transformation of the image found, in Brahmabindu Upaniṣad 12 and other texts, of the one moon and its many reflections in the tank.

² Viṣṇulalaka II, 95 ff., being an elaboration (if not the original) of Pādma Tantra I, 6, 43-44.

³ Pādma Tantra I, 6, 24.

⁴ Ibid. I, 6, 51-52, referring to Yoga (=temporal Liberation).

⁵ That the famous Gitā passage Mōmaie ṣ ca, etc. (XV, 7) is also to be understood in this sense, can be gathered for instance from Yat. Dip., ed. p. 74, where the teaching of Yaḍava-prakāśa, namely “Brāhmaṇo jīvaḥ”, is rejected as erroneous.
III. THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITA

The selection, for publication, of the Ahirbudhnya Samhita was determined by the consideration that the Samhita to be published as an introduction to the Pañcarātra should be (1) one of the older Samhitās; (2) one of the Samhitās to an appreciable extent, or exclusively, concerned with the theoretical part of the system; and (3) a Samhitā of which a sufficient number of manuscripts was available to ensure the production of a practically complete and reliable text. The Ahirbudhnya Samhita was not only found to fulfil these conditions but moreover to be a work of unusual interest and striking originality.

1. THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

With what success certain Sanskrit works are still being kept secret in India, is shown by the fact that for editing the present Samhita, which is not represented in a single European library, no less than six (nine) MSS. could be obtained within three years. Unfortunately, as can be seen from a few common omissions and errors, all of these MSS. go back to one already corrupted original. Still, on the whole the Samhita is well preserved. The two oldest and best MSS. are those called E and D. The former is a Grantha MS. from Kalale in Mysore, the latter a MS. written in the Malayālam character and belonging to H. H. the Mahārāja of Travancore. E is more accurate than D. From E descend the four Melkote MSS. F to H, all of them written in
Grantha characters and so completely identical that the common symbol F could be used for them. From D (or a similar MS.) descend C, A, and B (in this order); C being the Adyar Library paper MS. in Grantha characters (with large omissions), A the Adyar Library palm-leaf MS. in Grantha characters, and B the Telugu MS. belonging to the Mysore Government. The badly damaged Tanjore MS. described in Burnell’s catalogue could not be borrowed and was, on inspection, found to be not worth taking into account.

2. NAME OF THE SĀMHITA.

As a rule one of the eleven Rudras is understood by Ahirbudhnaya. In our Sāmhitā, however, this is a name of Śiva himself in his Sāttvic form, as the teacher of liberating knowledge, as which he appears for instance in Jābāla Upaniṣad.

How he came to be called by this name, must, I fear, remain a problem. The “serpent (ahi) of the bottom (budhna)”, in the Veda an atmospheric god (mostly associated with Aja Ekapād, another being of this kind), seems to belong to a number of minor deities who amalgamated with Rudra-Śiva in such a way that their character and name became some particular aspect of that god. If “in later Vedic texts Ahi budhnaya is allegorically connected with Agni Gārhapatyā”, this certainly shows that he was a beneficial being, not a malevolent one like Ahi Vṛtra, and this is

1 In the Purāṇas cf. such passages as Pādma Purāṇa LXXXI, 5 where Śiva is addressed: Bhagavat-dharma-tattva-jīva.

2 Notwithstanding the explanation attempted on pp. 3 flf. of the Sanskrit preface to our edition.

3 Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 73.
particularly clear in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which may be directly connected with the Pāncarātra view of Ahirbudhnya, namely the passage 3. 38 running as follows¹: “Prajāpati, after having sprinkled the creatures with water, thought that they (the creatures) were his own. He provided them with an invisible lustre through Ahirbudhnya”.²

3. PROVENIENCE AND AGE

It has already been stated³ that one stanza of Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā is evidently quoted by Utpala Vaiṣṇava in his Spandapradīpikā. This would, of course, prove that the Saṃhitā (like Jayākhyā S. mentioned in the latter and also in Utpala’s work) must have once existed in Kasmīr. That it was actually composed in that country, must be concluded from two other passages, namely 26. 75 and 45. 58, recommending, or mentioning respectively, the wearing, as an amulet, of a certain diagram (yantra) drawn on a sheet of birch-bark (bhūrja-patra). Birch-bark, as is well known, was the writing-material of ancient Kasmīr. In chapter 39 we read (sl. 23): “He shines like the sun freed from the confinement (or obstruction) by hima”, which evidently refers to the sun rising from behind the snow-mountains (hima), that is to a sunrise in the Kasmīr-valley. A third indication of the

¹ In Haug’s translation.
² Sāyana’s remark that by the two names Ahi and Budhnya “a particular kind of fire” (the Gārhapātya) is meant, need not be accepted. Perhaps, however, it is noteworthy that a hymn in Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (V, 33) which also mentions Ahirbudhnya (= Gārhapātya agni, comm.), contains the name of Viṣṇu five times in the first Mantra and no less than twenty-four times afterwards, that is, more often than that of any other deity.
³ Above p. 18.
Kasmirian origin of our Saṁhitā is probably the story of Muktāpiḍa told in the forty-eighth adhyāya. A prince of this name is not known from any other work (according to B. and R.’s dictionary) than the famous Kasmirian chronicle, the Rāja Taranāguṇi (4. 42).

About the age of the Saṁhitā hardly anything more can be said with certainty than that it belongs to that class of Saṁhitās for which we have fixed the eighth century A. D. as the terminus ad quem. The only passage which might seem to indicate a later date, is the stanza 45.18 where king Kusadhvaja says to his teacher: “From thee have I obtained the Higher Science and also the Lower one; and by the fire of the Higher Science all my Karman has been burnt up.” It is difficult to read this without thinking of Saṅkarācārya’s system. But Kusadhvaja, being a Paṅcarātrin, refers, of course, to the two “methods” (ṛīti) described in the fifteenth adhyāya, distinguishing between the Veda and the inferior systems on the one hand, and the Paṅcarātra on the other. The distinction is based on that in the Bhagavad-Gītā between the orthodox who swear on the Vedas and the enlightened ones who worship the Lord. Nor does the definition of avidyā (ignorance), in 45. 8-4,

1 Above p. 19.

2 The Paṅcarātrins have ever since emphasized this distinction, which is one of the chief causes of their having been decried as heretics until the present day. The contrast between the two classes has been so much deepened by them that the Vaidikas are actually made despisers of the Lord, e.g., in the following sloka of Viśvakṛṣna S. (loc. cit. p. 126; cf. Bhag.-Gītā II, 42 fl.):

Trayāṁyārgu niśpāṭāḥ phalavāde ramanti te
devādhi eva manvānā na ca māṁ monēre param II.

But tryū (as, indeed, veda in the Gītā) is never meant to include the Upaniṣads, as can be seen from Viśvakṛṣna S. calling the two classes veda-niśpāṭāḥ and vedānta-niśpāṭāḥ. The idea of the fire of true knowledge destroying karman is, of course, also quite familiar to the Gītā (see, for instance IV, 37).
as the power obscuring the real nature (param rāpjya) of the jīvatman and the paramātman necessarily point to Śaṅkara’s Advaita, because in the Pāñcaratra the Nigraha or Tirodhāna Śakti is the cause of the “obscuration” of the souls but not of their plurality. In both these cases, however, there remains, of course, the possibility of Advaitic terms and phrases (earlier perhaps than Śaṅkara) having been adopted by the Pāñcaratra. If, on the other hand, there is in our Samhitā an indication of an earlier date than the one mentioned, it would seem to be the fact that the “sixty topics” of the older Śaṁkhya are enumerated in it. For, these sixty topics, as I have shown elsewhere, could no longer be enumerated by the Śaṁkhyaists themselves as early as the fifth century A.D. The brilliant Śaṁkhyā Kārikā of Īsvara Kṛṣṇa having by that time completely eclipsed the older Śaṁkhya, no later author could speak of the latter as though it were the only existing one, as does our Samhitā. As for the terminus a quo of the latter, I venture to say that a work in which, as, apparently, in the eighth chapter of the Ahirbudhnya

1 See above, p. 88 ff.
2 See, below, our résumé of the twelfth adhyāya.
3 In the article Das Śaṣṭitātra in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1914, p. 101.
4 Not only in the adhyāya concerned. Elsewhere too, when the Śaṁkhya is briefly characterized, it is stated to teach the three [or four] principles: time, soul, and [unmanifest and manifest] matter; see, for instance 55. 45: Śaṁkhya-kāla-jīva-trayi-trayam (for trayi= vidyā—prakṛti cf. above pp. 62, 69). Śaṅkaracārya mentions both the “successors of the Śaṁkhya-Yoga” (śaṁkhayoga-vyapāśrayaḥ) and the “atheistic” Śaṁkhyas (comm. on Brahma Śutras II, 2. 37 ff. and II, 2. 1 ff.), but regards as the three chief principles of the former God, soul, and matter; which shows that, while the Śaṣṭitātra did no longer exist at his time, the Śaṁkhya-Yoga of the Mahābhārata had yet survived in another (more orthodox) form, the so-called Vaidika Śaṁkhya of later authors.
Samhitā, and as in Saṅkara’s Brahmaśūtra Bhāṣya (ad II, 2. 18), Buddhism is understood to be divided into the three great schools of the Skandhavādins (Sarvāstivādins, S.), Vijñānavādins, and Śānyavādins, cannot well have been written until some time after the Mahāyāna had established itself, say: after 300 A. D.

4. CONTENTS OF THE SAMHITĀ

Examining the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā with regard to the ten chief subjects into which, as stated at the end of part I of this Introduction, the subject-matter of the Pāñcarātra can be divided, we find that there is nothing in it about the tenth subject, and only a few occasional contributions to the sixth and seventh; that there are: one chapter on sociological matters, one on initiation and two on worship (eighth subject), also two on Yoga; and that the science of diagrams, etc., is represented by some eight chapters, while subjects 1, 2, and 4 occupy each of them about one-fourth of the Samhitā, subject 1 not being confined to chapters 1 to 14 but naturally also often referred to in the rest of the work. Roughly speaking we may say that half of the Samhitā deals with occultism, theoretical and practical, one fourth with philosophy, and one fourth with the remaining subjects.

Chapter 1. The Samhitā opens, after a salutation to the Lord and His consort, with a dialogue between the two Rṣis Bharadvāja and Durvāsas, the

1 See, below, our résumé. There is one more direct reference to Buddhism in our Samhitā, namely in XXXIII, 17, where the Lord is stated to be worshipped as Buddha by the Baudhās.

latter of whom is asked by the former for an explanation of that mysterious discus1 of Vishnu called the Sudarsana. On many occasions—in connection with the divine weapons (astra), powers (sakti), and magic formulas (mantra)—the dependence on the Sudarsana having been mentioned, Bharadvaja wants to know:

"Due to whom [or what] is its majesty? Is it innate or created? What is that Sudarsana? What is the meaning ascribed to the word? What work does it perform? How does it pervade the universe? Who are the Vyahas, how many and of what kind, that have sprung from it, O sage? And for what purpose do they exist, and of what kind is He to whom they belong (the vyahis)? And of what kind is its (the Sudarsana's) connection with Vishnu supposed to be? Is it (the Sudarsana) necessarily and always found in connection with Him [alone] or elsewhere too? This is the doubt which has arisen in me from the perusal of various Sastras. Solve it, O holy one! I have duly approached thee. Teach me, master!"

Durvasas answers that this is a common doubt among the wise, and that its solution was once obtained by Narada from the only one in this world who is able to solve it, namely the great god Siva [who in the form of Ahirbudhnya is] the highest representative of knowledge.2

1 Cakra "wheel", a favourite symbol already in the Vedas and probably long before. The word is used in conjunction with cakrin "discus-bearer", to wit Vishnu, in the first stanza of this chapter.

2 Still dependent for the latter on Samkarsha, his teacher, see II, 3. It may be surprising that in Narada's hymn in this chapter (as also in XXXV, 81-91) Aibrudhnya, a bound soul, is praised as the absolute one (avatnta), ever-satisfied one (nitya-trpta), creator and destroyer of the universe, etc.; but it should be remembered: first, that he is a secondary Avatar, and secondly, that this sort of hymns is simply propagating that bona fide exaggeration of the ancient Saktas which moved Max Muller to invent the name henotheism for the religion of the Vedic bards.
Nārada had been induced to approach Śiva because he had observed the amazing strength of the Sudarsana in Viṣṇu’s fight with the demon Kālanemi. Durvāsas agrees to impart to Bharadvāja this dialogue between Nārada and Ahirbudhnya, that is, the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā. But he only agreed to give it in an abridged form: the extent of the original Saṁhitā was two-hundred and forty chapters; then, time having advanced and human capacity deteriorated, it was reduced, “for the benefit of men”, to half the original, and now a further abridgment to only sixty chapters had become necessary.

Chapter 2. Explanation of the word Sudarsana (slokas 7 to 9): it denotes Viṣṇu’s Will-to-be (syām iti saṁkalpa), darsana (seeing, sight) meaning prekṣāna (prospective thought), and su (well, perfectly) expressing its being unimpeded by time and space. Everything in the world being dependent on the Sudarsana, the latter’s power is, of course, natural (sāmsiddhika, sl. 12) and not created. Two of Nārada’s questions are herewith answered. After some more questions of Nārada (to be answered in the course of the

1 After which Viṣṇu vanished so that Nārada had no means of applying to Him directly, whereas Śiva, as a mundane being with his residence on the Kaiñśa, was, on the contrary, accessible to him.
2 In the same way Pādma Saṁhitā claims to have been reduced from 15 millions to 500,000, then to 100,000, and finally to 10,000 stanzas.
3 Syāṁ=bahu syāṁ; cf. the beginning of ādhyāya XXX.
4 The divine will is inseparable from wisdom and action; see III, 30. The root ṭks (combined with pra in prekṣāna) is used in this sense in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 2. 3: Tad aikṣata bahu syām praḍāṣyeyti “That [Brahman] wished: I will be many, I will be born”, which passage is clearly the basis of the above definition. Cf. also Maitreyaṇa Upaniṣad II, 6 narrating how Prajapati being tired of his loneliness contemplated himself and by this act became the creator of all beings (sa útmānam abhidhyāyat, sa bahuḥ prajā asṛjat).
Sāṃhitā) there follows (sl. 22 ff.) a long explanation of the concept of the "Highest Brāhmaṇ", the real nature of which is experienced in Liberation only, and which nobody can hope to attain by his own efforts, even if he would fly upwards in space like the king of birds (Garuḍa) for a thousand years with the velocity of thought. The last section is concerned with the definition of the six Guṇas of God (see above, p. 31 ff.)

Chapter 3. The object of this chapter is to explain the Sudarsana by identifying it with the Kriyā Sakti or active side (force aspect) of the Lord as distinguished from His formal side (matter aspect) called Bhūti Sakti. The chapter opens by explaining the meaning of Sakti: it is the subtle condition (sūkṣmāvasthā) or thing-in-itself (idamētā) of any existence (bhāva), recognizable by its effects only. Each manifestation of life (bhāva) has a Sakti inseparably connected with it, but there is also one omnipresent Sakti, the Sakti of God. Laksmi is the Lord's "vibration in the form of the world" (prashnuratā jagannayā); she is connected with Him as the moonlight is with the moon, or the sunshine with the sun; different from Him only as an attribute (dharma) differs from its bearer (dharmin), or existence (bhāva) from him who exists (bhavat). Many of the names of Laksmi are enumerated and explained in sl. 7 to 24. Then, after mentioning that Sakti is twofold and Bhūti Sakti threefold (details of which follow later), the rest of the chapter (sl. 29-56) is occupied with the mutual relation of the two Saktis and the identity of the Kriyā Sakti with the Sudarsana. The Sudarsana is, according to stanza 30, will (icchā) embodied in wisdom (prekṣā) and resulting in action (kriyā).
Chapter 4 turns to "that cause" which, "pervaded by the Sudarsana", "takes to creation", namely the Bhûti Śakti or material cause of the world, in order to explain how that principle, after having been "a cow in the form of clouds" (megha-rûpinî dhenuḥ) becomes once more "the non-cow, sapless and withered, called the Non-manifest (avyakta)". The pratisamcara "re-absorption" or "in-volution" (=pralaya, 5. 1) described here at great length is the exact reversal of the process of creation (described in part II of this Introduction). At the end of the involution the Śakti of Viṣṇu returns to the condition of Brāhmaṇ (brahma-bhâvan vajati) in exactly the same way as a conflagration, when there is no more combustible matter, returns to the [latent] condition of fire (vaññi-bhâvan). "Owing to over-embrace" (ati-samsleṣāt) the two all-pervading ones, Nārāyaṇa and His Śakti, have become, as it were, a single principle (ekaṃ tattvam iva).

Chapters 5 to 7 contain an account of creation which has been fully utilized in part II of this Introduction.

Chapters 8 to 12 endeavour to show the various forms of the activity of the Sudarsana: (1) as the ādhipa "base" or "support" of the world during the periods of creation and dissolution (chapters 8 and 9); and (2) as the pramâṇa "measure", that is, regulating principle during the period of the continuance of life (sthiti) in which it appears as the regulator (a) of things (artha) (chapter 10), and (b) of sounds (sabda) (chapters 11 and 12).

Chapter 8, before taking up the above subject, answers a question of Nārada as to the diversity of

¹ For "cloud"—Cosmic Egg see above pp. 29 and 78.
philosophic views (slokas 1 to 23). Nārada complains that there are so many different opinions about creation, some holding that it is effected by three elements; others assuming four, again others five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, or eleven elements; some tracing it back to an egg, others to a lotus, others again to fire, to "another body," to knowledge (vidyā), or to the Void (śūnya). Ahirbudhnya answers that the variety of opinions has several causes: first, the natural impossibility for human speech to express adequately truths concerning the Absolute; then, that people ignorant of synonyms (aparyāyavido janākā) often mistake different names for different things; that the intellectual attainments of men differ considerably; and, finally, that God has an infinite number of different aspects one of which only is, generally, grasped and taught by a philosopher. Ahirbudhnya

1 Fire, water, earth; Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 4 ff.
2 Earth, water, fire, air; view of a materialistic teacher of the Buddha's time, also apparently of a Buddhist sect (the Jānakas).
3 The four and ether; view of many Upaniṣads and of certain materialists.
4 The five and the soul; a view mentioned in the Jain scriptures and called (by the comm.) atmāsatva-vīda.
5 The four, the soul, and pleasure and pain (regarded as substances); the saptakōya-vīda of a rival of the Buddha (Pakudha Kaccāyana) and evidently also of some later philosophers.
6 The five, Buddhī, Ahamkāra, and Manas (Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4), or, possibly, the eight Akṣaras (fire, earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, heaven, moon, stars) enumerated in Mahāsantuksamāra Ṣamhitā (Indrarātra I, 30 ff).
7 The eight and the soul; Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4-5.
8 See above pp. 80-81.
9 Of. the theories, in the Upaniṣads, about Tapas, Tejas, Agni Vaisvānāra, and Kālagni.
10 That is, "another aggregate [of Skandhas]" or "other Skandhas" (kāya—"aggregate" or "trunk, stem"); referring to the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism and its doctrine of the saṅkati. That (cf. next note) "another substance" is meant is less likely.
11, 12 Evidently the two Buddhist schools of the Vijñānavādins and Śūnyavādins are meant.
concludes by mentioning that of the “Brāhmic days” some are pleasant, while others show an excess of rain, war, etc., and then, at the request of Nārada, turns to the question of the ādhāra (sl. 34 ff.).

The Sudarsana is the perpetual support (ādhāra) of this whole Bhūti or universe [of names-and-forms] which is borne (ādhigāte) by it just as gems (pearls) are borne by the thread running through them, or as the leaf (betel leaves) by the pin [pierced on which they are offered for sale]. The Sudarsana, in upholding the universe, is the Calana Cakra or “Wheel of Motion” (9. 41-42) and as such has a peculiar form in each of the three periods, appearing respectively as the “Wheel of Creation”, the “Wheel of Withdrawal”, and the “Wheel of Continuance”, while each of the three again operates as a whole as well as through a number of minor “wheels” corresponding to the several Tattvas. Then there is, as the counterpart of the Calana Cakra, the Mahārātridhara Cakra or “Wheel carrying the Great Night” which is said to have a single spoke and to be meditated upon by the sages. When creation begins, there appears first the “Wheel of Dawn” having two spokes; then, as the disk of Śaṅkarṣaṇa, the “Wheel of Sunrise” having three spokes; then, with Pradyumna, the “Wheel of Lordship” having four spokes; then, with Aniruddha, the “Wheel of Potency” having five spokes; after this the “Wheel of the Seasons” having six spokes and representing the twelve Sub-Vyūhas; then the twelve-spoked “Great Sudarsana Wheel” connected with the Avatāras, chief and secondary ones²; and finally

¹ Cf. Chāndogya Upaniṣad II, 23. 3.
² Read (ex conj.): vijjātaṁ trikādhārakam.
³ Does this mean that there are twenty-four chief Avatāras?
ly a thousand-spoked wheel holding the Highest Heaven. Then (9. 1-9) there follow the wheels engaged in Non-pure Creation, namely: the Pauruṣa Cakra with three spokes¹, and the Sakti Cakra having thirty spokes² and comprehending the Naiyata Cakra (with thirty spokes), the Kāla Cakra (with six spokes), etc., the "Wheel of Space" (with one spoke), the "Wheel of Air" (with two spokes)³, etc., and finally the "Wheel of the Senses" (with eleven spokes).

Chapter 9, after the enumeration mentioned before of the "wheels" of Non-pure Creation, gives a most circumstantial description of the "Wheel of Motion" (creation, continuance, withdrawal; sl. 33) called here Mahāvibhūti Cakra, "the Wheel of the Great Splendour (or: of the Powerful Manifestation)"; and then describes, by means of only five stanzas (36 ff.), the "Wheel of Withdrawal" (Samhṛti Cakra) which does apparently not differ from the (practically indescribable) "Wheel of the Great Night" except in having, like the "Wheel of Great Splendour", an infinite number of spokes. The "Wheel of Great Splendour" is described as wearing a garment variegated by milliards of milliards of Cosmic Eggs; infinite numbers of Spaces [each pervading a "universe", but] appearing [from this higher point of view] like insignificant specks; crores of crores of Mahats which are a-mahat (not great); etc. etc. Among the images there is the one mentioned above (part II, section 1, end) of the clouds, and the following bold

¹ Evidently connected with the three classes of souls mentioned above p. 54, n. 7.
² Probably: Niyati, threefold Kāla, the three Guṇas, and the lower twenty-three principles.
³ Air being perceived by two senses (ear and skin).
⁴ *Calana*—tremulous motion, that is, *spanda*.
comparison unchaining a torrent of verbosity, at the beginning of this section: "As the cloth of a big banner unfolded in space is upheld by the ever-purifying wind, even so Bhūti of the nature of Viṣṇu’s Sākṣī, from Saṃkaraṇa down to Earth, is upheld in the Supportless Place by [His] Will-to-be (saṃkalpa)."

Chapters 10 to 12 are devoted to the description of the Sthiti Cakra, that is the Sudarsana as the regulative principle (pramāṇa) of the various forces active during the period between Creation and Dissolution. Chapter 10, on the one hand, and chapters 11 and 12, on the other, refer to what the Śaivas call the Artha Adhvan and the Sabda Adhvan. Pramāṇa is defined (in sl. 15) as "that by which everything obtains its fixed measure (īyattā)". Another definition (32-33) runs: "The course of Hari’s Will possessed of the Regulative Wheel (pramāṇa-cakra) is [to be recognized in] the limit (māryādā) eternally fixed for every principle (tattva)."

Chapter 10 shows how the "things" (artha), that is, manifested nature without the universe of sounds (to be dealt with in the following chapters), are governed by the Sudarsana; that is to say: (1) how the "divine pleasures" in Highest Heaven are regulated by it; how owing to it the Kūṭastha is kept in his place (between Pure and Impure Creation); how Time appears always in the form of kalās, kāśthas, etc., and Buddhī as righteousness, dispassion, etc.; how each of the five elements keeps its characteristics; etc. etc.; (2) how, owing to it, the cherishing of the Sattva Guṇa is rewarded with food, rain, etc., and indulging in Tamas followed by famine.

1 The reading pade appears after all preferable to pate (with the latter, however, cf. bhittī in III, 7 and V, 8).

2 A third definition (praś-marā) is found in XIII, 5-6.
and the like; and (3) how it renders possible the continuity of the world by means of the divine Śastras’ such as the Discus, Plough, Club, Conch, etc., used by the Lord in His Avatāras in order to fight the unrighteous, and how, on the other hand, it keeps effective the one hundred and twenty magical Astras, the imprecations by Rśis, at hoc genus omne.

Chapters 11 and 12 are intended to show how the regulative power (prāmāṇa) of the Sudarsana manifests itself through the word (śabda), that is, by means of the systems of religion and philosophy. For, says stanza 12 of chapter 11: “To resist successfully the enemies of virtue, two means are required: the array (vyūha) of Śastras and Astras, and the Śāstra.”

Chapter 11 begins by explaining why the Avatāras of God become necessary in the course of time. The reason is the inevitable deterioration of the world in the course of the Yugas: first, indeed, there is a predominance of the Sattva Gūṇa, but soon it begins to diminish, owing to the incessant growth of Rajas and Tamas, and so “this Sattvic divine limit” begins to fluctuate (sl. 8). After this introduction the chapter takes up the description of the original Śāstra which, at the beginning of the golden age, came down from heaven “like a thunderclap”, “dispelling all inner darkness”. It was proclaimed by Śamkarsana. It was an harmonious whole comprehending within it everything worth knowing for man: the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, Ītiḥāsas and Purāṇas, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pāṣupata, etc. (sl. 20-46), and consisted

1“Weapons” which, however, in contradistinction to the Astras, can never be used by mortals, but only by their divine bearer with whom they are inseparably connected.
of a million chapters. The first men — the divine Manus, the Mānavaś and Mānavamānavaś — regulated their whole life by means of it to the satisfaction of the Lord. But then, “by the change of time”, the division in Yogas, and with it the shrinking of Sattvas and the growth of Rajas, became manifest at the beginning of the Tretā age; and, “the high-souled Brāhmaṇas wishing wishes (longing for pleasures), that beautiful system (śudarśanaṃ śāśanaṃ) took a slow course”. Then the divine Rśis, taking counsel, decided that from the original Śāstra separate systems suited for the diversity of intellects should be extracted, and, after having practised severe austerities for very many years, they set to work, with the result that Apāntaratapas (Vācyāyana) fashioned (tataṅka) the three Vedas, Kapila the Śāmkhya, Hiraṇyagarbha the Yoga, and Śiva (Ahirbudhnya) the Pāṇḍava, while the Lord Himself extracted, as the purest essence of the “sole divine Śāstra”, the “system (ṭantra) called Pāṇcarātra describing Him as Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc., and being recognizable by having Liberation as its sole result”.

Chapter 12. The five recognized philosophical systems described in this chapter, namely the Trayi (or Vedic science), the Śāmkhya, the Yoga, the Pāṇḍava, and the Śāttvata (or Pāṇcarātra), are the same as the five “sciences” (jñānāṇi) mentioned by Vaisampāyana in the Śanti Parvan of the Mahābhārata. In the latter,

Ye proktā ādīsargā; for “original creation” as distinguished from Brahmā’s creation see XV, 20.

2 Cf. XV, 10 ff.

3 See my article Das Saśṭitaṇtra in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1914, also the first Sanskrit Preface in our text edition, p. 40, quoting the sloka Śāmkhyāṇ, Yogah, etc.
however, merely their names are mentioned, for with reason the present chapter has a claim to our special attention, the more so as the Sāṃkhya described in it is not only called by the name Śaśṭitāntra, "System of the Sixty Topics", — which is the name of the source of the oldest Sāṃkhya treatise we possess, the Sāṃkhya Kārikā — but actually consists of sixty topics which are enumerated though unfortunately not explained on this occasion. We have analyzed this chapter and tried to identify the sixty topics in a paper read in Athens in 1912 before the Indian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published (see previous note). Here a few remarks must suffice.

By Trayi or [Vedic] Triad is meant the whole authoritative literature of Brāhmaṇism, that is, not only the three Vedas, but also the Ātharvaṇa and all the twenty-one so-called auxiliary sciences down to politics (nāti), and the science of professions (vārttā).

The Śaśṭitāntra consists of two so-called "circles", the "circle of nature" (prākṛta-māṇḍala) and the "circle of educts" (vaikṛta-māṇḍala), comprising respectively thirty-two metaphysical and twenty-eight ethical topics. All the former have been adopted by the Pāncarātra, which, however, has expanded the first of them (Brāhmaṇ) by advancing the theory of the Vyūhas and the conception of Lakṣmī. The second, puruṣa, is evidently the Kūṭastha Puruṣa (Samaṣṭi Puruṣa) of the Pāncarātra; the third to eighth are identical with the Māyā Sakti, Niyati, Kāla, and the three Guṇas taken separately; the

1 Which is kept separate "because it chiefly deals with exorcism and incantations."

2 We did not come to this conclusion until recently and consequently failed more or less, in the article mentioned, to arrive at the explanation of nos. 3, 9, and 10.
ninth, aksara, must be the guṇa-sāmya called Avyakta; the tenth, prāṇa, is Mahat¹; the eleventh, kartṛ, the Ahamkāra; the twelfth, sāmi (very likely a corruption of svāmī; cf. Bhag. Gitā 10. 22) is Manas (the central or “ruling” organ); and the rest are, of course, the ten senses and ten elements. To what extent the other “circle” agrees with the Pāñcarātra, cannot be made out by means of the mere names, though all of these can be discovered in the Śaṃkhyā and the Yoga literature, as shown in the paper quoted.²

There are, declares our chapter, two systems (samhitā) of Yoga, to wit the “Yoga of Suppression” (nirodha-yoga) — which is, of course, the one dealing with the “levelling of the mind” (citta-vṛtti-nirodha) — and the “Yoga of Action” (karma-yoga).³ The former has twelve topics, the latter is divided into “the Yoga of manifold works” and the “Yoga of one work”, each of which is again divided into “external” and “internal” Yoga.

The Pāsūpana system characterized by the enumeration of eight topics is, to judge from the latter and the three slokas referring to it in the preceding chapter (11. 48 ffl.), not identical with that “wild and outlandish” system¹ usually referred to as Pāsūpana by philosophical authors, but rather with that Āgamic Śaivism on which are based the later Śaivite systems both of the north and of the south of India, although, when speaking of the Pāsūpanas as the

¹ See above pp. 72 ffl.
² For “Guṇa” (no. 20) we should now also call attention to the guṇa-parvini of Yoga Sūtra II, 19.
³ The Nakulisa Pāsūpanas, who also distinguish these two kinds, understand by Yoga of Action the muttering of Mantras, meditation, etc., (Sarvadarsannam Samgraha). The twofold Yoga taught in Laksñi Tantra (XVI) is (1) sāmyama, and (2) samōdhi, the latter being the fruit of the former.

Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, etc., p. 124.
“people of strong vows” (13. 14), our author seems vaguely to include in the name also the less philosophical sects (Kāpālikas, etc.).

The Sāttvata system, finally, is said to embrace the following ten topics: 1. Bhagavata, 2. karmān, 3. vidyā, 4. kāla, 5. kartaṇya, 6. vaiśeṣikī kriyā, 7. samyāma, 8. cintā, 9. mārga, and 10. mokṣa. Of these, the first and last require no explanation; no. 2, said to be thirteenfold (15. 7), must refer to the Kriyā Pāda²; no. 3 is, according to 15. 12, the knowledge of the seven padārthāḥ; kāla appears to refer to the pañca-kāla-vidhi or rule of the five “timely” observances of the day (abhigamana, etc.) described, for instance, in the thirteenth adhyāya of the Cāryā Pāda of Pādma Tantra; by kartaṇya in all probability are meant the five ceremonies (karmān) or sacraments (saṃskāra) constituting the initiation (dikṣa), while no. 6, as shown by 15. 30 fl., are the “special duties” connected with the several castes and stages of life; no. 7 refers to Yoga, no. 8 to meditation¹, and no. 9 presumably to Bhakti⁵.

About the remaining systems (Buddhism, Jainism, etc.,) sloka 51 simply remarks that they are fallacious systems (śastraḥbhāsa) founded by Gods or Brahmarṣis

¹ In the Pādma Tantra (I, 1. 50), which, however, is later than our Saṃhitā, Śiva is made the author of the three systems called Kāpāla, Saṃtha Śaiva, and Pāṣupata.
² See above, pp. 22.
³ “Things, topics, categories”, cf. VII, 45 the sevenfold vidyā-viparītānāma called the seven Mahābhūtas. But prakṛti-jñāna seems to be distinguished from saptapadārtha-jñāna in XV, 12-13. Of the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣikas the three called sāmānyā, saṃvāraya, and viṣeṣa are not regarded as categories in Yut. Dip., first chapter (ed., p. 17).
⁴ Of the expression dvādaśākṣara-cintākāh in Īśvara Saṃhitā XXI, 41 (quoted by Govindācārya, loc. cit., p. 947).
⁵ Mārga=panthā namanānāmavān, LII, 33.
with the object of spreading confusion among the wicked.¹

Among the synonyms of the term Sudarsana enumerated towards the end, two, namely Prāṇa and Māyā, are worth noticing.

Chapter 13 is a review of the objects of life. The only thing “which is always and everywhere the sumnum bonum (hitam atyantam) of men” is, of course, “the absolute discontinuance of the succession of sorrows, and the eternal happiness implied in it” (sl. 9), which is tantamount to the attainment of one’s real nature, that is, the nature of God (bhagavanmayatā, bhagavatī) (sl. 11). The two ways (śādhaṇa) leading to it are sacred knowledge (jñāna) and religion (dharma), of which the latter is the stepping-stone to the former. There are two kinds of sacred knowledge, to wit the direct (sāksāt-kāramaya) and the indirect (parokṣa) knowledge of God. Of these, again, the latter is the cause of the former. Religion is also twofold in that it is either (1) mediate (vyavādvānavat) worship, that is worship of some representative of God such as the god Brahmān, or (2) the immediate worship (sāksād-arādhana) of Him whose manifestation (vibhūti) all those gods are. Pāncarātra worship is of the second kind, Vedic and Pāṣupata worship of the first. Study of the Sāmkhya results in

¹ In Pādma Tantra I, 1. 44 ffl. the systems founded in addition to (not derived from) the Pāncarātra are: the Yoga of Brahmān, the Sāmkhya of Kapila, the Buddhist Śūnyavāda and the Ārhat Saṅgītra (Jainism) — both of the latter, like the Pāncarātra, proclaimed by the Lord Himself (namely in the Buddha and Rṣabha Avasṭāras mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa) — and the three Saṅvīta systems founded by Śiva; the Trayī being, indeed, mentioned as conditio sine qua non of the Pāncarātra (I, 1.68) but not reckoned as a philosophical system. Possibly these six systems are the same as the six samaya-dharmāḥ which, according to XXXIII, 64 of our Samhitā, the ideal Purohita must be acquainted with.
indirect, of the Vedānta in direct knowledge of God, while Yoga practice also leads finally to direct knowledge. — The two mundane objects are wealth (artha) and love (kāma). These and religion are characterized by mutual interdependence in that each of them may become the means for attaining one or both of the other two. However, neither wealth nor love but only religion is an unfailing instrument, while Liberation (mokṣa) is never a means for accomplishing anything (sādhana) but only a thing to be accomplished (sādhyā). For the attainment of any of the four objects both internal and external means must be employed. In the case of love, for instance, these are: (1) the sincere resolve [to fulfil one’s duties as a householder], and (2) the ceremony of marriage.

Chapter 14 treats of Bondage and Liberation. The soul belongs to the Bhūti Śakti, being that portion of hers which, owing to Time, passes from birth to rebirth until, having entered the “path of the Śāstra”, it is at last “reborn in its own (natural) form” (svetābhijāyate, sc.: rūpeṇa), that is, liberated. The reason and object of this saṃsāra is shrouded in mystery: it is the “play” of God, though God as the perfect one can have no desire for playing. But how the play begins and how it ends, that, indeed, may be said. The Will of God called Sudarsana, though of innumerable forms, manifests in five principal ways, to wit, the Śaktis called Creation, Preservation, and Destruction [of the universe], and Obstruction (nigraha) or Obscuration (tirodhāna) and Furtherance (anugraha, favouring) [of the soul]. At the beginning God “obstructs” the souls by “obscuring” or “contracting” their form (ākāra), power (aśvarya), and knowledge (vijñāna), the result being the three
Taints (mala) or Fetters (bandha) of the soul, to wit (1) atomicity (anutva)\(^1\), (2) impotence (akṣṇitkaratā, kṣṇitkaratā), and (3) ignorance (ajñatva, kṣṇicitjñatva). These are, of course, the counterpart of three perfections which the soul in her natural condition has in common with the Lord, namely omnipresence\(^2\), omnipotence, and omniscience.\(^3\) It is owing to the three Taints, according to our chapter, as also to the passions arising from the contact with Matter, that the soul finally treads the path of action and so produces Vāsanās (Germ-impressions) leading to new births; and it is the Karman so produced which (like the seed producing a tree, and the tree producing seeds, etc.) ultimately necessitates a new Creation, and so establishes the Creative, Preservative, and Destructive Sāktis of the Lord. This is called the “transmission of obscuration” (tirōdhāna-paravā, sl. 25) of the Nigraha Sakti. It comes about with the assistance of the two parts of Bhūti called Time and [Māyā-] Sakti (sl. 26). It has no beginning, but it may have an end, so far as the individual is concerned, by the breaking in of the Power of Furtherance or the divine grace (anugrahasakti-pāta),

\(^1\) In the sense fixed above p. 90.

\(^2\) This doctrine, closely connected, as we have seen, with the Śaiva doctrine of the Kaṇḍukas, has, on the other hand, nothing in common with the Śaiva doctrine of the three Taints. For, in the latter the Ājāva Mala consists in the loss or absence of both knowledge and power, while the Māyā Mala is the evil of being connected with matter (Māyā and its products), and the Kārma Mala that of the performing of good and bad deeds. Cf. Paṇḍaka Āgama I, 4. 2-5 quoted by P. T. Śrīnivāsa Iyengar in his Outlines of Indian Philosophy p. 159, and the three slokas of Vāmadeva, in the Tiṣṇu on Pratyabhijñāshastra, Śrīnagar edition, p. 15.

\(^3\) Sakti-pāta is the reading of all the MSS. in sloka 35; in another stanza (30) all of them have sakti-pāka, and in a third (33) all except one read sakti-bhāva. The term is stated to be used by “those who follow the Āgamas” (āgama-sūtra, 30), which, to judge from the unfamiliarity with it betrayed by the varietas lectio, seems to point to the Sāiva Āgamas as its source. The term mala-traya is apparently also taken from the latter and is mentioned several times in our Saṃhitā in connection with the Pāṣupata system.
resembling a "shower of compassion" coming down upon him who has been "beheld" by God" (Viṣṇu-saṃi-kṣita). It is impossible to determine when and how the "sublime mercy of Viṣṇu" breaks in. But no sooner has it happened than both the Karmans (good and bad) become "silent". For, with regard to a soul seized by the grace of God, they are as powerless, and, consequently, as indifferent, as robbers are towards a traveller guarded by a strong retinue. The breaking in of grace causes the soul to discern its goal (Liberation) and to strive after it by means of the recognized systems (Sāṃkhya, Yoga, etc.), singly or conjointly. — The Nigraha Sakti has the following synonyms (sl. 17): Illusion, Ignorance, Great Delusion, Great Gloom, Darkness, Bondage, and Knot of the Heart.

Chapter 15 takes up the question as to who is entitled to the several objects of life (purusārtha).

The answer deals first with the five systems (siddhānta) only. Of these the Sāttvata or Pāñcarātra alone is destined for the Manus and their pure descendants. Those "illustrious" first men called Siddhas (perfect ones) live a hundred years each in absolute purity, observing the rules of caste and periods-of-life (āsrana), and then obtain Liberation.¹ Those, on the other hand, who have sprung "from the mouth, etc., of Brahmān" are primarily entitled to the four lower systems only, though they can "ascend" to the

¹ That is, chosen; cf. Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad I, 2. 23: yam evaśa evpauta tena labhyah.

² These ideal first men are described at length and contrasted with the later men (offspring of Brahmān) in Viṣvaksena Samhitā, loc. cit., pp. 126-129 (note especially p. 126 bottom: Vyākhyāntāṁ sataśam kauśite te Jagatpateḥ). See on them further Pādma Tantra I, 1. 35 ff. where, however, as in Viṣṇuntilaka I, 146, it is the god Brahmān from whom they receive the holy sāstra.
"Sāttvata statute". If they embrace the Pāṣupata, etc.,
y they have to give up the Vedic rites which are compat-
bile with the Yoga only.

Then follows the discussion of the castes and the
periods-of-life (sl. 26 b fl.) the conception of which is,
on the whole, the orthodox one. For a Śūdra it is
more meritorious to serve a Brāhmaṇa than a man of
either of the other castes (33). Non-hurting (a-hīṃsā),
truthfulness, forgiveness, and conjugal loyalty are
obligatory virtues for all castes. The Saṃnyāsa Āśra-
ma is for the Brāhmaṇa but may exceptionally be
embraced by the Kṣatriya also; the Kṣatriya and the
Vaisya are entitled to the first three Āśramas. The
second birth is the investment with the sacred thread,
the third the initiation into the Pañcarātra. When
Brahmacarya is completed, the student may stay
with the teacher as a Naiṣṭhika, or he may enter
any of the other Āśramas. The Grhaṣṭha as well
as the Vānaprastha will reach the heaven of Brah-
mān by strictly observing their respective duties;
while, by acquiring, at the same time, the highest
knowledge, they will be liberated. Unless he be one of
the latter class (a Jñānin or Knower), the Vānaprastha
will end his life by means of the Great Departure
(mahā-prasthāna) [or some other lawful kind of religious
suicide3] (59). In the long description of the Saṃnyā-
sin there is nothing extraordinary except perhaps that
his end is compared, just as the Buddhist Nirvāṇa, with
the going out of a lamp.

1 "Sāttvata-sāsana", cf. p. 15: "sāttvata-vidhi".
2 Like those enumerated in the Law Books and Saṃnyāsa Upa-
niṣads.
3 Pradūpa iva stāntārcaḥ, sl. 75. Cf. the similar image employed
 (in IV, 76) for Lakṣmī's absorption into Viṣṇu at the end of a
cosmic day.
Chapters 16 to 19. In addition to the forms described, the Sudarsana or Kriyā Śakti manifests itself also in the form of Mantras, that is, sounds (and their graphic symbols) and the holy utterances composed of these. The description of this so-called Mantramayī Kriyāsakti (16. 9-10) or “Sound-body of Lakṣmi” (16. 44) is the object of the next adhyāyas.

Chapter 16 begins by asking who is entitled to benefit by this form of the Śakti. The answer is that it is the prerogative of the Brāhmaṇa who acts in agreement with his king. The latter is praised in exalted terms as the tout ensemble of the gods, etc., and a forcible description is given (sl. 20-27) of the interdependence of the two higher castes which are like Agni and Soma, and neither of which can prosper without the other. The higher a sovereign, the more he is entitled to the use of the Mantra Śakti: most of all the cakravartin, then the maṇḍalesvara, further the viṣayesvara, and finally also the chief minister (mahāmātra), supposing he belongs to the twice-born.

(Sl. 36 fl.) Speech begins with the Nāda resembling the sound of a deep bell and perceptible to perfect Yogins only; the Nāda develops into the Bindu (Anusvāra) which is twofold, as the sabda-brahman or “Sound Brāhmaṇ” and the Bhūti (related to each other as the name and the bearer of the name); and then from the Bindu proceed the two kinds of sounds, to wit the vowels (svara) and the consonants (vyanjana). The vowels appear in the following order: first the a called anuttara (“chief” sound), then the i,
then the ु, from which spring the corresponding long vowels and, on the other hand, by mutual union, the diphthongs: a→i=e, a→e=ai, etc., and further, by amalgamation with a consonantal element (r, l), the r and l sounds. In accordance with the theory of the four states of sound (Parā, Pasyantī, Madhyamā, and Vaikhari) it is then shown how these fourteen vowels (or rather the a as their common root, sl. 45) gradually emerge from their latent condition by proceeding, with the Kūndalini Sakti, from the Mūlādhāra (perinēum) to the navel, the heart, and finally the throat where the first uttered sound arising is the aspirate, for which reason the Visarga is interpreted literally as “creation” (sṛṣṭi), its counterpart, the Anusvāra or Bindu being in an analogous way declared to represent the “withdrawal” (s amphara) of speech. The Anusvāra is also called “sun” (surya), and the Visarga “moon” (soma), and the sounds a, i, u, r, l, e, o, and a, i, u, r, l, a, u are respectively “sun-beams” and “moon-beams” and as such connected with day and night and with the Nādis called Pīngalā and Iḍā. The vowels a, i, u, and r are said to be each eighteen-fold (how, is not stated), the l twelve-fold, etc. From the first consonant, the h sound, which represents Vāsudeva, originate successively (each from the preceding one) the s, ś, s sounds which, together with the h, are the Fourfold Brāhman (ca tubrahman), and, with h and ks, the Fivefold Brāhman (paṇca-brahman). From the s springs the v, from the v the l, from the l the r, and from the r the y; then, from the y the m which represents the totality (samasī) of the souls, that is, the Kūṭastha Puruṣa. Then

1 The three Vyūhas, the four-armed Vāsudeva, and the two-armed Highest Vāsudeva (?); cf. above p. 52, note 3.
there appear: the bh sound or world of experience (bhogya), namely Prakṛti; b, ph, p=Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, and Manas; the five dentals and five cerebrals representing respectively the five “knowledge senses” and the five “action senses”; the five palatals and the five gutturals corresponding to the Tanmātras and Bhūtas; and (finally?) from the ordinary l the cerebral (Vedic) l which, however, is not counted as a separate letter.

Chapter 17 shows how each letter of the alphabet has (1) three “Vaiśṇava” forms, namely a “gross”, “subtle”, and “highest” one, expressed by certain names of Viṣṇu; (2) one “Raudra” form called after one of the Rudras (that is, by one of the names of Siva); and (3) one “Sākta” form being the name of one of the limbs, organs, or ornaments of the Sakti of Viṣṇu. For instance, the k sound is expressed in the Vaiśṇava alphabet by the three names Kamala (Lotus), Karāla (Lofty), and Parā Prakṛti (Highest Nature), and in the Raudra alphabet by the name Krodhisa (Angry Lord, or Lord of the angry), while in the Sākta alphabet it is identified with the thumb of the right hand of the Goddess. For Mantras connected with Viṣṇu, Siva, or Sakti the respective alphabets should always be employed. These alphabets seem to serve a double purpose: enabling the initiate to quote the Mantras without endangering their secrecy, and providing him with a handle for their mystic interpretation. These

1 In the employment of this alphabet the vowels (vaguely identified with the face of the Goddess) are not expressed (as in XVIII. 2) or expressed by those of the Vaiśṇava alphabet (as indicated ibid., 9 ff.).

2 Cf. Rāmapūrṇatāpaniya Upanisad, end (ṣl. 84), naïvely asserting that the Rāma diagram (containing the Māla Mantra in the mystic language) is “a secret hard to understand even for the Highest Lord” (rahasyam Paramesvaramahāyāpī durgamam).
lists, then, are an indispensable key to the Mantras. There are, however, more such symbolic words in use, as can be gathered, for instance from the second of the opening stanzas of our Sāmbitā, where the word indu (moon) means the letter ṵ; from the mystic alphabet employed in Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad (sl. 74-80); etc. etc. 3

Chapter 18 takes up the uddhāra or quotation (which is, in reality, a sort of developing) of the Sakti Mantra and Saudarsana Mahāmantra (both of which contain as their chief constituent the word sahasrāra “thousand-spoked” expressed respectively through the Sākta and the Vaiṣṇava alphabet), of the Bijas (“germs”) hum and phat and of the Aṅga (auxiliary) Mantra cakrāya svāhā; and chapter 19 continues the subject by describing the well-known five Aṅga Mantras referring to heart, head, hair-lock, armour, and weapon; further an Upānga Mantra, the Cakra Gāyatri, and a number of Mantras referring to the Conch, etc., and other “weapons” of Viṣṇu.

Chapter 20 describing the dākṣā or initiation, opens with a beautiful definition of the ideal teacher who should, among other things, be capable of sharing in both the sorrow and happiness of others (Mitleid and Mitfreude), of being lenient towards the poor of intellect, etc., and must be well versed in Veda and Vedānta (Upaniṣads), Pāñcarātra, and other systems (tantra).

1 Indusēkhāram = śkarintam, referring to the letter ṵ in the name Sṛi.
2 An important contribution to this subject is vol. 1 of Arthur Avalon’s “Tantrik Texts”, namely “Tantrābhidhāna, with Vijaṅghaṇṭu and Mudrāṅghaṇṭu”, containing collections of such words used, among the Sākta (and elsewhere), as symbols for letters.
3 Cf. Nṛsinhapūrvatāpanī Upaniṣad II, 2 with commentaries.
The disciple, unmarried or married, but belonging of necessity to the "twice-born", must with perfect sincerity confess to the teacher everything he has "done or not done", after which he may be accepted on probation and, after some years, definitively, if he has succeeded in convincing the teacher that he is free from greed and infatuation, capable of guarding the secret tradition (rahasyāmnāya-gopīn), etc. In that case, with the usual Nyāsas, etc., the Sudarsana Mantra is imparted to him, of which the three Rṣis are: the Paramātman (in the "highest sense"), Saṃkarṣaṇa ("subtle"), and Ahirbudhnya ("gross"); the body being also, on this occasion, regarded as threefold, namely, as consisting of the gross body, the subtle body called puryaśṭaka, and the āyava or atomic body. The duties of the disciple are described at some length (sl. 43-48), the importance of "confessing himself and whatever belongs to him" being once more emphasized. The Mantra should on no account be used for a mundane purpose or trifling object, but only for the protection of the three worlds, government, or king; only for welfare, not for destruction.

Chapters 21 to 27 are descriptive of magical diagrams called raksā or yantra, their respective merits, and the way of meditating upon the Yantra Devatās. The latter, among whom are the Sudarsana Puruṣa (26. 6 fl.) and the twelve Sub-Vyūhas (26. 36 fl.), are described at some length on this occasion. Incidentally there is a description of the Kali Yuga.

1 "The octad of [constituents of] the town [called body]."

For three different explanations of the eight see, (1) the stanzas from Yogavāśisṭha explained by Viññānabhaṭṭa in his comm. on Sāṁkhyā Sūtra III, 12; (2) Sarvadārṣaṇa Saṃgæraha, Poona ed. pp. 71 fl.; and (3) Pratyañbhiṇā Hṛdaya, ed. p. 69.
(25. 5-9). In these chapters the mystical alphabets play an important part.

Chapters 28 and 29 deal with worship (ārādhana): the former with the obligatory, the latter with the optional worship which a Kṣatriya is recommended to perform for ensuring victory. In the latter case the rites vary with the region (east, south, etc.) in which the warrior wishes to attack.

Chapters 31 and 32 consist of an outline of the Yoga theory and practice. The Yoga, as the counterpart of the "external sacrifice" (bāhya-yāga), is "worship of the heart" (kṛdaya-ārādhana) or the self-sacrifice (ātma-harīs) offered to God by giving Him one's own soul separated from matter, that is, in its original purity (31. 4-5). In this condition the soul is in touch with everything (sarvāga) and all-supporting (sarvabhṛt); without eyes, ears, hands, and feet, yet all-seeing, all-hearing, with hands and feet everywhere¹; "far and yet near"²; "the imperishable part in all beings" (aksaraṁ sarvabhūtastham)³, the "Highest Place of Viṣṇu" 31.7-11). Yoga, in fact, means "union of the life-self (soul) and the Highest Self" (jīvatmaparamātmānoḥ sannyogah, 31.18). According to this passage, then, Yoga would be the temporal attainment, during life, of a feeling of perfect oneness with the Lord. Of a feeling only of such oneness; for that a soul ever actually becomes one with the Lord, is excluded by the premises of the system, as we have

¹ Bhādarāṇyaka Upaniṣad IV, 3. 23 ff.
² Isāvāsya Upaniṣad 5.
³ It may be useful to remember here that Rāmānuja and his followers find no difficulty in relating all such expressions (for instance in the Bhagavad Gītā) to the individual souls as separated from matter, that is, in their pure condition in which they are essentially, though not numerically, the same.
seen in the last section of part II of this Introduction. Such feeling of identity is also attributed to the liberated.¹

From 31. 18 to the end of 32 the eight Yogāṅgas are described at some length and not without some originality: (1) the ten constituents of Yama (brahmacarya=not regarding one’s wives as objects of enjoyment; ārjana=concordance of speech, thought, and action); (2) the ten Niyamas (sraddhā=confidence in the work enjoined; āstikya=conviction that there exists, asti, a something, vastu, accessible through the Vedas only); (3) eleven chief postures; (4) the Prāṇāyāma, with a long physiological introduction on the tubular vessels called Nādiś (forming the “wheel” in which the soul moves about like a spider in its web; 32. 22) and the ten winds of the body, and directions as to the purification, within three months, of the whole system of Nādiś; (5) Pratyāhāra, which is not merely a negative act (withdrawal of the senses) but also a positive one (nivesanam Bhagavati “entering into God”); (6) Dhāraṇā, the “keeping of the mind in the Highest Self”; (7) Dhyāna, meditation on the “wheel-formed” Viṣṇu (Sauḍārsana Puruṣa) who is here described as eight-armed, clad in jewels, with lightning-flashes as the hairs of his head, etc.; and (8) Samādhi, which is reached by gradually intensifying Dhyāna until the Siddhis or magical powers (of making one’s body infinitely small, etc.) become manifest and spirits and gods begin to serve the Yogin.

Chapters 30, 34, 35, and 40 are occupied with the subject of the Astras or magical weapons,

¹ At least in the Śaiva Siddhānta (Schomerus, loc. cit., p. 405), but undoubtedly also in the Pāñcarātra, though the wish of kaiṅkarya (above p. 58) is of course inconsistent with it.
that is, occult forces of nature, of an obstructive or destructive character, which can be set loose, directed, and withdrawn by those who know the spells connected with them.

Chapter 30 traces back the origin of the Astras to the creation of the world. Before creation the Lord, having nothing to play with (lilopakaranā), could find no satisfaction (na ratim lebhe). He, consequently, made Himself manifold (ātmānam bahu akalpayat) by creating Pradhāna and Puruṣa (primordial matter and the soul) and then from the former, with the help of his Sakti in the form of Time, the Mahat, the Ahaṃkāra, etc., down to the gross elements. Out of these He then formed the Cosmic Egg, and in the latter He created Prajāpati (the four-faced Brahmān) who, “looking at the Vedas, framed, as before, the manifold names and forms of the gods, etc.”. So “the Highest Lord, though all of His wishes are ever fulfilled, could experience, by means of the beings created by Himself, the flavour of playing (lilā-rasa)”. He discovered, however, that there was in His creation a tendency towards the bad which could be counterpoised only if He with a portion of Himself would become the protector of His creatures. So He created, as an instrument against the wicked (Daiteyas and Dānavas), His Sudarsana form, and, the

1 With the beginning of this chapter cf. chapter XLII and XXXVIII, 10 ill.
2 “For Him all of Whose wishes are fulfilled, creation, etc., can have no purpose” (P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 4) and is, therefore “play”.
3 So far the chapter is a paraphrase of some well-known Upaniṣad passages which belong to what the Viṣiṣṭādvaita calls ghataka-śrutayah or texts reconciling monism and pluralism in that they show that the world, that is, the “body of God” (cf. LII, 23, being a reproduction of Bhagavad Gītā XI, 7), was latent in Him before creation.
gods and kings being unable to use the latter, He produced from it the Astras or magical weapons. These, a little over a hundred⁴, are enumerated by name and in five groups according as they have sprung from the mouth, breast, thighs, feet, or "other limbs" of the Saudarsana Puruṣa. The first four classes constitute the Pravartaka (offensive, destructive), the fifth class the Nivartaka or Upasamhāra (defensive, obstructive) Astras. A definition of these two kinds is found in 36. 13-16 where the second are described as having the hands joined in supplication (sāñjalini), while the first are said to look as though they were to devour all the worlds (attun iṅgāseabhuvanāṇi).

Chapter 34 gives the spells enabling one to use the sixty-two Pravartaka Astras, Chapter 35 those for the fourty-three Nivartaka Astras. Here again, as may be expected, the occult alphabets are extensively used.

Chapter 35, towards the end (sl.92), raises the question as to whether the Astras have a material form (mūrti) or not. The answer is to the effect that they have, indeed, visible bodies of a dreadful appearance, more or less human-like, with a mouth studded with terrible teeth, rolling eyes, lightning-flashes instead of hairs, etc., and that they differ in colour, some being grey like ashes, others radiant as the sun, others again white, etc.; further that they carry their mighty weapons with arms resembling huge iron bars.

In continuation of this general description Chapter 40 describes individually each of the one hundred and two Astras by which here, however, the visible weapons

⁴ Chapter XL enumerates 102, but chapters XXXIV and XXXV mention apparently some more.
carried by the various Astra Puruṣas seem to be meant; for, the Sammohana Astra, for instance, is said to look like “a lotus with stalk”, the Madana Astra like a chowrie, the Saumanasa Astra like a cluster of roses, etc.

Chapter 41 contains the story of the first intervention of the Lord in order to fight evil. It is the Paurānic story of the two demons Madhu and Kaitabha who wrested the Vedas from Brahmān before he could make use of them for creating the world. Brahmān, in his distress, goes to “the other shore of the Sea of Milk” and addresses a hymn to the Lord¹ in answer to which the Lord appears to him and hears his complaint. By His mere thought of the two demons these are forced to appear before Him, yet still they refuse to return the Vedas. The enraged Lord now orders Viśvakṣena to kill them, but V., in spite of leading against them “all the Vaiṣṇavite armies” (sūrāḥ sena Vaiṣṇavikih), is unable to do so. Now the Lord Himself “in His discus-form” (cakranāpin), with sixty-two arms, wearing all His divine weapons, appears on the battle-field with the splendour of a thousand suns, and the armies of the demons, unable to bear the sight, are instantly destroyed, whereupon the Lord hurls His discus against the two evil-doers, decapitating both of them.

Chapter 36 teaches how the Sudarsana Yantra, the construction of which was explained in chapter 26, is to be worshipped. There are two aspects of this Yantra, namely the form aspect and the Mantra aspect, called respectively the prior constituent (pūrvāṅga) and the posterior constituent (aparāṅga), the former

¹ Giving Him the following epithets among others: svāttadhā- jñānavabhikṣṛṣap, visvāntaryāmin, svāttjadadakṣatī, Visvakṣenā- mukhiḥ sūṛibhiḥ sevyamāna, divyāṇandamaya-eyonna-nilaya.
consisting of figures (namely the Sudarsana Puruṣa surrounded by the twelve Sub-Vyūhas, etc.), and the latter of Mantras only in the place of the figures. The medita-
tion on the second form is for the teacher of Mantras, the Brāhmaṇa, only; the worship of the first is much recommended to kings and others desirous of material prosperity (sṛṇa) who, to ensure complete success, may build a special vimāna (kind of temple) for the purpose. The very preparation of the soil (karṣana) for such a building is a highly meritorious act.

The final part of the chapter (sl. 49 ff.) answers some doubts such as how Kesava, etc., being the Lord Himself, can be meditated upon as His retinue (parivāra).

Chapter 37 has two parts. The first part enjoins that in times of great danger, when the enemy is overrunning the country, the king shall construct and worship an image of the sixteen-armed Sudarsana, of whom a detailed description is given.

The second part (sl. 22 ff.) is devoted to the explanation of Nyāsa which is declared to be a third sādhanā (religious expedient) in addition to worship and Yoga. The word nyāsa (putting down, giving over, renouncing) is here understood in the sense of bhakti, the six constituents of which are enumerated, and which is defined thus: “Taking refuge (saranāgati) is the praying thought: I am a receptacle of sins, naught, helpless; do thou become my remedy (upāya)”, the Mantra to be employed being: “O Lord who art invincible through the all-conquering thousand spokes [of Thy discus], I am taking refuge in Thee.” The act of taking refuge implies all austerities, pilgrimages, sacrifices, and charities, because it means self-sacrifice, than which nothing is higher. The
devotee should meditate on God as a sacrifice (yajñavarūpa- dharam devam): His body being the altar, His mouth the Āhavaniya fire, His heart the Southern fire... the enemies of His devotees the sacrificial animals... His sixteen arms the priests... compassion His sacrificial gift, etc. Warning to the kings not to neglect the Sudarsana worship.

Chapter 38 deals with the origin and cure of diseases. In order to explain the former the author begins by describing (in five slokas) the dissolution of the world. 1 When Pralaya [and the Great Night] was over — the account continues — the Lord, in order to play, created the world once more: first (pūrvam) the "names and forms", then (punah) 2 Prakṛti consisting of the three Guṇas, called Māyā, with whom He began to enjoy Himself. "She, however, possessing a sakti (female energy) for each of the creatures 3 and giving them pleasure, made them eager to enjoy her, and so became (lit.: becomes) the cause of the obscuration of the [true nature of both the] individual and the highest soul." Owing to her influence man begins to identify himself (that is, his soul) with his body; then, having sons, etc., he forms the idea of the "mine"; this leads to love and hatred, and herewith the seeds (vāsanāḥ) have appeared, the fruits of which are inevitably a new life conditioned by the good or bad use made of the preceding one. The diseases, therefore, are nothing but the sprouting forth of the sins we have committed in former lives.

1 Indicating thus that the Kārmic chain (to which the diseases belong) has no absolute beginning.
2 The creation of "names and forms" here referred to as connected with primary creation is, of course, different from the one attributed to the god Brahmān.
3 That is, souls; bhūtani—puruṣāḥ.
There follow five magical recipes for curing (1) fever, (2) consumption, (3) urinary troubles, (4) dysentery, and (5) epilepsy. In the several cures the throwing of certain substances into the sacrificial fire, the use of vessels with Yantras etc. engraved on them, and presents to Brähmins play an important part, while practically no internal medicine is prescribed for the patient.

Chapter 39. Nārada wishes to know whether there is not one remedy for curing all diseases, destroying all enemies, and attaining whatever one might desire to attain. The answer is a description of the ceremony called Mahābhīṣeka "Great Baptism" which everybody can have performed, though it is specially recommended to kings and government officials. It should be executed in a temple or other sacred building, on even and purified ground, and commences with the drawing of the Māhendra circle and Saudarsana diagram, culminates in a fire sacrifice (homa) performed by eight Rtvijas (corresponding to the eight directions of space), and ends with the baptism by the chief priest who successively sprinkles the person concerned with sacred water from each of the nine pitchers employed. He who has gone through this ceremony, "will promptly attain whatever be in his mind".

Chapter 42, before relating the two stories to be summarized later, contains the following:

(1) Nārada inquires about the origin, devatā (presiding deity), etc., of the Āṅga Mantras described in chapter 19. Ahirbudhnya answers that he has extracted them from the Atharva Veda, and that their devatā is the Lord Himself in His Sudarsana form, their purpose the protecting of the body of the devotee, etc.
(2) How a king may recognize that divine weapons and black magic (ubhicāra) are being used against him, and how he may neutralize their influence. The symptoms (enumerated in ten stanzas) are among others: the sudden death of horses, elephants, and ministers; a violent disease attacking the king; poor crops; the appearance of snakes and white ants at the door of the palace or temple; the falling of meteors; frequent quarrels among the ministers; enigmatical conflagrations breaking out in the town; appearance to the king; in dreams, of his own figure showing a shaved head, clad in black, and driving to the south (the region of Death) on a car drawn by donkeys. The remedy is the construction of a picture or image of the Lord carrying the Nivartaka Astras, and the meditation on, or worship of, the same. Not only the king but also his ministers should do so. Then the Lord will at last be pleased and check by His Upasamhāra Astras the magic or the divine weapons threatening His devotee.

Chapters 43 and 44. On the power of the great Sudarsana Mantra, the root of all Mantras (44. 12), enabling one to cause to appear before oneself the Sudarsana Puruṣa in personā (with two arms, etc.), clad in a yellow robe, of dazzling splendour. Chapter 43 narrates how Āhirbudhnya, chapter 44 how Bṛhaspati, obtains this sight. The latter asking with surprise how He, being known as eight-armed in the world, can now stand before him in a human form, the Sudarsana Puruṣa declares that He has four forms (vyāha) showing respectively two, eight, sixteen, and sixty-two arms, and moreover a fifth form in which He appears as the All (vistvamayārūpa). At Bṛhaspati's
request He appears to him in the All-form and finally as eight-armed.

Chapter 46. Definition of the ideal Purohita. Preparations for, and description of, the Sudarsana Homa, a fire sacrifice to be performed for the king. At the end the latter, seated on a consecrated throne, is anointed.

Chapter 47. Description of the Mahāsānti Karman, a great ceremony to be employed by kings, which alone has the power to avert every evil and secure complete prosperity both in this world and the next. Of former kings who have performed it the following are mentioned: Ambariṣa, Śūka, Alaraka, Māndhātṛ, Purūravas, Rājoparicara, Dhundhu, Śibi, and Śrutakīrtana. In this ceremony the Astras divided into eight groups are worshipped with eight different materials and Mantras.

Chapters 33, 42, 45, 48, 49, and 50 contain “ancient stories” (purāvṛta itihāsa, 45.๑) intended to illustrate the effect of the divine weapons and of certain amulets or talismans.

Chapter 33. The Sudarsana is the Wheel of Time, the Highest Self the one who turns it and who appears as Brahmān, Viṣṇu, and Śiva at the times of creation, continuance, and dissolution of the world, as Buddha to the Baudhhas, as Jina to the Jainas, as the Yajña Puruṣa to the Mīmāṃsakas, and as the Puruṣa to the Kāpilas, but preferably in His discus form (cakrārūpadhāra) and always so when He wants to protect some devotee and to check his enemies, to illustrate which the story of Maṇi-sekhaṇa is narrated. There reigned in the town

๑ God in His All-form is called in the Gītā “thousand-armed”, while He usually appears, according to that source (XI, 46), in His four-armed shape. It is noteworthy that, instead of the latter, we have above the eight-armed shape.
of Naicāsākha a king called Pramaganda. His son Durdharṣa, a Rājarsī and Cakravartin (royal sage and emperor), had by his principal wife Vatsalā a son called Maṇiṣekhara who married Prācī, ascended the throne when his father retired to the forest, and had born to him through Prācī seven sons. At that time the demon Vikaṭākṣa and his numerous descendants had become the plague of the country, and Vikaṭākṣa having obtained from Brahmān the boon of invincibility, nothing was left to the king but to apply for help to the Lord Himself. So, in order to learn how to approach the latter, Maṇiṣekhara went, on the advice of his Purobhita, to the sage Durvasas, and, directed by the latter, to Śālagrāma on the Sarasvatī (the holiness of which place is brought into connection with the Vārāha Avatāra and described at length in sl. 78 to 86). Here he worships the Lord for one month with orcanā, japā, and dhyāna, after which He appears to him, eight-armed, etc., and emits out of His breast the Aindra Cakra (being the Astra described in 40. 23-24): first one, then ten, then a hundred, etc., filling all space and killing the asuras.

Chapter 42, after having described the symptoms betraying the approach of hostile magic (see above p. 131), tells two stories illustrating how the latter may be counteracted.

Story of Kāṣirāja (sl. 35 fl.). Kāṣirāja, a worshipper of Mahādeva, calls into existence, with the help of his god, a kṛtyā or magical formation, which he

1 These two names are also mentioned by Śāyaṇa in the preface to his Ṛgveda Bhaṣya, ed. Max Müller, vol. I, p. 4, where also the country is mentioned in which the town was situated, namely, Kiṭaka (probably a part of South Bihār).

2 There is a Kāṣirāja among the kings of the Lunar Dynasty.
sends out to destroy Dvārakā and Kṛṣna. The latter (Bhagavat), seeing the kṛtyā approaching, emits the Sudarsana against it, whereupon the “frightened” kṛtyā hurries back to its master and perishes with him and his town by the Sudarsana which, after having done its work, returns to the Lord.

**Story of Srutaśirtri (sl. 40 A.).** Srutaśirtri, king of the Saurāśtras, reigning in Bhadrasālā, “devoted to the great Sudarsana Mantra, highly virtuous”, was not satisfied with ruling the seven continents but wished to conquer also “another world”. He, consequently, having worshipped the Sudarsana, entered his gorgeous aërial chariot, and, “accompanied by his army”, set out to conquer Svastikā, the capital of the Gandharvas, ruled by king Viṇāvinodana. The latter, amused, sends out his army of Siddhas and Gandharvas, but they are beaten. The Gandharva king then appears himself in the battle, but Srutaśirtri defeats him in a ferocious single combat, and the Gandharva army is completely beaten a second time. Then the Gandharva king, in his despair, employs the Gandharva Astra (being the thirty-fourth of the Pravartaka Astras) which spreads confusion among the enemy, though it cannot reach Srutaśirtri himself who is protected by the Sudarsana. The battle having thus come to a standstill, Srutaśirtri is instructed by his priest in the meditation on the great Wheel having sixty-four spokes and in its centre the God, sixty-two armed and carrying the Samhāra Astras ¹; and he learns from him also the Mantras for all the Astras of the two classes. He then returns to the battle, and meditating, with his eyes fixed on his army, in the manner indicated

¹ *Sic*, though according to chapter 34 sixty-two is the number of the Pravartaka Astras.
and muttering at the same time the appropriate Mātrras, he easily achieves, through the divine weapons now at his disposal, a definite victory. The chapter ends by describing how the king, in order to secure his Liberation, constructs a magnificent temple (vimāna) containing "in the midst of a beautiful wheel the sixty-two-armed [God] with the Nivartaka Astras", and how he appoints for the temple, and loads with presents, one hundred and twenty Brāhmmins.

Chapter 45 relates the story of Kusadhvaja, intended to show that through the power of the Sudarsana even a prārabdha-karma can be annihiliated. Kusadhvaja, the high-souled king of the Janakas, feels possessed by a devil (mahā-moha) causing failure of memory and other ills. His Guru tells him that this is due to his having once, in a former life, murdered a righteous king, and recommends him to build a sumptuous temple in order to obtain the grace of the Sudarsana. The king follows the advice, and the Guru performs in the temple a propitiatory ceremony lasting ten days, after which the king is cured.

Chapters 48 to 50 contain five stories intended to show that for those who cannot perform these great ceremonies, the following five talismans, each of which bears the Sudarsana Mahāyantra inscribed on it, may on particular occasions become useful, to wit: (1) the "seat", (2) the "finger-ring", (3) the "mirror", (4) the "banner", and (5) the "awning".

(1) Story of Muktapīḍa or Hārāpīḍa, son of Susravas. He is so much addicted to sensual pleasures that, owing to them, he neglects his empire which is, consequently, harassed by the Dasyuṣ. The Purohita, asked by the ministers for his advice, constructs
a seat (viṣṭara, āsana) furnished with a Yantra, and causes the “amorous king” to sit down on it. Then he induces him to arrange for Veda recitation, music, and dance, and to go himself, for the time of one month, through certain meditations and ceremonies, eating only food that is seven times consecrated. The final effect of this is that all the enemies of the country die through disease or the sword, and the king has again a “thornless” empire. Incidentally are mentioned various methods for producing rain.

(2) Story of Visāla, a righteous king reigning at Visāla (Vaisālī). His wife receives the news, through a voice from heaven, that her son will die within four days. The king, having gone to the hermitage of the sage Pulaha, is advised by the latter to wear a finger-ring (aṅguliya) bearing the Sudarsana, which would ward off death. He does so; the servants of Yama arrive and take to flight, frightened by the divine Astras coming forth from the felly of the Wheel. Great astonishment of the gods at the death-conquering power of the Sudarsana.

(3) Story of Sunanda (48. aśū). There reigned, at Śrīgārapura, a king called Sunanda who had a son called Sumati. Once the latter, having gone out hunting, meets in a forest a very beautiful Naga girl who enchants him and takes him with her to the Nāga world. There she delivers him to Anaṅgamaṅjari, the daughter of the Nāga king Vāsuki, who makes him her

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1 And other things which are still less likely to be the teaching of a Purohita to his king, such as the important disclosure that, in order to obtain a garment of a certain colour, a flower (or flowers) of that colour should be sacrificed (XLVIII, 39). There is undoubtedly a large interpolation here from some other text, and probably between sl. 16 and 17 one or several slokas have disappeared.
husband. Happy beyond measure owing to his intercourse with the princess he forgets his whole past. King Sunanda, after having had a vain search made for him everywhere, ceases, out of grief, to take food. Then his Purohita goes to the hermitage of his teacher Kanva on the bank of the Tamasā and reports to him what has happened. Kanva, having entered into a trance, "sees" the "story of the boy" which is as follows: After futile attempts at finding in the Nāga world a husband worthy of the beautiful Anaṅgamañjari, the Nāga girls began to look out for one on earth, and so discovered Sumati in the forest in which he was hunting. One of the girls, called Ramā, specially proficient in witchcraft (māga-visārudā), succeeded in enticing him to the Nāga world, where he was now living unaware of his past, as the husband of the charming daughter of king Vāsuki. There was one means of bringing him back, namely the great Sudarsana diagram inscribed with golden letters on a mirror (darpana). With this message the Purohita returns to his king. The latter, delighted, has the magical mirror at once constructed and, with its help, enters the nether regions and arrives at Bhogavati, the capital of the Nāgas. He finds his son and abducts him together with his wife and female servants; he is, however, overtaken by Vāsuki and his army of Nāgas. In the ensuing battle the Nāgas are conquered by the Prasvāpana and Āgneya Astras (the sixty-first and twenty-first of the Pravartaka Astras) coming forth from the magical mirror, the former causing the Nāgas to sleep, and the latter setting fire to their town. Now Vāsuki asks for peace, offering precious jewels and a thousand Nāga girls, whereupon Sunanda withdraws the Astras and returns to his capital.
(4) Story of Citrasekhara (49. 1 ff.). There was, on the bank of the Sarasvati, a beautiful town called Bhadravati, ruled by a king called Citrasekhara. The father of the latter had once, using an aerial chariot presented to him by Indra, attacked and killed a Dānava called Saṅkukarna, owing to which deed the son of Saṅkukarna, called Amarsana, was incessantly harassing Citrasekhara and his town. When the two armies had met for the seventeenth time before Bhadravati and returned home again after a drawn battle, Citrasekhara made up his mind to apply for divine help and set out in his aerial chariot for the Kailāsa. While he is driving over the mountains, his chariot suddenly stops short on the peak of the Mandara. He alights, and, after having walked for a while, meets, on the bank of a tank, Kubera, the god of riches, who tells him that this is the place where Mahālakṣmi is living, to worship whom he had come here; and that, as it was due to her that his chariot had stopped, he should therefore apply to her. Hereupon Kubera disappears, but sends a Guhyaka who offers his services to the king and proposes that they should spend the night on the spot, which they do. Then in the morning, the Guhyaka takes the king to the palace of Mahālakṣmi. The king then sings a beautiful hymn to Mahālakṣmi, who is pleased and gives him a banner showing the Sudarsana diagram (yantrita dhvaja). The king then returns to his capital and conquers, by means of the banner, the army of the Asuras.

(5) Story of Kirtimālin (50. 1 ff.). Kirtimālin, the son of king Bhadrasrīnga at Visalā, was a great hero. Once, during the night, when he was taking a walk outside the town, he saw a Brāhmaṇa sitting under a Śamī tree, absorbed in Yoga and shining like fire. He
asks him who he is, but receives no answer. He repeats his question several times and at last, his patience giving way, tries to attack him, with the result, however, that he grows stiff, unable to move (ṣabdaḥa-ceṣṭa). He solicits and obtains the pardon of the Yogin, who now tells him that, travelling to Sālagrāma, he had been overtaken by night and had remained outside the town because the gates were closed. The king takes him into the town, and the next morning, when he is about to start again, asks him for some useful teaching. The Yogin then imparts to the king the Saudarsana Mahāmantra together with the Aṅga Mantra, Dhyāna, etc., belonging to it. He declines the liberal daksinā offered to him, asking that it be given to the Brāhmīns, and takes leave. — Everything on earth being subject to the king, he resolves to conquer the gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, and Nāgas. He begins by marching against the Nāgas and conquers these by means of the Gāruḍa Astra¹, forcing them to promise a tribute of jewels, etc. He then turns against the Daityas, the Yakṣas, the Gandharvas, the Siddhas, and finally the Vidyādharas, and, having conquered all of these, returns to his residence. Missing in his retinue the Devas, he sends, through the Gandharva Manojava, a message to Indra to send him immediately his elephant Airāvata, his thunderbolt, the Kalpa tree, and eight Apsarases. Indra laughs and answers through the messenger that he would now send the thunderbolt and the elephant only; that the king should come with these and see him; that then he would give him the other things too. The elephant with the thunderbolt enters,

¹ Which appears to be missing among the Astras enumerated in chapters 34, 35, and 40.
without being seen, the town of the king, and silently begins to destroy his army. The king, unable to recognize the cause of the growing disaster, is at first alarmed, but then, informed by Manojava, who has meanwhile returned, he employs the Vāraṇa Astra causing the elephant to become motionless. On learning the news from some of his retinue, Indra becomes angry beyond measure, and, by his order, the army of the gods “like the gaping ocean at the time of Pralaya” sets out for Visālā. A terrible battle begins to rage and to turn in favour of the gods. Their ranks are not shaken even when the king employs the divine Astras (“Āgneya, etc.”); for Indra has “counter-weapons” (pratyāstra) neutralizing their effect. But then, the situation becoming desperate, the king suddenly remembers the Yogin’s instruction concerning a chariot with a magical awning (vitānut), has the latter made, and returns with it into the battle. Now an amazing change takes place: the Viṣṇu Cakra sent forth by the king from his chariot causes all the Devas to fall on the ground, from which they are unable to rise again, having become motionless; whereas all the divine missiles cast by Indra, Astras as well as Sastras, simply disappear into the Viṣṇu Cakra “like moths [disappearing] into the fire”, “like streams [disappearing] into the ocean. At last the raging Indra hurls his thunderbolt at Kīrtimālin; but even the thunderbolt is absorbed by the Viṣṇu Cakra. The highly astonished Indra now approaches the king’s chariot; and Kīrtimālin, having respectfully risen before

1 No. 65 in chapter XL; probably the same as no. 38 of the Śaṃhāra Astras.
2 The fifth of the Pravartaka Astras (XXXIV, 14-16).
the king of the gods and saluted him with friendly words, explains to him his invincibility, whereupon the two part as friends.

Chapters 51 to 59 explain Vaisnавite Mantras, some of which are described from three standpoints: the “gross”, the “subtle”, and the “highest”. Incidentally many items are mentioned which throw light on certain philosophical and ethical doctrines such as those of the Vyūhas, of Bhakti, etc. These chapters being too technical to admit of a summary like the preceding ones, we have to confine ourselves to calling attention to some characteristic passages.

The first Mantra explained is the Tāra or Tāraka Mantra, that is, the sacred syllable ŌM. In its “gross sense” it simply consists of the letters ō and m, meaning respectively ōtā and mitā, and thus representing the sentence: “Everything (sārvam) limited (mitam) is threaded (ōtam) on Him (asmin).” In its “subtle sense” it is composed of the letters a, u, m denoting respectively: (1) the waking state and gross universe with Aniruddha as their protector; (2) the dream-consciousness and subtle universe superintended by Pradyumna; (3) the suṣupti state and corresponding universe with Śaṅkaraśāna as their guardian-deity; then (4) the echo of the m (ardhamātrā) representing Vāsudeva (the turiya); further (5) the last lingering of the nasal sound, which is the undifferentiated Śakti of the Lord as the “fifth stage”; and finally, (6) the silence observed after the pronunciation of the syllable, which is Viṣṇu as the Highest Brāhmaṇ.1 In its “highest sense” it means the belonging together

1 Cf. Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad 4; also above p. 52, note 3, and p. 53.
(expressed by the letter \( m \)) of (1) \( a \), that is, Viṣṇu possessed of the active Śakti and (2) \( u \), that is, Viṣṇu possessed of the inactive Śakti, namely, during the cosmic night. ŌM in its "subtle sense" is said to further denote: Brahmān, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Avyakta of the Paurāṇikas; the Sādākhya, Aisvarya, Sadvidyā, and Śiva of the Pāsupatas\(^1\); and Vyakta, Avyakta, Purusa, and Kāla of the Śāmkhyas.

Another instructive example of this sort of linguistic occultism is the explanation (52. 2-33) of the word \( nāmās \) ("respectful obeisance, bow", etc.) occurring in ŌM \( nāmo Viṣṇuve \) and many other Mantras. In the "gross sense" the word is declared to mean \( prapatti \) or self-surrender, the six constituents and obstacles of which are here explained at some length (sl. 14-24). In the "subtle sense" the word is regarded as consisting of the three constituents \( na \), \( ma \), and \( s \), which together represent the sentence: "No (\( na \)) selfish regard (\( māmya \)) for one's self and one's own (\( svayam svāye ca \))", namely the famous Śāmkhya formula \( nāsmi na me nāham \(^2\)\), if properly understood (sl. 28). The "highest sense", finally, is explained by means of the Mantra key (17. 21, 24, 11) in the following way: \( na \) signifies "path", \( ma \) "chief", and the Visarga "Highest Lord", the combination of the three meaning that the chief path for attaining God is the one called reverential obeisance (\( nāmana \)).

The "gross sense" of \( Viṣṇuve Nārāyaṇāya \), etc., in the Mantras containing these words is discovered in the dative relation (self-surrender to God), for which reason, here and often elsewhere, the "gross sense" is called

\(^1\) LI, 41. We take it that \( sāmākhyā \) is a corruption of \( sadākhya \).

\(^2\) Śāmkhya Kārika 64. The formula is also Buddhistic; see my "On the Problem of Nirvāṇa," in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society for 1905, p. 157.
the meaning deducible from the case-relation or connection with the verb (kriyā-kāraka-sanśarga-labhya, etc.). Similarly, the "subtle sense", in that it is derived from the crude or uninflected form of the noun, is called the meaning derivable from the uninflected base (prātipādikā-stha) and the like.

No less than three chapters (54 to 56) are exclusively devoted to the explanation of the renowned Nārasimhānusṭubha Mantra¹. The "subtle sense" is here explained in five different ways, namely, from the standpoint of each of the five recognized systems (cf. chapter 12), while the "gross sense" (explained in chapter 54) is supposed to be the same for all of these, and the "highest sense" (explained in 55. 84 fl. and 56) is peculiar to the Pāṇcarātra. In the explanation of the "highest sense" all of the thirty-nine Avatāras are enumerated, Padmanābha being identified with the letter j of the word jvalantam, Kāntatman with the v, Ekāmbhoniḍhisūyin with the a, etc.; then Piṣuṣaharana with the letter s of sarvato (the word following jvalantam), and so on.

The fifty-ninth chapter gives, in slokas 2 to 39, an explanation of the first five stanzas of the famous Puruṣa Śūkta. This section is particularly interesting because of the use made in it of the Vyūha theory. The first stanza, so we learn, refers to Vāsudeva whose connection with Lakṣmī, the Puruṣas, and Prakṛti respectively is expressed by the three epithets sahas-rasārṣa, etc., while by "earth" (bhūmi) the Bhūmi Śakti as the material cause of the world is meant, the fourth quarter of the stanza, finally, indicating

¹The same which is the subject of the Nṛsiṃhapūrvvatāpaniya Upaniṣad.
the infinity of the cause as compared with its products. The second stanza refers to Saṃkarsaṇa; for he is the Lord of Immortality or the one with whose help the soul through “food” (anna), that is, the material universe, reaches Liberation. The third stanza, after praising the greatness of Saṃkarsaṇa, states that Pradyumna’s service is still greater (from the worldly standpoint?) because he is the creator of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. In the fourth stanza the “one quarter” of God which alone has become this world is naturally identified with Aniruddha, the Inner Ruler (antarāyāmin) of all beings who pervades both “that which has food (=experience of pleasure and pain) and that which has no food”, namely the animate and the inanimate nature. After this, the strange saying of the fifth stanza, that from the Puruṣa has sprung the Virāj, and from the Virāj the Puruṣa, is no longer enigmatic: the first Puruṣa is of course Aniruddha, and the second Puruṣa the god Brahmān, the Virāj being the Parā Vidyā or Highest Prakṛti, that is, the matter (in the form of an Egg) out of which the god Brahmān is created.

The above interpretation of the Puruṣa Sūkta being probably connected with the origin of the theory of the Vyūhas, a word on the latter may not be amiss here. The original worship, proved by archæology and the Buddhist scripture, of only Vāsudeva and Baladeva—Saṃkarsaṇa can signify nothing else, in our opinion, than that by the original Pañcarātrins Kṛṣṇa was worshipped as the transcendent Highest God, and his brother, the “God of Strength”, as His immanent aspect appearing as the world, this dogma of the double aspect of God being simply the

1 Cf. above p. 81
Pāṇcarātra solution of the old, old Indian problem of a God becoming the world without sharing its imperfections. Afterwards, when this original, non-Brāhmaṇic Pāṇcarātra was to be brought into agreement with the Veda and the famous saying of the Puruṣa Sūkta (fourth stanza) about the four quarters of God, one of which only had become the world, two more members of the family of Kṛṣṇa, namely his son and grandson, were deified, that is, made aspects of God, the grandson naturally taking the place formerly occupied by the brother. And with this identification the parallelism of the Vyūhas with the other well-known tetrads (states of consciousness, constituents of the syllable OM, etc.) was of course also established.

Chapter 59, towards the end (sl. 54 fl.), gives a résumé of “this Samhitā of the Pāṇcarātra, the divine one comprehending Śāmkhya and Yoga, etc., the very secret one”, “the highest science corroborating all Upaniṣads”, and warns against imparting it to anyone except a true devotee of Vāsudeva.

1 The non-Brāhmaṇic origin of the system has been emphasized by Prof. Garbe in the introduction to his Gitā translation and elsewhere.

2 Nothing about the origin of the Vyūha theory can be gained from the Upaniṣads, it being referred to only in a few of the latest, to wit Madgala, Tripādviḥbūtimahānārāyaṇa, and Gopālottaratāpinī. Madgala speaks of Aniruddha as the Pāda Nārāyaṇa and mentions one Puruṣa Samhitā containing a succinct explanation of the Puruṣa Sūkta. Tripādviḥbūti is the only Upaniṣad which looks like a Pāṇcarātra treatise. Gopālottaratāpinī (10 fl.) identifies Saṃkarśaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and Kṛṣṇa (in this order) with the Viśva, Taijas, Prājñā, and Turīya, and with the a, u, m, and arthamātrā. In the Upaniṣads, generally speaking, the Pāṇcarātra is as unknown as should be expected of a system of non-Brāhmaṇic origin.

3 Literally: commensurate with (saṃmītā).

4 Or, if the compound (sārva-vedānta-bṛhmaṇi) is a Bahuvrihi: “containing the sweets of all the Upaniṣads”, or the like.
Chapter 60 consists of another résumé of the Sāṁhitā, another praise of it, and another warning not to betray its contents to an unworthy person. The following phrases are remarkable: “In which [Sāṁhitā] the statute (vidhi) of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga is thought out in its totality” (17), and: “This teaching of Ahrirbudhnyā called the Essence of Philosophy (tāntra-sāra)” (20); further the statement (24) that the Sāṁhitā is allowed to be imparted only to members of the three higher castes.

The existence of the Parisiśṭa (Supplement) seems to prove that our Sāṁhitā was at one time a much studied work. This Parisiśṭa, opening in the form of a dialogue between Nārada and Vyāsa, calls itself the “Hymn of the thousand names of the holy Sudarsana”. It enumerates, however, after some instructions about the Mantra of the hymn, etc., only five hundred and sixty such names arranged in groups according to the consonant of the alphabet with which they begin. The names beginning with a vowel, such as Unmesa and Udyama mentioned in 12. sā of the Sāṁhitā, are missing in both the MSS. available. The Pāṇḍit, who attaches great importance to this little work, is probably right in stating (in his second footnote) that its publication, though forbidden, is not likely to do more harm than that of the Sāṁhitā itself.
APPENDICES
APPENDICES

(Three extracts from Sāttvata Samhitā)

I. THE DIVINE TWENTY-FOUR-FOLED MACHINERY
OF EXISTENCE

The ninth chapter of Sāttvata Samhitā, after having enumerated the thirty-nine Vibhavas, twelve Saktis, and principal "bodily ornaments" (divine ornaments and weapons), continues:

vakṣye bhāvopakaraṇam gīrvaṁgauṇam uttamam
nānāvibhavamūrtimāṁ yo'vatiṣṭhate sāsane ॥ (90)

and then gives the following extraordinary list (sl. 91-94):

1. Time (kālaḥ);
2. Space (viyat);
3. Regulator (niyantā);
4. The Sāstra with Āṅgas; ¹
5. The Vidyādhipatis;
6. The Rudras; ²
7. The Prajāpatis;
8. Indra and his retinue; ¹¹
9. The seven sages of old; ³
10. The planets and fixed stars;
11. The Vidyādharas; ⁴
12. The Nāgas;
13. The Apsarases;
14. The plants;
15. The animals;
16. The sacrifices with Āṅgas;

¹ Sāstraṁ nānāṅgālakṣaṇam, by which must be meant the Trayi including Dharmasāstra, Purāṇa etc. (see above p. 110), and possibly the "Vedāntas" (Upaṇiṣads), but not the [non-Vedantic] philosophical systems, these being referred to by nos. 17 and 18.
² Samudrāḥ saganāh śivāḥ. This passage appears to be corrupt, though sāmadra is, indeed, among the epithets of Śiva.
³ Munayah supta pūrve; cf. Bhag. Gītā X, 6 (and above p. 61, no. 2).
⁴ Jīmūtāḥ "clouds", i.e. atmospheric gods; cf. nabhoścaraḥ, khecarāḥ, and the names of their klugs (Jīmūta-vāhana,-ketu) in Nāgānanda.
17. [Higher] Knowledge
   (vidyā);
18. Inferior Knowledge
   (aparā vidyā)¹;
19. Fire;
20. Wind (air);
21. The moon;
22. The sun;
23. Water;
24. Earth.

Then follow the concluding words:

   ity uktam amaleksanā
caturvimśatisamkhyaṁ ca bha(ū)vopakaranam mahat

The non-inclusion, in this list, of men and Asuras, Pisācas, etc., is explained by the word gīrvāṇagāṇam in sl. 90 quoted above. For plants as devatās cf. Buddhism. The inclusion of animals, however, is strange. It is also noteworthy that the Gandharvas are evidently included in Indra's retinue, while the Apsaras are not.

II. Four Kinds of Worship

Sāttvata Samhitā 2, 2.12 ²

“Saṃkarsanā said: Tell me concisely, O Eternal One, in what manner worship (upāsā) is enjoined on the worshippers devoted [to the Lord].

The holy Lord said: Listen! I will duly explain to thee that which thou hast asked me, having known which one may be freed from re-birth.

That pure Brāhmaṇ (saud brahma) abiding in the heart which was the goal (ideal) of those [Siddhas] who held their [respective] offices at the beginning of crea-

¹ Here we have once more the two Sciences mentioned above p. 97.
² A very different (premature) translation of most of this passage has been given by Bhandarkar in his Vaiṣṇavism, etc., pp. 30 ff.
tion\(^1\), worshipping the [great light] called Vāsudeva\(^2\): from It has sprung a supreme Śāstra expressive of Its nature (tād̄yak), bestowing discrimination, a great theosophy (brahmāpaniśadam mahat) containing the divine path (dīvya-mārga) and aiming at Liberation as the one [desirable] fruit [to be attained]. I will impart to thee, for the salvation of the world, that original [Śāstra] existing in many varieties, bestowing perfection (or: magical powers) and Liberation, the pure one, mysterious one, leading to great success.

(1) The Yogins familiar with the eightfold Yoga, satisfied with the worship of the heart: they [alone] are authorized for [the worship of] the One dwelling in the heart\(^3\).

(2) On the other hand, the Brāhmaṇas fond of mixed worship and extolling the Vedas\(^4\) are authorized for the worship, with Mantras, of the four Vyuhas. [They should] not [worship the Lord] in any other way.

(3) Again, [those of] the three [other castes, namely the] Kṣatriyas, etc., who have sincerely taken refuge with the Lord, should also, but not with Mantras\(^5\), perform the several rites connected with the worship of the four Vyuhas.

\(^1\) Literally either “since creation” or “till creation”. In the latter case the meaning would be: until creation, properly speaking, began (begins) by the appearing of the Rajo Guṇa, that is the activity of god Brahmān. Aṣṭer adhikāriṇaḥ is an epithet of the ideal first men also in Ahibb. S. (XV, 11),

\(^2\) Cf. above p. 52 n. 3: Vāsudevāh vārayam mahāḥ, etc.

\(^3\) This worship, connected with the diagram of sounds (varṇa-cakra), the six Attributes of God, etc., is described from sl. 13 to the end of the chapter.

\(^4\) For muktānam read yuktānam.

\(^5\) Cf. above p. 97 no. 2.

\(^6\) Cf. our résumé of Ahibb. S. XXXVI, above p. 127.
(4) But for [the worship of] the Mantra diagram relating to the [thirty-nine] Vibhavas and for the ceremonies connected therewith none are authorized but the [truly] seeing ones, who have completely cast off the idea of the mine, are satisfied with doing their duty and wholly devoted, in deed, speech, and mind, to the Highest Lord.

Thus much about the authorization of [those of] the four castes who have embraced the [Sāttvata] religion, supposing they have been duly initiated with the Mantras prescribed."

III. Description of the Four Vyūhas, for the Purpose of Meditation

Sāttvata Saṃhitā 5, 9.21

"Now, the first form of the Lord is as beautiful [as to complexion] as [are] the snow, the jasmin, and the moon [united]. It has four arms, a gentle face, and lotus-like eyes. It has a garment of

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1 Explained in chapter IX of the Saṃhitā, some later chapters being apparently also referred to. In Ahibh. S. the vaibhavam devatā-cakram described in chapter LV I should be compared.

2 This fourth class, then, consists of those Brāhmaṇas, among the Pañcarātrins, who have abandoned mixed, that is Vedic, worship, and, on the other hand, prefer the path of devotion to that of Yoga (compatible with Vedic worship, above p. 117). They are of course, also qualified for Vyūha worship.

3 This passage being badly preserved in the edition, I have had, several times, to follow its (slightly modified?) reproduction in Lakṣmī Tantra (X, 27 ff.). Lakṣmī Tantra actually mentions Sāttvata Saṃhitā in XI, 28.

4 That is: in the Kṛta age, in the next age (when the Rāja Guṇa appears) it changes gradually into red, then, in the Dvāpara age, into yellow, and finally, in the Kali age, into black, an analogous change taking place as to the other Vyūhas both as regards their complexion and the colour of their garment.
yellow silk and is glorified by a golden ensign. With its chief (frontal) right hand it announces peace to the timid, while with the corresponding left hand it is holding a wonderful conch. With the other right hand it is holding the Sudarsana, and with the other left a heavy club resting on the ground. Let him imagine a thus-formed Vásudeva [dwelling] in the eastern direction.

Having the [beautiful red] appearance of the Sindūra tree and the Śikhara, one-faced and four-armed, with a garment resembling the [blue] flower of the Atasi (flax-plant), distinguished by a palmyra tree [as his ensign]; equal to the first Lord as regards his frontal pair of hands, but holding a plough-share in the hand in which the other has the discus, and a pestle where the other has a club: on a thus-like Saṁkarṣaṇa [dwelling] in the southern direction let [the devotee] meditate.

[Let him further meditate on] the third Highest Lord, of the splendour of a multitude of fire-flies assembled in a night of the rainy season, one-faced and four-armed, wearing a garment of red silk, adorned with his ensign (banner) showing the Makara (sea-elephant).

This is, of course, the eagle ensign (garuḍa-dhveja). It most apparently be imagined as being carried by some one of the Lord’s retinue (a Nitya); cf. below the note on Pradyumna’s banner.

Or Śikhara, the compound (śindūrasikharākūra) admitting of both readings, which mean respectively a kind of ruby and a species of the hemp-plant. Śindūrasikhara may be also translated: “the crown of a Sindūra tree”.

When Śiva is called ṭāḷāka, the word ṭāḷa means a cymbal (cf. his domaru). But Saṁkarṣaṇa’s ṭāḷa is a dhveja, as can be seen from the parallelism in the description of the Vyūhas, not to speak of other reasons. If Hindu sculptors represent Balarāma with a cymbal (?), this would seem to be a case of sculpture influenced by literature misunderstood. The palm banner is nothing extraordinary; Bhīma, for instance, is said to have had one.

Compare the same banner (ensign) carried by an Apsaras in the description of Pradyumna’s earthly namesake (Cupid).
His frontal pair of hands should be imagined as before; in the remaining left hand there is a bow, while in the right there are five arrows. In this manner let him imagine [as dwelling] in the western direction him who is known as Pradyumna.¹

[Let him, finally, meditate on him who resembles [as to complexion] the [deep blackness of the] Aūjana mountain, wears a fine white garment, is four-armed, large-eyed, and glorified by the deer² as his ensign. His first pair of hands is described like that of the first [Lord]; with the two others he is carrying: in the right hand a sword, and in the left one a shield (or club). In this way let [the devotee] meditate on Aniruddha [dwelling] in the northern direction.

All of these [four] wear³ the garland of wood-flowers, are distinguished with the Śrivatsa (Visṇu’s curl of hair on the breast), and are embellished with the king of jewels, the Kaustubha, on their breast, [further] with lovely diadems and crowns, necklaces, armlets and anklets, bright marks (made with sandal-wood, etc.) on the forehead, glittering ear-rings in the shape of a Makara (sea-elephant), excellent chaplets of manifold flowers, and with camphor and other delicious perfumes. As adorned with all of these: thus should they always be meditated upon.”

¹ This, as will have been noticed, is essentially a description of Kāma, the Indian Amor, as, indeed, Pradyumna is also the name of Kāma re-born after his destruction by Śiva; cf. above p. 45.

² The mṛga (deer, antelope) is also the lāṇchana of one of the Jain Tirthaṅkaras (Śānti), all of whom can be seen represented, with their respective emblems added above (or below) them, just like labels attached to portraits, on the wall of one of the cave temples of Bhubanesvara (Orissa).

³ For the first three items cf. above p. 52.
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

p. 3, last line: for "the press" read "preparation".

p. 6, II.: Three more Saṃhitās may still be extant in addition to those marked as such in our Synopsis, namely the following, of which a MS. was seen, a few years ago, by one of the then pandits of the Adyar Library, in a village of the Arcot District, to wit: Gārgya S., Vārāha S. and Paṭalam, and Dattātreya S.

p. 14, II. 11/12 from bottom: "Nāradiya section". The usual name of this section containing the story of Nārada’s visit to Svetadvipa is Nārāyaṇiya.

pp. 14 ff. (chronology of the Saṃhitās) and 97 ff. (age of Āhirbudhnya Saṃhitā). Having just now received the J. R. A. S. for January 1916, containing A. A. Macdonell’s important article on The Development of Early Hindu Iconography, we may say with regard to the latter that, although undoubtedly iconography will have to play a part in the establishment of the chronology of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, it does not seem that at present much can be gained from it for the older part of that literature. For, though only “from the eighth century onwards Viṣṇu appears with eight arms” (loc. cit. p. 126), the iconographical material so far available from the earlier centuries is evidently far too scanty to prove that Viṣṇu was not represented as eight-armed, etc. (in addition to the four-armed form), long before that time. The following statement (p. 127) on the four-armed Vāsudeva is noteworthy, because it agrees with the date fixed on other grounds by Prof. Garbe for the later parts of the Bhagavad-Gītā (of which particularly XI, 46 should be compared): “The second half of the first century A. D. may therefore be regarded as the period when the Hindu gods began to be represented with four arms.”

p. 16, II. 8/7 from bottom: to “about the time of Śaṅkara,” the following foot-note should now be added: “We are thinking of the date which has so far had the consensus of most scholars (788-825). The attempt made quite recently, namely by S. V. Venkateswara in the J. R. A. S. 1916, pp. 151 ff., to demonstrate that Śaṅkara’s life-time was 805-897, has not convinced us,

p. 16, I. 12 from bottom: for “teacher” read “teacher’s teacher”.

p. 17, I. 10: after “Upendra Saṃhitā” insert “(no. 211)”.

p. 18, I. 18: for “Pāñcarātra” read “Pāñcarātra”.

p. 18, I. 9 from bottom: read “(see above p. 4)”.

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p. 24., l. 5: for vaiśeṣika read vaiṣayika, and add a footnote: "This is strange and suggests the idea that an original "vaiśeṣika" has been misunderstood by the author; cf. the sixth topic of the Sāttvata system below, p. 112."

"27, note 1, add before last sentence: Yatindramata Dipikā, a later work of uncertain date, contains much modern material unknown to the Pañcarātra.

"32, l. 6 from bottom: for "teacher" read "teacher's teacher".

p. 32 fl.: Is it a mere coincidence that in Zoroastrianism also God has six attributes? It is true that the two sets have apparently not much in common, still: might not the monotheism of the Pañcarātrins, which evidently originated in the north-west of India, have made some external borrowings from the great religion of Iran? A similar question seems to arise with regard to the "sun-beams" and "moon-beams", into which the vowels are divided (p. 119), and the "sun-letters" and "moon-letters" of Arabic grammar, but here we find it hard to believe in any borrowing except from some common source.

"41, middle, insert the following paragraph:

An attempt at combining the several activities of the Vyūhas has been made by the author of Tattvātaya (ed. pp. 125 fl.) in the following aphorisms (which contain, indeed, all that the book has to say on the Vyūhas):

"Of them (the Vyūhas) Śaṃkaraṇa, connected with [the Attributes called] jñāna and bala, having become the superintendent of the principle [called] soul (jīva), severs it from Prakṛti, and then, having assumed the state of Pradyumna, effects the appearing [and progress] of the Śāstra and [finally] the withdrawal of the world.

Pradyumna, connected with aiśvarya and vīrya, having become the superintendent of the principle [called] mind (manas), carries out the teaching of religion and the creation of the Pure Group consisting of the four Manus, etc.

Aniruddha, connected with sakti and tejas, performs the protection [of this world], the conferring of the knowledge of truth, the creation of time and the mixed creation."

"42, l. 10: After "Upendra" insert: "from Pradyumna another Pradyumna, Nṛsiṃha, and Hari;".

"56, l. 17: for "Canda, Pracanda" read "Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa".

"58, ll. 6/7: "They can assume" to "body". As a matter of fact, the soul in Heaven seems never to be imagined without a body, it being bodiless, and necessarily so, only in its Nāra condition (p. 86), that is during the Great Night, when even non-natural matter is non-existent ("unified"). We may, therefore, ask in this connection whether the "atomic body" mentioned in chapter 20 (see p. 122) is not either a "non-natural" body possessed already, unknowingly, by the soul, or else a third "natural" body, the only one remaining
to the soul for its passage from the Sun to Heaven. For, according to the view of Kauṣṭikā Upaniṣad which has been adopted by the Vaiśeṣika School and was apparently also known to the Pañcarātrins, the liberated soul has still many stations to pass on its further journey from the Sun to the river Virajā (Vijarā) which is the boundary between this and the other world, and it cannot do so, evidently, in a bodiless condition, for which reason Yat Dip. teaches (ed. p. 77) that not before crossing the Virajā does the soul exchange its subtle (second physical) body for a non-

natural one, whereas Tripāvibhūtimahārāyaṇa Upaniṣad (chapters V and VI), on the assumption that the Virajā is not the said boundary but still within the Egg, declares that the soul through bathing in Virajā exchanges its subtle body for a “magical body” (kevalanātmanamaya-

dīnyatejōnaya-niratītyānandamaya-mahāviṣṇusūryānapṛīgrahana

sarīra, later simply called mantramaya sarīra), and long afterwards, in a place far outside the Egg, namely the Brahmavidyā river, casts off the “magical body” in order to assume its final garment, the “immortal Divine body consisting of the bliss of [Brahma] knowledge” (or: “of knowledge and bliss; vidyānandamaya anmātadiya sarīra”.

p. 60, l. 9, from bottom: for “Ṛṣis” read “Ṛṣis”.

“68, l. 6” : for vaisamya read vaisamya.

“80, l. 11” : for “Hṛṣikesa” read “Hṛṣikesa”.

“82, l. 18 for “group” read “Group”.

“83, l. 2 from bottom: for “Citraśikhandins” read “Citraśikhandins”.

p. 92, l. 4 from bottom: for “58, 59” read “52, 53”.

“97, l. 5” : for “never” read “not, as a rule.”

“110, ll. 17 and 18 should read: “seventeen (or twenty-one?) sciences, from the six Vedāṅgas down to politics (nīti) and the science of professions (vārttī), regarded as subsidiary to the Vedas”.

“112, note 4, add: “It is clear that samyama and cintā are the same as samyama and samuddhi mentioned in note 3, p. 111.

“121, l. 9 from bottom: for “Vedānta” read “Vedānta”.

“145, l. 9” : for “Pañcarātra” read “Pañcarātra”.

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SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ERRATA

Found in the edition of Akrubudhnya Samhitā.

Page line

79 9 : for विज्ञानविज्ञानाद्याकम, read ex conj. विज्ञान विज्ञानाद्याकम,

82 10 : dele (अथ शतयादिचक्राणि) and enter between lines 8 and 9 : (अथ पुख्यादिचक्राणि).

107 10 : for शाखाभिकार read शाखाभिकार.

126 16 : ) ' शब्दियाकः read ex conj. शब्दियाकः.

127 3 : ) ' शब्दियाकः read ex conj. शब्दियाकः.

495 10 : ' तोषाल्पातिरिंद्राकम, read ex conj. तुषाल्पातिरिंद्राकम,

532 6 : ' समाल्पाकः read ex conj. समाल्पाकः.

578 8 : between lines 8 and 9 insert : (उपर्सैंहारः).

581 12 : for छिंतें read छिंतें.

594 2 : ' राहुकिंद्रायैकवों राहुकिंद्रायैकः.

615 3 : ' कठस्रानः read कठस्रानः.

626 6 : ' सन्ताधारिकों राह भस्माधारिकों.

643, lines 17 to 20 not belonging to the text of the Samhitā should be in small type.