

THE KRAMA TANTRICISM OF KASHMIR

VOLUME-



NAVJIVAN RASTOGI

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The Krama Tantricism of Kashmir is intended as a ground work of the Krama system, an almost neglected area of Kashmir Saivism. The author has very ably reconstructed the history and metaphysics of the system after rummaging through relevant literature, both in print and manuscript form. The Krama philosophy is a synthetic and complex whole where the different strands of Saiva Philosophy, Sakta esotericism and the Tantric synoptic view are seen. In this first of the two volumes, the author has given a general and historical survey in seven chapters - Krama as a distinct system, the nomenclature, as a Tantric system, mutual exchange from allied systems, different traditions and sub-schools, sources and literature and Krama's place in Kashmir Saivism. Contains chronological table of Krama authors, classified Bibliography and indexes.

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The Krama Tantricism of Kashmir

Historical and General Sources

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Saiva Philosophy, Lucknow University*

VOLUME I

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To

My Teacher

DR. K.C. PANDEY



Sadguru Swami Muktananda

BLESSING

Each doctrine has its own philosophy and technique to attain the highest truth. All philosophies aim at the same goal - realisation of the Absolute. A seeker is concerned with the attainment of the truth. He may follow any technique but the important thing is that he reaches the state of equality where he sees and experiences the Oneness of everything in the world. I hope the way shown in *Krama Tantricism of Kashmir* will help seekers to realise that goal.

SWAMI MUKTANANDA

PREFACE

Perhaps the author owes an apology for publishing a work on the Krama system which has not been, unfortunately, noticed by any traditional author of the available compendia like the *Sarva-darsana-samgraha* etc. It is rather equally curious to see the modern studies on the Indian philosophy in general and Tantricism in particular turn totally apathetic to such a system of philosophy barring a few honourable exceptions. The latter include the second edition of Dr. K.C. Pandey's study on Abhinavagupta incorporating a chapter on the Krama system and discussing the same in broad outlines. In addition, one has one or two paragraphs from M.M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj on the same briefly dwelling upon some of its major aspects. (Vide his Preface to the Second edition, Tripura *Rahasya, Jnana Khanda*, p. iii., *Tantrika Vanmaya me Sakta Drsti*, Prastavana, p. 4.)

It augurs well that the studies on the Kashmir Saivism as well as on Tantricism have come to gain - slightly greater momentum since Woodroffe first undertook to enter the forbidden land. Yet it is unfortunate that dearth of analytical thinking coupled with detailed exploratory investigations into specific fields remains a constant handicap of a modern student. The net result is that a great deal of the Saiva, Sakta and Tantric wisdom is now lost to us and many of their important theses now look completely strange. M.M. Dr. G.N. Kaviraj in his recently published work *Tantrika Vanmaya me Sakta Drsti*, (Prastavana, p. 4) gives an eloquent expression to it : “**कमलत्व, स्पन्दतत्त्व, पादुकातत्त्व, भाषातत्त्व प्रभृति का विवेचन, साधन तथा दर्शनशास्त्र के क्षेत्र से एक प्रकार से निर्वासित हो चुका है। क्षोभ तथा कलन का रहस्य भी इसी प्रकार अपरिचित रह गया है।**” In this context due stress may be laid on the fact that the concepts of Krama, Paduka, Bhasa and Kalana exclusively belong to the Krama system.

While writing a dissertation on the Stotras of Abhinavagupta for his M.A. examination the author was particularly attracted by the *Kramastotra* of Abhinava. This marks the first point of his interest in the system. The paucity of material for the study of the *Stotra* and the difficulty in interpreting the same inspired the author to undertake a comprehensive study of the same for his doctoral dissertation. The interest and fear both grew with each passing day when the author was able to grasp the enormity of the task taken up by him. Now this study is submitted for what it is worth to the discerning judgement of the reader.

The Krama system has triple significance. First, it is a Tantric system. Second, it is a monistic Saiva system. Third, it marks the emergence of the Sakta tendency in the Saiva philosophy. It has, therefore, developed into a synthetic and complex whole in which the Saiva philosophy, the Sakta esotericism and the Tantric synoptic view of life are inter-knitted together. It has been a difficult test for the author to appreciate their distinct implications and yet retain their synthesis. The Krama system is therefore not only a system of pure philosophy revelling in epistemic and ontological issues but also an esoteric discipline of spirituality constituting an important ingredient of wider Tantric culture. The reader is earnestly urged to bear this aspect in mind while going through the pages of this work.

The complex character of the Krama system has considerably influenced and defined the basic plan of this work. It has been divided into two parts, the first giving out a general and historical survey and the second the analytical exposition of the Krama philosophy. The second part does not deal with the ontology, epistemology, mysticism and esotericism of the Krama system under separate sections, because such a watertight division was neither possible nor worth-while in the very nature of the Krama system. The chapters, therefore, follow the traditional scheme of the Nine Prameyas (i.e., objects of discussion) and Cakras (forms of cyclic consciousness). Because by adopting this method alone justice could be done to the complex character of the Krama system. Special care has

been taken to highlight the real philosophical and epistemic nature of apparently esoteric issues in the relevant contexts.

Owing to an earnest desire to make the work as thorough and authentic as possible the author has added five indices (together with a Corrigendum incorporating major corrections) to the Volume One including a classified Bibliography which because of its comprehensive and up-to-date coverage may be found of special interest. The other index titled "Chronological tree of the Krama authors" offers a brief tabular account of the historical evolution of the system through the ages.

The Volume Two carries with it an appendix incorporating a few of the unpublished small but important texts having direct bearing on the system. In this volume the author has further appended tables or tabular charts wherever necessary in order to afford a synoptic peep into the complex and varied contents covered in a particular chapter. It is, however, imperative to keep in mind that the two volumes together form an integral whole and need be perused as such.

The capacity of the author has several limitations. First of all, the lack of tradition is to be extremely regretted because the precise tantric spirit has lain under the cloud of mystic jargon. Second, the system has failed to catch the notice of the modern student of Kashmir Saivism and Tantricism. Third, all the printed texts are either incomplete or require critical editing. Fourth, the bulk of the extant Krama literature is still in manuscript form. Most of it is inaccessible today. Luckily, despite great hardships, the author could lay his hand on certain unnoticed manuscripts but for which many aspects of the system would have remained a question mark. And even these manuscripts are mostly in Sarada characters. Of the lost texts, the loss of the *Krama-keli* of Abhinavagupta is a very serious loss to the system.

In the above circumstances and in the absence of any previous groundwork as well as for the reasons of space, it was not possible for the author to take up a thoroughly critical study of the Krama system. The author has confined himself to making an analytical investigation into and exposition of the system. He has adopted a critico-comparative method, wherever

it was feasible, in the specific frame-work of the Tantric discipline. This work is intended basically to serve as a groundwork for the future studies of the Krama system and allied Saiva Tantricism of Kashmir.

In works of such a type as this it is practically impossible to do away with obscurity of expression, more so on account of the occult language and esoteric phraseology in which the system is couched, apart from the author's own limitations. The indulgence of the reader is craved for any inconvenience he is put to in this behalf.

It is difficult to lay claim to absolute originality in regard to an indological study like this, but it will be worth-while to draw attention of the reader to the new ground covered by the author.

In the first place, the author has ventured to touch upon an almost neglected area of Kashmir Saivism in general and Tantricism in particular.

In the second place, the author has utilized the opportunity to go through all published texts on the Kashmir Saivism as well as the Krama system. He has also tried to utilize a large number of important manuscripts on the system which would be testified to by the bibliography appended to this work as well as the profuse excerpts from them given throughout the work. The author has also sought to lay his hands upon all relevant historical as well as literary texts. Moreover, the author has also taken due cognizance of relevant literature in original, belonging to other Tantric cults, specially Tripura, having anything in common with the Kashmir Saivism and the Krama system. It may, however, also be pointed out that the author has done his best to go through all the available secondary literature, whether published or unpublished, known and accessible to him on the Kashmir Saivism and other cognate Tantric schools.

In the third place, the author has essayed the task of reconstructing the history of the Krama system - not considering the chronology of the authors or works only, but tracing out the historical and logical growth of the Krama notions as well - in the larger context of the history of the Kashmir Saivism. Besides, virtually discovering quite a few of the Krama authors

such as Gandhamadana, Siddhanatha, Cakrapani, Devabhata, Ramyadeva, Loshadeva, Srivatsa, Somaputra, Ananta Saktipada and Bhattaraka, the Krama associations of the known Spanda and Trika authors have also been brought out. These include the famous Vasugupta, Kallata, Pradyumna Bhatta, Ksemaraja, Varadaraja, Jayaratha, Sivopadhyaya and a host of others. Some already established dates and genealogical relationships have been re-examined in the light of fresh material and additional collateral evidence. In this connection the dates of Sivananda - the first preceptor, Varadaraja, Hrasvanatha, Bhojaraja, Cakrabhanu, Mahesvarananda deserve particular mention. Similarly on the basis of a new interpretation of the terms Atmaja and Santati parental ties between Somananda and Utpala and those between Utpala and Lakshmanagupta have been rejected and preceptorial relationships re-affirmed instead. These modifications will go a long way in determining the final course of the history of Kashmir Saivism yet to be reconstructed fully by future scholars.

In the fourth place, the author has tried to reconstruct the precise Krama metaphysics, its answer to various philosophical problems and the basic values that have permeated the length and width of its spiritual approach. The author has also attempted to determine the place of Krama in the compact whole of Kashmir Saivism and evaluate its positive contribution. It has also been pointed out how the Krama developed along two basically different lines under the impact of Northern and Southern schools, if such a loose expression be permitted to be used, and how they conditioned the entire growth of the Krama philosophy.

In the fifth place, the work refers to many texts including manuscripts for the first time and makes extensive use of a number of them. The two *Mahanaya Prakasas*, one of unknown authorship (attributed to Sivananda II by us) and the other of Sitikantha, the *Bhavopahara* of Cakrapani and its gloss by Ramyadeva, and the *Krama-stotra* of Abhinava are among the primed texts that have been studied for the first time. In addition to numerous manuscripts, the MSS of the *Chummasampradaya*, *Kaulasutra*, *Jnana-kriya-dvaya-sataka*, *Saivastakosa* have been

author is beholden to Dr. R.C. Dwivedi (now Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Jaipur University), who initiated the author into Saivite studies, for his constructive interest in the academic advancement of the author. The author is earnestly thankful to Drs. J.P. Sinha and A.K. Kalia, both of the Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University, in whom he found his benefactors. The author acknowledges with gratitude the interest taken by ThakurJaidev Singh, a well known name in the field of Kashmir Saivism, in the publication of this work. He is also deeply appreciative of Prof. Vidya Niwas Misra, Director K.M. Munshi Institute of Hindi & Linguistics, Agra for his continued encouragement to the author. The author would record his profound appreciation of his esteemed friend Dr. Harsh Narain, Department of Indian Philosophy and Religion, B.H.U. for his valued assistance in many forms. The author's gratitude to him is a matter of feeling and not of expression.

The delay in publication enabled the author to revise the typescript once again and to incorporate additional material wherever necessary. The author wishes to voice his earnest appreciation of the interest evinced by the publishers M/S Motilal Banarsidass. But for constant demands of their energetic directors, Mr. N. Prakash Jain and Mr. J.P. Jain, the publication of the work, that too in such a nice get up, might have been delayed further. In this connection he has all admiration for M/S Ram Lal and D.P. Gupta, who prepared the typescript for the press in a relatively short period. The author cannot help remember the debt he owes to his wife Dr. Sudha Rastogi, Ph.D., who not only proved to be a constant source of inspiration in the hours of distress but also prepared all the indices in the book. The author likes to express his admiration for the help rendered by his two research students i.e., Km. Meera Rastogi in correcting the proofs and rearrangement and finalization of indices and Sri M.R. Yadava in rearrangement of some of the indices.

This book is appearing in the Abhinavagupta Institute Research Publication Series. This Institute has been founded and named after Abhinavagupta, the great savant of Kashmir Saivism and Indian Aesthetics, by the author's teacher, the late Dr. K C. Pandey - Founder and the then Honorary Director

of the Institute. The author expresses his deep sense of gratitude to him who not only made the manuscripts in his possession available to the author but continued to maintain a sustained interest in the progress of the work. This book is humbly dedicated to him as a token *of gratitude and respect*.

Lucknow,
15th August, 1978

NAVJIVAN RASTOGI

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abhi.</i>	<i>Abhinavagupta : An Historical and Philosophical Study.</i>
<i>ABORI</i>	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.</i>
<i>AIOC</i>	<i>All-India Oriental Conference.</i>
<i>A.L.</i>	<i>Ananda-lahari</i>
<i>A.S.V.</i>	<i>Alamkara-sarvasva-vimarsini.</i>
<i>B.A.L.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Adyar Library.</i>
<i>Bhas.</i>	<i>Bhaskari.</i>
<i>Bhas. (V).</i>	<i>Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini (published with Bhaskari).</i>
<i>Bh.GS.</i>	<i>Bhagvad-gitartha-samgraha.</i>
<i>B.S.</i>	<i>Brahma-sutra.</i>
<i>B.S.S.</i>	<i>Bharatiya Samskriti Aur Sadhana.</i>
<i>B.U.</i>	<i>Bhavopahara.</i>
<i>B.U.V.</i>	<i>Bhavopahara-vivarana.</i>
<i>C.A.</i>	<i>Comparative Aesthetics.</i>
<i>Cat.Cat.</i>	<i>Catalogus Catalogorum.</i>
<i>C.G.C.</i>	<i>Cid-gagana-candrika.</i>
<i>C.G.C. (Comm).</i>	<i>Cid-gagana-candrika with the commentary called Divyacakorika.</i>
<i>Ch.</i>	<i>Chapter.</i>
<i>Ch.U.</i>	<i>Chandogya Upanisad.</i>
<i>C.O.L.</i>	<i>Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.</i>
<i>Contribution.</i>	<i>Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature.</i>
<i>C.S. (MS)</i>	<i>Chumma-sampradaya (Manuscript).</i>
<i>DCSMCOL</i>	<i>Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.</i>
<i>Dh.L.</i>	<i>Dhvanyaloka-locana.</i>
<i>D.S.</i>	<i>Darshanika Traimasika.</i>
<i>Fn.(s).</i>	<i>Footnote(s).</i>

G.K.		<i>Gaudapada-karika.</i>
G.L.		<i>Garland of Letters.</i>
G.N-P.		<i>Guru-natha-paramarsa.</i>
G.O.S.		Gaekwad Oriental Series.
H. V.		<i>Haravijaya-mahakavya.</i>
I.P.K.	<i>Isvara</i>	<i>pratyabhijna-karika.</i>
I.P.V.V.		<i>Isvara-pratyabhijna-vivrti-vimarsini.</i>
JOR		<i>Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras.</i>
JBBRAS		<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
K.K.V.		<i>Kama-kala-vilasa.</i>
K.M.		Kavya-mala.
K.N.P.		<i>Krama-naya-pradipika.</i>
K.S.		<i>Krama-stotra</i> (by Siddhanatha).
K.S. (A).		<i>Krama-stotra</i> (by Abhinava).
K.S.S.		Kashmir Sanskrit Series of Texts and Studies.
M.		Mahesvarananda
M.M.		<i>Mahartha-manjari.</i>
M.M P.		<i>Mahartha-manjari parimala.</i>
M.P.(S).		<i>Mahanaya-prakasa</i> (by Sitikantha).
M.P. (T)		<i>Mahanaya-prakasa</i> (TSS, attributed to Sivananda II).
MS(S)	Manuscript	(s).
M.V.T.		<i>Malini-vijayottara-tantra.</i>
M.V.V.		<i>Malini-vijaya-varttika.</i>
N.S.		Nirnaya Sagar Press
N. T.		<i>Netra-tantra.</i>
N.T.V.	<i>Netra-tantra</i>	<i>vivrti (Uddyota).</i>
P.H.		<i>Pratyabhijna-hrdaya.</i>
P.K.S.		<i>Paraiurdma-kalpa-sutra.</i>
P.L.L.		<i>Philosophy, Logic and Language.</i>
P.P.		<i>Paryanta-pancasika.</i>
P.S.		<i>Paramartha-sara.</i>
P.S.S.V.(MS)		<i>Paramartha-sara-samgraha</i> (Manuscript)
P.S.	V.	<i>Paramartha- sara-vivarana.</i>
P.T.L.V.(M.S)		<i>Para-trisika-laghu-vivrti</i> (lasaki-vivarana) (Manuscript).

<i>P.T.V.</i>	<i>Para-trimsika-vivarana.</i>
<i>R.T.(Raj. T.)</i>	<i>Raja-tarangini.</i>
<i>S.Dr.</i>	<i>Siva-drsti.</i>
<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Saptarsi Era.</i>
<i>S.K.(MS)</i>	<i>Saivastaka-kosa (Manuscript).</i>
<i>S.L.</i>	<i>Saundarya-lahari.</i>
<i>S.K.C.</i>	<i>Srikantha-carita.</i>
<i>S.S.</i>	<i>Siva-sutra.</i>
<i>S.Su.</i>	<i>Sarasvati-susama.</i>
<i>S.S.V.</i>	<i>Siva-sutra-varttika (by Bhaskara).</i>
<i>S.S.V.(V)</i>	<i>Siva-sutra-varttika (by Varadaraja).</i>
<i>S.S.Vi.</i>	<i>Siva-sutra-vimarsini.</i>
<i>S.T.(T).</i>	<i>Sarada-tilaka (-tantra).</i>
<i>S.T.V.</i>	<i>Sarada-tilaka-vivrti (Padarthadarsa).</i>
<i>S.V.</i>	<i>Saubhagya-vardhini.</i>
<i>S.St.</i>	<i>Siva-stotravali.</i>
<i>S.St.V.</i>	<i>Siva-stotravali-vrtti.</i>
<i>Sec.(s):</i>	<i>Section(s).</i>
<i>Short Review.</i>	<i>A short review of the Research Publications (Kashmir State).</i>
<i>Sp.K.</i>	<i>Spanda-karika.</i>
<i>Sp.K.V.</i>	<i>Spanda-karika-vrtti.</i>
<i>Sp.N.</i>	<i>Spanda-nirnaya.</i>
<i>Sp.P.</i>	<i>Spanda-pradipika.</i>
<i>Sp.S.</i>	<i>Spanda-Sandoha.</i>
<i>St.C.</i>	<i>Stava-cintamani.</i>
<i>St.C.V.</i>	<i>Stava-cintamani-vivrti.</i>
<i>Sv.T.</i>	<i>Svacchanda-tantra.</i>
<i>Sv.T.V.</i>	<i>Svacchanda-tantra-vivrti (Uddyota).</i>
<i>T.A.</i>	<i>Tantraloka</i>
<i>T.A.V.</i>	<i>Tantraloka-viveka.</i>
<i>T.R.(J.Kh.)</i>	<i>Tripura-rahasya (Jnana-khanda).</i>
<i>T.S.</i>	<i>Tantra-sara.</i>
<i>T.S.S.</i>	<i>Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.</i>
<i>T.V.D.</i>	<i>Tantra-vrta-dhanika.</i>
<i>V.</i>	<i>Verse Number.</i>
<i>Vak.</i>	<i>Vakyapadiya.</i>
<i>V.Bh.</i>	<i>Vijnana-bhairava.</i>

<i>V.Bh.V.</i>	<i>Vijnana-bhairava-vivrti (Uddyota)</i>
<i>V.M.</i>	<i>Vamakesvarimata.</i>
<i>V.M.V.</i>	<i>Vamakesvarimata-vivarana.</i>
<i>V.S.</i>	<i>Vatula-natha-sutra.</i>
<i>V.S.V.(V.N.S.Y.)</i>	<i>Vatula-natha-sutra-vrtti,</i>
<i>Y.H.</i>	<i>Yoginihrdaya.</i>
<i>Y.H D.</i>	<i>Yogini-hrdaya-dipika.</i>
<i>Y.S.</i>	<i>Yoga-sutra.</i>
<i>Y.S.B.</i>	<i>Yoga-sutra- (Vyasa) -bhasya.</i>

CHAPTER I

KRAMA AS A DISTINCT SYSTEM

A brief analysis of the features that lend an independent status to Krama as a system of thought.

1. *Krama: A system of Saiva philosophy in its own right*

While sharing much in common with the Pratyabhijna and Kula systems of Kashmir Saiva monism, the Krama system has much of its own to justify its recognition as an independent system of philosophy. The phrase Kashmir Saivism generally stands for the Pratyabhijna system, whereas in fact it has a much wider application comprising as it does all the monistic trends of Saivite speculation having their home in Kashmir. In spite of the fact that all these systems have common fundamental data since they spring from the same source of Saiva philosophy, they retain their intrinsic individual genius and appeal. In consequence, when a system is presented in its own merit, the idea is not to decry its integral character under a wider perspective, but to emphasize and analyse its real worth and significance. It is in this sense that the Krama system, despite its close affinities with the sister trends of thought, claims recognition as a system of philosophy.

2. *Traditional recognition of its independence*

Historically as well, Krama has been regarded as an independent system. Mankha in his *Srikanthacarita* mentions Mahanaya, another name of Krama, as a distinct philosophical school where the act of creation⁵ follows that of withdrawal,

1. प्राङ्निग्रहं विरचयन्वपुषः स्वरूपं पश्चादनुग्रहदृशा स दिशन्तशेषम् ।

यः सर्गसंहृतिविपचनयक्रमेण चक्रे महानयविदां प्रथमः स्मरस्य ॥

S. K. C. 5.40

Jonarāja observes—

यतो महानयविदां दर्शनशामाद्यः । तस्मिन्दर्शने हि संहारानन्तरं सृष्टिः ।

Comm. on S. K. C., p. 69.

implying that the Krama system ardently adheres to the cyclic notion of Reality. This allusion to Krama in a literary work of the eleventh century is a sufficient proof of the popularity of the Krama school, even beyond the philosophical circles, in Kashmir. Abhinavagupta recalls the same fact in unmistakable terms in the *Malinivijayavartika*.¹ In the *Tantraloka* also this very fact has been reiterated.² In his *Viveka* on the *Tantraloka* Jayaratha talks of the Krama system to be an independent one.³ The treatment of the Krama system in the fourth Ahnika has been prefaced by him with a similar remark.⁴ It is significant to note that in the last autobiographical verse, marking the conclusion of his *Viveka*, he declares 'Trika' and 'Krama' as two different systems.⁵ The author of the *Mahanaya-Prakasa* clearly stresses its individuality⁶ and independent status among the varied schools of philosophy.⁷ Mahesvarananda, too, does

1. अतिमार्गंक्रमकुलत्रिकस्रोतोऽन्तरादिषु ।

M. V. V. I. 192.

2. अथ यथोचितमन्त्रकदम्बकं त्रिककुलक्रमयोगि निरूप्यते ।

T. A. 30.1.

Also see, मया स्वसंवित्सत्तर्कपतिशास्त्रत्रिकक्रमात् ।

T. A. I. 106.

Jayaratha remarks—

क्रमः चतुष्टयार्थः । समाहारेऽयं द्वन्द्वः ।

T. A. V., I, p. 150

3. एता एव द्वादशापि संविदः ...क्रमदर्शनादौ अन्यर्थेनापि अभिधानेन दर्शिताः ।

Ibid., II, p. 235.

Also cf. तदत्र क्रमनयसमानकक्ष्यत्वविवक्षायास्...

Ibid., III, p. 189.

इह क्रमदर्शने...*Ibid.*, p. 190; न केवलमेताः क्रमदर्शनावेचोक्ता यावदस्मन्नवसहोदरेषु शास्त्रेष्वपि । *Ibid.*

4. तदेव चेदानीं विभज्य दर्शयन् क्रमनयसोदरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति ।

Ibid., p. 157

5. ...त्रिकदृशि क्रमार्थं...

Verse 47, *T. A. V., XII, p. 435.*

6. क्रमे सर्वज्ञपर्यन्तं प्रत्यक्षा कापि या स्थिता ।

M. P. (T), 7.130.

7. कुलकोलादिकाम्नायशाक्तत्रिकमतादिषु...व्यापको हि महानयः ।

Ibid., 1.30-31.

महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्वयवादिनः ।

Ibid., 7.26.

not forget to record his appreciation of the Pratyabhijna and the Krama as two separate systems¹ even when he means to pinpoint their common characters.²

3. *External evidence establishing its individuality*

Apart from the unanimous verdict of the Krama authors, there is external evidence also which establishes its independent status. It differs from other systems in point of its origin, its history, and its literature. Just as the Pratyabhijna has its first preceptor in Somananda, the Trika in Vasugupta, and the Kula in Macchanda, the Krama [has the same in Sivananda. The Krama system is further distinguished by the place of its origin. Its very conception took place in Kashmir, while all others somehow or the other, with the exception of the Spanda system, were imported into Kashmir by their preceptors or descendants and followers thereof.

4. *Main Features*

We, however, have to distinguish between what others say of it and what the system says of itself. A brief account and comparative analysis of its salient features are attempted here to substantiate its unique character.

(a) *Krama as a Sakti-oriented and Tantric system*

The Krama system at the outset appears to reflect a systematic emergence of the Sakta tendencies in the monistic Saivism of Kashmir.³ As such it gives rise to many interesting developments and leads to many adjustments in the history of the Krama thought. The most important of such developments is the split of the system into two schools, one having its accent on the supremacy of the Siva aspect and the other on the Sakti

1. अवगतशिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योल्गाससर्वस्वेवेदी ।

Verse 10, *M. M. P.*, p. 2.

2. अनेन श्रीमहार्थत्रिकदर्शनयोरन्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रथेति व्याख्यातम् ।

M. M. P., p. 96.

3. Śrīnikanṭha adds a similar remark—इत्थं सर्वज्ञ कुलदर्शनेषु श्रान्तो योऽन्तः-
क्रमेण उदयः स्थितः स एव तत्तद्भूमिकानुभवविशेषैः चक्रचरीरूपमास्थितैः संस्थान-
विशेषेण पूजितैः स्वरूपप्रथोन्मीलनाय चर्याक्रमेणापि क्रमार्थं उपासितव्यः ।

M. P., (S), p. III.

aspect of the Supreme Consciousness.¹ Thus, while all other systems including the Kula, Pratyabhijna and Trika of Kashmir Saivism are Siva-oriented, the Krama is Sakti-oriented.² The Spanda system is an exception in the sense that it marks the transition between the two ideologies. But, at the same time, it has a natural leaning towards Sakti, the dynamic aspect of Reality. The important distinction between the Spanda and the Krama lies in the fact that while the latter is a Tantric system, the former is not. It is perhaps the reason why Abhinavagupta, in his *Tantraloka*, deals with the Krama system under the Saktopaya as a distinct system of thought and does not accord a separate treatment to the Spanda school, though it (*the Tantraloka*) is full of references to and extracts from the Spanda authors and works.³ The fact that the Pratyabhijna has secured a separate treatment under the Anupaya in the *Tantraloka* unlike the Spanda, the latter approximates to the former in respect of metaphysics rather than mysticism and

1. Likewise, the Kula and Tripura too are known to be different systems, but in fact they complement each other with the difference that while the Tripura lays stress on Sakti, the Feminine aspect, the Kula on Siva, the Masculine.
2. It may not entirely be out of point to connect this tremendous emphasis of the Sakti aspect with the spiritual activity undertaken by the female preceptors. The importance of the role played by the female teachers may be assessed from the fact that the system is said to have originated from the mouth of the Yoginis (lady ascetics) योगिनीवक्त्रसंभूत. It is difficult to establish a "cause and effect" relationship between the Sakti-orientations and early preachings by female ascetics, yet it is a factor to be reckoned with. We have tried to deal with this phenomenon while discussing the tantric character as well as the historical development of the system. This may, however, be taken as a practical translation of the theoretical orientation.
3. Howsoever strange it may appear, it is important to note that Abhinavagupta who wrote so profusely and copiously on almost all the matters relating to Kashmir Saivism did not write a single independent work bearing on the Spanda branch. This fact has been noticed by Ksemaraja. Vide,

अनन्तापरटीकाकृन्मध्ये स्थितिममुच्यता ।

विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा तो, मयास्य तु ॥

Sp. N., p. 77 (concluding verse No. 2).

esotericism.¹ On the contrary, the Kula and the Krama, both being Tantric in origin and form, are more mystic than metaphysical. Yet, with all their differences they constitute together what is precisely meant by monistic Saivism of Kashmir.

(b) *Leaning towards monistic-dualistic character of Reality: its implication and consequences*

Another aspect which distinguishes the Krama system from other associate schools is its proneness towards the monistic-dualistic character of Reality at the pre-realization stage. As a spiritual discipline it has been specially designated as Bhedabhedopaya in order to bring out the importance it attaches to the idea of dualism or diversity within the general framework of monism or unity. The Krama system in the above role does not seek to confuse or mix up the two polarities (duality-cum-unity) but instead, unearths unity in the phenomenal duality as its intrinsic character (unity in duality - Bhede abhedah).² In other words the Krama is more closely connected with the immanent reality and interprets immanence as an essential expression of transcendence. Against this, the Pratyabhijna and Kula systems are immediately concerned with reality as unity (abheda) or the transcendental aspect of Reality. Whenever there appears a difference in the systems it is only the difference of approach or the general outlook. Even when the Bhedabhedavadin (in practice) is a real monist (in theory), he justifies the individuality of his approach by his utmost tolerance towards the other cognate systems.³ It eschews its dogmatism in this respect. In fact, the Krama system regards both duality and non-duality as irrelevant, since such a concept of Reality cannot be anything but relative. As a consequence, the system is very very critical of the concepts of Bandha

1. In incorporating the Pratyabhijna as an inalienable part of the basic plan of the *Tantraloka* Abhinava was possibly motivated by its enormous metaphysical value. Because it is the notion of Pratyabhijnana (recognition) that is the most significant single constituent of all the monistic Saiva systems of Kashmir.
2. Cf. Pt II, Ch. I under "The Defining Features of Saktopaya" etc. and "Multiplicity of Approaches: A Special Feature".
3. Cf. *Ibid.*, under "The Krama versus Other Systems" etc.

(fettters) versus Moksa (freedom).¹ Thus the Kula system prohibits the rituals and the Siddhanta Saivism advocates them. But the Krama and the Trika systems look upon the concepts of prohibition and injunction or negation and predication as external to the nature of Reality.²

(c) *Spiritual progression and moksa as synthesis of bhoga and moksa : Key features*

Moreover the definition of the Kula and Krama systems in terms of Sambhavopaya and Saktopaya is enough to focus their mutual points of difference and agreement. This point will be discussed on the occasion of the study of the Krama system as Saktopaya.³ It is however, necessary to remember that the Pratyabhijna and the Kula do not subscribe to the idea of spiritual progression. But, the concept of spiritual progression is the very life-blood of the Krama system and its theory of the refinement of the thought-constructs (Vikalpa-samskara). The very term Krama denotes what is called spiritual progression. Similarly the term Kula (i.e., an organic whole) justifies its nomenclature by its non-adherence to the theory of Vikalpa and succession in self-realization. Thus the tantric ideal of self-realization as synthesis of Bhoga and Moksa, better termed as Bhoga-moksa-samarasya, is realizable in the Krama system alone.⁴ It is solely the Krama system which by virtue of its

1. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Krama Concept of Liberation — A Synthesis of Bhoga and Moksa".

2. इह पुनः परमाद्वयरूपे त्रिकदर्शने तद्विधिना तन्निषेधेन वा न किञ्चित् प्रयोजनम् ।

T. A. V., III p. 286.

Cp. निषेधविधितुल्यत्वं शाक्तोपायेऽत्र वर्च्यते ।

T. A. I, 290.

See for details, Pt. II, Ch. I, under "Problem of Purity and Impurity in Relation to Consciousness".

3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Defining Features of Saktopaya".

4. एतदेव ह्यस्य दर्शनान्तरेभ्यो वैशिष्ट्यं यत् भोगमोक्षद्वितयानुभूतिरामरस्यं नाम ।

M. M. P., p. 137; also see p- 172

Cp. यत्परिज्ञानवशतो भवो भवति मुक्तिर्भूः ।

M. P. (T). 7, 125.

theory of progressive refinement of Vikalpas lays equal emphasis on each and every step of self-realization as an embodiment of spirituality. The Kula and Pratyabhijna are not opposed or averse to such an ideal, but they do not have proper scope for it, since they adhere to the concept of instantaneous and immediate self-revelation. The image of the Krama system becomes clear only when we see through its concept of the Samarasya of Dhama-Varna (Name and Form) and Cit (consciousness).¹

(d) *Absolutic functionalism : A significant aspect*

In this context a minor but significant point, though not entirely relevant, may also be adverted to. The functionalistic doctrine of the Trika i.e., five functions of the Absolute, has been adjusted suitably to the requirements of the Krama system. Thus the last two of the five Absolutic acts namely, Tirodhana and Anugraha, have been replaced by Anakhya and Bhasa.²

(e) *Positive emphasis on the epistemic side of our experience*

Krama is a system with a positive epistemic bias. The epistemic undertones of the system form its special character and contrast it from the other systems.³ It has just been noted that the Pratyabhijna and Spanda Schools are more metaphysical in intent. And though the Kula and the Krama, in common, have esoteric and mystical appearance, it is the Krama that lays more positive emphasis on the cognitive and the epistemic

1. मुद्रामन्त्रनिरोहणां धामवरांश्चिदात्मनाम् ।
अन्योन्याव्यभिचारेण सामरस्यादभिन्नता ॥
महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम् ।
यो विनापि नयस्यास्य बैलक्षण्यं न जायते ॥

M. P. (T). 7.129 and 135.

2. Cf. Pt. II. Ch. I, under "The Discovery of One's Potencies as a means to Self-discovery; Ch. III, under "The Relevance of the Present Treatment to Saktopaya and its Metaphysics".
3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Defining Features of Saktopaya" and "Jnana Sakti's Bearing on Saktopaya"; Ch. III, under "Core of the Problem with reference to Cognitive Processes Examined".

aspect. This is perhaps the basic philosophical value of the Krama as a system of philosophy.

(f) *Preference for Prakṛta and certain minor features*

A reference to another unique Krama phenomenon would not be out of place here. It is really a characteristic feature of the Krama school that it favours Prakṛta¹ in place of Samskrta for the presentation of its tenets. There is positive evidence to show that works like the *Krama-sutra*, both of the *Mahanaya-Prakasas*, *Mahārtha-Manjari*, *Chumma-sampradaya*, *Prakṛta-trimsikavivarana* and works of a few other authors were written in some form of the Prakṛta or local vernaculars. Mahesvarananda is the first authority who takes note of it. There is only one other Tantric system which also evinces a preference for the use of Prakṛta. But that is a Sakta system, not Saiva, famed as Tripura.² It, however, does not mean that the use of Samskrta was rare and unusual. On the contrary, the bulk of the literature, presently available, is in Samskrta. Likewise, a sweeping conclusion that the Krama had more popular appeal than other systems will probably be somewhat remote from truth. What is the possible source of such a phenomenon is a question that is proposed to be taken up in our study of the historical forces that gave the Krama a shape and a figure. Similarly the division of entire monistic Saiva thought into two classes namely, Traiyambaka and Ardha-traiyambaka, will also be considered under our study of Krama's tantric character. In this connection it may be noticed that while Kula is considered to be the Ardhatraiya-baka, the Krama, Kula and Pratyabhijna belong to the Traiyambaka category. The only justification for alluding to it here

1. किञ्च, अस्मदुपास्यविशानुसंधाने प्रायः प्राकृतस्यैवौचित्यमुज्जृम्भते ।

M. M. P., p. 193.

2. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमगुरुभिः श्रीकृजुविमर्शिन्याम्.....प्राकृतभाषाविशेषत्वाच्च यथासंप्रदायं व्यवहार इत्युपदेशः ।

Ibid.

But this has again to be noted that no work on the Tripura, which is in Prakṛta, has come to our notice, whereas at least three of the above mentioned Krama works e.g., *M. P.* (S), *C.S.* (MS) and *M. M.* have come down to us.

lies in the nature of the present enquiry which particularly aims at projecting the individual character of the Krama system.

It should now be clear that internal as well as historical evidence is weighty enough to substantiate that the Krama is a system of tantric philosophy which merits a sincere consideration in its own right.

CHAPTER II

ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE SYSTEM

A study into the philosophical basis of the various names of the system and their significance

The Krama system is variously styled as Kramanaya, Mahartha-naya etc., etc. Let us take each seriatim.

1. *Krama-Naya*

The first ever definite reference to the Krama as a system of philosophy, as we have already seen, is found in Abhinava. But it is rather amusing that he did not try to define the word symbolizing a particular system. It is Jayaratha who identifies it with the theory that confides in the fourfold functionalism of the Absolute.¹ This interpretation is not Jayaratha's own, but traditional one. For even before Abhinava, Utpala, popularly called Utpala Vaisnava and a contemporary of his teachers, interpreted the term in traditional phraseology of Kramacatuska (fourfold succession).² This is borne out by a statement of Ksemaraja who takes the word Krama to stand for the succession of the cyclic consciousness of emanation (Srsti),

1. क्रमः चतुष्टयार्थः †

T. A. V., I, p. 150.

2. एष एव अतिरहस्यक्रमाद्यविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्चणविलापरूपः क्रमचतुष्को क्रमोऽत्रैव युक्त्यैवोक्तः †

Sp P., p. 48.

Similarly Sivananda, the grand teacher of Mahesvarananda, has nearly the same definition:

सर्गवितारसंहाराः क्रमात्मानो व्यवस्थिताः †

अनाख्यमक्रममपि क्रमात्मेव तदाश्रयात् †

M. P. (T), 9.19.

sustenance (Sthiti) and withdrawal (Samhrti).¹ While explaining the words "Krama-mudra" and "Mudra-krama" from the *Krama-Sutras* he also defines the word Krama in the context of the system. According to him, it is called Krama because it (i) causes emanation etc. to appear in succession (Krama) and (ii) itself constitutes the very nature of that (as well as their) successive appearance.² Hence Krama is the system that deals with such a phenomenon exclusively, all other aspects remaining subordinate to it. Let us consider in brief its precise bearing on the problem. One of the most basic tenets of the entire monistic Saiva thought of Kashmir is its theory of the five acts of the Absolute, namely, Srsti (emanation or emergence), Sthiti (sustenance), Samhara (withdrawal or submergence), Tirodhana (concealment), and Anugraha (dispensing grace). The functionalistic doctrine, in question, maintains that the Absolute is unceasingly busy in bringing about these five acts, be it phenomenal order of existence or the trans-phenomenal one. It is the unfoldment of his being. Therefore, those who always reflect upon this pentadic activity of the Godhead, knowing the universe as an unfoldment and expression of the essential nature of Awareness, never fail to attain perfection and realize their true self in this very life. Those, for whom the objective content of their experience does not partake of the godly essence, continue to remain under the binding influence of ignorance.³ The greatest advantage of this theory consists in its distinguishing the Kashmir Saiva monism from the Vedantic one.⁴ Now the Krama is the system that

1. अनायमर्थः सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतिसविवेकक्रात्मकं क्रमम्.....।

Pr. Hr., p. 92

also cp. सृष्टिस्थितिलयानुख्याभासाशक्तिप्रसारणाद् ।.....

सन्धान्तमान्तराभ्यान्नातक्रमविमर्शनम् ॥

S.S.V. (V), 1.40-41.

2. क्रमः अपि सृष्ट्यादिक्रमाभासकत्वात् तत्क्रमाभासरूपत्वात् च क्रम इत्यभिधीयते ।

Pr. Hr., p. 94

3. यथा च भगवान् शुद्धेतराध्वस्फारणक्रमेण स्वरूपविकारमरूपानि सृष्ट्यादीनि करोति, तथा संकुचितचिच्छक्तिस्तथा संसारभूमिकायामपि पंचकृत्यानि विधत्ते ।.....अत एव ये सदा एतत् परिशीलयन्ति, ते स्वरूपविकासमयं विश्वं जानाना जीवन्मुक्ता इत्याम्नाताः ।

Pr. Hr., pp. 62-63.

4. इह ईश्वराद्वयदर्शनस्य ब्रह्मवादिभ्यः अयमेव विशेषः ।

Ibid, p. 61.

specially builds on this theme.¹ So active has been its interest in the problem that the system saw the emergence of two divergent opinions with respect to the exact meaning of the word Krama. These theories later crystallized into what are known as Four-function (Catustayartha) and Five-function (Pancartha) theories. We however refrain from entering into controversy except making some necessary references since the same has been enlarged upon in the sequel.²

Samvit or Awareness-reality itself is succession or Krama. Whether it is a process of empirical cognition or that of reflective meditation or cosmic emanation, it is Samvit that defines and undergoes the process of succession (Krama). This process of succession is also termed Mahakrama.³ Owing to varying traditions the entire process might be said to entertain four⁴ or five⁵ phases. In the four fold scheme the fifth function namely, Bhasa, is excluded while the fivefold scheme comprises all the acts. Whatever the case, these phases presuppose the cyclic notion of reality whose flow remains uninterrupted and uniform throughout. The genesis of numerical difference and successive phases lies in the intrinsic dynamism of the reality itself. The unitary flow appears to be divided due to the four acts that come in a succession. This divisive flow of the inherent

1. Cf. Pt. If, Ch. I, under 'Rise of the Cycle of Awareness'; Ch. III, under "Anakhya Cakra as Samviccakra and Saktopaya".

2. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. III, under "Krama as Pancartha and Catustayartha" etc.

3.विश्वमयी संवित् भासते (.....सा वक्ष्यमाणवर्मानुगुणेन सर्वथः क्रमभाजनं भवति, स एव महाक्रम इति नयविद्भिर्गणिते ।

M. P. (S), p. 39. Also see p. 41.

4. सृष्ट्यादिचतुष्टयमेव क्रमार्थत्वेन प्रतिज्ञायते ।

इह नये चतुष्टयार्थपरिभाषा प्रतिज्ञाता इति महाक्रमश्चतु रूप एव ।

Ibid., p. 43. Also see *M. M. P.* p. 86.; cp. pp. 63, 93.

5. इति क्रमार्थ एव पञ्चधा परिभाषितः ।

ततश्च षट्सु पूज्यतया श्रीपञ्चार्थक्रमान्वयः ।

Ibid., cp. also *M. M. P.*, p. 3.

dynamism itself constitutes the Krama or succession.¹ Sometimes the place of the godly function is annexed by the godly potencies with little material effect on our stand.² The conception and structural niceties of the Samviccakra can only be explained with reference to this definition of the Krama and its implications, too, regarding the cyclic idea of reality resulting from its dynamic character. Because the twelve Kalis are the epistemic-metaphysical-mystic transformation of the fourfold (or fivefold) functionalism with regard to the object, subject and means of knowing or the first three acts,³ in epistemic and cosmogonical settings respectively. This provides the proper context where the Krama system brings the real synthesis between the successive process of cosmic emergence and the trans-successive monistic principle - the primal origin of the ensuing succession. Unity and continuity of the absolutic (and hence subjective) dynamism can be realized only when the seeming gaps between the discrete modes viz., creation etc., of the absolutic manifestation are conserved and transformed into the real links that not only join but build the synthetic whole. This is done by tracing out the inner unity that pervades all these functional cycles. It is why the one, who has developed an intuitive insight into the essential character of the succession characterising the cyclic movement of the absolutic agency, earns a claim to emancipation during one's lifetime.⁴

1. भेदश्चतुर्भिरकस्यां शक्तौ यत्क्रमणं क्रमात् ।
सृष्टिस्थितिलयानाख्यैः स क्रमः परिकीर्तितः ।

M.P. (S). p. 45.

2. एकस्य चित्तप्रवाहस्य क्रमभेदः स्वगोचरे ।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाभिर्यः क्रमार्थः सोऽभिधीयते ॥

M.P. (S) p. 45.

3. The first three acts, like Pancartha and Catustayartha, may be designated as Tryartha (त्र्यर्थ). This is possibly suggested by the following extract:-

खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भेणो यस्त्रिपंचविसराश्रयो क्रमः ।

C. G. C., 4.113.

4. इत्यमेतत्क्रमपरामर्श एव स्वात्मविमर्शरूपो जीवन्मोक्षः ।

M. M. P., 109.

See for detailed discussion, Pt. II, Ch. I, under "Mutua relationship of the five cycles and conclusion"; Ch. III, under "Two Relevant Sub-features of Liberation."

The Krama has been further defined, under the spell of the Kashmir Saivism in general, in terms of time (Kala) and has been doubly designated as Kalakrama¹ as well as Kala.² Kalakrama is a tautological expression because in its verbal analysis it is rendered as the succession called time (Kala-khyah Kramah) and not as succession of time (Kalasya Kramah). The Krama as time is responsible for the manifestation of total objectivity and absence thereof.³ It rather partakes of such a manifestation or non-manifestation as the case may be. In all fairness, it must be admitted that the present definition is not meant to explain the Krama's special status as a system of Saiva monism.⁴ The sole underlying idea is to expatiate upon and account for the phenomenon of succession in our routine experiences ranging from the microcosmic level to the macrocosmic one, and also how the discrete units coming in a series flow from the non-dual supra-sequential source. Because it is the objective world that is characterised and determined by succession and not the Absolute. In the context of the absolute reality the word Kala would not mean simple sequential time, but creative time, the potential for the emergent reality of emanation.⁵ Hence the interpretation of the

1. कालक्रमात्मा कथितः क्रमश्चान्योन्यवर्जनात् ।

नैवं काचित् प्रतीतिः स्याद्विधिशामभेदतः ॥

M. P. (T). 9.28

2. दर्शितक्रमविभागसंभ्रमं कालमद्यतनमत्तुमीहसे ।

C. G.C. 1.22

3. कालो भावानामवभासनातवभासात्मा क्रमः ।

M. M. P. 50

4. We know of at least one tantric effort that tries to give an esoteric explanation. It, however, has no intrinsic worth, for the entire jargon transpires to interpret it in terms of Kala-krama.

Cf.

क्रकारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मंगलो भवेत् ।

क्रोधे तु मंगलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥

गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानम्, आज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।

क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कवलीकृतम् ॥

Quoted from the Krama-siddhi, *M.M.P.*, 109.

5. अतश्चायं देवः ... पीवांपर्यादिबिकल्पकल्पनामयेन क्रमेण नाक्रम्यते । ... यतो वैश्वात्म्यैकविजृम्भासरम्भोत्तरे भगवति...कस्य कस्मात् पृथक्त्वं तद्हेतुकः क्रमश्च । ...कालस्य तत्त्ववृत्त्या क्रमतयैव पर्यवसानात् ।

M. M. P., p. 136

[contd.]

term Krama signifying temporal (as well as spatial) succession has received our attention in the context of Kali, the supreme metaphysical, ontological and mystic principle.¹

We now come to the third definition of the Krama offered by certain quarters of the system itself. Accordingly, the word Krama may be employed in two different ways e.g., the relative as well as the absolute. As a relative expression it calls for its counter-entity (Pratiyogin) in Akrama (trans-sequential) and signifies a particular phenomenon of our experience. In the phenomenal realm when the different operations of our cognitive apparatus and psychoses are directed to the grasp of external multiplicity, the whole situation is reckoned as Krama. Likewise, when the phenomenal level is transcended by diverting the same mechanism towards the trans-phenomenal, non-dual, undifferentiated reality, everything is automatically realized in its essentially trans-sequential character. This phenomenon is designated as Akrama.² On the other hand, as an absolute expression the word Krama stands for the same 'Akrama' reality which remains always continuous,

contd.]

कालः सूर्यादिसंचारस्तत्तत्पुष्पादिजन्म वा ।

शीतोष्णो वाऽथ तत्त्वद्वयः क्रम एव सत्त्ववतः ॥

I. P. K. 21.2

1. See Pt. II, Ch. II.

2. भिन्नप्रथात्मिका यावदवृत्तयो बहिरास्थिताः ।

विषयाहरणोन्मुख्यास्तावत्क्रम इति स्मृतः ॥

तदुत्तीर्णं परे यत्र चिद्विद्भेदकश्चित्ते ।

महान्वयोन्मयद्वयतया सर्वो भ्रात्यक्रमस्तु सः ॥

C. S. (MS.), p. 12

Cp. पृथक्पृथक्स्वकार्यस्था यावत्तिष्ठन्ति देवताः ।

तावत्क्रमकृता संज्ञा विद्यते नान्यथा पुनः ॥

एकीभावायां सर्वमनाख्यायां यदा स्थितम् ।

अक्रमस्तु तदा ज्ञेयः प्रोत्तीर्णः सर्वतो यतः ॥

Quoted from an Agama, T. A. V, III, p. 132.

Be it noted that the expression Devatah stands for the Karanesvaris. It is peculiar Krama notion which visualizes the sense-organs, both external and internal (Karanas), as forms of the respective divinities in the Krama parlance.

eternally potential, self-subsistent immediate and indeterminate.¹ It is this reality that constitutes the supreme ideal of the Krama doctrine and marks the terminus of the entire spiritual adventure advocated by the system.² In the Krama works yet another use of the word Krama is encountered as denoting some form or act of worship or ritual.³ But such a contention is presently irrelevant and wide off the mark.

Thus the main accent of all those attempts, that dwelt on the Krama as a specific system, appears to have been on the *modus operandi* of the principle of awareness (Cit-Krama). By fully appreciating the course and process adopted for the manifestation and realization of self we are made to fathom the inner depths of consciousness i.e., Reality *per se*. Thus the Krama, in simple language, may be identified with Cit-krama or Bodha-krama.⁴

(a) *Anuttara-Krama*

Sometimes the word Krama is qualified by or prefixed with some other appellation or epithet in order to lay special emphasis on a particular aspect of the system without interfering with its actual signification. Thus, for instance, it has been

1. ईष्टित्वरूपो यो भात्यक्रमहोदयः ।
स एव सर्वतोदिवकः क्रमः कोऽपि निरन्तरः ॥
प्रागुक्तलक्षणोऽनन्ते शक्तिरूपे सदोदिते ।
सततं संस्थिते साक्षात्संकल्पकलनोज्झिते ॥

C. S. (MS), p. 12

2. सोऽयं पुराणाधिष्ठानः क्रमः क्रमाववर्जितः ।
महार्थस्य परा निष्ठा गलितस्वपरस्थिते ॥

M. P. (T), 1.11

3. यथा श्रीपञ्चमे—
पूज्यं होमः क्रमश्चर्या अतं शास्त्रनिषेधम् ।
तपो ध्यानं जपः शौचं तत्त्वहीनस्य निष्कलम् ॥

Quoted, M.M.P., p. 122

4. यस्मादनुत्तरमहाह्रदभञ्जनं मे सौभाग्यमाभवमुखानुभवश्च यस्मात् ।
तत्सत्त्वात्मनश्चक्रमविमर्शमयं गुरुणामोवस्तियुग्ममुदितोदितवीर्यमीडे ॥

M. M. P., p. 1

CP. तस्मान्निश्चितमेव स्वस्य आत्मीयस्य शुद्धविद्यारूपत्वात् प्रकृष्टस्य परमशक्तिमनः बोधस्य क्रमोऽस्तीति शेषः ।

T. A. V. III, p. 108

described as Anuttara Krama (metempirical order) bringing into focus the transcendental character of the supreme experience as twin-accomplishment in which lay the two poles of objective enjoyment and subjective freedom in perfect harmony.¹

(b) *Anupaya-Krama*

Exactly on similar lines the Krama has been designated as Anupaya Krama² marking the highest spiritual and *yogic* attainment. The Anupaya-krama precisely has the same meaning as one conveyed by the word Krama when employed in its absolute sense of the ultimate ideal, as seen above.

(c) *Devata-Krama*

Similarly it has been styled as Devata-krama (order of the divinities) emphasizing that the inner significance of all the stages of cosmic emanation and spiritual advancement and, for that matter, of the Samviccakra lies in their divine character. Each step in the process, therefore, represents a divinity.³

(d) *Mahakrama*

In the opening pages, Mahakrama as a synonym of Krama⁴ has been looked into. This title has been probably coined in the wake of another name of the Krama system i.e., Mahārtha, which is proposed to be discussed below and which literally means 'the great reality' or 'the great meaning'. This becomes quite clear when we find Mahesvarananda presenting

1. श्रीमदनुत्तरक्रमप्रणयनप्रवीणस्य परमेश्वरस्य परमकारुण्यमात्रोपपादितेयमात्माकीना यामली सिद्धिः ।

M. M. P., 172

2. युक्तिचर्यादिविक्षेपवासनाशोभवर्जितः ।

अनुपायक्रमः सोऽयं यस्य हृद (स्थ?) स) योगिराट् ॥

M. P. (T) 1.13

3. खण्डितेतरसमस्तगर्भगौ यस्त्रिपंचविसराश्रयो क्रमः ।

देवताक्रम उदेत्यनारतं तस्य हि त्वमसि देवजन्मभूः ॥

C.G.C. 4.113

4. चतुष्टयाथैरूपो वा महारूपो महार्थो ज्ञेयः ।

M. P. (S). p. 56.

his famous work *Maharthamanjari* as the *Mahakramamanjari* in the concluding verses of commentary called *Parimala*.¹

(e) *Mahartha-Krama*

In spite of its renown as the *Mahartha* exclusively, there is no dearth of the phrase i.e., *Maharthakrama*.² In such an expression, both the constituents of the compound enjoy the same import. The phrase stands for the *Krama* pertaining to the great reality (i. e., as conceived by the *Mahartha* system). This phrase and the like actually have become the typical idiom of the system.

(f) *Auttara-Krama*

The same *Krama* which has been presented as the *Anutara-krama* from the metaphysical point of view is designated as the *Auttara Krama*³ from the point of view of its place of origin. The *Krama* system arose in and spread from Kashmir⁴

1. ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भादिरुदन्वदुदरान्मणिमंजरीव ॥

M. M. P., p. 201

इति गुरुमुखाभ्यायन्यायान्महाक्रममंजरी-
परिमलमिमं शिष्यप्रेम्णा बबन्ध महेश्वरः ॥

Ibid., p. 202

2. महार्थक्रमस्य सर्वलोतोऽतिशायी कोऽपि श्लाघ्योत्कर्षो ध्वन्यते ।

Ibid., p. 179

श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपञ्चः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विश्राम्यति ।

Ibid., p. 194

It says that the total play of succession or *Krama* as advocated by the system rests in *Vrnda-cakra*. By implication it also means that the entire eightfold order namely, *Samvitkrama*, *Dhamkrama* etc. form part of the *Vrnda-cakra*.

3. आशंकोत्तरत्तर्चाधिरन्यैश्च गमकैः क्रमैः ।

प्रकाशयदधिबिम्बस्य प्रतिष्ठासौत्तरं क्रमम् ॥

M. M. P., p. 190

सिद्धान्तानां यथान्येषां सारं स्यादौत्तरः क्रमः ।

Ibid., p. 200

ग्राह्येयमौत्तरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भाद्.....

Ibid., p. 201

4. सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात्.....

Ibid., p. 193

which is in the north and has been described as the Northern Seat (Uttara-Pitha) as well.¹ In a similar strain it has been described as Uttara Artha-tattva² (principle of ultimate reality pertaining to the north). Since a reference has also been made to Sivananda,³ the earliest preceptor, whose name is associated with Kashmir, it appears a feasible reason to call the Krama system by the name of the Uttara Krama or the Uttara Tattva. Another factor that might have contributed to such a nomenclature is Krama's inclusion under Uttaramnaya. According to the traditional lore Uttaramnaya stands for the teachings proceeding from the Northern mouth of Siva, that is, the 'Vamamarga', because the Northern face is to the left. According to Dr. Pandey,⁴ this interpretation agrees with the fact that the Krama enjoins the Dutiyaga⁵ and the use of liquor, woman and meat as essentials⁶ of worship which are necessary ingredients of the Vamamarga. It is, however, difficult to say that this is the precise suggestion of dubbing the Krama as practising the Vamamarga. Although in the later form of the Krama system, which is chiefly presented by Mahesvarananda, such apparently immoral tendencies did crop up and earned a respectable place for themselves, yet the main stress laid by the Krama has always been on the spiritual side. Moreover the Krama is not called Uttaramnaya, but the cream and essence of the Uttaramnaya.⁷ In fact, the entire monistic current of

1. उत्तरपीठलक्ष्मोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् लब्धानुग्रहात् ।
T. A. V., III, p. 192. Cp. M.P. (T). 1.37
2. अथास्मत्प्रसाधितमोत्तरमर्थतत्त्वमेवान्येषां व्यासादीनामपि महामुनीनामन्तरंभुम्भेया
देवता । M. M. P., p. 183
3. M. M. P , 197.
4. Cf. Abhinava., pp. 280-281.
5. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं प्रतिपादयितुं ह्यादौ द्वितीयजनमारम्भणीयतयोद्भाव्यते ।
M.M.P., 87
6. महिलामद्यमांसादीन्येव द्रव्याण्यस्मदुपास्यानां देवतानां सपर्यासु परिवर्हन्त्याभ्यहितानीति ।
Ibid , p.182
Cp. ललनामधुमांसानि पूज्याग्नाणि विशेषतः ।
M.P. (T)., 9.51.
7. अयंतत्त्वमुपादिक्षदोत्तराम्नायसंविदाम् ॥
M.M.P., p. 198.

Kashmir Saivism is identified with Uttaramnaya¹ i. e., teachings that proceeded from the Northern mouth of Siva. On the contrary, the Kashmir Saiva agamas are classified under the Daksina group of the three categories of Saiva tantras namely, Varna, Daksina and Siddhanta.² Sitikantha sets at rest all doubts in this respect. The Uttaramnaya occupies the highest place of all the amnyas and the Mahartha i. e., Krama, ranks supreme among the Uttaramnyas.³ All these observations are, however, at their tentative stage, since it is difficult to close the chapter with a final judgement. The difficulty is aggravated by Raghava Bhatta, who in his commentary on a verse of the *Saradatilaka*,⁴ remarks that the first half of the verse incorporates the Pratyabhijna doctrine as propounded by the *Siva-sutra* and *Trika-bheda* etc., whereas the second half represents the Uttaramnaya view.⁵ He quotes from a certain source to substantiate his contention but does not name the work. If one abides by the thesis of Raghava Bhatta, he will have to admit that the Trika and the Uttaramnaya are two different things and reject the previously held view that the Uttaramnaya is another name for the monistic trend of the Saivite speculation of Kashmir. As a compromise formula it may be suggested that while distinguish-

1. औत्तराम्नायाद्यष्टशेष्टशास्त्रार्थविबोधशालित्वात् ।

Ibid., p. 8.

स इति.....तत्तदीत्तराम्नायोद्घोषतत्त्वेन परामुश्यमान इति यावत् ।

Ibid., p. 149.

2. See तन्त्रावतारः, N. R. Bhatta., S. S., 20, I p.72.

3. तथा पर्यन्तवर्तिनामाम्नायानां यः पर उक्तुष्ट उत्तराम्नायः ततोऽपि षट्त्रिंशभेदभिन्नाद्यः पर्यन्तः प्रस्तवर्ती तच्चक्रसंप्रदायः सौख्यं महार्थः ।

M. P. (S), p. 16.

Nava-cakras (nine cycles) here refer to typical Krama cakras called *Prakāśa*, *Mūrti*, *Anākhyā* etc.

4. शिवात्मनोरभेदेन प्रतिपत्तिं परे विदुः ।

शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं जगुरागमवेदिनः ॥

S. T., 25. 2.

5. शिवप्रोक्तसूत्रमतप्रवृत्तप्रत्यभिज्ञादिग्रन्थमतमाह शिवेति । प्रतिपत्तिर्ज्ञानम् । परे शैवाः । तदुक्तं शिवसूत्रवृत्तौ.....। त्रिकभेदेऽपि.....। उत्तराम्नायमतमाह शिवेति । शिवशक्त्यात्मकं ज्ञानं शिवशक्त्योरभेदज्ञानमित्यर्थः । यदाहुः....

Padārthādarśa on *S.T.T.*, II, pp. 893-94.

ishing between the two (Pratyabhijna and Uttaramnaya) the commentator (as well as the author) wants to pinpoint their classical and agamic nature respectively. But as the things are, the Uttaramnaya view, in question, is nearer to the Krama than to the Pratyabhijna. Still, as has been said, it is difficult to state anything categorically in such a confused state of affairs.¹ Nevertheless, though we may not be certain about the exact significance of the term Uttaramnaya, the appellation Auttara Krama, from its geographical perspective, does not pose a problem.

2. Mahārtha or Mahārtha-Naya

The other equally meaningful and popular denomination of the system is Mahārtha. In its most current form the word Mahārtha is used to denote the system,² but occasionally the word Drsti (i.e., point of view or philosophy)³ or Naya⁴ (i. e.

1. It might be useful to quote the following observation of M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj: “काली के विषय में परातन्त्र के नाम से प्रसिद्ध एक प्राचीन तन्त्रग्रन्थ है, जिसमें चार पटल हैं। उसमें लिखा है कि एक ही महाशक्ति षट्सिंहासना-रूढ़ (अलग-अलग छह सिंहासनों में आरूढ़) छह आम्नायों की देवी है। उसमें पूर्वोम्नाय की देवी का नाम है पूर्णेश्वरी, दक्षिणोम्नाय की देवी का नाम है विश्वेश्वरी, पश्चिमोम्नाय की देवी का नाम है कुब्जिका, उत्तराम्नाय की देवी का नाम काली है एवं ऊर्ध्वोम्नाय की अधिष्ठात्री का नाम श्रीविद्या है। उस ग्रन्थ में २५ पटल से ४४ पटल तक भगवती काली का ही क्रम निर्णित है।”

तात्त्विक साहित्य, Introduction, p. 28.

2. पुक्ति महानयमयो न विहाय शक्यं ।
सर्वोत्तमोत्तमतमो हि ततो महार्थः ॥

M. P. (T). 1.4.

महार्थकथनं यस्या विना यादृशतादृशम् ।
यां विनापि नयस्यास्य वैलक्षण्यं न जायते ॥

Ibid., 7. 135.

3. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या ।

Sp. N., p. 6.

श्रीमन्महार्थदृष्ट्या ह्यादिदेवीप्रसरणक्रमेण...

Pr. Hr, p., 64.

दिध्यमहार्थदृष्ट्याविष्टास्तेष्वो नमो नमः, वीप्सयैषामेव परतत्त्ववित्त्वं ध्वनति ।

S. St. V., p. 344.

महार्थदृष्ट्या विद्वेद्यामृतेन पूरितेषु...

Ibid., p. 199.

4. महार्थनयाभेदसारेण एकत्वेन च ।

Ibid., p. 48.

system) has also been added to give it a more compact look. Historically the term Mahārtha as a substitute for the word Krama meaning a system is a later development and perhaps the earliest allusion to the system in this form may be traced to Ksemaraja.¹ And as the system grew, the word Mahārtha rather overshadowed the usage of the word Krama in later literature² and gained the status of a full-fledged system, as the use of the word siddhanta³ for it would indicate. In this context it is necessary to note that this word is employed to convey two different, though complementary, senses. In the first place it is a name of a philosophical system⁴ and in the second, it stands for the ideal or value the system deems to be ultimate and, consequently, harnesses its entire machinery to attain the same.⁵ Really speaking the first sense is derived from the second one and, hence, stands for that system which deals with the principle of Mahārtha.

1. Cf. fns. 3 and 4 supra p. 21.

2. Cf. fn. 2 supra p. 21. Also see *M. M.P.*, pp. 179, 194, 197, 201.

3. यत् संभूयसर्वसाम्यस्वभावा महार्थसिद्धान्तोपनिषदुन्मील्यते ।

M. M. P., 174.

4. प्रास्तवर्ती नवचक्रसंप्रदायः सोऽयं महार्थः ।

M.P.(S), p. 15.

महार्थसंप्रदायत्वात्.....।

Ibid., p. 56.

6. स एव च महार्थात्मा महार्थिकमनीषिणाम् ।

Quoted from the *Pādukodaya*, *M. M. P.*, p. 12.

अलमत्र श्रुतिस्मृत्यादीनां बाह्यविद्यानाम् महार्थोपायतया प्रत्यायनप्रागल्भ्येनेति यावत् ।

Ibid., 178.

निर्गतोऽयं (यः) महार्थजृम्भितः संभूतौ जननि तेऽन्वयः क्रमः ।

C. G. C., 3.92.

एवं च उपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकारोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यतामस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

SP. N. p. 74.

महार्थमुद्गामुद्गितस्येयमुक्तिः ।

S. Sz. V., p. 106.

महार्थपूर्णस्थाय सारोपदेशवर्षाणि इमानि सूक्तानि ।

Ibid., p. 300.

अल्पसत्त्वतया च महार्थज्ञानोपदेशाश्वसरहिताः ।

Sv. T. V., I, p. 11.

It may, however, be noted in passing that the word Mahārtha seems to have been formulated under the tantric impact, particularly that of the Tripura system. It is conceived to serve as the basic substrate for the totality of the sixfold reality or meaning as envisaged in the Sakta tantras. A peep into a statement¹ of Mahesvarananda would perhaps explain the basis of the present contention.

Let us, now, enquire into the precise meaning and nature of the Mahārtha. Why is it that it is preferred to name the principle of fundamental reality as Mahārtha? The obvious reason seems to be that the tantric philosophy usually holds that the ultimate reality has two aspects - word and meaning (vacaka and vacya). The entire stretch of our field of experience, whether mundane or meta-mundane, is subsumed under these two aspects which are knit together by the relation of significand-significans (vacaka-vacya-bhava). Thus the ultimate reality, in its aspect as the Logos i.e., word, is the Vacaka and so is it with regard to its ontological being and formal becoming, the Import i.e., Vacya. Vacya and Artha being synonymous, it is the absolute or the basic reality that is termed as Mahārtha.² Thus the term Mahārtha, as denotative of the "great principle of meaning or reality" brings into relief the emergent nature of reality as containing the total possibilities of self-becoming. This has an explicit reference to the dynamic aspect of reality which comprehends and accounts for the cosmic expansion of the Absolutic personality. The Krama is necessarily related with this emergence and expression of Reality.³ Sitikantha, the celebrated author of the *Mahanaya-*

1. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेनोपक्रान्तो—

भावायः सम्प्रदायोऽयं निगर्भायश्च कौलिकः ।

तथा सर्वरहस्यार्यो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥

इत्याम्नायस्थित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्त्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेद-
कोडीकारविक्षणोऽर्थः प्राप्य तत्त्वम् ।

M. M. P., p. 183.

2. वाच्यवाचकसंबन्धाल्लङ्घ्यलक्षकयोः व्यङ्ग्य-

व्यञ्जकभावोऽयं महार्थः प्रस्फुरेच्छिवः ।

3. संख्यातवर्णपदकमन्त्राध्वानमवस्यता ।

मया तद्वाच्यसर्वस्वं दृश्यतेऽत्र विचिन्त्यताम् ॥

M. P. (S), p. 2.

Prakasa has devoted the first and third chapters (Udayas) of his treatise exclusively to discuss and determine the precise meaning of the term Mahārtha. A few aspects of the problem have again been looked into in the fourth and eleventh chapters. For want of space it is not possible to go into each detail, but an attempt will be made to study his important observations in this regard.

He himself poses the problem - what can be said to be the great meaning denoted by the word Mahārtha¹ and proceeds to answer. His primary contention is that in view of the monistic ideology, none else than the reality itself which is one with consciousness, can be the true import of the term. But when it comes to adopting an analytical attitude towards reality, there are five things that may afford to be called Mahārtha. These five are - (i) the indivisible and partless reality, (ii) aspects of that reality, (iii) approaches leading to the attainment of the reality or (iv) to that of the aspect thereof, and (v) ancillary approaches that are instrumental to the fruition or fructification of the primary approaches indicated above.² Of course, it is the reality proper which may be called Mahārtha in its own right, while the rest are so called only indirectly or secondarily.³

After interpreting" the term Mahārtha from the point of view of reality, he now goes ahead to define the same from the point of view of our experience, spiritual or otherwise. He again puts the question - what is this Mahārtha, is it meditating upon the cycles and their presiding deities? No, it denotes the

1. ननु को नाम महार्थस्य महानर्थोऽभिधेयः ? कोऽन्यो, चित्स्वरूपान्महार्थशब्दस्य पात्रम् ।

Ibid., p. 20.

2. एवमखण्डस्य वस्तुनस्तदंशानां च ये उपायाः, तदुपायसिद्धिहेतवो वापि उपायान्तराणि— इति स्वतः पारम्पर्येण वा महार्थसंज्ञायाः पञ्चदश विधयाः सन्ति इति सिद्धम् ।

M. P. (S), p. 24.

3. महार्थवाङ्मुख्यगस्या स्वस्वरूपाभिधायिका ।

पारम्पर्येण तत्प्राप्तेरन्यत्रैतन्निबन्धनम् ॥

Ibid., p. 21.

condition when one is completely possessed of the feeling of self-sameness¹ with the Absolute. He takes up eight instances² for the sake of illustration and each instance in their ultimate analysis is found to culminate in or turn out as the experience of unity and non-duality with the self. Thus by Mahārtha we are to understand that state of mind or spiritual awakening which never loses the sight of ultimate non-duality in all sorts of experiences, whatever the realm of existence they might belong to³ because everything that can be thought of is but an instance of the basically monistic principle. In other words, therefore, the perfect state of mind or the state of self-fulfilment may be equally designated as Mahārtha - that dispels even the slightest tinge of distinction between 'I' and 'you' i.e., the self and the not-self.⁴ The same state of self-perfection is identified with the Anakhya stage in the doctrinal parlance which, too, is said to be characterised by harmony and utter want of duality.⁵ It, thus, may be logically concluded that these items i.e., the unitary character of reality and the basically non-dual harmonious experience etc., form the main subject-matter of the system. Hence the name Mahārtha.

3. Mahanaya

The term Mahanaya as an appellation of the Krama system appears to have been a favourite of the later Krama authors because the earliest references available do not go

1. अथ कोऽयं महार्थो नाम, किं चक्रवर्षवरीसंनिवेशविशेषस्मरणमात्रम् ? नैतत्—महान् चिदद्वयदशावेशो महार्थ इति ब्रूमः ।

Ibid., p. 36.

2. तथा च—एवेन्द्रियग्राह्याणां..... इति अष्टमः, इति ।

Ibid., pp. 36-37.

3. इति—सर्वप्रकारमास्थितस्य अद्वैतस्य सर्वास्ववस्थासु चिदद्वयाविप्रमोषो नाम महार्थ-शब्दव्यपदेश्योऽस्तु ।

M. P. (S), p. 37.

4. अतश्च आत्मनः परिपूर्णा वृत्तिर्महार्थः प्रतिपन्नो भवति । ... निजानां परेषां च यदद्वयी-भावने नाम दर्शनार्थसत्त्वम् ।

Ibid., p. 48.

5. एक एव अखण्डचिदाभासरूपोऽनाद्य क्रममयो भेदविगलनेन सामरस्यमयो महार्थः ।

Ibid., p. 120.

back beyond Sivananda II, the author of the *Mahanaya-Prakasa*¹ (T) But that the phrase was extremely popular is evinced by the very fact that at least the two important Krama texts have been named after it. The *one* is just referred to above and the other is by Sitikantha. The other references to it, indicative of its denoting a system, are found in Jayaratha,² Sitikantha³ and Ananta Saktipada.⁴ It has got exactly the same meaning as its counterpart, Mahartha. At least once it has been stated that the word 'Maha' (Mahan) in the compound stands for "Artha" i.e., reality.⁵ It may also be surmised following the present line of thinking that the word Mahanaya was probably a condensed or abridged form of the phrase Maharthanaya wherein 'Mahan' stood for reality (as conceived by the Krama system) and 'Naya' for the system.

4. Mahasara

We are not absolutely certain that the word Mahasara stood for the Krama system. But the context, in which this phrase⁶ is found, is weighty enough to support the hypothesis that Ksemaraja wants us to believe that it was another way of presenting the Mahartha ideal. Because the phrase immediately

1. युक्ति महानयमयी न विहाय शक्यम् ।
M. P. (T), 1.4.
 स्थितेष्वपि च सोल्लेखो व्यापको हि महानयः ।
Ibid., 1.31.
 महानयस्यानुगुणं चिद्रूपं प्रतिपादितम् ।
Ibid., 3. 92.
 महानयमहायानवेदान्ताद्वयवादिनः ।
Ibid., 7.26.
2. प्रकृतमहानयस्त्रिधाः प्रथितास्तत्रयः सर्वज्ञास्तु ।
T. A. V., III, p. 195.
3. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहानयार्त्तकारभूतम् ।
M. P. (S), p. 50.
4. इत्थं महानयोक्तदिशा ।
V.N.S.V., p.5.
5. महानयक्रमे पूर्व महाशब्दोऽर्थयुक्तिभाक् ।
M. P. (T), 1.29.
6. श्रीमन्महासरोवृत्तमयेऽमुल्ल स्तोत्रे ।
S. St., V, p. 302.

follows his remark that the Stotra in question (i.e., *Divya-krida-bahumanastotra*) is replete with the statements bearing upon the Maharthatattva.¹ Moreover, his qualifying the word Mahasara with the epithet Stiman,² as he usually does with Mahartha when he wishes to refer to the system,³ strengthens our conjecture.

5. *Atinaya*

On the authority of an extract cited by Jayaratha in order to demonstrate the lack of complete unanimity with regard to the precise line of the Krama teachers, it may be concluded that the Krama system was also known as Atinaya.⁴ In Sitikantha one finds this position categorically endorsed.⁵

Here a problem poses itself which escapes a definite solution for the present. Abhinavagupta, while enumerating different systems of the Kashmir Saiva group, also mentions a system named Atimarga.⁶ Since the Atimarga is mentioned side by side the Krama and Kula, it is natural to treat them as the separate lines of thought. But, curiously enough, Jayaratha cites a passage⁷ which presents Atimarga as Kula, because the reference is being made to Sumatinatha, the great-grand-teacher of Abhinava in the Kula system. Now the problem can briefly be put as under -

1. इति महार्थपरिपूर्णस्यास्य सारोपदेशवर्षाणि इमानि सुक्तानि उल्लसन्ति ।

Ibid., p. 300.

2. Cf. fn. 6, p. 26 supra.

3. Cf. *Sp. N.*, p. 5; *Pr. Hr.*, p. 64.

4. संततयोऽतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशीदेष्यम् ।

T. A. V., III, p. 193.

5. अस्मिन्नातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमाथे ।

M. P. (S), p. 126.

भवतामतिनयाविष्टानाम् ।

Ibid., p. 141.

6. अतिमार्गक्रमकुलत्रिकलोतोऽन्तरादिषु ।

M. V. V., p. 192.

7. पञ्चलोतसि सातिमार्गविभवे शास्त्रे विधाता च यः ।

लोकेऽभूत् सुमति.....।

T. A. V., I, p. 236.

(a) Do the two terms namely, Atinaya and Atimarga, stand for one and the same system? If so which is that system, since

- (i) Atimarga is different from the Krama and Kula systems according to Abhinava,
- (ii) Atinaya is identified with the Krama, as has been noted above,
- (iii) Atimarga is identified with the Kula system by an authority approvingly quoted by Jayaratha.

There are two probable alternatives. First, the Atimarga may be taken as constituting a common trait of all the monistic systems of Kashmir which, according to the unanimous verdict of the tradition, are inherently superior (atinaya - nayam atikramya) to other systems. Hence its equation with either of the Kula and Krama does not cause much difficulty. The separate identity of the Kula and Krama withers away when the Krama ultimately culminates in the Kula. This contention has a purely hypothetical value in the absence of any positive evidence to bear it out. The second alternative is suggested by a cue from Sitikantha. The Atinaya, accordingly, may be identified with the Samaya-Vidya i.e., Tripura system, in the sense that the highest ideal of the Krama system is also the supreme goal of the Samaya-vidya marking the culmination of the entire panorama of the Krama.¹ This alternative seems more plausible, because Kashmir's contribution to the Tripura system is immense and in no measure less than that to the Kula etc. The Krama system may also be viewed as a transitional link between the Kula, a Saiva system, and the Tripura, a Sakta system, with no fundamental difference except one in their varying emphasis on one of the two aspects. When Abhinavagupta refers to the Atimarga as independent of the Kula, he might have intended to highlight the individual status of the two systems (Tripura and Kula). And where Atinaya is identi-

1. अस्मिन्वातिनयसारसर्वस्वे क्रमार्थे यच्चरमं स्थानं तत्रैव सर्वेषां क्रमाणां विश्रान्तत्वात् तस्यैव प्राधान्यात् एकैव समयविद्या ।

fied with Krama or Atimarga with Kula, the emphasis seems to be on their agreements. We however leave the question open for future research with the comment that there was a time in the history of the Krama thought when the word Atinaya signified the Krama system. Thus the controversy view comes to address itself to the feasibility and tenability of the equation between the Atimarga and the Atinaya.

6. Devatanaya or Devinaya

From the context it is obvious that Jayaratha interprets the word Devinaya in terms of the Krama system.¹ The doctrine that holds the female divinity (the female aspect of reality i.e., Sakti or Kali) as the ultimate principle is designated as Devatanaya.² The main thesis of the system consists in the capacity of reality (in its female aspect) to come out and chisel the entire multiplicity even without the support of a canvas. The term Devatanaya is more palatable to those who subscribe to the theory of the absolute ultimacy of the female aspect and relegate the male aspect of reality (i.e., Siva) to a slightly inferior position. They believe in the basic identity of the two aspects, yet feel that whatever their difference, howsoever minute, is worthy of careful attention for the infallible and correct appreciation of reality. To them, therefore, the Paramesvara (or the Lord-Absolute) marks the end of the traffic of time (Kala), whereas the Devi (the Lady-Absolute) is the repository or the culminating point of that end itself.³ Sitikantha cites certain

1.च देवीनये कृताः शिष्याः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

2. सा देवी कथ्यते तस्या नयोऽसौ देवतानयः ।

M.P. (T), 3, 109

3. यत्राप्येवमिदं** (या? नो) पि तंकोऽसौ नयस्ततः ।

या कालप्रासविश्रान्तिस्तद्रूपं परमेशितुः ।

या तु विश्रान्तिविश्रान्तिस्तद्देवीरूपमिष्यते ।

इत्थं सू (श्म? क्षमे) क्षितारूपो भेदो यत्परमेशयोः ।

ऐक्येऽपि दक्षितं सम्यक् प्रतीतिपरिशुद्धये ॥

M. P. (T), 3, 109-111.

**Avagraha (s) after Apte has been added by us to make the line intelligible.

agamic source to suggest that the Devatanaya (i.e., system of the goddess) is the system that revolves round the divine functionalism and where the functions e.g., Srsti, etc. are the other names of the powers of the Absolute such as volition etc.¹

7. *Kalinaya*

There are no particular reasons for naming it as Kalinaya other than those adduced above. The Devi, which is the absolute ontological principle, is designated as Kali or Kala-Samkarsini.³ Another possible reason might lie in its adherence to the Anakhya- krama or Samviccakra which accounts for cosmic emanation in terms of the twelve (or thirteen) Kalis.⁴

8. *Conclusion*

There are a few other designations of the Krama system which are not considered for fear of unnecessary details. Moreover, those appellations do not have the common approval of the Krama authors. If they are coined and also referred to, the intention always has been to reflect on the nexus between the Krama system and the particular context in which they figure. Nevertheless a few denominations, that have bearing on its tantric character, have been taken into account in our enquiry on the tantric character of the Krama system.

1. इच्छानुपातिनी सृष्टिः स्थितिश्चित्तव्यवस्थितिः ।

तदभावेन संहारो यस्यान्ते देवतानयः ॥

M. P. (S), p. 45

2. अभिनवगुप्तस्य पुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुरुता ।

T. A. V., II, p. 193.

3. See, Pt. II, Ch. II.

4. See, Pt. II, Ch. II.

CHAPTER III

KRAMA AS A TANTRIC SYSTEM

An analysis and exptoratory study of the fundamentals of the Krama Tantricism in the wider perspective of the esoteric tantricism of monistic Saivism of Kashmir

1. Rise of tantricism in Krama : A later development

Profuse references to the tantric leanings of the Krama system in the past impel us to advert to the study of the tantric character of the system. The entire growth of the Krama thought has undergone a radical process of transformation from philosophy to tantricism or a journey from the metaphysical speculation to the tantric practice and symbolism or, to be more exact, from the philosophic tantricism to the esoteric tantricism.

From the earliest phase devoted to the analysis and examination of the functional and activistic character of the Absolutic dynamism, one comes to an era of pure tantricism in Mahesvarananda who describes his work as a Tantra¹ with a sense of pride. It is no doubt a fact that the Krama system, having been nurtured under agamic influence, had tantric associations from the very beginning, yet the philosophical and mystical side enjoyed the upperhand. Later on, the same was made subservient to the tantric demands on it.

1. महार्थमञ्जरीद्वयं महत् तन्त्रम्...।

M. M. P., p. 2.

सूत्राणां सप्ततिस्तन्त्रे महार्थे मन्त्रगभिणी ।

Ibid., p. 198.

ग्राह्येयमीतरमहाक्रमतन्त्रगर्भाद् ।

Ibid., p. 201.

2. *Tantra-Prakriya Versus Kula-Prakriya: Krama as a part of the Tantra-Prakriya in the Tantraloka*

The very fact that Abhinavagupta deals with the Krama system in the *Tantraloka* (lit., the light of the Tantras) makes out a strong case in support of its tantric build up. This conclusion does not take into account the circumstantial evidence alone. It is, in fact, implied, according to Jayaratha, in the very scheme of the *Tantraloka*. He says, the whole subject-matter of the *Tantraloka* falls under two heads viz., Tantra-Prakriya and Kula-Prakriya.¹ One is not immediately concerned with Abhinava's comparatively more favourable disposition towards the Kula. What is significant is the fact that the mainstream of the monistic thought has been split into two currents. The first current namely, the Tantra-Prakriya, is traced to Traiyambaka and the other one namely, the Kula-Prakriya, to Ardha-traiyambaka.² As the tradition has it, there were four preceptorial schools (or lines of teachers) technically known as Mathikas. The schools founded by Amardaka and Srinatha and continued by their spiritual descendants related to the dualistic and dualistic-cum-monistic trends of thought respectively. Traiyambaka was responsible for propagation of the monistic thought. In his case the most peculiar thing is that he is credited with having inspired two monistic schools - one, which he propagated directly, was called the Traiyambaka Mathika and the other, which was founded by a descendant on his daughter's side, won the title of the Ardha-traiyambaka Mathika.³ It is these two

1. अतश्च वक्ष्यमाणशास्त्रस्य कुलतन्त्रप्रक्रियात्मकेन द्वैविध्ये,.....।

T. A. V., 1, p. 24.

एवं च तन्त्रप्रक्रियोपासन्गु 'भिमुखीकरणान्तरं विश्रान्तिस्थानतया कुलप्रक्रियागुरुमपि उत्कर्षयति ।

Ibid. p. 31.

2. इति वक्ष्यमाणस्थित्या श्रीसन्तत्यामर्दकज्ञैयम्बकाद्यैयम्बकाद्यासु साधसु तिसृषु मठिकासु मध्यात् वक्ष्यमाणतन्त्रप्रक्रियायाः त्रैयम्बकमठिकाश्रयणेन आयातिक्रमोऽस्ति ।

Ibid., p. 27.

3. Cf. T. A. V., I, pp. 26-28 and Abhi., pp. 132-136.

schools that are sought to be identified with the Tantra and the Kula Prakriya respectively. But it is quite likely that one may miss the precise implications of the above contention with regard to the Krama system. It may be noted that while the Kula system is accorded a separate identity as constituting Ardha-traiyambaka line of thinking, all other monistic systems, namely, Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijna (Spanda excluded) are subsumed under the Tantra-Prakriya or the Traiyambaka school.¹ It is further to be noted that the fact of such inclusion has not been admitted openly, but the conclusion becomes irresistible when one finds the entire Sadardha-krama-vijnana (one of the typical ways of presenting the monistic-Saiva thinking of Kashmir in general)² being identified with the Traiyambaka school. It may also be noted that although the Krama and Trika etc. have different secular history, they seem to be one in the matter of their origin. One factor consists in the generally acclaimed close affinity between the Trika and the Krama.³ The assertion that the Krama system finally culminates in the Kula refers more to the ultimate spiritual possibilities of the Krama system than to their apparent structure, while the identity between the Trika and Krama system ensues from their present character. The other factor happens to be that Abhinava learnt Krama from that very set of teachers led by

1. निखिलशास्त्रोपनिषद्भूतस्य षडर्थकमविज्ञानस्य द्वैयम्बकसन्तानद्वारेण अवतारकत्वाद् ।
T.A.V., I, p. 28.

2. सन्ति पद्धतयश्चिन्ताः स्रोतोभेदेषु भूयसा ।
अनुत्तरषडर्थार्थक्रमे त्वेकापि नैक्ष्यते ॥
T.A., I.14.

3. अनेन श्रीमहार्थान्निकदशनयोरस्योन्यं नात्यन्तं भेदप्रयेति व्याख्यातम् ।
M.M.P., 96.

Be it noted that while dwelling upon the Krama concept of parity between predication and negation (नियेद्वविधिबुत्पत्त्यं) Jayaratha generally refers to Krama as Trika, as if the two were one. See, T.A.V., III, pp. 279-290. Also of. Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Krama versus other sister systems etc."

Somananda from whom he learnt Trika and Pratyabhijna.¹ As opposed to this, he had a different line of teachers for the Kula culminating in Sambhunatha. And yet both the Tantra and Kula Prakriyas join each other as a part and parcel of a monolithic monistic complex evolved by Abhinavagupta. This may be perhaps due to:

- (i) the descent of divine revelation of the monistic brand through the same source, namely, Traiyambaka (either directly or indirectly), and
- (ii) the Kula's unflinching adherence to the agamic wisdom in common with the fellow doctrines, as contained in the *Malini-Vijayottara Tantra* and thus inclusion of the Kula under the broader Trika scheme.²

3. Tantra-Prakriya Analyzed

It is disquieting to see that Abhinava, even though subjecting his observations to the minutest analysis, nowhere men-

1. श्रीदेवीपञ्चशक्तिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदर्शनवदेव गुरवः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 194.

Jayaratha lends additional support to the above contention in following lines:-

‘पूर्वे जयन्ति गुरवः’^a इति सामान्येन कृतेऽपि नमस्कारे योगाङ्गत्वेन समानेऽपि...‘तर्को योगाङ्गमुत्तमम्’^b इत्याद्युक्त्या परमोपादेयस्वप्नकाशस्वात्मेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञापनपरस्य तर्कस्य कर्तारो व्याख्यातारश्च परं नमस्कर्तव्याः इति विशेषप्रयोजकीकारेण गुरु-परमगुरु-परमेष्ठिनः^c पुनरपि पराभट्टमाह ।

T.A.V., I, p. 30.

- a. TA. 1.8. referring to the earlier teachers of the Traiyambaka school i.e., *Tantra Prakriya*.
- b. *M.V.T.* 17.18 suggesting the Krama doctrine of Sattarka i.e., Right Logic.
- c. Laksmanagupta, Utpala and Somananda respectively, vide *T.A.* 1.10.11.

2. ननु सामान्येन त्रिकदर्शनप्रक्रियाकरणं प्रतिज्ञाय, सम्भवत्यपि तदर्थोपनिषादयि शास्त्रज्ञाते

किमिति श्रीमालिनीविजयोत्तरमेवाधिकृत्य तन्निर्वाहयिष्यते इत्याशङ्क्य आह...सांभूत-
त्वात् सर्वशास्त्राणाम् । एतदेवाह

दशाष्टादशवस्वष्टमिन्नं यच्छासनं विभोः ।

तत्सारं त्रिकशास्त्रं हि तत्सारं मालिनीमतम् ॥

T.A.V., I, p. 35.

In this connection it might be interesting to take into account the following observation made by Ksemaraja in his Pratyabhijnahrdaya while explaining the 8th Sutra (तद्भूमिकाः सर्वदर्शनस्थितयः) — “विश्वो-
त्तीर्णमात्मतत्त्वम् इति तान्त्रिकाः । विश्वमयम् इति कुलाद्याम्नायनिविष्टाः । विश्वोत्तीर्णं
विश्वमयं च इति त्रिकादिदर्शनविदः ।”

According to this statement all the three schools viz., the Tantra, Kula and Trika, stand on different footings and propagate divergent views with regard to the nature of the ultimate reality. Thus, the ultimate reality is transcendental to the Tantrikas, immanent to the Kaulas and transcendent-immanent to the Trikas.

This view of Ksemaraja, apparently, comes in direct conflict with the stand adopted by Abhinavagupta that the word Tantra Prakriya is comprehensive enough so as to include all the varying shades of Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijna within its ambit. It is very strange that all the editions of the Pratyabhijnahrdaya and their respective editors are silent on this point - in fact it does not seem to bother any one of them. It, however, appears to the present author that Ksemaraja does not use the word Tantra and Kula in the same technical sense as is used by Abhinava. For, the views ascribed to the Tantra and Kula systems by him are not exactly those as they are known to have held on the basis of the available literature. So far as the concept of the ultimate reality is concerned, all the systems - those which are assigned under Tantra-prakriya and those which are *not* (i e., those which subscribe to Kula-prakriya) - unreservedly take it to be both, transcendent as well as immanent. This view is essentially one which has been ascribed by Ksemaraja to the adherents of the Trika and its like systems (note the word 'adi' in Triyadi). It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the words Tantra and Kula as used by Ksemaraja do not stand for their counterparts within the fold of Kashmir Saiva Monism, instead they represent alien forces. The word Triyadi, in fact, stands for the monistic Saivism of Kashmir in general which is further subdivided into Tantra and Kula Prakriyas. It would, therefore, appear that the view expressed by Ksemaraja does not contradict what has been shown to have been maintained by his master, Abhinavagupta.

tions 'his' conception of the Tantra-Prakriya¹ in contrast with the Kula Prakriya. It remains for his students to draw their own conclusion.

1. No attempt is made here to define the word Tantra. In tantric parlance, however, it is called Tantra because it promulgates great knowledge concerning reality (tattva) and Mantra, and, because it save from the worldly trammels—

तनोति विपुलान् अर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।

आणं च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥

Kāmika Āgama, Tantrāntara Paṭala.

Owing to his uncompromising monistic attitude the Trika author views the phenomenon of knowledge as a continuity and totality of the final Awareness. Hence, to a Trika author Tantra stands for such a text where the teacher, the taught and the teaching - everything happens to be identical with the supreme consciousness and it is consciousness that enacts the role of the teacher and the taught in the form of the enquirer and the replier:

स्वयमेव विबोधश्च तथा प्रश्नोत्तरात्मकः ।

गुरुशिष्यपदेभ्यश्च देहभेदो ह्युतात्त्विकः ॥

T.A. 1.256.

भिन्नयोः प्रष्टृतद्वधवन्नोश्चैकात्म्यं यत्स उच्यते ।

संबन्धः परता चास्य पूर्णैकात्म्यप्रथामयो ॥

T.A. 1.275.

Cp. गुरुशिष्यपदे स्थित्वा स्वयं देवः सदाशिवः ।

पूर्वोत्तरप्रपदैर्विद्यैस्तन्त्रं समवतारयत् ॥

SV. T.S. 33.

But such descriptions fail to enlighten us about the precise nature and subject matter of the Tantras. For details of the etymology, genesis and definition of the word Tantra see *Sakti and Sakta*, Sir John Woodroffe, pp. 52-53 and *History of Dharma Sastra*, Kane, V-II, pp. 1031-33.

Unswerving mind and controlled senses - these two things are said to constitute the essential features of the tantras. Vide -

जितानि येनेन्द्रियाणि मनो यस्य वशे स्थितम् ॥.....

स्वकार्ये परकार्ये वा यस्य बुद्धिः स्थिरा भवेत् ॥.....

इत्येष तान्त्रिको न्यायः कथितस्तु समासतः ॥

SV. T. 10, 71-73.

This is all that we find expressly mentioned in the essentials of tantric culture. But this, too, does not give us insight into the bases of the tantric way of thinking as well as living

One is, therefore, supposed to directly appeal to the contents of the *Tantraloka*, *Tantrasara* and *Mahartha-manjari* (which is professedly presented as a tantric treatise) to find out what are the tantric features the Krama system claims to partake of.¹

1. For fuller grasp of the subject and comparative analysis of the common features of the tantras Woodroffe's following observation will be helpful:-

"As instances of general ideas I may cite the following: the conception of Deity as a Supreme Personality (Parahamta) and of the double aspect of God in one of which He really is or becomes the Universe; a true emanation from Him in His creative aspect; successive emanations (Abhasa, Vyuha) as of "fire from fire" from subtle to gross; doctrine of Sakti: pure and impure creation; the denial of unconscious Maya, such as Samkara teachers; doctrine of Maya Kosa and the Kancukas (the six Saiva Kancukas being, as Dr. Schrader says, represented by the possibly earlier classification in the Pancaratra of the three Samkocas); the carrying of the origin of things up and beyond Purusa-Prakrti, the Samkhyan Gunas, and evolution of Tattvas as applied to the doctrine of Sakti; affirmation of the reality of the Universe; emphasis on devotion (Bhakti); provision for all castes and both sexes.

"Instances of common practice are for example Mantra, Bija, Yantra, Mudra, Nyasa, Bhutasuddhi, Kundaliniyoga, construction and consecration of temples and images (Kriya), religious and social observances (Carya) such as Ahnika, Varnasrama Dharma, Utsava; and practical magic (Mayayoga). Where there is Mantra, Yantra, Nyasa, Diksa, Guru, and the like, there is Tantra Sastra. In fact one of the names of the latter is Mantra Sastra. With these similarities there are certain variations of doctrines and practice between the schools. Necessarily also, even on points of common similarity, there is some variance in terminology and exposition which is unessential." Vide *Sakti and Sakta*, pp. 58-59. Vide also Introduction to *Principles of Tantra*, pt. II, pp. XII-XIV; *The Saktas* by E. A. Payne, p. 137, for a similar view. Also of. *History of Dharma Sastra*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, p. 1092, fn. 1768.

Similarly T. A. Gopinatha Rao makes an important observation while distinguishing between the words agama and tantra which appears profitable to quote, "The words agama and tantra are used throughout this work as synonymous; strictly speaking an agama differs but slightly from a tantra. The former is said to deal with twentyfive subjects such as the nature of the Brahman, Brahavidya, the names of the different tantras, creation and destruction of the world, etc. The latter treats of only seven out of the twentyfive subjects dealt within

a. *Chararteristic Features of Tantra as Outlined
in the Tantrasara*

Abhinava in his *Tantrasara*, an epitome of the tantric knowledge, seems to suggest the following points as common grounds among the monistic tantras:-

- (i) ignorance as imperfect knowledge identified with impurity (mala); twofold division of ignorance in the form of the spiritual (Paurusa) and the conceptual (Bauddha), the latter being more important as constituting primary step towards self-realisation;
- (ii) Reality as self-luminosity and consciousness;
- (iii) objective multiplicity as a manifestation of Awareness;
- (iv) the Supreme Consciousness as Free Will;
- (v) Reality as simultaneously transcendent and immanent due to its integral dynamism and freedom;
- (vi) individual self or empirical being as a phenomenon of self-limitation of reality;
- (vii) re-emergence of the limited self as Universal Self - spontaneously, owing to unrestricted agency of the self or gradually, with the help of earlier means necessitating the refinement of Vikalpas;¹
- (viii) necessity of Sattarka (right logic), Sadagama (right scripture) and Sadguru (right teacher) as aides to re-emergence of eclipsed personality in original splendour on a graduated scale through purification of thought-constructs;
- (ix) Sattarka (right logic), the most efficacious part of the Yoga, as an immediate means for self-attainment;

the agamas. Sometimes the word yamala is used as synonymous with agama and tantra; and a yamala deals with only five out of the twentyfive subjects in the agamas." (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 21 (fn.)

Rao, however, does not enlighten us on the source of his information. It is, therefore, difficult to assess its textual authenticity.

1. For points from (i) to (vii) see *T.S.* pp. 2.7.

- (x) recourse to practices such as Vaga, Homa, Vrata, Yoga etc. for subliming the right logic which is pure-knowledge (Suddha-Vidya);
- (xi) realization of perfection-consciousness through manifestation of totality of powers;
- (xii) supremacy of the Trika scriptures.¹

b. *Mahesvarananda and Ramyadeva on Tantra as well as the Tantric Character of Krama*

Mahesvarananda in his Gathas 2², 69³ which he devotes exclusively to examining the essentials of a tantra and by implication of his Mahartha tantra i.e., *Mahartha-manjari*, too, is more specific and precise than the generalization of those that have not been covered above. Thus these aspects are:

- (i) The worldly multiplicity, represented by sensuous objects such as touch, sound etc., ordinarily supposed to be binding turns out to be the unfailing means of self-realisation.⁴
- (ii) The means and goal of the spiritual attainment are identical.⁵
- (iii) Harmony of the two aspects of reality i.e., Being (Prakasa) and Dynamism (Vimarsa), constitutes the nucleus of our physical being which too is identical with the totality of six channels (Adhvans).⁶

1. For points from (viii) to (xii) of. T.S., pp. 21-32.

2. अथ तन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यमर्थतत्त्वं तत्कारज्ञानस्य प्रयोजनतयास्वेष्ट्यतां चाभिधानः ।

M.M.P., p. 9.

3. प्रक्रान्तस्य महान्त्रस्य निष्कृष्टमर्थतत्त्वं संग्रहेणोद्घाटयितुमाह ।

Ibid., p. 180.

4. दर्शान्तरप्रणेतृमनीषया संसारनिबन्धनत्वेनोपकल्पितः शब्दस्पर्शादिविषयविशोभो जीवन्मुक्तिलक्षणाह्लादस्वभावं स्वात्मनो विमर्शं प्रत्युपायतयोपदिश्यते ।

M.M.P., p. 14.

5. अस्य चोपायोपेयभावस्य अव्यभिचारस्वभावसामरस्योद्भावनाय...

Ibid.

6. यदिदं षडध्वोल्लाससमष्टिरूपस्य स्वशरीरस्यानुप्राणनतयावतिष्ठमानमविकल्पावस्थायामनुत्तीर्णोल्लेखं च सत्प्रकाशविमर्शद्वितयमेलापलक्षणमन्तस्तत्त्वं हृदयमित्युच्यते ।

Ibid., p. 181.

- (iv) Abhyudaya and Nihstreya of the Vedic terminology are transformed into Bhoga and Moksa in the tantric phraseology. While ordinarily enjoyment (bhoga) and freedom (moksa) cannot be combined as being opposite forces, they are synthesized into one unit marking the state of liberation where an object of enjoyment is visualized as an expression of self-reality.¹
- (v) Wine, woman and meat which stand badly condemned in other systems occupy a place of basic importance in the ritualistic scheme because they offer a crucial and hard test of one's spiritual advancement.²
- (vi) Mantra is the fundamental component of any spiritual or textual adventure as it stands for the indeterminate matrix of the world known as Para Vak. The same is also identified with the principle of supreme agency consisting in I-consciousness or self-experience that enlivens the mantra.³
- (vii) Worship (Pujana), deity (Devata) and physical postures (Mudra), - everything transpiring to be essentially a reflection on the individual self's identity with the Universal Self - are the factors that impart a definite tantric look to any doctrine.⁴

1. येन च क्षणमात्रानुबद्धेनापि जननमरणाद्यशेषोपद्रवव्युदासशाली जीवन्मोक्षलक्ष्मीमहोपभोगः संपद्यते ।

M.M.P., 132.

2. अन्धशस्त्रविगृहीतानि महिलासद्यसादीन्येव द्रव्यान्धस्मदुपास्थानां देवतानां सपर्यामु परि-
वर्तयाम्यद्वितानि इति ।

Ibid.

3. येन मन्त्रात्मकैः शब्दैः परमेश्वर्युपासते ।...
वाह्यानामान्तराणां च मन्त्राणामुज्ज्वलाविषास ।
वीर्येषैव बोद्धव्या पराहन्तामयी कला ॥

Ibid., pp. 198-200.

4. पूजास्वरूपनिष्कर्षो देवताया निरूपणम् ॥
चिन्तनं मन्त्रतत्त्वस्य वाभ्युत्तिस्फूर्तिनिश्चयः ।
मृदारूपपरामर्शो विमर्शस्यात्मवर्तनः ॥

M.M.P., p. 20.

The fourth aspect is logically deduced from the first one as presented above. In this connection an allusion to a few observations made by Ramyadeva in his commentary on the *Bhavopahara* would make this study more meaningful. He portrays the Krama system as one that believes in the identity of the Full (Purna) and the Lean (Krsa) deity. Implying that even when Reality (i.e., divinity par transcendence) is not involved in cosmic manifestation owing to withdrawal of the latter, it retains its perfection.¹ The other remark relates to the seventh aspect, mentioned above. In his view recourse to the practices like worship etc. being essentially another way of meditative realization of one's divine essence, turns out to be instinctive and integral part of our spiritual personality. As an essential dimension of spiritual being the act of worship never comes to a close.²

c. Characteristic Features of Krama as a Tantric System

Thus it is evident that the Krama as a tantric system, rests upon intuition and discourages dialectic. In doing so it approximates to some modern tendencies of the Western philosophy. The tantric character seeks its fulfilment in the harmonious reconciliation of intuition with practical realization. It is why, by the fourfold divisions of tantric subject matter (Jnana, Yoga, Kriya, Caryā) Jnana is linked up with Kriya and Caryā through Yoga. It also explains the reason behind acclaiming the *Malini Tantra* as the chief source of inspiration, because it struck a balance between speculation and practice³ Likewise,

1. इति संक्षयप्रधानायामपि शून्यौ अविलुप्तमेव परिपूर्णम्—

इति पूर्णकृष्णदेवतैकात्म्यमयः कोऽपि नयः प्रथितः ।

B.U.V., p. 33.

2. सर्वार्थसात्कारकरणलक्षणः सततोदितोऽकृत्रिमपूजानय उद्भूतः ।

B. U. V., p. 4.

3. नञ्च सिद्धा-नामक-मालिन्याख्यखण्डव्रजयात्मकत्वात् त्रिविधम् ।

नत्र त्रियाप्रधानं सिद्धातन्त्रं, ज्ञानप्रधानं नामकं तन्त्रं, तदुभयमयं मालिनीमतम् इति तदेव मुख्यम् ।

T.A.V., I, p. 49.

synthesis of Bhoga and Moksa - the *sine qua non* of the tantric philosophy is the tantric rendering of harmony between knowledge and action. The key objective of the *Tantraloka* is to expound this theme through an exposition of the four upayas that are the tantric adaptations of the various systems under the Trika.¹ This synthesis is achieved by leading intuition, according to the tantra, into higher and higher possibilities by means of Sadhana i.e., practice, whose result is the gradual unfolding of the spirit's latent potencies. Thus philosophy of the tantra is a practical philosophy which, according to an eminent Indian author, "not merely 'argues' but 'experiments'".²

4. Two Phases of the Krama-Tantricism

In the earlier phase which comes to a close with Ksemaraja or Varadaraja, the Krama system was marked by a definite-proclivity towards philosophical and intuitional issues. In tantric phraseology the aspects Jnana and Yoga remained superior to those of Carya and Kriya. It is in fact its main plank against the Kula and Siddhanta doctrines as subsequent study would reveal. But later on the emphasis was reversed and the ritualistic aspect came on the threshold. Mysticism and metaphysics were made to serve the interests of esotericism and ritualism. The tendency makes deeprooted strides as we drift close to Mahesvarananda and Sitikantha. Sometimes the author is so lost in esoteric jargon that it becomes a test for a modern student³ to carry on his perusal. However, the later phase

1. इति ज्ञानचतुष्कं यत्सिद्धिमुक्तिमहोदयम् ।
तन्मया तन्व्यते तन्त्रालोकाभ्यन्तरे शासने ॥

T.A. 1.245.

2. *Sakti and Sakta*, p. 03. The view referred to has been ascribed to Prof. Pramatha Natha Mukhopadhyaya, now of Swami Pratyagatmananda fame.
3. For instance the following phrases from the *Bhavopahara-vivarana* have surpassed the comprehension of the present author:

देशवन्धनादिभिः अप्योत्तरशतसंख्यातान्त्रिकमुद्ध्यमं प्रदायसिद्धिभूमिकोत्पलचक्रमेण अमलता-

attaches importance to the Mudra, Mantra¹ and Pujana² etc. to the extent that these emerge as the central features of the system. Similarly the Pitha, the spiritual seat, which attracted only passing references before, now comes to be eulogised as constituting the most vital element in the system.³

साधनम् (p. 23), चन्द्रकमलमीलनन्यायः (p. 28), चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषचर्वणेन... अनुत्तरपरपरिस्पन्दसौन्दर्याविद्योतनेन अमावास्यावागमनावामितः कोऽपि सम्प्रदायः उद्दिष्टः (p. 29) etc.

It is just an instance, Sitikantha's work, in particular abounds in such expressions.

1. मुद्रामन्त्रात्मकोऽत्रैव सम्प्रदायोऽनुवर्तते ।

M.P.(T). 7. 122.

2. उन्मील्यते कथनपूजनसंक्रमात्मा नित्याविलुप्तविभवो गुरुसंप्रदायः ।

Ibid, 1.5.

कथनात्मा सम्प्रदायो निष्ठात्मन् परं मतः ।

Ibid., 7. 61; *vide also* 1.35; 7.41-42., 7.134, 9.67. *Vide also* *M.M.P.*, p. 86.

3. तत्पीठमेव सर्वप्रकारं समस्तमहान्यालङ्कारभूतम् ।

M.P.(S)., p. 50.

इत्थं पीठाख्य एष महार्थः ।

Ibid., p. 56.

Cp. परमरहस्या + + +

गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्बीजम् ।

पीठकमस्वरूपं तत्त्वा सन्त्यते प्रथमम् ॥

M.P.(T). 2.1; *also cp.* 2.41.

The above lines do not try to ascertain the exact number of spiritual seats (Pithas) according to the Krama system. But according to the material available, the indications are that they did not deviate much from these in the other traditions. In support we reproduce an extract from the *History of Dharmasastra*, by P. V. Kane (Vol 5, Pt. 2, p. 1038, fn. No. 1673) which brings into open a comparative estimate of tantric thinking in regard to the Pithas. It reads:

"It appears that in some Tantra works five Pithas are named (according to H. P. Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS in the Nepal Durbār Library, Calcutta, 1905, p. LXXX) viz., Odiyana (in Orissa, says H.P. Sastri), Jala (in Jalandhar), Purna Matanga in Srisaila and Kamakhya in Assam...The *Sadhanamala* (Vol. II, pp. 453 and 455) mentions Uddipana, Purnagiri, Kamakhya and Sripitha. The *Kulacudamanitantra* (Tantrik Texts, Vol. IV, in 6th Patala, verses 3-7) refers to five Pithas viz., Uddiyana, Kamarupa, Kamakhya, Jalandhara and Purnagiri (Vide also 3rd Patala, 59-

61)." Also vide "The first two are respectively identified with Kamakhya or Kamarupa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two (Kamakhya and Kamarupa are identical according to others) is a controversial matter. M M.H.P. Sastri identified Uddiyana with Orissa. His son Dr. B. Bhattacharya furnishes good ground for holding that Uddiyana was near Swat valley in N.W. India and Grousset *In the footsteps of Buddha* pp 109-110 holds the same view" (*ibid.*, pp. 1038-39).

For the sake of relevancy it may be pointed out that Mahesvarananda does not treat Sripitha and Uddiyana as two separate pithas. Though Oddiyana is a subordinate pitha 'yet it ranks supreme in its effectiveness as spiritual seat. (श्रीपीठेति तस्य पूज्यतोत्कर्षेण महत्त्वं द्योत्यते । महत्त्वं च तदोद्भ्याणादीनामवान्तरपीठत्वेऽपि सर्वप्रतिष्ठाभूमितया प्रधानपीठत्वात् । *M.M.P.*, p. 36).

Sitikantha echoes the same view (vide, *M.P.(S)* pp. 2 and 50). It may be mentioned that the former belonged to Chola in Kerala, whereas the latter to Kashmir. The *Cidgagana-Candrika*, extols Purnapitha as the highest (पूर्णपीठमवगम्य भंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकुरुते मयं कृतं । C.GC.4. 128). There is mention of another Pitha e.g., Uttarapitha which is identical with present Kashmir - (नतो ध्यातं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं ब्रूहि । योगिनीसिद्धसंज्ञेयमुत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ॥ *M.P.(T)*. 2. 37; and उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दपीठात् । *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192). Really speaking Krama is called Uttaramnaya because it arose in and spread out from Uttarapitha. This Pitha has escaped the notice of other Tantric works. There is still another view which tends to identify Kashmir, indeed by implication, with Oddiyana. On this view, which banks on Sivananda's statement in the Rjivimarsini and has been quoted by Mahesvarananda (*MM.P.*, p. 193), Tripura and Krama both the systems would originate from one place. However, the spokesman of this view would seem to take Uttarapitha and Uddiyana as one.

Cf. "उड्डियानस्थानं चोत्तरस्यां दिशि कश्मीरसमीप एव वर्तते । साम्प्रतं स्वात नदी पश्चिमोन्धारदेशे प्रवहति । सुवासुनदीद्रोणी प्राक्तनसमये औदायनी इति कथ्यते स्म । तस्या एव उड्डियान इत्यपि नाम ।... एष च देशः कश्मीरसमीप एव स्थित इति कृत्वा शिवानन्देन सम्प्रदायस्य कश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात् इति चोक्तं स्यात् ।"
— विपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च, Braj Vallabha Dwivedi, submitted to the 22nd session AIOC, Gauhati; also see अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षे भारत भारतम् ।

The Krama subscribes to the general tantric belief that their philosophy was revealed through the Yoginis. This belief is a legacy of the earlier stages¹ and has been retained even afterwards.² Such a convention suits Krama more than any other system. Because, as we are likely to see, the first recipients of the Krama wisdom were the female ascetics. Similarly, in one of mythical accounts of the system's origin, it is traced to Makaradevi. Even the famous twelve Kalikas are sometimes described as Yoginis.³ In this connection liberty may be taken for hazarding a suggestion that Mahesvarananda's story of divine inspiration from a female ascetic in a dream might be a left-over of this tradition. In the beginning the Krama system was intended to cater to the spiritual urges of all strata of human society and hence it envisaged a scheme of graded emancipation. But gradually, as the time passed, greater and greater secrecy came to shroud it and it did not, perhaps, allow common man the same easy access to it as he was accustomed to enjoy. It might be one of the factors, other than historical ones, that led the system to oblivion. Some statements amply testify to it.⁴ One of possible causes of such a tendency might be ascribed to the general tantric practice of total reliance on one's preceptorial lineage. And, no doubt, only a few could have

1. तथैव योगिनीवक्त्रसम्प्रदायक्रमाप्तया ।

विद्युतकल्मषावेशा तिष्ठते चिन्मयी स्थितिः ॥

M.V.V. 2.94.

ग्राह्यग्राहकसम्बन्धभेदः सपदि भिद्यते ।

योगिनीवक्त्रसंस्कृतसंप्रदायक्रमाप्तया ॥

Ibid., 2.97.

2. तदेतत् परमं गुह्यं योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ।

मुखागमम्लानभयादुद्घाट्य प्रतिपादितम् ।

M.P.(T), 7.168.

3. कालिकानां च योगिनीश्यनेन नाममात्र एवायं भेदो न वस्तुनि इति ।

T.A.V., II, p. 236.

4. एवं महार्थस्वरूपं पारम्पर्येण पीठवरे गुप्तमस्ति इति समासादिह सूचितम् ।

M.P.(S), p. 48.

तदेतत् परमं गुह्यम् ।

M.P. (T), 7.168.

been the worthy custodians of the schools' secrets.¹ Likewise, the theory of Cakras was a logical deduction from reality being conceived as kinetic and continuous. The esteem, in which the Anakhya or Samvit Cakras etc are held, is too well known to require elucidation. But still in Abhinava the ritualistic significance is not so predominant. So much so that even the most characteristic theories of Vrnda Cakra etc are not traceable to Abhinava or to the *Tantraloka*. But gradually the importance of the Cakras like many other aspects grew and the system came to be designated as the Cakra-krama-sampradaya (school of the cyclic order),² or the Navacakra-Sampradaya (school of the nine cycles).³ The Nava-cakras include the five functional cycles (i.e., Srsti, Sthiti etc.) three cycles of the optical trinity (Trinetra) i.e., Prakasa, Ananda and Murti and the Vrnda Cakra. Similarly another esoteric appellation of the system is found in the phrase "Ady-

1. गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसम्यम् ।

M.P.(T), 4.17.

मा पा (ल्लुप्त) मिहेदंशं गुरुमुखं कालक्रमदितयतः ।

Ibid., 1.37.

परमरहस्याः... गुरुवरमुखसम्प्रदायसद्बोधम् ।

Ibid., 2.1.

कोऽपि गुरुमुखरहस्यक्रम उद्दीपितः ।

B.U.V., p. 28.

सर्वे मुखसम्प्रदायाः ।

M.P.(S), p. 64.

इत्यस्माकं गुरुमुखम् ।

Ibid., p. 140.

2. विचक्षणैर्यद्यपि सम्यगुक्तो महार्थचक्रक्रमसम्प्रदायः ।

M.P.(T), 1.

चकोल्लासविभागयुक्तिधटना सत्सम्प्रदायोऽज्ज्वलः ।

Ibid., 1. 35

अष्टाष्टकचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुरुकमोषं... ।

M.M.P., p. 86.

3. नवचक्रसम्प्रदायः सोऽयं महार्थः ।

M.P.(S), p. 15.

नवचक्रविषयः सम्प्रदायोऽन्योन्यानुप्राणनेन प्रकाश्यते ।

Ibid., p. 137.

aksara Sampradaya" (the school of the first letter).¹ In fact the Akara (A) is deemed to be the most important part of the entire alphabet according to the esoteric symbolism. Akara, accordingly, is said to have four crests and represents the first stage of manifestation and assumes the cosmic dimensions.² It is, however, gratifying to note that the Krama system, though in later stages advocating³ the use of wine and woman etc., which constitute the Pancatattva of the tantras, does not preach licentiousness. And a comparatively rarer reference has been made to this aspect. The Krama authors had to subscribe to it, because they aimed at complete self-control demonstrated not only through abstinence from but also through participation in the objects of enjoyments. But the fact remains that Abhinava does not take cognizance of these things in his presentation of the Samviccakra and dwells on the spiritual bearing of the same through an analysis of epistemic experience. In contrast, Sivananda II is prone to incorporate the wine etc. in the context of Samvic-cakra (anakhya cakra) marking out a diversion of emphasis from spiritual inquiry to mystic experimentalism. But even here this form of worship was prescribed only at a very advanced stage of spiritual development when the things that usually lure one away could create no mental digression.

5. *Experience, Pure and Simple: Pivot of
the Tantric thinking of Krama*

The whole of the above discussion may perhaps be subsumed under one single doctrine that posits the realization of identity of the Individual Soul with the Universal Soul as a fundamental premise. Reality is conceived in terms of univer-

1. अयमाक्षरसम्प्रदायो ययागुरुमुखम् ।

Ibid., p. 30.

तत आद्यक्षरसम्प्रदायः ।

Ibid., p. 32.

2. इत्युभयथा अकार एव विश्वप्रसरत्वादिकोटिः स एव व्यापकत्वाद् दिश्वम् ।

Ibid., p. 30.

Vide also अदर्शात्मा महामन्त्रो दिश्वारणतत्परः ।

M. P. (T). 7.147

3. Cf. *M.P.(T)*. 9.51 and *M.M.P.*, p. 182.

sal idea or Experience pure and simple (Samvit). Experience (Samvit) and Reality (Sat, being) are essentially one. Hence the method preferred is not to bifurcate reality owing to the limitations of the dialectic and logic in comprehending the whole of reality, but to experience i.e., intuitively realize, the self (sat, being). Thus 'being' spells the content of 'experience' and 'experience' defines the nature and method of 'being'. In the typical Trika phraseology it is described as realization of Prakasa through Vimarsa. In still other words self-realization is nothing but the realization of Prakasa as being involved in the very nature of Vimarsa. Precisely the unity of the self and the Supreme Self (आत्मपरमात्मैक्यम्) is arrived at through unity of the being (Prakasa, Sat) and its inherent possibilities of becoming (Vimarsa, Sakti) (सक्त्याऽमनोरैक्यम्). This is the logic behind the most cherished method enjoined in terms of discovering the essential identity between the agenthood of the empirical subject and that of the Absolute (Pancaknya-parisilana). Hence the experience of self is not a simple act of knowing but a complex one of re-knowing (Pratyabhijna). Since logic fails us in our hopes of attaining our alogical character, the intuitive realization turns out to be a process of mystic experiencing. It is why the mystic side of our self-experience has been so ardently embarked upon.¹ Moreover, in the nature of things, *a priori* awareness leading us to the intrinsic self-experience is bound to be mystical both in and out. Hence the process of synthesis occasioning complete dilution of the subjective and objective polarities in one is equally bound to be mystic in character. Esoterics is therefore the only methodology suited to realization of the mystic goal of self-experience,² former-

1. भव्यागामानुभवनिष्ठसम्प्रदायस्त्वानन्दाभूतसत्तुल्ये स भूयात् ॥ *M.P.(T).* 7.18.

आत्मज्ञानसमुद्यतैरिति निर्जयविद्वान्भासात्मकैः ।

संविन्मज्जनसारतामुपगतेः सृष्ट्यादिभिः पूजनैः ॥

Ibid., 8.30.

2. इत्यमृतानविषये भावानुभवभूमिषु ।

प्रत्यक्षः सर्वजन्तूनां स्थितो (ऽसौ) पूजनकर्मः ॥

अश्रुधारावरकत्वेन ये भावाः परिवर्जिताः ।

तैरेव ज्ञानिनामिदं जाज्वलीति परा चित्तिः ॥

M.P.(T) 9. 67-68.

remaining always subservient to the latter. It is only when the true significance of intuitive realization is lost sight of due to deficient and hastily inculcated spiritual vision of the aspirant, the esotericism becomes the rule of the day, the method and means replacing and discarding their very ideal.¹ A close study of the Tantras will demonstrate, why the Tantras give preference to what is called the inner worship (Antaryaga)² and to pure reflection (Bhavana), which in the Krama system synchronizes with the highest level of Sattarka, the principle of Right Logic. And the various rites in Krama worship will be found, as will be seen later, conducive to such a realization on the graduated scale.³ This may be the only rationally possible implication of the process of the refinement of determinate ideality (Vikalpa-Samskara), in the context of the tantric sub-structure of the system. Even the tantric worship aims at harmonizing the deity whom one worships and the macrocosm over which she presides. In this the Krama system joins Samaya school in discarding the external worship for the attainment of the self.⁴

Apart from the naturally dominant tendency towards mystic possibilities of self-experience, the other factor that

1. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्याभाद्रप्रपूर्णात् ।
यथाकथंचिच्चक्राणां ग्रन्थ्याधारकलादिभिः ॥
वर्णक्रमान्त्यैरन्धैश्च प्रकारैरसमंजसैः ।
स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युल्लैः (केज्ते) ऽपि(न) ज्ञानशालिनः ॥
Ibid., 7. 187-188.
2. पूजा नाम न पुष्पाद्यैर्या मतिः कियते दृढा ।
निर्विकल्पे महाब्योम्नि सा पूजा ह्यादराल्लयः ॥
Ibid., 8.4.
3. अत आत्मपरिज्ञाने सम्पन्ने निर्विकल्पकः ।
विकल्पवासनाविद्धः पूजनात्मा प्रवर्तते ॥
V. Bh. 147.
4. अन्तर्यामिका पूजा सर्वपूजोत्तमा प्रिये ।
बहिः पूजा विघ्नतव्या यावज्ज्ञानं न जायते ॥
Vāmakeivari Tantra (Ch. 51).

contributed to the regularly swelling esoteric aspect of the system consists in its inter-action with the other tantric and agamic forces of the day. In this connection one should also briefly consider its relation and attitude to some other systems of philosophy of non-agamic origin. The next section is addressed to the study of this question as well.

CHAPTER IV

MUTUAL EXCHANGE WITH AND IMPACT ON THE OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL AND TANTRIC SYSTEMS

*An enquiry into the sources of influences responsible
for the rise and development of particular doctrines
or esoteric tendencies in the Krama systems*

1. *Nature and Scope of the Proposed Enquiry*

Here we intend to concentrate upon an examination of the nature and extent of the influence exercised by the other systems of thought on the Krama system and vice versa with special reference to the specific trends evinced by Krama, naturally excluding those ideas that subscribe to the general build-up of all the tantric systems. Thus, the admission of the Samkhya scheme of tattvas to the thirty-six-category scheme of all the Saiva and Sakta tantric systems and the tantric transformation of the Sadrsa-parinamavada doctrine into the theory of Abhasa-vada etc are ruled out from the present treatment; Similarly an analysis of the doctrinal Krama attitude towards the Veda and Vedic systems and their comparative validity is also excluded since it has been dealt with on a subsequent occasion.¹ The sole and ultimate purpose of the present treatment is to pick up and point out the source of influences that directly or indirectly inspired particular doctrines or esoteric tendencies in the system without attempting a comparative estimate of the various systems as such.

2. *Krama versus Spanda with Regard to the Concepts of Reality and Fourfold Absolutic Functionalism*

Let us begin with a glance at the immediate surroundings of the Krama system. The attention has already been invited to the fact that Krama was a Saiva system with basically Sakta

leanings. It becomes evident from the Krama accent on Sakti, the dynamic aspect of the Male Polarity i.e., the Lord. The word Spanda (from Spadi - to throb, the palpitate, to move slightly) is an exact counterpart in Samskṛta of the word 'dynamism' in English. The two commentators on the *Spanda-Karikas*, namely, Utpala-Vaisnava and Ksemaraja, are the first authors to discover the close correlation between the two systems with regard to their two particular theses. While explaining the first Karika¹ in his *Nimaya* Ksemaraja takes the phrase "Svasakti-cakravibhava-prabhavam" as representing the Krama or Mahārtha ideal of the fivefold Abso-lutic functioning occasioned through the agency of the deities headed by Sṛṣṭi Kali etc.² He further endorses his thesis by observing that the highest Mahārtha ideal is contained in the first and the last Karika of the *Spanda-Karikas*.³ The essence of the Spanda doctrine is best represented in the Mahārtha concept of the supreme reality that consists in realising the self as "power-ful" (Saktiman) through unearthing real nature of his "powers" (Sakti) by way of five acts. This view is reiterated in his *Vimarsini*⁴ on the *Siva-Sutra* 1.6.⁵ Our other author Utpala Vaisnava, who is more thorough-going a Spanda-vadin, suggests in his commentary on the forty-fourth

1. यत्स्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयो ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥

Sp. K. 1.

2. ननु श्रीमन्महार्थहृदया सृष्ट्यादिदेवताभिरेव विचित्रा जगतः प्रलयोदयो संपाद्यन्ते
तत्कथमेतदुक्तं यस्येत्यादि,—इत्याशंनयाह तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं ।

Sp. N. p.6.

3. एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशाक्तरोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यता-
मस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

Ibid., p. 7v.

4. यथा...श्रीमत्सृष्ट्यादिशक्तिचक्रस्फारणात्मा क्रीडयेमादृशिता । तस्यैवदाभासितस्य शक्ति-
चक्रस्य रहस्याम्नायाम्नातमीत्या यत्संधानं यथोचितक्रमविमर्शनम्.....। एतदेव
'यत्स्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां'... (*Sp. K. 1.*) इति 'यदा त्वेकव संहृदः' । *Sp. K. 49.*
इति च प्रथमचरमश्लोकाभ्यां संगृहीतम् ।

S. S. Vi., pp. 21-23.

5. शक्तिचक्रसन्धाने विश्वसंहारः ।

Karika¹ that this Karika embodies the essence of Krama teaching that one develops a state of continuous realization of the principle of Spanda through one's recourse to various methods of self-reflection.² And on the forty-second Karika³ he makes it absolutely certain that the Spanda concepts of Bindu, Nada, Rupa and Rasa are the exact Spanda correspondents of the four functions of the Absolute in the Krama system.⁴

Now it is difficult to ascertain as to which of the either school is indebted to which, yet a few conclusions may tentatively be drawn. Despite the fact that both the schools are wedded to the doctrine of dynamic Absolutism, the Krama appears to pursue it with more vigour. Hence, the Spanda system might be indebted to the Krama system for these ideas. Reasons for hazarding such a guess are as under :-

- (i) Krama, being the earliest monistic Saiva System of Kashmir, is earlier than Spanda also.
- (ii) The supremacy of the Absolute vis-a-vis the same of the Absolutic Dynamism i.e., Sakti or Kali, is a matter of controversy in view of the fundamental role assumed by the latter in the Krama system, whereas the ultimacy of the Absolute has never been questioned in the Spanda with all its accent on the dynamic aspect i.e., Spanda, that is Sakti.
- (iii) The first two verses, unlike Ksemaraja, are not interpreted in the light of the Krama system by the

1 प्रबुद्धः सर्वदा तिष्ठेज्जालेनालोक्ष्य योचरम् ।
एकवारोपयेत्सर्वं ततोऽन्येन न योच्यते ॥

Sp. P., pp. 49-50.

2. एतत्क्रमार्थस्य परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।

3. अतो बिन्दुरतो नादो रूपमस्मादतो रसः ।

प्रवर्ततेऽचिरैरेव क्षीयकत्वेन देहितः ॥

Also see Pt. II, Ch. I, under "The Discovery of One's potencies as a means to self-discovery".

4. एष एवातिरहस्यप्रमार्थविदाम् उद्योगावभासचर्चण-विलापनरूपः त्रिमचतुष्को त्रयोऽत्रैव
पुनर्योगोक्तः ।

Ibid., p. 48.

other Spanda authors notably Ramakantha indicating lack of unanimity with regard to the Krama impact on the Spanda.

- (iv) The fortysecond and fortyfourth Karikas have not been *accorded* with the Krama interpretation by Ksemaraja unlike Utpala Vaisnava indicating the same as in (iii) above.
- (v) Yet, both the sub-schools of the Spanda system - the one headed by Ksemaraja and the other by Utpala - recognize the element of the Krama theses as latent in the Spanda dicta.

3. Krama and Kula: Bilateral Process of Influence

Coming to the Kula system *one* finds that the process of influence has gone on a bilateral scale. It has been noted earlier that the Krama system, under the spell of its maintaining a parity between affirmation and negation both, adopts a completely indifferent attitude towards rituals like phallus-worship, the putting on of the matted hair and sacred ashes on the body, observance of religious vows, worship of deities, and the spiritual efficacy of Ksetra (station) as well as Pithas¹ (seat). Such an attitude comes in sharp contrast to that of the Siddhanta and Kula systems with their enjoining and prohibiting these respectively. However, with regard to the phenomenon of Pitha etc. Kula does not prohibit but advocates them, while they stand negated by the Mata system. Likewise, while Kula prescribes Samayacara² and worship of Ovalis, Mudra, Chumma etc., the Mata Sastra prohibits the same. And Krama, as usual, does not bother itself.³ But this equilibrium of mind and posture

1. क्षेत्रं मेलापस्थानं पीठं कामरूपादि, उपपीठं देवीकोट्टादि ।...
इह पुनरेतदुभयमपि नास्तीति ।

T. A. V., III, pp. 290-91.

2. The discrimination between what one ought to do and what one ought not is the essence of the Samayacara—इदं कुर्यादिदं न कुर्यात् इत्येवमात्मा समयाचारः ।

T. A. V., III, p. 292.

3. T. A. 4. 258-269.

of neutrality is not maintained for long. The Pitha, rituals, Owallis, Ghara, Pallis etc. are injected into the system under the Kula influence and we come to know of a few Owallis at least, namely, Mahananda¹ and Kularani² in the Krama. Similarly the line of teachers under Kula system including Yuganathas and Rajaputras, which initially did not find favour with Krama, later became acceptable inasmuch as their worship was advocated in Sthiti-cakra. This question has been discussed at its proper place subsequently.³ Even in later history we do hear a few discordant notes,⁴ but once an influence has interpolated itself it is difficult to pull it out. These later developments took place in the wake of the Kula system, because there came a stage when the Kula was thought to be superior to the Krama system. One has already seen that Abhinava himself elevates the Kula-prakriya as compared with the Tantra-Prakriya.⁵ The process was logically extended to the point when Kula came to be acknowledged as constituting the crowning point of the Krama ideology⁶ and even the Krama works were referred to as the Kula texts.⁷ A natural outcome of such a tendency was that the Krama authors were gradually led to imbibe and import all those Kula theses that could be fitted in the Krama plan.

1. अस्मिन्नुत्तरघोरवलिविशेषरूपे महानन्दव्यपदेश्ये ।

M. P. (S), p. 42.

2. कुलस्य ओवल्लीविशेषस्य.....।

Ibid., p. 107; also see M. M. P. p. 1.

3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. III, under "Sthiti-cakra".

4. *M.P.(S).*, pp. 107-108.

5. कुलप्रक्रियायाः प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्यः प्राधान्यात् ।

T.A.V., I, p. 24.

6. अपितु कुलसपर्याबिम्बसंबंधवन्ध्याः ।

सङ्कटपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ।

M. M. P., p. 2.

7. एतत् वितत्यविख्यातैः क्रमकेलौ कुलागमे ।

Ibid., p. 190.

तद्वदस्यापि ग्राह्या व्याख्या परिमलाह्वया ॥

अस्यामर्थस्थितिः सैव या सर्वत्र कुलागमे ।

किन्तु शब्दस्य अध्यान्या नात्यन्तं सा विभिद्यते ।

Ibid., p. 199.

But at the same time, the Kula system also could not remain immune from the impact coming from the opposite direction i.e., Krama. The most important exchange took place with regard to the theory of the twelve Kalis or Samviddevis constituting the power-cycle (Sakti-cakra).¹ This process did not remain confined to the Kula system alone but infected other systems as well, the Sara system in particular.² As a natural corollary, the Anakhya-krama forced its way into the Kula fold.³

4. Krama and Tripura: Reciprocal Impact

The other cognate creed that seems to have shaped and inspired quite a few theses of Krama is the Tripura system in spite of its not being a Saiva ideology. Krama owing to its temperamental attachment to the Sakti is rather soft to Tripura, a Sakta system. Sitikantha is most alive to this influence when he defines the scope of Mahārtha as ranging from the Pitha (Spiritual seat) to the Samaya-vidya i.e., Tripura philosophy.⁴ But for its Saiva associations, Krama is certainly a Sakta system. He says that the Samaya-vidya is *one* because it marks the summit of all Krama achievement and the total variety of the Kramas is finally reposed here.⁵ Hence he describes Anakhya and Bhasa as Anakhya-Samayesvari and Bhasa-Samayesvari.⁶ Similarly, Vrnda-cakra, which according to Mahe-svarananda is the most important single aspect of the Krama

1. क्रमनयसोदरतामस्य दर्शनस्य आवेदयति ।

T.A.V., III, p. 157.

2. न केवलमेताः क्रमदर्शनादावेवोक्ता यावदस्मन्नयसहोदरेषु शास्त्रेष्वपीत्याह...तत्तदनुस-
द्यामर्शरूपत्वमप्यासां संविदां श्री त्रिकसार एव भंग्यामिहितम् ।

T. A. V., II, pp. 235-36.

3. यथैवासां द्वादशानामपि संविदासनाद्यत्रमे रूपं प्रविशन्तं तथैव सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेणैव इति
समुच्चितत्वमभिधातुं तदुपायिन्नयास्य इत्युपात्तम् ।

Ibid., p. 238.

4. वस्तुतस्तु पीठचक्रादारभ्य समयविद्यान्तं समेन साम्राज्येन महार्थ एव वक्ष्यमाणवत
वोभवीति इति भाव्यता ।

Al.P.(S), p. 36.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

system¹ is introduced by him as Sri-cakra,² an equally valued part of Tripura. There is some evidence to show that the concept of Vrnda-cakra was not completely unknown to the Tripura authors. The anonymous commentary on the *Kamakalavilasa* (Kashmir edition) of Punyananda refers to two types of Vrnda-cakra viz., Pada-viksepa and Kramodaya.³ The former represents the Absolutic capacity for infinite possibilities of self-becoming and the latter with the traditional history. It is our impression that while Sri-cakra may be held responsible for the very inspiration of Vrnda-cakra, the notion of Vrnda-cakra is an export from the Krama into Tripura. Because in early stages we do not have any record of Vrnda in Krama, Vrnda being a later development. But on the other hand, Sri-cakra starts from the initial stages of the Tripura history. Tripura, the highest ideal of the Tripura system, is sought to be identified with Kala-Samkarsini⁴ - the Ultimate in Krama. As has been said earlier, Jayaratha leaves no doubt about the Tripura's identity with the Kula system.⁵ If such contention be accepted without reservation, the Kula and, for that matter, the Tripura might be said to have exercised tremendous influence on the Krama. But Tripura has received also in return.

1. किञ्च, श्रीमन्महार्थक्रमप्रपञ्चः सर्वोऽपि वृन्दचक्रे विधायम्यति ।

M.M.P., p. 194.

2. अथ श्रीचक्रं क्रमेण उन्मुद्रयिष्यन्नादौ.....।

Ibid., p. 87.

3. क्रमणं पदविक्षेपः क्रमोदयस्तेन कथ्यते द्वेधा ।

K.K.V., 35. (K.S.S.)

.....एतत् वृन्दचक्रद्वयं विवृणोति ।

Ibid., comm., p. 38.

4. पराहंपरामर्शचमत्कारमयी शक्तिरेव अस्मदृशेने विश्रान्तिधामतया एष्टव्या वैव स्पन्द-
स्फुरत्तासारोमिहृदयसद्भाषसंकपिणीत्रिपुरादिशब्दैस्तत्र तत्र सर्वत्र उद्घोष्यते ।

V.M.V., p. 103.

5. अनेनैव आशयेन भवद्विरपि—

ऊमिरिति भोगिनीत्यपि कुञ्जेति कुलेश्वरीति जगदुद्याम् ।

श्रीकालकपिणीत्यपि कुण्डलिनीत्यपि च नोमि तां देवीम् ॥

इत्यादि उक्तम् । तत्सर्वत्रैव साक्षात्कुलशास्त्रतया व्यपदिष्टेऽमुष्मिन् परमोपादेये शास्त्रे
किमेवविधाय व्याप्तेरनानुगुण्यं यद्वाधामात्रेणापि न स्पृष्टम् ।

Ibid., p. 28.

Anakhya, the fourth act of the Absolute - and also Reality as such according to the four-function theory¹ (Krama-catuska) of the Krama system -, is probably borrowed from the latter.² Jayaratha also suggests that Krama advocated Srsti-cakra and Samhara-cakra as independent from each other. Tripura borrowed and employed this doctrine with regard to the other theories of the system. For instance, the eighth and ninth cakras in Tripura are also independent cakras.³ This phenomenon is equally discernible in certain other spheres as well. The concept of Sattarka (Right Logic) for instance, seems to have been borrowed by the Tripura system from the Krama despite the fact that at both the places it is brought forth as an agamic notion.⁴ Likewise, the unusual fondness of Krama for Prakṛta languages is a legacy from Tripura. Mahesvarananda's citing a statement from *Rjuvimarsini*, a Tripura text, in support of Krama's explicit preference for Prakṛta would probably evince the veracity of this statement.

5. *Impact of Buddhist Tantricism on Krama: Sadanga-yoga, Anakhya and some other Minor Doctrines*

The introduction of the Sadanga-yoga (six-limbed yoga) in place of Patanjali's Astanga (eightfold) Yoga marks a

1. सृष्ट्यादिक्रमचतुष्टयोचितमेव अभिधानम् इति ।

V.M.V., p. 27.

2. व्यष्टिसमष्टिविभेदादस्यां चत्वारि बीजानि ।

सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपाणि भावनीयानि ॥

वरिवस्या-रहस्य १. ३२ ।

अनाख्या तिरोधानानुग्रहयोः समष्टिः, कृत्यपञ्चकेष्वप्यौदासीन्यावलम्बनरूपावस्थानविशेषो वा ।

Prakāśa by Bhāskara Rāya on the above, p. 23.

Vide also.....सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानाख्यरूपतया चक्रशब्दव्यपदेश्यम्...अतएव...स्वभित्तिं अनतिरिक्तानि अपि अतिरिक्तायमानानि उद्भासयन्ती निष्पाद्यपरसंविन्मात्रसत्त्वा महात्रिपुरसन्दरीशब्दव्यपदेश्या या त्रिपुरा तत्प्रकृतिकम्...

V.M.V., p. 26.

3. तदेवमष्टमनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपञ्चशक्तिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरिव एकैकविधेति न कश्चित् विरोधः ।

Ibid., p. 71.

4. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. 1.

curious departure from the general trend in the history of the Krama thought and has evaded a satisfactory answer so far. Because each of the monistic Saiva doctrines of Kashmir abides by the Patanjala discipline of the eightfold path. Even Abhinava-gupta, who is interpreted by Jayaratha as subscribing to the theory of Sadanga-yoga, does not, in fact, expressly commit himself to the said thesis. From a close study of him it will be found that he actually dwells on the eightfold yogic discipline. This incongruity is deliberate and is explained by Jayaratha in terms of Abhinava's underlying motive. According to Jayaratha, Abhinava wants to suggest that the number of parts as eight of the Yoga is, in any case, final and cannot be enhanced further.¹ Abhinava actually supplants Sattarka for the highest stage of the Krama process of Yoga and castigates the first five items as futile by virtue of their being external and adventitious in character. It is Jayaratha who cites a verse in order to describe the six-limbed doctrine from an unnamed source.² The extract in question eliminates the first three parts namely, Yama, Niyama and Asana, from the original eightfold scheme³ and adds Tarka or Sattarka, thus bringing the total to six. It is queer that he nowhere attempts to define the six members of the scheme individually, instead all the definitions are drawn verbatim from the *Toga Sutras* of Patanjali. In such circumstances one is prone to believe that the doctrine of six-limbed Yoga was an interpolation which may possibly be traced to the Tantric Buddhism.⁴ In the *Sri-guhya-samajatantra* (Ch. xvIII) the

1. यत्नाम अत्र योगस्य स्वदर्शनोक्तानि षडङ्गान्यपह्नाय पातञ्जलीयं यमाद्यङ्गाष्टकम् उक्तम्, तत्रायमाशयो — यत् क्वचिदपि एतदङ्गाष्टकतिरिक्तम् अन्यदङ्गान्तरं नास्ति ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 102-103.

2. प्राणायामस्तथा ध्यानं प्रत्याहारोऽथ धारणा ।

तकंश्चैव समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 15.

3. यम-नियम-आसन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि ।

T.S. 2.29.

4. J. Ensink however differs from the present author. He does not think the doctrine of Sadanga Yoga to be an off-shoot of Tantric Buddhism, instead it may be traced to some older tradition to which the Javano-Balinese literature is also indebted.

(contd.)

Sadanga Yoga has been painted as the most conducive means to the highest accomplishment.¹ The detailed description of these six parts of Yoga has again been fully enlarged upon in the commentary called *Sekoddesa-tika* by *Nadopada*.² It is worth mentioning that the first three Angas of Yoga mentioned in the *Yoga-Sutra* viz., Yama, Nivama and Asana, are omitted and a new one, Anusmrti, is added.³ One may notice the marked similarity between the Krama and Buddhist treatment of the problem. Except the additional aspect i.e., Tarka or Anusmrti, in their respective presentations there is virtually no difference. And one may even be tempted to go so far as to say that Jayaratha has borrowed verbatim from the *Guhya-samaja* only substituting the phrase "Tarkascaiva" for Anusmrtih".⁴ The possibility of the *Guhya-samaja* being indebted to Krama is very slender, because (i) the *Guhya-samaja*, according to its editor, B. Bhattacharya⁵ dates back to the fourth century A.D.; (ii) the first and only reference to the doctrine in the Krama' works is as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century to which Jayaratha is

The author is thankful to Ensink for sending the relevant portion of his paper. "Sutasoma's teaching to Gajavakra, snake and the tigress" in which he has utilized some materia! from this dissertation. The book being in the press, while this paper was received, the author could not have the privilege of examining Ensink's observations in detail. He, however, does not see much reason to change his opinion for the time-being.

1. सेवा पङ्क्त्योगेन कृत्वा साधनमुत्तमम् ।

साधयेदन्यथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा ॥

Guhya-samāja, p. 173.

2. See for detailed treatment, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 164-171.

3. प्रत्यह्नास्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा ।

अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च पङ्क्तौ योग उच्यते ॥

Guhya-samāja, p. 173.

4. Compare

तर्कश्चैव समाधिश्च पङ्क्तौ योग उच्यते ।

T.A.V., III, p. 115.

with अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च पङ्क्तौ योग उच्यते ।

Guhya-samāja, p. 163.

5. Cf. Introduction to *Sadhana-mala*, II, p. xcv.

assigned; (iii) even if the doctrine had the approval of Abhinava, it does not go beyond the tenth century which is the time of Abhinava; (iv) the thesis has not been developed in its full dimensions in the Krama works whereas the Buddhist works, referred to above, have built up a complete system of esoteric yoga containing six-limbed discipline. The only doubtful line that demarcates the two schools is the place of Sattarka and Anusmṛti in their respective schemes. In the verse cited above Jayaratha follows the original order of the *Guhya-samāja* which places Anusmṛti just before Samadhi. In this way Tarka should also precede Samadhi. But from a critical perusal of Jayaratha, it will be discovered that Jayaratha and Abhinava both regard Tarka¹ as the best and highest part of Yoga and treat all other parts as subordinate to Sattarka, which alone is the direct means of self-realization. The other difference of detail consists in the concepts of Anusmṛti² and Sattarka.³ Anusmṛti is the remembrance of the realisation of previous stages, while Tarka is the pure knowledge that can discern the spiritually meaningful from what is spiritually spurious. Moreover, the other five concepts of the Sadanga Yoga in Buddhism have an independent character whereas in Krama they seek an anchorage in Patanjali.

Buddhist tantricism apart, the philosophical Buddhism too seems to have exercised notable influence on the vital Krama

1. तथापि हेयाद्यालोचनात् असौ उत्तममन्तरङ्गं योगस्यायम्...।

T.A.V., III, p. 15.

Vide also

योगांगना यमादेस्तु समाध्यन्तस्य वर्ण्यते ।

स्वपूर्वपूर्वोपायत्वादन्त्यतर्कोपयोगतः ॥

T.A., 4. 96.

2. स्थिरं तु ब्रह्ममार्गेण स्फारयति स्वधातुषु ।
विभाव्य यदनुस्मृत्या तदाकारं तु संस्मरेत् ।
अनुस्मृतिरिति हेया प्रतिभासोऽत्र जायते ।

Guhya-samāja, p. 164.

- 3 द्वैतशकाश्च तर्केण तर्क्यन्त इति वर्णितम् ।

T.A., 4. 105.

dicta. Refinement of determinacy (Vikalpa-Samskara), for example, evinces considerable impact of the Buddhist law of contradiction (Apohana) and theory of instantaneous being (Ksanikavada). This question has been considered in the sequel separately.¹ The enormous influence exercised by Buddhism is also evinced by the Krama doctrine of Anakhya. The term Anakhya standing for a coveted stage of self-accomplishment, is possibly a positive Krama interpretation of the wholesale nihilism (Sunyata-vada) of the Madhyamikas.² In fact, the twin notions of Sunyata are mutually different owing to their positive and negative character respectively. But what is important here, is to note the inspirational value of the Sunyata-doctrine in so far as the *concept* of Anakhya is concerned. The ultimate reality being free from temporal and spatial affiliations is beyond the reach of words and, hence, is inscrutable. This is the precise implication of word Anakhya.³ The Sunyata-doctrine, which is based on the original Buddhist maxim i.e., "all is void" (Sarvam Sunyam), was not adopted from the Mahayanic philosophers direct but through the esoteric Buddhists who tried to give it a positive accent instead of its all-devouring nihilistic thesis pleading the essencelessness and sheer absurdity of the universe of our discourse. Thus, of the four gradations in the Sunyata doctrine suggested by Nagarjuna in his *Panca-krama* the final one viz., Sarva-sunya, is identified with supreme omniscience. This is the ultimate truth, the unity that transcends the scope of verbal expression.

1. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. I.

2. शून्यताभिप्रायिनो माध्यमिकाश्च अनाख्याकथयामिव स्वार्थमात्रसङ्कुरतालक्षणमात्मतत्त्वमाहुः ।

M.M.P., p. 11.

".....शून्यात्मा शून्यवादिनाम् ।.....स एव च महार्वात्मा माहार्थिकमनोविषयम् ॥

Ibid., p. 14.

3. दिक्कालकलनोन्मुक्ता देशोद्देशाविशेषिणी ।

व्यपदेष्टुमशक्या सावकय्या परमार्थतः ॥

V.Bh., 14.

From its absolute self-luminous purity proceeds the Enlightened One (Buddha).¹ Thus the Anakhya doctrine is much nearer to the Sunyata-doctrine of the esoteric Buddhism.² But the same is poles apart from that of the philosophical Sunyavada of the Madhyamika. Sivopadhyaya, in fact, has noted this difference.³

6. Bhartṛhari's Impact on Krama

Yet another single source that must be credited with supplying the bulk of the sub-structural material of the Krama system is met in Bhartṛhari. His is the unique contribution. Because, the basic pattern of the process of the Vikalpa-samskara has been largely determined by that of his Sabda-samskara and Sabda-purva-yoga. Moreover Kali, the absolute and ultimate principle as conceived by Krama, is by and large the Krama transformation of Bhartṛhari's idea of the Kala-Sakti or Krama-Sakti.⁴ Similarly, the fourfold or fivefold theory of

1. शून्यत्रयविशुद्धिर्या प्रभास्वरम् इहोच्यते ॥
सर्वशून्यपदं तच्च ज्ञानत्रयविशुद्धितः ।
ज्ञानशुद्धिपदं तत्त्वं सर्वज्ञत्वमनुत्तरम् ॥
निष्कारं निराभासं निद्वन्द्वं परमं शिवम् ।
अस्तीति न च नास्तीति न च तद्वाक्यगोचरम् ॥
अतः प्रभास्वरात् शुद्धात् ज्ञानत्रयसमुद्भवः ।
द्वात्रिंशलक्षणधरो ह्यस्तीति व्यञ्जनाविवृतः ।
सर्वाकारवरोपेतः सर्वज्ञो जायते ततः ॥

Panca-krama, M.S., pp. 22 (B), 23(A), quoted by Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* p. 46.

2. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात्.....

एवैव भयवती निरावरणरूपं प्रज्ञापारमिता...शून्यभूमिः...परमशिवत्वेन उपदिष्टा ।

V.Bh V., p. 141

3. तेन सुगतसुतभाविता शून्यभूरन्या, देवीनयोपासिनां च अन्या ।

Ibid., p. 110.

For fear of irrelevance further reference to their differences has not been embarked upon. However, for further details about the basic differences between esoteric Buddhism and Kashmir Saivism see *Sp.N.* pp. 26-28.

4. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. 2.

speech in the Krama system shows the unmistakable signs of having been developed under the spell of Bhartṛhari's theory of Sabda-brahman or Yak with its inherently emergent character.¹ All these have been discussed in their proper contexts.

7. Kashmir Saivism and Pancaratra : Certain Unsettled Issues

Let us advert to a slightly different issue. We know of one more agamic system, that is, the Pancaratra system. It is yet one of the big question marks of the history of Indian thought as to what was the exact nexus between the Kashmir Saivism and the Pancaratra. We find Pancaratra bracketed with Buddhists etc. for the purpose of criticism in the Saiva works.² They are assigned to the realm of Avyakta, i.e., Prakṛti, in the Saiva scheme.³ Similarly the Pancaratra have been grouped into two classes e.g., Samkarsana Pancaratra and Samhita-Pancaratra.⁴ These references go to indicate that the Kashmir Saivism was fully familiar with the Pancaratra doctrine, - whatever be the cause of such familiarity. What is more remarkable is to find signs which suggest, though do not define, that some sort of relation and exchange did subsist between the two. In support, an appeal may be made to the extracts cited from the Pancaratra works. Thus Utpalavaishnava quotes from the *Jayakhya Samhita* with approval⁵ and Mahesvarananda from the *Laksmi-tantra*.⁶ Yogaraja, too, quotes from the *Laksmi-Samhita*.⁷ On

1. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. 7.

2. *T.A.*, 4. 22, 26, 29; *M.V.T.* 3.5.; *V.Bh.V.*, p. 117; *Sp.N.*, p. 14.

3. इति याञ्चरात्राः परस्परं प्रकृतेः परिणामाभ्युपगमात् अव्यक्ते एव अभिनिविष्टाः ।
P.Hr., p. 55.

4. अन्तःकरणचैतन्यिकाः संकर्षणयाञ्चरात्रिकाः ।
Narāyaṇa-Parikṣā, K.S.S., p. 37.

परिणतिवेदान्तविदः संहितायाञ्चरात्राः ।

Ibid., p. 91.

5. अस्यैव जयाख्यसंहितायाम् ।

Sp.P., p. 9.

6. *M.M.P.*, pp. 67, 182.

7. *P.S.V.*, p. 164.

the other end, Yamunacarya, in his famous work *Agama-pramanya* speaks of his another work known as *Kasmiragama-pramanya* which probably dealt with the validity of the Kashmir agamas.¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that Mahewarananda quotes from one *Rahasyamnaya*.² This work has also been alluded to by Natananandanatha in his commentary *Cidvalli*³ on the *Kama-kala-vilasa*. In the Pancaratra tradition the *Rahasyamnaya* is identified with the *Ekayana-veda*.⁴ According to Vedanta Desika the central theme of the *Kasmiragama-pramanya* has been to expound and establish the impersonal origin of the *Ekayana-veda*.⁵ Pt. V. Krishnamacharya, the editor of the Adyar edition of the *Laksmitantra*, is of the view that the alleged extracts from the *Pancaratra-Sruti* and *Pancaratra-upanisad* etc. in the *Spanda-Pradipika* by Utpala Vaisnava are most probably taken from the *Ekayana-veda*, that is, *Rahasyamnaya*.⁶ It is unfortunate that the text of the *Rahasyamnaya* is now lost to us. It is very difficult to assert that the two *Rahasyamnayas* (one in the system and other in the Pancaratra) are one. Because the extracts ascribed to the *Rahasyamnaya* in the Saiva works are more of esoteric nature and the pattern suggested is that of an agamic treatise. It is, therefore, fraught with serious obstacles to the precise relationship between the Kashmir Saivism and the Pancaratra. Yet the fact remains that the two were closely related and even influenced each other. It is a pity that we can neither determine the nature nor gauge the intensity of mutual influence, if any.

1. Cf. *M.M.P.*, pp. 67, 182.

Also see, *Laksmi Tantra*, Int., ed. V. Krishnamacharya, p. 5.

2. *M.M.P.*, p. 182.

3. pp. 19-20, 21, 42, 55, 68 (Madras edn.)

4. आद्यमिकायनं वेदं रहस्याम्नायसंज्ञितम् ।

Īśvara-Sāṃhitā, 21. 631.

5. यथा चैकाग्र्यनशास्त्रायाम् अपौरुषेयत्वं, तथा काश्मीरागमप्रामाण्य एवं प्रपञ्चितमिति नेह प्रस्तुयते ।

Pancaratra-raksa, Vedantadesikagranthamala, ed. Annangaracarya, p. 95. This statement is repeated by Vedanta Desika in *the Nyaya-Parisuddhi*, p. 168 (2nd Ahnika, Sabdadhyaaya).

6. *Laksmi Tantra*, Introduction, p. 5.

8. Impact of Krama on Tantricism in General

The biggest contribution made by Krama to the history of tantric thought lies in the emergence of various Krama-creeds within the fold of cognate tantric doctrines. Thus the Tripura and many other Sakta systems have evolved their own code of Krama. Even the Buddhist and Vaisnava tantricism has gone ahead with evolving its own Krama-doctrine. In fact all branches and schools of Indian tantricism whether they be Sakta, Saiva or Vaisnava have embraced the Krama-idea by heart and given vent to it both ritually and spiritually. The large number of Krama texts such as the *Krama-stuti* of Samkara,¹ *Krama-Dipika* of Kesava Bhatta,² *Kramottoma*,³ *Krama-ratna*,⁴ *Krama-ratnamala*,⁵ *Krama-samgraha*,⁶ *Krama-sandhana*,⁷ *Krama-malika*,⁸ *Sri-krama-samhita*,⁹ and *Krama-vasana*¹⁰ etc. add weight to the above contention.

1. Vide, *Saubhagyavardhini* by Kaivalyasrama on the *Ananda-Lahari*, pp. 12. 45. The same on *Saundarya-lahari*, p. 36.
2. Vide, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library*, Vol. I, 1932, Sec. viii, no. 47.
3. Vide *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library*, Vol. 1, 1932, no. 48; also *Cat. Cat.*, p. 132.
4. Vide, *Cat. Cat.*, p. 132.
5. Vide *Cat. Cat.*, p. 132.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Vide *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library, Mysore*, p. 3.
9. Vide *Cat. Cat.*, p. 668.
10. Vide, *M.M.P.*, pp. 115, 117.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENT TRADITIONS AND SUB-SCHOOLS

A critical evaluation of the potential richness of the Krama system evinced through the divergent trends of internal thinking in respect of the basic issues and resulting consequences.

1. Potential Richness of the Krama System

The value of a philosophical system is determined by its capacity to divergent and manifold ways of reacting to the presented data or stimuli. If a system, within its confines, can inspire many a mode of looking at the problems posed to or by it, without affecting its consistency adversely, its vitality and richness would require no further testimony. Judging on this criterion the Krama would emerge as a potentially creative and substantially rich system. The contention turns into a conviction when a keen eye discovers not only the presence of different traditions but also the rise of a few sub-schools inside the Krama-fold. This enquiry, therefore, is directed to examining the identity of such schools and nature of the differing traditions.

In the Kashmir Saivism one encounters two texts namely, the *Vatula-natha-sutrani* and the *Chumma-Sampradaya* ascribed to two sub-schools, namely, the Sahasa-school and the Chumma-school. It may, however, be held that these two schools positively belong to the Krama system. Let us see how and why.

2. The Sahasa Sub-School

With regard to the *Vatula-natha-sutrani* it is explicitly averred that its main theme is to propound that one's real nature is acquired by the firm stay in the pre-eminent Sahasa.¹

1. महासाहसवृत्त्या स्वरूपलाभः ।

Sūtra 1.

Hence, the commentator Ananta Saktipada styles the system as Maha-sahasa-carca-sampradaya (School dealing with the great Sahasa).¹ In his enthusiasm to focus the attention on the individuality of the system he offers his benedictory salutation to the principle of Sahasa.²

Sahasa literally means an unexpected or forceful happening. Therefore, from the Saivistic point of view, it stands for the highest state of inspiration or self-revelation which needs no preliminary preparation and which is said to take place often under the shadow of extremely intense bestowal of the divine grace. It transcends deterministic order and is a purely indeterminate state of self-intuiting awareness.³

The notion of Sahasa as underlining the sudden and forceful self-realization has never been unknown to the Kashmir Saivism. The concepts of Hathapaka and Alamgrasa owe their being to the principle of Sahasa.⁴ Likewise, it may also be noted that one of the eight approaches to the Vrnda-cakra is spelt by Mudra-krama which carries five Mudras under it to be discussed subsequently.⁵ Of these five Mudras, Khecari is deemed to be the highest and belongs to the realm of Sambhava-siddhas. All other Mudras are derived from Khecari, the

1. ...महासाहसचर्चासम्प्रदायं निरूप्य...

V.N.S.V., p. 3.

2. तन्मोमि साहसवरं गुरुवत्तगम्यम् ।

V.N.S.V., p. 1, verse 1.

3. अतितीव्रातितीव्रतरविशृङ्खलशक्तिपाताघातस्य स्वस्वरूपसमाविष्टस्य कस्यचित् क्वचित् कदाचित् अकस्मादेव महासाहसवृत्त्या... निरावरणमहाशून्यतासमावेशनिष्ठया स्वरूपलाभःभवति इति रहस्यार्थः ।

V.N.S.V., p. 2.

4. अलङ्कारासक्रमः सोऽयं महासाहसजन्मभूः ।

M.P.(T), 2.29.

For these concepts of. Pt. II, Ch. 5, "The Place of Vrnda Cakra and Significance of the Hathapaka Process."

6. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. 6.

primal Mudra.¹ Ananta Saktipada presents the Khecari-drsti as the most cardinal tenet of the Sahasa-school.² This view, on a close scrutiny, will be found to have been anticipated by Abhinava who in the 32nd Ahnika of the *Tantraloka*, which is devoted to the exclusive treatment of Mudras, cites from the *Bhargasikha*, though not a text of his own school,³ in support of his contention. In this school the Khecari Mudra has eight varieties, the highest going by the title of Virā-bhairava.⁴ This is on a par with the Khecari proper. The Virā-bhairava Mudra, which is nothing short of Khecari, consists in one's entry or entrenchment in the state, technically known as Sahasa. Hence it is also portrayed as Sahasa Mudra.⁵ The striking analogue between the Sahasa-mudra as an embodiment of Khecari of the *Bhargasikha* on the one hand, and the Sahasa-principle as incumbent upon the Khecari-doctrine of the *Vatula-natha-sutra* on the other, gives one further insight into the more antique beginnings of the concept that later bloomed in the form of a sub-system. The principle of Great Sahasa has always remained charged with the responsibility of sub-merging

1. एका मुद्रा खेचरी च मुद्रौषः प्राणिनो यथा ।

T.A., 32. 65.

2. सर्वज्ञ खेचरमुद्रा प्रविराजते यत् तन्मौमि साहसवरं गुरुवक्त्रगम्यम् ॥

V.N.S.V., p. 1.

The phrase Maha-vismaya-Mudra in the 13th sutra of the *Vatalanatha-sutra* has been explained in the following manner -

महाविस्मयः च विगतो विनष्टः स्मयो मितामिताहंकारवर्पः सर्वोत्पन्नवृत्त्या स्वरूपानुप्रवेशः । अथ च महाविस्मयः स्वपरभेदविस्मरणात् झटिति निरन्तरनिरर्गल-खेचरवृत्तिसमावेशः । सैव सर्वमुद्राणां क्रीडीकरणात् मुद्रा तस्या मोनपदसमावेशमयता ।

V.N.S.V., p. 18.

3. अस्या एव सर्वज्ञ अविगीततां दर्शयितुं शास्त्रान्तरतोऽपि सप्रभेदं रूपमाह ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 329.

4. साहसामुप्रवेशेन कुचितं हस्तयुग्मकम् ।

अधोवीक्षणशीलं च सम्यग्दृष्टिममन्वितम् ॥

वीरभैरवसंज्ञं यं खेचरी बोधवर्धनी ।

अष्टद्योत्यं वर्णिता श्रीभर्गाष्टकशिखाकुले ॥

T.A., 23. 61-62.

5. ...साहसमुद्रानुप्रवेशेन झटिति स्वात्मानं पातयन्निव यदा योगी वक्षितबोधो भवेत्, तदैव इयं वीरभैरवसंज्ञा अष्टमी ।

T.A.V., XII, pp. 332-33.

our total associations with the world of objectivity.¹ This marks the climax of the Kramic ascent and, for that matter, the highest stage of the Kula achievement as well. It appears that the Sahasa school owed its origin to the internal motive of those who intended to emphasize the unique and irresistible vigour of the Sahasa method.

Now Sahasa as Sunyata-samavesa, that is, immersion of the self in great vacuity, is no doubt a Krama phenomenon. Anantasaktipada is quite assertive on this point when he depicts the above viewpoint as the gist of the Mahanaya school.² The other factor strengthening one's belief in the equation of Sahasa with Krama stems from the fact that the entire spiritual wealth of the book is attributed to Niskriyananda-natha who is avowedly a Krama author,³ as will be pointed out later. Moreover, the text employs the typical Krama idiom while describing the fivefold Absolutic functioning etc.⁴ In addition to its oral tradition being traced back to the female monastic deities (Pithadevis) who took some accomplished aspirant in their favour.⁶ This, too, is also a Krama characteristic.

3. The Chumma Sub-school

From the Sahasa sub-school we proceed to examine the Chumma sub-school to which the hitherto unpublished text i.e., *Chumma Sampradaya*, is ascribed.⁶ The exact meaning of the word

1. महासाहसयोगविलीनाखिलवृत्तिकः ॥

M.V.V., 2, 86.

2. इत्थं महानयोक्तृदृशा सर्वेशास्त्रप्रपञ्चोत्तीर्णत्वादवाभ्यं किमपि... आसूत्रितमहाशून्यता-समावेशमावेद्य.....।

V.N.S.V., p. 5.

3. *V.N.S.V.*, p. 4.

4. उद्योगावभासचर्वणालङ्घ्यसविश्रान्तिरूपाणाम्...।

Ibid., p. 13. Also see p. 12.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

6. परस्परमनिकेतं तत्त्वमार्गस्थितं ते
निरूपयपदछुम्मासंप्रदायं समन्तात् ।
स्वरसवस्तथाहं स्वच्छपाघ्रातचित्तः
प्रकटतरवचोमिदंशंयाभ्याशु नूनम् ॥

G.S.(MS), folio. 1.

Chumma is somewhat obscure. Nowhere in the text itself has an attempt been made to interpret the word. In the *Tantraloka* the word Chumma comes twice. At one place,¹ it is used as a technical concept and is intended to suggest that Chummas and Mudras, like Palli and Ghara etc, change with the change of preceptorial line. In the other place he enumerates six Chummas² without caring, in the least, for the nature and meaning of the word Chumma. From the nature of these, the Chummas probably mean the physiological centres of spirituality. A slightly clearer idea is furnished by Ksemaraja in his commentary on the *Svacchanda Tantra*³ He says, Chummaka is a technical name (Pari-bhasiki Samjna) and represents the system one belongs to.⁴ The main purport of the Chumma theory is to preserve the secretive and esoteric nature of the system and to present the same as well.⁵ The word Sarma might be its synonym.⁶ The Chumma

1. मुद्रा छुम्मेति तेषां च विधानं स्वपरस्थितम् ।

T.A., 4. 268.

2. द्विदशान्तोर्ध्वेनकुण्डलिर्बैन्दवहन्ताभिकन्दमिति छुम्माः ।

T.A., 29.37.

Cf. छुम्मकाः संप्रवक्ष्यामि कुलाम्नाये यथास्थिताः ।

अतीतं प्रथमस्यापि द्वितीयस्य तु कुण्डली ॥

भ्रूमध्ये वै तृतीयस्य संघट्टश्च चतुर्थके ।

नाभिस्तु पञ्चमस्यैव जन्माधारस्तु षष्ठके ॥

Quoted from the *Kula-Kridavata*,

T.A.V., XI, pp. 228-29.

3. जपध्यानादियुक्तस्य चर्याव्रतधरस्य च ।

छुम्मकाः संप्रवक्ष्यामि साधकस्य वरानने ॥

Sv.T., 15.1.

4. छुम्मका तत्समयानुप्रविष्टसंचित्या पारिभाषिकी संज्ञा ।

Sv.T.V., VI, p. 126.

5. अथ समयियध्ये समयितां तान्त्रिकव्यवहारगोपनेन निर्विघ्नसिद्धिसम्पत्त्यर्थं प्राक्प्रमेयशेष-
तया पटलभारभमाणश्छुम्मकाशर्मपर्यायपारिभाषिकसंज्ञाभिलोकोत्तरव्यवहारप्रवर्तनेन गूढतया
शास्त्रस्य अस्य रहस्यतां दर्शयितुम्...।

Ibid., p. 125.

6. See preceding note.

or Chummaka, perhaps, stood for the most relevant and useful aspect of a certain mystic or occult rite.¹ It is difficult to be absolutely sure whether or not one should identify these Chummakas with the Chumma of the *Chumma Sampradaya*. Needless to say that the work abounds in esoteric symbolism and hence the mysterious and secretive aspect of the system is well preserved. In this respect both the texts stand on the same footing. Yet, one can smell that the Chummas were reduced to *two* categories - secondary and ultimate. Although the attitude of the *Chumma Sampradaya* towards the secondary Chummas, which include the above Chummas of Abhinava and Ksemaraja, is not known, no doubt is left with regard to the primary Chumma which has been designated as the Paryanta Chumma. Now this is interesting to see that the *notion* of the ultimate Chumma has been explained in terms of Sahasa² which is the continuous transcendental principle.

4. Sahasa and Chumma are Identical

The equation of Sahasa and Paryanta-Chumma offers a strong ground for arriving at the identity of the Chumma with the Krama. Another phase of interest in respect of this equation is their unflinching adherence to oral nature of their respective traditions. In pursuance to this tendency the Sahasa school is termed "Vaktramnaya" (oral revelation or tradition)³ and the Chumma-school is depicted as having been handed down exclusively through the medium of oral transmission.⁴ The hypothesis is further vindicated by the fact that the authorship of the *Chumma Sampradaya*, too, is attributed to Niskriya-

1. सर्वेषामेषां यागोपयोगिद्रव्यविशेषविषयां छुम्मकामाह...परमोपादेयत्वमित्येवं छुम्मकया निर्देशः ।

Ibid., p. 127.

2. महार्पण्यन्तसंबोधपरछुम्ममहोदयः ।
नानादर्शनसंभूतचर्चाभिः महाद्भुतः ॥
वक्त्राद् वक्त्रकमोद्भूतसाहसार्थो महाद्भुतः ।
कालाकालोभयोल्लसासंक्षयात्सततोदितः ॥

C.S. (MS), folio, 6.

3. Cf. V.N.S.V., pp. 18-19.
4. Cf. fn. 1, p. 55 supra.

nandanatha.¹ The only difference between the two works being that the *Vatulanatha-sutrani* contains the cardinal features of the spiritual wisdom received by Niskriyananda and thereby remains his indirect work, whereas the *Chumma Sampradaya* is his direct work. This adds a touch of conclusiveness to the conclusions: that there is no basic difference between the concepts of Chumma and Sahasa, in their final analysis and shape; that both of the Sahasa and Chumma belong to the realm of Krama tantricism; and that Niskriyananda may be credited with elevating the ordinary notions of the system to the rank and status of a sub-system. But one must not forget that this process must have taken time and hence such a development seems to be a later phenomenon. Moreso, when we already know that the Chummas etc. were not so favourably viewed in the earlier phase of the Krama system.

5. Another Sub-School of Krama

There is an oblique reference to another sub-school of the Krama in the 29th Ahnika of the *Tantraloka*. This school has not been named as such but is said to be a progeny of a mixture of the two theses, one propounded in the *Derya-yamala* and other in the *Madhavakula*, which by itself is a part of the *Tantraraja-bhattacharya*.² In this school, spearheaded by a section of teachers, worship and adoration of one's preceptorial line along with Pitha, Ksetra etc. are not altogether vanished.³ In accordance with the thesis, the Pithas have been assigned to the different parts of the body,⁴ details of which bear no relevance to the problem in question. This mode of veneration provides the aspirant to contemplate and, therefore, visualize the

1. Cf. Ch. 6.

2. श्रीमाधवकुले इति श्रीतन्त्रराजभट्टारकग्रन्थिकदेशभूते इत्यर्थः । अत्र हि केषांचन गुरुणां श्रीदेव्यायामलश्रीमाधवकुलार्थसम्मेलनया सम्प्रदायः समस्ति ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 41.

3. पीठभेदादिभिः साकम् कुर्याद्वा कुलपूजनम् ।
यथा श्रीमाधवकुले परमेशेन भाषितम् ॥

T.A., 29. 56.

4. Ibid., 29. 52-63.

Pithas and their guardian deities as essentially identical with the self.¹

Now the tenability of the present hypothesis that thrives on the possibility of a fresh school under the Krama system is a very delicate affair. Because it simply depends upon how we interpret the word "Matantara" (Mata=view, ideology) employed by Jayaratha in this connection.² Since the entire 29th Ahnika deals with the Kula system,³ "Matantara" must mean something different from the main thesis under discussion. If 'Mata' stands for a view, it will mean "a different view from the general choir of the Kula system"; and if we take 'Mata' to convey the sense of an ideology, it will mean "the different ideology". In the first case, it is a simple deviation within the Kula system itself. In the second case, it is another system. If we are in for the second meaning, the only system that occupies the focus happens to be the Krama. For the reference to the concepts of Krama-catustaya⁴ and Kalasamkarsini⁵ does not require further explanation for our holding so. Of these the former concept belongs to the *Madhavakula*, while the latter to the *Deviyamala*.

1. *Ibid.*, 29. 64.

2. अचप्रकारासूत्रेणैव अव ससंवादं मतान्तरमपि अभिधातुमाह ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 40.

3. अथ सर्वाप्युपासेयं कुलप्रक्रिययोच्यते ॥

T.A., 29.

This is to be noted that the distinction between Kula-prakriya and Tantra-prakriya is retained even here. *Vide*

तनु कुलप्रक्रिययाः प्रक्रियान्तरेभ्यः किं नाम वैलक्षण्यम् यदेवमधिकारिभेदोऽपि विवक्षित इत्याशंक्याह

T.A.V., XI, p. 2;

Vide also तनु एवमाधारभेदवदितिकर्तव्यतापि अत्र किं तन्त्रप्रक्रियातः किञ्चिद् विभिद्यते न वा इत्याशंक्याह ।

Ibid., p. 6.

4. सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारानामक्रमचतुष्टयम् ।

पीठश्मशानसहितं पूजयेद्भोगमोक्षयोः ॥

T.A., 29-57.

5. श्रीदेव्यायामले हि देवीस्य श्रीसंकषिणी चेति चतुष्टयम् ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 41.

6. *Divergent Traditions and Tendencies with Regard to the Specific Problems*

Coming back to the Krama system proper, we find the volume of controversies and differences of opinion on many a question does not appear to shrink instead swells up.¹ The following lines will bear this out.

(a) *Two Traditions Regarding the Nature and Status of the Absolute and its Consequences*

There are two definite schools or traditions with reference to the nature and status of the Absolute. These tendencies seem to have their root in the Krama agamas from the beginning, as will be pointed out at the appropriate occasion, which resulted in two categories of agamas - Devi oriented and Siva-oriented. The scholars affiliated with Somananda and his spiritual descendants regarded Siva to be the ultimate reality.² The rest differed and reckoned Kali or Devi to be the ultimate truth. The very term "Kali-naya" as an equivalent for the Kramanaya smacks of reaction on the part of those who revolted against Siva's supremacy. Somananda's obsession with the grammarian's convention reducing the feminine gender to be a particular form of the masculine was, to some extent, responsible for his opposition to the female personality of the Supreme Being. Reference to the female form anywhere, were the outcome of the intensive devotion of the devotee to the deity.³ On the basis of the material provided by Somananda and Utpala, it appears that a real confrontation took place between the two

1. संप्रदायभेदेन व्याख्यानविशेषः स्थाने स्थाने दृश्यते ।

M.P.(S), p. 81.

पारम्पर्येण अनुसन्धानाः सर्वे मुख्यसंप्रदायाः यथा व्यवस्थाप्यमानाः तथा प्रतिष्ठां लभन्ते ।

Ibid, p. 84.

2. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशक्तयस्ताः ।

तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्यानसंशं जगदेकसारम् ॥

K.S.(A), 28.

3. लिंगविशेषान्ययानुपपत्त्या...। यैः शक्तेः परत्वं गीयते तैस्तथा धर्मभूतया धर्मो स्वात्मः स्वतन्त्रो वास्तवाभेदयुक्त्या देवः शिवः प्रकाशितः ।

S.Dr.V., p. 95.

opposing protagonists.¹ But such a difference of emphasis has more far-reaching implications than is generally recognised, because this is a Krama transformation of the general Saiva problem that calls for the evaluation of the precise relation between Prakasa and Vimarsa aspects of Reality. In this context Prakasa is called as Paramesvara, Manthana or Manthana-bhairava; and Sakti or Vimarsa as Kali, Devi or Kala-Samkar-sini. Consequently, those who declare Siva to be the ultimate, treat Kali or Sakti as His manifestation and hence relegate it (Sakti) as slightly subsidiary. In this case Bhasa and Anakhya in their respective domains come to be regarded as His functions. Vyomesvari or Vyoma-vamesvari, under Pancavaha (five flow doctrine) are also deduced from Him. In this connection it is amusing to watch the exponents of the ultimacy of the male aspect subscribing to the twelve-aspect theory (Dvadasa Kalis) under Samviccakra. Likewise, these schoolmen are also constrained to prescribe only sixty-four aspects, excepting five vahas, under Vrnda Cakra. On the other hand, the other section of the scholars wedded to supremacy of the female aspect naturally deviates from the above premises. For them Sakti i.e., Absolutic dynamism, itself turns out to be the Dynamic Reality. It is the Absolute *per se*. In their case Siva is rendered somewhat secondary to Devi or Kali. Bhasa or Anakhya, as the case may be, is identified with reality as such. Similarly, the supreme Vaha called Vyoma-vamesvari is not distinguished from Kali as such. Interestingly enough, again the members of this school subscribe to the thirteen-aspect theory (Trayodasa Kalis) under Anakhya cakra i.e., Samviccakra. The consequences may be multiplied. Instead of sixty-four they propound sixty-five mystic categories as constituting Vrnda-cakra. In fact, in such cases the ultimate reality is treated as forming part of the whole episode, whereas in the Siva-oriented doctrine the ultimate is treated separately.

(b) *These two traditions vis-a-vis Pentadic and Quartic tendencies with special reference to the absolutic functioning*

Sometimes, though not necessarily, a handsome distance

1. अद्वयवादः स्थितः पश्यन्तीविचारादनन्तरं स्वयूय्यानद्वयवादिनः प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भः ।
Ibid., p. 94.

is tried to be maintained between the two schools even with reference to the Absolutic functioning. Accordingly, the believers in the ultimacy of Kali are thought to subscribe to the five-function theory, whereas the others, who believe in the absoluteness of Siva, to the four-function one.¹ But these are overlappings and no uniform rule can be laid down in this regard. Although divergence of views on the nature and number of the Absolute's functions itself constitutes a very vital schism in the ranks of the system and accounts for several developments. This difference is vital in the sense that it has direct bearings on the meaning of the word *Krama*, as has been hinted earlier.² This is in fact the original source of pentadic and quartic tendencies in general that have gone a long way in determining the general outlines of the system. It may be recalled that the entire Kashmir Saivism (monistic branch) subscribes to the theory of the five functions of the Absolute, but barring a tacit acceptance a serious attempt has never been made to explore and study the philosophic and esoteric bearings of the theory. The two tendencies referred to above are the logical outcome of such an analysis, both conscious and sub-conscious, on the part of the *Krama* thinker.

(c) *Quartic Tendency*

Thus under the quartic tendency an attempt is made to present the system's basic concepts in terms of four or groups of four. In this case the fifth function (*Anugraha* or *Bhasa*) is subsumed under the fourth act (*Tirodhana* or *Anakhya*). In consequence, the fifth power (*Cit*) of the Absolute is again subsumed under the fourth one (*Ananda*). Factually, the fourth state marks the synthesis. As a natural upshot, the ultimate reality in this case comes to be designated as *Anakhya* and not *Bhasa*. Nevertheless, from the arrangement of the twelve *Kalikas* in the three groups of four each as presented by *Jaya-ratha* it appears that *Abhinava* too was inclined to favour the four-function theory.³ According to him, the four **godly** acts

1. Cf. Pt II, Ch. 3.

2. Cf. Ch. 2, *supra*.

3. Cf. Pt. II, Ch. 3.

Srsti, Sthiti, Samhara and Anakhya in relation to each of the subject, object and the means of knowledge respectively give us the twelve deities. Again under this scheme the functional cycles such as Srsti-cakra etc. number four and end with the Anakhya cakra. Likewise, a deeper significance is attached to the four cycles e.g., Pancavaha, Prakasa, Ananda and Murti.¹ The biggest impact of the quartic tendency is seen in the theory of speech. Despite the efforts to introduce Suksma, as we shall subsequently see, to augment the number of the aspects of speech to five, the sizeable majority of the Krama thinkers has always sided with the theory of fourfold speech.²

(d) *Pentadic Tendency*

Yet the pentadic tendency appears to have been a greater favourite of the Krama system in general. The tendency is manifest in attempts to present the concepts of the systems in terms of five or groups of five notions. Thus the primary pentad goes by the name of Pancavaha representing the five flows of the self-emanative spiritual energy ranging from Vyoma-vame-svari to Bhucari. The functions of the Absolute which this section fervently expounds are five - Srsti, Sthiti, Pralaya, Anakhya and Bhasa. The Absolutic powers are also five - Cit, Ananda, Iccha, Jnana and Kriya. Mahesvarananda under the influence of this tendency adds Suksma to the fourfold division of speech maintained hitherto by the system. Now these run as - Para, Suksma, Pasyanti, Madhyama and Vaikhari. The esoterically and metaphysically symbolic groups, which are enjoined for contemplation, also number five - Sripitha, Pancavaha, Netratraya, Vrnda Cakra and Gurupankti.³ Of these the Vrnda-cakra, which according to Mahesvarananda represents quintessence of the Krama thinking, contains

1. यत्पीठवक्त्राक्षितपञ्चवाहप्रकाशमानन्दसूत्रचक्रम् ।

अष्टाष्टचक्रं प्रविराजते तद् गुह्यमीषं सचतुष्टयायम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 86.

2. *Vide* Pt. II, Ch. 7, "The Stages of Vak etc."

3. श्रीपीठपञ्चवाहनेत्रत्रयवृन्दचक्राणि स्मरत ।

स्मरत च गुरुणां पठित पञ्च च शक्तीः सृष्टिप्रमुखाः ॥

M.M.P., p. 86.

many a pentad.¹ The entire Vrnda Cakra centres round the five Siddhas and their numerous significations. These Siddhas are - Jnana, Mantra, Melapa, Sakta and Sambhava. Under the Vrnda-cakra the Dhama-krama lays down five dhamas as respective abodes of these Siddhas. They are - Kanda, Nabhi, Hrt, Kantha, and Bhrumadhya. In the same strain Mudra-Krama speaks of five Mudras i.e., Physical postures, - Karanikini, Krodhani, Bhairavi, Lelihana and Khecari. The concept of 'five letters' technically spoken of as Panca-pindas under Varna-krama too reflects the same tendency. Exactly on these lines the five cycles namely, Prakasa, Ananda, Murti, Panca-vaha and Vrnda go to erect the superstructure of Divyanga.²

This pentadic tendency characterizes the efforts to identify even those groups, which admittedly consist of more than five ingredients, with the basic pentad termed Pancavaha. Thus Sripitha has nine constituents (Kala) - (1) primal subjective stir (Adya Spanda) (2) extrovert subjective tendency, (3) the stir of the means of perception, (4) the rise of tendency in the means of knowledge to apprehend determinately, and (5-9) awareness of the objective which is fivefold in accordance with the five elements (Bhutas). By ignoring the division of the objective into five elements this group of nine is rendered identical with the five Vahas.³

(e) *Dispute about the Exact Number of Parts of the Krama Toga*

The ideological antagonism has often touched other frontiers of the system as well. If one recapitulates what has been said about the Sadanga Yoga, it will be found that unanimity was wanting with regard to the precise number of the parts of

1. इत्येनां गुरुमुखसम्प्रदायलब्धां वाचालः शुक इव वृन्दचक्रचर्याम् ।
पञ्चार्थक्रमपदवीरहस्यसंविता सर्वस्वव्यतिकरगमिणीमवोचम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 98.

2. दिव्योपचक्रपञ्चकस्फारिणि वृन्दचक्रनायिका.....।

V.Bh.V., p. 68.

3. नवात्मकत्वेऽप्यस्य प्रमातृप्रमाणोऽगृहीतव्योमादिपञ्चकस्वभावत्वात् पञ्चवाहचक्रतादात्म्यं
न किञ्चिदप्यतिक्रम्यते ।

M.M.P., p. 88.

the Yoga. Although Jayaratha mentions the theory of sixfold Yoga, he does not appear to take it very seriously. Abhinava himself feels more at home with the eightfold doctrine. A minor unpublished Krama text entitled *Jnana-kriya-dvaya-sataka* makes no pretensions about its abiding by the eightfold path.¹

(f) *Several minor controversies referred to*

These pages do not consider it advisable to dilate upon the minor controversies. In spite of their enormous magnitude and wide range, their treatment may be conveniently postponed for future consideration in their respective contexts. Such controversies in the main include e.g., exact number of divinities to be reflected upon in the Anakhya-cakra; serial order of the five functional cycles for the purpose of adoration; inclusion of Yuganathas and Rajaputras in the Krama system; precise serial order of the five flows (Pancavaha); equation of Prakasa, Ananda and Murti cakras with five flows; the serial order of Prakasa, Ananda and Murti cakras; concept of Puryastaka; precise number of aspects of the Vrnda cakra; Mudras and Mudra-krama of Vrnda-cakra; stages of speech, their nature and number. These problems are culled here with the sole desire to give the reader an idea of the extent these divergences reach out to.

7. *Sources of the Quartic and Pentadic Tendencies*

The only question in this connection, that now remains to be considered, is to locate the probable cause of such a pentadic or quartic tendency. According to Pandey, this pentadic tendency is not the exclusive property of the Krama system alone. It has been anticipated by an earlier system of dualistic-cum-monistic Saivism which is known as Lakulisa Pasupata.² In this case the pentadic tendency was aroused by the five Mantras of the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, which provided the back-drop for the conception of the five aspects of Siva to be contemplated at the five stages on the path to final salvation. This trend was

1. अष्टांगयोगानुष्ठानं सप्तधाचारसेवनम् ॥.....

उपायव्रात आदिष्टः स्वस्वरूपप्रकाशकः ॥

Jñāna-kriyā-dvaya-śataka, vv. 16, 22. (MS)

2. Cf. Bhaskari, III, pp. CXII and CXXXIV.

maintained in the *Gana-karika* which summarises the whole system through the medium of eight pentads.¹

However, the pentadic (or quartic) tendency of the Krama system seems to have been inspired by the quinary functionalism of Absolute. Even these five functions of the absolute owe their genesis to the five modes of Absolutic dynamism known as Kalana. The very basis of designating the ultimate reality as Kali is, in fact, supplied by its capacity to effect five types of kalana, namely, Ksepa (projection), Jnana (knowledge), Prasankhyana (determination), Gati (self-identification) and Nada (pure awareness).²

1. Cf. *Abhinava*, p. 495.

2. क्षेपो ज्ञानं च संख्यानं गतिर्नाद इति क्रमात् ॥...

इति पञ्चविधायिनां कलनां कुर्वती परा ।

देवी काली तथा कालकर्षिणी चेति कथ्यते ॥

T.A. 4. 173, 176.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

A reconstructive study of Krama history and an analysis of the entire known as well as extant Krama literature with special reference to its authorship, historicity, availability, classification, subject-matter and chronology.

1. Kashmir : The Land of Origin of the Krama System

While switching over to an enquiry into the history and literary wealth of the Krama system we are reminded of a feeling reference made by Bilhana to Kashmir, the land of Sarada (Sarada-desa). He says it is only Kashmir which has the unique privilege of producing saffron filaments together with the poetic ingenuity.¹ And, were one to add that Kashmir is equally the land of philosophical originality as it is a country of saffron flowers, he need not be afraid of being accused of exaggeration. The Krama system, with its long history and voluminous literature, only goes to exemplify the above statement. Jayaratha has not failed to take note of these twin peculiarities² of Kashmir, the seat of the goddess of learning,³ with special

1. सहोदराः कुकुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ।

Vik. I, 21.

2. श्रीसोमानन्दपादप्रभृतिगुरुवरादिष्टसन्नीतिमार्गो
लब्ध्वा यत्नैव सम्यक्पटिमनि घटनामोश्वराद्वैतवादः ।
कश्मीरेभ्यः प्रसृत्य प्रकटपरिमलो रंजयन् सर्वदेशान्
देशेऽन्यस्मिन्नदृष्टो घुसृष्टविसरवत्सर्ववन्द्यत्वमाप ॥

T.A.V., XII, p. 429.

3. युक्ता बोधप्रधाना स्थितनिजमहसा शारदा पीठदेवी ।
विद्यापीठे प्रतीयः प्रथितनिखिलवाग्यत्र काश्मीरनाम्नि ॥

Ibid.

reference to Kashmir Saiva monism. Even the plan and design of the city of Srinagar has been patterned on that of the Sri Cakra, according to a tradition current even today.¹ In this connection it is of special interest to remember, as has also been pointed out whenever the occasion so warranted, that of all the systems of monistic Saivism associated with Kashmir the Krama is the lone system that arose from the soil of Kashmir. We have repeated this again in view of its extreme significance. The name "Auttara Krama" is only an acknowledgment of the fact because Sivananda, who is the first preceptor of the system and hence is called 'the originator'² (Avatarakanatha), is said to have received his spiritual lessons in Kashmir, the Uttarapitha.³ Jayaratha appears to have hinted at Sivananda's possible association with Kamarupa,⁴ renowned for its great tantric affiliations, when he is presented to have been blessed by Jaya etc. the deities. But this observation, as per its context, is not intended to explain his relation with the Krama system. Jayaratha, who is in fact reproducing the account as given in the *Kramakeli* of Abhinavagupta, is very categorical about the fact that the Krama secrets were revealed to him in Kashmir.⁵ The enormous

1. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is a manuscript of the text named Vidyarnava by a student of some Pragalbhacarya, which also records this tradition. By implication, 'Srinagar' is an abbreviation of the original 'Sri-vidyanagara'.

2. श्रीमदवतारकनाथे.....।

T.A.V., III, p. 195; also see. p. 197.

3. उत्तरदीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात्.....।

T.A.V., III, p. 192.

4. अयं च प्रथममेताभिरेव कारुरूपे चरुकप्रदानेनातुगृहीतः इति गुरुवः ।

Ibid., p. 201.

Caruka is not a name of a teacher etc., instead, it means an important item in the Kula-yaga. Vide,

चरुकः सम्प्रदायश्च त्रिज्ञानं मेलकं तथा ।

पूजाक्रमविधानं च योगिनीनां मुखे स्थितम् ॥

Quoted, *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 19 (Ah. 19). Caruka's being a part of a Kula process may well also endorse Kamarupa's relation with Kula and not with Krama.

5. उत्तरदीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथात् लब्धानुग्रहाम्.....।

T.A.V., III, p. 192.

praise heaped on the Uttara Pitha further bears it out.¹ Mahe-svarananda's citing an extract from the *Rtuvimarsini* puts the last word on it.² However, the Krama system did not remain restricted to Kashmir alone. It spread even as far as Cola-desa (modern Karnatak). Krama's association with various Pithas like Oddiyana,³ Puma Pitha⁴ etc., is a sign of its prevalence even beyond the boundaries of Kashmir. The correct geographical identification of these pithas will no doubt add to certitude of our knowledge about Krama.

2. Origin and Early History

The exact record of origin and initial phases of the system is clouded in the labyrinth of the mythical, mystical and symbolical accounts. The Krama practice of worshipping the preceptorial line at the end of Vrnda-cakra⁵ has proved to be an asset in view of its supplying the traditional records of the historical data, if any. More so, the general tantric convention which makes it imperative for an author to begin his venture with homage to his teachers⁶ also helps one inculcate a rather coherent historical view. At the same time, this practice has also contributed to confusion and complicated the issues since such an account, for want of historical perspective and purport, leaves many gaps unfilled and many more questions unanswered.

(a) Esoteric symbolism as part of the Krama History:

Theory of Three Oghas

But the tantric, and for the matter of that, the Kramic notion of history is drastically different from one we generally hold, because it makes esoteric symbolism as a part and parcel

1. *M.P.(T)*, 2. 37.

2.सम्प्रदायस्य काश्मीरोद्भूतत्वात्.....।

M.M.P., p. 193.

3. Cf. *M.P.(S)*, pp. 50, 60; *M.M.P.*, pp. 86, 96, 102.

4. *C.G.C.*, 4. 128.

5. अतो वृन्दक्रमस्यान्ते पूज्यते गुरुस्ततिः ।

M.P.(T), 8,3; also cf. *M.M.* 36.

6. इह खलु शास्त्रादौ...इत्याद्युक्तदृशा अवश्यमेव शास्त्रकारैः स्वगुरुभिः कीर्तनं कार्यम् ।

T.A.V., I, p. 23.

of its historical thesis. Krama, treading the current tantric line, arranges the entire course of history in three succeeding phases under the names of Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Manavaugha standing for the traditions of the divine, the semi-divine or sacred, and the humans respectively.¹ Among these the second occasionally and the third usually are historically relevant. These three may roughly be compared with the three phases namely, Sruti, Smṛti and Purāṇa of the orthodox account of history. The word Ogha, which forms the substantive part of the words denoting the three phases, means a community of those possessing similar character.² By implication, the members displaying a common personality make-up have been classed accordingly under three groups. This is corroborated by another interpretation of the word 'Ogha' in terms of creation.³ Accordingly, the three, terms e.g., Divyaugha, Siddhaugha and Manavaugha, may be said to represent the orders of creation pertaining to the divine, to the accomplished and to the humans respectively with special respect to the preceptorial line.

(b) *Various traditional accounts of the initial phase of the Krama System*

Besides occasionally conflicting versions among the various traditions, our only regret is that nowhere has a consistent account of three stages been maintained. All the things have got mixed up and whatever comes before us is just a medley.

According to a tradition, ascribed to the *Kramakeli* by Mahesvarananda⁴ who has preserved it for us, the entire *Gita*

1. ऋणे तच्च नायानां पारिपाट्या भवः स्थलम् ।

दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्योद्यप्रविभागादवातरत् ॥

M.M.P., p. 197.

2. ओघे स्वसद्गुणो—संकुचिते प्रमातृवर्गे प्रकाशैकपरमार्थे वा विश्वत्...

T.A.V., VI, p. 8.

3. अत्र ओघसंघट्टनन्दाभ्यां सृष्टिस्थितयोः...

B.U.V., p. 8.

4. एतद् वितत्य विख्यातैः क्रमकेलौ कुलागमे ।

नाथाभिनवगुप्तार्यैः पर्वलोचितमादरात् ॥

M.M.P., p. 190.

is an attempt on the part of Kṛṣṇa to expound to Arjuna the philosophy of Krama.¹ Besides, the famous opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gita*, according to him, records the original history of the Krama system.² While initiating Arjuna into the Krama secrets, Kṛṣṇa had to enter the supreme spiritual state of Kala-samkarsini.³ Arjuna, after knowing the fundamental spiritual truth, renounced the world having enthroned Yudhiṣṭhira as the head of the state.⁴ Mahesvarananda takes a lot of pain to present the arrangement of the subject-matter and plan of the *Gita* in terms of Krama, all of which is of no particular relevance from our point of view.

Mahesvarananda records yet another tradition of the Krama and suggests the coverage of all three stages by it. The first ever revelation is said to have proceeded from Bhairava, Parma Siva, who delivered it to Bhairavi, the Iccha Sakti.⁵ With the passage of time it was imparted to Sivananda and further through a series of teachers it was finally handed down to Mahesvarananda.⁶ It is strange that an author of his eminence

1. एनमेव महार्थं युद्धारम्भे पाण्डुपुत्रस्य ।
षोडशसहस्रशक्तिर्देव उपदिशति माधव इति शिवम् ॥
M.M. 70.
2. माधवः पाण्डुपुत्रायोपदिशतीति गुरुशिष्यभावोद्भावेन, 'इमं विवस्वते योगम्...रहस्यं ह्येतदुक्तम्' इति गुरुपदैक्यमात्मनः सम्बन्धस्यावश्यानुसंधेयता द्योत्यते ।
M.M.P., p. 187.
3. कालग्रसैकरसिकां कालसंकषिणीं कलाम् ।
अनुप्रविश्य योगेन खेचरीखञ्जितौजसा ॥
Ibid., p. 188.
4. अग्रजं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वस्य राज्ये युधिष्ठिरम् ॥
स्वसंरम्भानुगुण्येन स्वैरं व्यवहरन् बहिः ।
Ibid., p. 190.
5. तथा तथा शिवस्तस्याश्चैतन्यमुपबृंहयन् ।
अर्थतत्त्वमुपादिक्षदीप्तरास्नायसंविदाम् ॥
Ibid., p. 196.
6. अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।
शिष्यस्योपादिशद् देवी चिदद्वैतस्य निश्चयम् ॥
क्रमेण तच्च नाथानां परिषादया भूवः स्थलम् ।
दिव्यसिद्धमनुष्यौषधप्रविभागादवातरत् ॥
अवतीर्णप्यसौ विद्या महार्थक्रमपरिणी ।
M.M.P., p. 197.

and acumen does not attempt to indicate the precise composition of the three phases e.g., Divyaugha etc. Even on other occasions, particularly while discussing the lineage of his preceptors (gurupankti), he merely reiterates, but does not add to, what he has already said except introducing Mangala Devi in place of Bhairavi or Iccha Sakti.¹ Only at one place does he tell of his immediate preceptorial succession in the order e.g., Sivananda, Mahaprakasa and Mahesvarananda.² This Sivananda is indeed different from one mentioned above as the first human recipient of the Krama dicta. His immediate ancestry appears to have been suggested in the benedictory verses of the *Parimala* commentary.³ Coming back to the original problem, we may systematize the above account by placing Bhairava, Bhairavi etc. under Divyaugha, and Sivananda etc. under Manavaugha. His taciturnity leaves us in dark about his view of the Siddhaugha, although he talks of those elements in different contexts that go to constitute the Siddhaugha according to other authors. Thus for instance, Abhinava in his *Tantraloka* refers to a tradition of the Siddhas (Siddha-santati) beginning with Khagendra and ending with Mina,⁴ which has been adored by Mahesvarananda in the *Sthiti-Krama*.⁵ This view of reckoning the four Yuganathas comprising the Siddha tradition (Siddhaugha) also seems to have been endorsed by the *Mahanaya-Prakasa*⁶ which, we shall see, is a work of Sivananda II,

1. स तु भगवतां श्रीमङ्गलादेवीमारभ्य श्रीमहेश्वरानन्दपर्यन्तं पृथक् प्रथमानानां गुरुनाथानाम्...। *M.M.P.*, p. 98. He further avers—आरभ्य मङ्गलादीन्तिशिवानन्दादिकं क्रमम् ।

Ibid. p. 99.

2. श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकाशमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतिभिर्योगीन्द्रैः संभूयवादेन उपभूयमानत्वात् ।

Ibid., p. 135.

3. *Vide vv.* 4, 6, 7. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. युगक्रमेण कूर्माद्या मीनान्ता सिद्धसंततिः ।

T.A. 4. 267.

Jayaratha comments—आद्यशब्दस्तन्त्रेण व्याख्येयः, तेन कूर्मस्य त्रेतायुगावतारकस्य श्रीकूर्मनाथस्याद्यः कृतयुगावतारकः श्री खगेन्द्रनाथः स आद्यो यस्याः सा ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 298-97.

5. शक्तयश्च ताः शिरश्चक्रे युगनाथाश्चत्वारः.....।

M.M.P., p. 102.

6. *Cf. M.P.(T).* 8. 14-17.

the grand teacher of Mahesvarananda. But the Siddhaugha of this type is not approved by the other stalwarts of the system notably Abhinava and Sitikantha. Abhinava does not regard the Siddha-santati as essentially a Krama phenomenon, because prescribing or denying such a tradition is not in conformity with the Krama tendency of absolute monism.¹ He, however, makes it absolutely clear elsewhere that the Siddha-tradition at issue is exclusively a Kula phenomenon.² Sitikantha, too, is vocal about it and vehemently opposes it. He positively holds that such a tradition (ayatikrama) is an imposition of an exotic doctrine on the Krama.³ He rejects even the slightest occasion for such a thesis in the system and holds that the four Siddha-groups represented by Jnana, Mantra, Melapa and Sakta under the Vrnda-cakra would, of necessity, supply the basic content and material of the Sthitikrama.⁴ Since these are esoteric notions and symbolize the mystic concepts, the Siddhaugha loses most of its historical value.

But Sitikantha agrees with Mahesvarananda who also traces the system to Mangala Devi as its first teacher.⁵ But Makara Devi is no less than the self-adumbration of the Primordial Divinity⁶ which, in its own right, presides over and

1. एवं क्षेत्रप्रवेशादिसंताननियमान्ततः ।
नास्मिन्विधीयते तद्वि साक्षान्नीपयिकं शिवे ।
न तस्य च निषेधो यत्र तत् तत्त्वस्य खण्डनम् ॥

T.A. 4. 270-71.

2. सिद्धकमेति सिद्धानां कृतयुगादिकमेण श्रीखगेन्द्रनाथादीनां कमे तत्परम्परागतायां कुल-
प्रक्रियायामित्यर्थः ।

T.A.V., XI, pp. 2-3 (Jayaratha on *T.A.* 29.3.)

3. अन्यत्र दर्शनान्तरे कुलाकुलकमेण एतःखगेन्द्रादिनाम्नैव व्यवहियमाणान्स्वरारः खगेन्द्राद्याः
...इह पूज्यतया आरोप्यन्ते, इति पापात्पापेयं वाचोयुक्तिः ।

M.P. (S), pp. 115-16.

4. तत्र कोऽयकाशः कनिष्ठस्य गुरुक्रमस्य पूज्यतायाम्, इति चतुर्भिरेव ज्ञानसिद्धैः स्थितिक्रमः
पायन्ते ।

Ibid., p. 116.

5. श्रीमकारदेवी आदिगुरुरूपा जीयात् ।

M.P. (S), p. 5.

6. तथापि सुप्रबुद्धश्रीमंगलारूपेण आदिदेवतैव विवृता ।

Ibid.

constitutes the Divyaugha.¹ Divyaugha, which also goes by the name of Mahaugha² is a sheer mythical concept. The professed identity between the triad of cycles comprising Ananda, Murti and Prakasa and Divyaugha is a pointer in this direction.³ In fact, Sitikantha talks of five Oghas (traditions)⁴ namely, Paraugha, Divyaugha, Mahaugha, Siddhaugha and Manavaugha, but the first three can be conveniently subsumed under Divyaugha. Hence the primary classification of the three Oghas is not disturbed. Adverting to Siddhaugha we find that it begins with Makaradevi.⁵ The rest has already been seen in the preceding paragraph. The only thing of dubious historical significance is a reference to some Jnananetrana who is said to have directly inherited the spiritual fortune from Mangala or Makara-devi.⁶ A reference has also been made to some Srinatha.⁷ The similarity of context tends heavily in favour of identifying the two, though it is also a case of doubtful equation. However, this equation cannot be dismissed as wholly unfounded because Sivananda, the author of the other *Mahanaya-Prakasa*, too, makes an explicit reference to one Antarnetrana who seems to have unravelled the mystery of the highest Pitha.⁸

1. परमात्मस्वरूपादिदेव्यभिष्टितपरावागात्मस्वरूपदिव्यौघात् ।

Ibid., p. 3.

2. आदी भगवतीं प्राधान्यात् प्रणम्य ततश्चक्रषं चकनिविष्टा देवताः पूज्यन्ते, इत्ययं महौघः, तदनु सिद्धौघे...।

Ibid., p. 85.

3. ...एतद्विद्यौघरूपम् चक्रस्यम् ।

Ibid., p. 80.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

5. मकारदेवी...सा हि महौघमतिक्रम्य भिन्ना सिद्धौघे पूज्यते ।

Ibid., p. 104; also c. p. 107.

6. श्रीमन्मकारदेव्याः पीठवरे प्राप्तादेशेन श्रीज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन...यत्साक्षात्कृतं तत्रैव भूतदया-विष्टेन सता क्रमाथं तथा कथनपूजनाभ्यां वान्तम् तदेव प्रस्तूयते ।

M.P. (S), p. 49.

7. आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु देवगुरुभागव्यवस्थायामेकस्य अखण्डचित्स्वरूपस्य यदादिदेशः...।

Ibid., p. 73.

8. अत्रान्तर्नेत्रनाथस्य प्रकटानुभवोभवत् ।

ततो ध्यानं तु तत्पीठं सर्वपीठोत्तमं बहिः ।

योगिनोसिद्धसंसेव्यमुत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ॥

M.P. (T), 2. 36-37.

For, there is no basic difference in the meaning of the Jnana-netra or Antarnetra and twisting of names without interfering with their meaning is not uncommon among Sanskrit authors, their identity cannot be brushed aside without proper scrutiny. It appears that, in spite of their probable historicity, these Nathas (or Natha, to be more exact) were assigned to Siddhau-gha which is succeeded by Manavaugha in chronological order. The Manavaugha or human phase is traced to some Hrasvanatha and is terminated with Cakrabhanu.¹ The Manavaugha has a further sub-division i.e., Sisyaugha² (lineage of the disciples), which starts with Cakrabhanu and closes with Sitikantha.³ Now this Manavaugha or human phase has immediate bearings on the historical character of the Krama system. The exact significance will be examined at the proper occasion in the sequel but it may not escape our notice that Sitikantha's presentation, though by far the most comprehensive, is by all means incomplete and sketchy.

(c) *Consistent account of the early history of the system*

One must feel grateful to Jayaratha who, though citing from the *Kramakeli*, has preserved to us the *account* of early history of the system.⁴ It goes to his credit that his is the first rational and consistent effort to supply the links left missing in the cryptic statements of the authors including Mahesvarananda. The *Kramakeli* acknowledges the earliest preceptorial status of Sivananda having received his lessons in the Uttara-pitha. The close affinity between the *Kramakeli's* and the *Mahanaya-Prakasa's* accounts forces us not to unduly distinguish Sivananda from Srinatha, although it has nowhere been so explicitly asserted. Sivananda handed over the spiritual wealth to three of his female disciples namely, Keyuravati, Madanika

1. *M.P.(S)*, p. 107.

2. मानवोपशिष्योपशोरेक्येन गुरुक्रमाः ।

Ibid., p. 140.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

i. *Vide. T.A.V.*, III, pp. 192-93.

and Kalyanika. Next in the line are Govindaraja, Bhanuka and Eraka to whom were revealed the Krama secrets by these female ascetics simultaneously. The first two e.g., Govindaraja and Bhanuka, marked the beginning of the two different traditions of the Krama scholars. Somananda was connected with Govindaraja who transmitted the creed of Krama to the former, and Bhanuka headed the other tradition to which later belonged Ujjata and Udbhata. The latter tradition came down intact to Jayaratha. The third, Eraka, did not bother about forming a school of his own, instead he thought it better to propound the system all alone.

Thus, it may be noted that Sivananda's position as the first preceptor of the system is in no way compromised. But a quotation from the *Devi-pancasatika*, again our thanks go to Jayaratha, alludes to three precursors of Sivananda along with their spouses as under:¹

Niskriyananda	—	Jnanadipti,
Vidyananda	—	Rakta,
Saktyananda	—	Mahananda, and
Sivananda	—	Samaya. ²

1. ननु श्रीदेवीपञ्चाशतिकादौ “निष्क्रियानन्दनाथश्च ज्ञानदीप्त्या सहैकतः ।
विद्यानन्दश्च रक्ता च द्वितीयं कथितं तत्र ॥
शक्त्यानन्दो महानन्दा तृतीयं सिद्धपूजितम् ।
शिवानन्दस्तथा श्रेया समया तच्चतुर्थकम् ॥”

इत्याद्युक्त्या अन्येऽपि सप्तमीका गुरुव उक्तास्तद्विहापि कथं नोपपन्त्ये इत्यामन्वय आह —
T.A., XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).

2. Jayaratha suggests that this Krama tradition has a stamp of conclusiveness about it. He, in his prefatory remark on T.A. 29.43, raises a question as to why other teachers such as those mentioned in the *Devipancasatika* are not referred to here in the 'present' (इह) context (because these teachers are different from those that are being alluded to presently). Here the present context means the Kula system. Jayaratha's explanation bints at the impossibility of explicitly mentioning the teachers that have nothing to do with Kula. These teachers enjoy a detailed treatment in the Kali-kula, but they need not be worshipped instead, remembered only in the Kula context for the simple reason that these do not come under the purview of the Kula system. The word तद्बत् (see the preceding note) is very pregnant and

In the interest of logicity, if one could establish the identity of the present Sivananda with one recognised as the inventor of the system, one will have adequate ground to believe that Krama had earlier beginnings. Two strong considerations lend their weight to the surmise that these two are one. First, the *Devipancasatika* is a recognised textual authority on Krama as the following pages would reveal. And secondly, Ananta-saktipada, a commentator on a later Krama text '*Vatulanatha Sutra*',¹ and Sivopadhyaya, the learned author of the *Uddyota* commentary on the *Vijnanabhairava*,² record the opinion of some Niskriyanandanatha who is nowhere taken note of in the Kashmir Saiva texts even once except in the *Devipancasatika*. If this contention be true, Niskriyanandanatha should be recognized as the first thinker of the Krama system. If he is not so recognized in place of Sivananda, it is perhaps because he did not build up a system. The process of even greater antiquity of the system does not end here. Niskriyanandanatha is preceded by some Gandhamadana Siddha who took the former in his personal favour.³ Gandhamadana probably had a book⁴ which he showed to Niskriyananda and divulged its contents to him.

Thus, historically Krama seeds were sown much earlier than one is apt to believe. One may also ascertain the approximate historical status of these early thinkers. From the account furnished by Jayaratha, Sivananda was removed by two intervening generations (i.e., Keyuravati and Govindaraja) from Somananda, whose chronological position is almost certain. He is assigned towards the close of the ninth century. By assigning

purposive. It meant that the *Devipancasatika* speaks of teachers other than those described above in the Kula context. Now *Devipancasatika* is a Krama text, hence the 'other' system than 'the present one' is bound to be the Krama. Hence Niskriyananda etc., are automatically related to the Krama system. Vide, T.A.V. XI, pp. 31-33 (Ah. 29).

1. Vide V.N.S.V., p. 4.
2. V.Bh.V., pp., 67-68.
3. V.N.S.V., p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*

twenty-five years to each generation according to the usual practice of the historians, Sivananda may be placed in the first quarter of the ninth century. Gandhamadana, who is by four generations older to Sivananda, has to be assigned towards the beginning of the eighth or the last quarter of the seventh century. Ostensibly enough, the Krama system dates back fairly early. In a sense it is the earliest system amongst the monistic Saiva systems of Kashmir, because all other systems arose or emerged somewhere around the beginning of the ninth century.

Such a hoary antiquity of the system is further established by collateral evidence. The *Haravijaya* of Ratnakara who is attributed to middle of ninth century by the scholars because he flourished during the reign of Avantivarman,¹ eulogizes the ultimate deity as Samkarsini² in course of offering prayers to Sakti. A student of the Krama philosophy is fully well aware of the implications of this term. It is a typical Krama method of naming the Absolute. The word Samkarsini and Kala-samkarsini have no semantic difference. They stand for the one and the same principle.³ This reference helps one recognize the basic issue that the Krama dicta began to gain currency fairly early. It is these scattered ideas whose crystallization into a systematic form begins by the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

1. मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।
प्रयां रत्नाकरस्वाम्यात् साप्ताग्न्येज्वन्तिवर्मणः ॥

R.T. 5.34 (V.V.R.1. edition)

2. प्राप्ताभिसंधिपरतामनुवृत्तितन्मगौणस्थितिः स्थितसितातिशयादभोक्षणम् ।
विद्येति सर्वबहुलाखिलदृष्टिसंज्ञा संकषिणि निगदिता किल ज्ञासते त्वम् ॥

H.V., 47.55.

3. संकषिणी सप्तदशाक्षरा ।

यदुक्तं श्रीदेव्या यामले—

त्रिदशैरपि सम्पूज्या विद्या सप्तदशाक्षरा ॥

कालसंकषिणी नाम्ना...

T.A.V., XI, p. 49 (Ah. 29).

3. *Creative period of the Krama system - Rise and Decay* (9-18th century)

It may now be in the fitness of things to advert to the study of the creative phase of the Krama history which one encounters in the immediate succession. It is here that one finds himself face to face with remarkable scholars and outstanding personalities like Utpala, Laksmanagupta, Hrasvanatha, Siddhanatha, Pradyumna Bhatta, Utpala Vaisnava and Bhas-kara etc. This community of scholars is further joined by even the persons of the eminence of Abhinavagupta, Ksemaraja and Ramyadeva etc. Really speaking, once the creative stream starts flowing, its current does not lose its rigour till it comes to Devabhata. But the force of the central current is again restored after a brief pause in the personalities of Sivananda II, Jayaratha and Mahesvarananda. With Mahesvarananda one enters into the thirteenth century. These names form the galaxy of important Krama authors in addition to numberless those who have made humbler contributions. To this period belongs the illustrious tradition of Cakrabhanu, Hrasvanatha, Bhojaraja, Somaraja and Srivatsa who have made a hall-mark in the history of the Krama system by departing from the old rut and by making fresh contributions. It is the tradition which has escaped the certitude of historical accuracy for want of requisite material.

From the historical point of view, the Krama history unrolls a vast panorama that stretches from the 9th to the 18th century. There comes a lull after the 13th century and a vacuum obscures the creative arena, if any, from our sight. To be frank, a period of decadence looms large with the exit of Jayaratha and Mahesvarananda. And the vacuum is only partly and sporadically filled. Only two names, e.g., Sitikantha (1575-1625 A.D.) and Sivopadhyaya (1725-1775 A.D.) arrest our attention for their brilliant attempt to revive and preserve the system. To this period may be assigned Anantasaktipada, the commentator upon the *Vatula-natha-sutrani*, and the author of the *Chumma-Sampradaya* whose exact chronological status is not yet beyond doubt.

The period ranging from the 9th to 12th century is most creative. The creative vitality is reflected not only by the number of authors and texts, but also the impact it made on the other systems. This period witnesses a big community of authors who not only share their greatness, but also enjoy blood-affiliations; and consequently, we are in the midst of not only the rich preceptorial traditions but also family traditions. In the subsequent study we shall have sufficient opportunity to expatiate upon this contention. This period evinces a positive philosophical aptitude to be replaced by deep esoteric tendencies towards decaying finale of the system. A transitional compromise is easily perceptible among the authors flourishing towards the conclusion of the primary creative phases e.g., Mahesvarananda etc.

The system did not degenerate overnight. The long process had started fairly early. By the close of the 12-13th century, the cracks start showing in the erstwhile cemented wall of the system. One can easily feel the pressure of surging winds in Jayaratha. His diatribe at his opponents is indicative of the fact that they had lost touch with the traditional secret of the system.¹ But Jayaratha's criticism is so lively and retains its contemporary flavour to such an extent that by his time Krama continued to be a living force. Even a superficial perusal would convince one of this. Similarly Sivananda II, the author of the *Mahanaya-prakasa*, has castigated such people hinting at the growing ignorance of the system among the votaries of the system themselves.² The tendency gradually turned into a fact. Coming to Sitikantha, one finds Krama fast disappearing from the popular scene. He, at one place, bemoans the forgetful

1. अतच्चास्य एवं गुरुक्रममज्ञानानैरद्यतनैः...इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्प्रेक्षितमेव इत्युपेक्ष्यम् ।

T.A.P., III, p. 123;

also see तस्माद्दृष्टगुरुभिरपरिशीलितशास्त्रसंप्रदायैः स्वविमर्शशून्यैः देवानांप्रियैः यत् किञ्चिदलोच्यते तदुपेक्ष्यमेव ।

Ibid., p. 200.

2. इत्थं स्वानुभवं त्यक्त्वा ये संख्यामात्रप्रपूरणात् ।...

स्वरूपं बोधयन्त्युच्चैः तेऽपि न ज्ञानशालिनः ॥

M.P.(T). 8.186-87; also see. 8.180.

public memory.¹ The *Jnanakriyadvaya-sataka*, a stotra of Krama leanings and much later origin, gives a very vivid and graphic description of degeneration of the noble tenets of the system at the hands of its followers. It is a lengthy caricature (verses 37-63) and indicates how they lost any sense of the ethical proportions, social decorum and spiritual values in pursuing their carnal, sensual and mercenary motives.²

4. *Historical backdrop of these Phases*

If one reviews the Krama history against the general backdrop of the history of Kashmir, it would be clear to him that the period covering the creative phase of the Krama system is in fact reflective of the renaissance that overtook and enervated every field of intellectual activity. This period has given us many classics in different branches of learning e.g., philosophy, poetics, religion and literature. The process of patronizing the intellectuals and creative geniuses that started with King Lalitaditya (7th century) went unabated till the time of Jayasimha (1127-1149 A.D.) with a few exceptions. There was a great impetus for the composition of new and original works in Kashmir. Works on poetics practically commenced from the 8th century A.D. with Udbhata and Vamana. Works on the Trika system of philosophy began to be written about the same time and historical works also fall in the same period. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Firstly the literary glory and creative upsurge of Kashmir was at its peak during this period and was largely responsible for creating an intellectually fertile atmosphere in which nothing mean could ever aspire for recognition. Sociologically knowledge-seeking and intellectual activity were the values supremely cherished by the society and individuals alike. According to the social psychology deep-rooted

1. विस्मृतं चैतत्सर्वेषाम्...

स च सर्वेषां भावावेशेन स्मृतिपथादपसृतो नष्टः स्थितः, ते तु महाजनाः — येषामित्थं गुरुमुखमाविर्भूतम् ।

M.P.(S), p. 135.

2. The stotra is still unpublished. See "classified bibliography" for particulars.

values in the subconscious-mind of society act as a formative principle and impart a direction, depth and meaning to the cultural and creative adventures of the age. Knowledge-seeking became the cult of the then India, not to talk of Kashmir alone. Secondly, foreign emissaries like Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing visited India so that there was ample opportunity for exchange of ideas between the great nations like China, Persia, Greece and India. Thirdly, Kashmir Saivism emerged as a critique of the Vaibhasika and Yogacara schools of Buddhism and a constructive continuator of Bhartrhari's philosophy of language which had attained a high degree of intellectual advancement. Fourthly, the kings like Jayapida (779-813 A.D.) and Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) were enlightened and generous and they kept the flame of learning ever kindled during their reign. A king's popularity and success were measured in terms of his respect for learning. Kalhana has stated that during his time king Jayapida, like his remote precursor Lalitaditya, invited scholars from all parts of India in large numbers. Of Avantivarman Kalhana says that during his reign Siddhas such as Bhatt Kallata were born for the benefit of the world.¹ King Yasaskara who has won the laurels from Kalhana for his flawless administration in maintaining the integrity of the housewives,² was also a patron of many a scholar. He was a Seme contemporary of Abhinava (950-1020 A.D.). Vallabha, the grandfather of Kama who was Abhinava's favourite student and Puma Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, were ministers of Yasaskara. Similarly in Sussala (1101-1197 A.D.) we meet a great patron of learning. Mankha has paid high tributes to him.³ Practically all the brothers of Mankha including himself

1. अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टश्रीकल्लटादयः ।

अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमशातरन् ॥

R.T., V. 66.

2. नादृशन्त न मेहिन्यो गुरुदीश्रोत्यदेवताः ।

कुवाणा भर्तुं शीलश्रीनिषेधं मूर्धधूननैः ॥

R.T., VI. 12.

3. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविडीवसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संविशिवहे ।

विधाय चक्रं स्वयशोमयीं लिपिं स लेखवर्गस्य विमुद्रमाननम् ॥

S.K.C., 3.62

were under the employment of Sussala. Mankha's elder brother Alamkara,¹ who himself was a great patron of learning, was a high state official under Sussala. Ramyadeva and Losthala - both Krama authors, Ruyyaka - the famous poetician, and a host of others were regular members of Alamkara's literary club. Jaya Simha (1127-1155 A.D.), whose court poet was Kalhana, stepped into the shoes of his father and closely followed his foot-prints. Mankha has very high opinion about him.² Jayaratha, ostensibly one of the most remarkable figures of the system, was a son of Srngararatha, the court-minister of Jayasimha who has been probably referred to as Rajaraja.³ Encouragement from the rulers and a creatively lively academic environment made Kashmir a virtual seat of learning which bewitched scholars from every corner of the country.⁴ And consequently and rightly, too, an adage earned currency among the scholars that the real test of the scholarship lay in Kashmir.

Particular mention may be made, in this connection, of the encouragement that was given to Sanskrit learning during the later part of this period (which has been called as the period of decadence) even by Muslim rulers such as King Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1459 A.D.), Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484 A.D.) and Emperor Akbar. Zain-ul-Abidin made a history by proclaiming a total ban on cow-slaughter by reducing ziziah to a

1. Kalhana refers to Alamkara in glowing terms :

अलंकाराभिघ्नो बाह्यराज्यस्थानाधिकारभाक् ।

अधृष्यो मानुषैर्युद्धैर्विरुद्धान् बहुधावधीत् ॥

R.T., VIII, 2658.

2. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छ्रीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।

व्यधास्त्रजापालनकार्यपूरुषं स्रष्टुं वितन्वन्निर्नीतजन्तुषु ॥

S.K.C., 3.66; also see. 25.61.

3. राजराज इति भूभुजासम्भूदग्रणीसुणिगणाश्रयः परम् ।

तां सतीसरसि राजहंसतामातनोत्किल धनागमेऽपि यः ॥

Alamkāra-Sartasva-Vimarśini; p. 257.

4. यद्वादिनामुत्तरदिङ्निवेशादिव श्रयन्ति प्रतिवादिवाचः ।

अनुत्तरत्वं तदनुत्तरदिङ् श्रीशारदामण्डलमस्ति यत्र ॥

T.A.V., XII, p. 429.

nought. Hasan Shah was the patron of Sitikantha - author of the *Mahanaya-prakasa*, and Srivara Pandita - author of the later edition of the *Raja-tarangini*. All the three rulers ordered the translations of Sanskrit works into Persian and Arabic and vice versa, so that the exchange of ideas was mutual and not unilateral. But there was a great difference between the initial and final periods of the creative phase. These Muslim rulers of the final period, however, were not the rule but exceptions who gave a fillip and stimulus to Sanskrit learning in brilliant contrast to the wicked performance of the Muslim rulers in general who took it as a religious duty to destroy the culture of Kashmir; whereas in the initial period such rulers were exception as were not generous, nor enlightened. This difference among the rulers speaks by itself of the difference between the two periods.

The dazzling flame of classical Sanskrit tradition ultimately began to flicker and extinguish after the death of king Zain-ul-Abidin. The Hindu society in Kashmir began to disintegrate marking the decline of Sanskrit study. Persian language began to spread its influence. The place of Sanskrit was usurped by Kashmiri which was born afresh by a mixture of Persian and Sanskrit. Its magnificent examples are found in the pithy sayings of Lalla, *Mahanaya-prakasa* of Sitikantha and *Chumma-Sampradaya*. It is a pity that the land which was a living shrine of the goddess of learning succumbed to foreign influences and was forced to pass through a process of complete degeneration and total eclipse of its cultural identity. The process has been so thorough and its after-effects so severe that the Kashmiris today have yet to realize their real cultural identity. However the rich heritage that has flowed through blood among the Kashmirians down to the present day is visible in the commentaries of Sivopadhyaya on the *Vijnanabhairava*, of Ratnakantha on the *Stuti-Kusumanjali*, and of Bhaskarakantha on the *Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini* and in the *Devinamavilasa* of Sahib Kaul. The first and third works speak of the original calibre of their authors. Sivopadhyaya, who is credited with the authorship of certain other works as well, flourished under the patronage of Sukhajivana (1754-1762 A.D.), a Hindu king. The fourth work

also belongs to the close of eighteenth century. With his exit the curtain is finally dropped and all intellectual activity comes to a close only to be revived in the present century.

5. *Chronological Position and Contribution of the Individual Authors*

As is logical, one may now proceed to determine the chronological status as well as examine the contribution of the Krama authors individually. Such an attempt will possibly facilitate *better* understanding of the system. The place of an author in the proposed treatment corresponds to his exact or approximate position in chronology. Cases of doubtful or unknown authorship have been treated along the same lines except agamic works to which a separate section has been devoted.

(i) *Vatulanatha* (675-725 A.D.)

Little is known about him. It is also difficult to say whether he belonged to the Siddha tradition (Siddhaugha) or the Human one (Manavaugha) although he is referred to as a 'Siddha'. If he is a historical personality he should be placed before Niskriyanandanatha whose period falls about 700-750 A.D., because the tradition (not the authorship) as presented in the *Vatulanatha-Sutrani* is traced to some *Vatulanatha*.¹ The main thesis, according to him, is to negate duality and uphold unity of the various categories of spiritual experience i.e., the adorer, the adored and the adoration. He is the first exponent of the Sahasa school.

1. श्रीमद्वातूलनाथस्य हृदयाम्भोधिसंभवम् ।
पूज्यपूजकपूजाभिः प्राञ्जितं यन्नमामि तत् ॥

Verse 3, *V.N.S.V.*, p. 1.

also

इह पुनः पूज्यपूजकपूजनसंबंधपरिहारेण श्रीमद्वातूलनाथादिसिद्धप्रवरत्नसाम्नास-
दृशा...!

Ibid., p. 18.

(ii) *Gandhamadana* (700-750 A.D.)

He is known from a brief reference¹ where he is represented to have shown an unauthored (probably of divine origin or received traditionally) book to Niskriyananda while taking the latter into his personal favour. He is also said to be a Siddha i.e., the accomplished one. The text *Vatula-natha-sutra* is supposed to be a detailed exposition of these teachings. Coming before Niskriyananda he may be placed in the vicinity of the first two quarters of the eighth century. He also subscribed to the Sahasa branch of the Krama system.

(iii) *Niskriyandanatha* (725-775 A.D.)

During the hoary antiquity of the system Niskriyananda appears to be the most important author. He is the first among the four preceptorial dignities mentioned by the *Pancasatika*.² He is mentioned alongwith his consort i.e., *Jnanadipti*. His importance becomes self-manifest the moment one finds at least two works ascribed to him. As has already been noted in our study of the Sahasa school, these works are the *Chumma-Sam-pradaya*³ and the *Vatulanatha-Sutrani*. It is to be noted that one does not meet such explicit declaration of his authorship of these two works. To be more precise and exact, he may be said to be the author of the *Chumma-Sampradaya*, whereas he transpires to be a recipient of the Sahasa doctrine from some Gandhamadana resulting in the form of the *Vatulanatha-Sutrani*.

1. श्रीमन्निष्क्रियानन्दनाथानुग्रहसमये श्रीगन्धमादनसिद्धपादैरकृतकपुस्तकप्रदर्शनेन या परपदे प्राप्तिरुपदिष्टा सैव वित्तव्य निरूप्यते ।

Ibid., p. 4.

The editor, Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, translates the word अकृतकपुस्तक "by the self-composed book". Cf. p. 5 of the translation. However, this rendering appears to be incorrect.

2. T. A. XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).
3. The work is available in Manuscript form only and happens to be in the list of the projected publications of the Research Department, Kashmir. The book is divided in about 74 sub-sections known as Kathas. Under each Katha a few verses occur in which Sanskrit verses precede those in the local vernacular. It has in all thirteen folios and bears the MS. No. 151. We have made copious use of the manuscript throughout the present study.

His authorship of the first work is established by an irrevokable fact. According to Sivopadhyaya, he reads 'Karankini' for "Karankini" in the context of Mudrakrama under Vrndacakra. In support Sivopadhyaya cites two verses from him.¹ Fortunately these verses are traceable verbatim to the *Chumma-Sampradaya*² which is still unpublished. He also seems to have written a commentary called "Prakasa" on it which is also in manuscript form.³

In this connection it is perhaps significant to remember that all these works as they are available today convey an impression of their being of much later date. This conclusion is derived from three facts viz., (i) these works are nowhere referred to in the earlier literature. Even Mahesvarananda and Jayaratha do not take any notice of them, (ii) the prevalence of Prakṛta in the *Chumma-Sampradaya* and esoteric symbolism in the *Vatulanatha-Sutranī* are definitely later characteristics of the system; and (iii) the only other reference one gets after the *Pancasatika* is by Sivopadhyaya (18th century). The only explanation that seems plausible at this stage is that antiquity of

1. निष्क्रियानन्दनाथस्तु कराकिण्या इति पठति—यथा—

करास्त्रयोदशाकाराः सर्वाक्षोभवृत्तयः ।

अकं तु निनिकेतायाः सविदो देहविस्तरः ॥

एतत्करांकमाख्यातं तस्य ग्रासादनावृत्तम् ।

निष्करं समुद्दिष्टं निरालम्बं परं वरम् ॥

V.Bk.V., p. 67.

2. Vide C.S. (MS), folio 8.

3. The manuscript belongs to Pt. Dinanatha Yaksa, the then head pandit of the Sanskrit Section of the Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar. I was not permitted to have a look into the work. But he very kindly supplied to me a transcribed copy of the colophon with which the commentary ends. It is written in Sarada characters. Sutras in Prakṛta have been commented upon by Niskriyananda in Sanskrit verses. The colophon reads:

कालाकालकलाकलाविभवं संभट्य चिद्वृत्तितो

भित्त्वा ज्ञानमहान्धकारमभितः सम्यग्दयातत्त्वतः ।

उद्घाट्यांशुनिश्चरोत्तरदृशा चटुष्माख्यसंकेतके

भेदाभेदविवर्जिते निरुपमे प्रोचैः प्रकाशः कृतः ॥

इतिचटुष्मासंकेतप्रकाशः श्रीनिष्क्रियानन्दप्रकाशितः सम्पूर्णः ।

Niskriyananda is no doubt very early and his teachings did come down to posterity unbroken, but they were consolidated and circumscribed into the form of the books at much later date. Or else there may be two separate authors of the same name. But in the absence of any contrary evidence, the first view seems to be more tenable. Whatever the case, he is inalienably connected with the Sahasa sub-school of the Krama system. According to Sivopadhyaya's account he held Vamesvari to be the primal and absolute principle. He believed in the sixty-four aspects of the Vrnda-cakra, the sixty-fifth aspect being constituted by Reality itself which also passes under the name of Raudresvari.¹ This account tallies with what has been preserved to us in the two extant texts.

(iv) *Vidyanandanatha* (750-800 A.D.)

Besides the *Pancasatika's* mention of his, as reported by Jayaratha,² complete darkness surrounds his identity. He is second in lineage from Niskriyananda and Rakta happened to be his spouse. This is all that is known about him.

It is, indeed, almost certain that he is different from the two Vidyanandas belonging to the Tripura sect. One is the author of the famous work called *Artharatnavali* and the other is the author of the *Sivarcana-candrika* and *Saubhagya-ratnakara* etc. Both of them belong to much later date³ (the 12th and 16th centuries respectively), hence their identification with the present author is totally out of question.

(v) *Saktyanandanatha* (775-825 A.D.)

Once again we seek recourse to the *Pancasatika* which puts him in the third place from Niskriyananda and as an

1. *V.Bh...* pp. 67-68.

2. *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29).

3. त्रिपुरादशमं न स्थापयिष्यता आचार्याः तत्कृतयश्च, B.B. Dviveda, S.S., p. 25. The author has given convincing reasons to prove the lateness of (he authors in question. Vidyananda of the Krama system cannot be dragged to a later period for that would create historical absurdities. The *Pancasatika* was known to Somananda (*T.A.V.*, III, p. 194) who flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century. And it is this *Pancasatika* that is one's sole access to Vidyananda.

immediate predecessor of Sivananda. His spouse was Mahananda by name. We know nothing more about him.

(vi) *Sivananda* (800-850 A.D.)

Sivananda is the first literary figure about whom the history is less silent. Generally he is acclaimed as the first systematic exponent of the school¹ and for that reason is known as "Avatarakanatha"² in the doctrinal circles. He, as has already been pointed out, belongs to the opening era of the ninth century. This date is arrived at *from* basing our calculations on the dates of Somananda (875-925 A.D.) and Abhinavagupta (950-1000 A.D.). He is removed by two generations from the former and by five from the latter. He hailed from Kashmir, the Uttarapitha, which was also the seat of his spiritual initiation.³ He also visited Kamarupa where he was taken into personal favour of the deities of the Jaya class.⁴ The circumstances pertaining to his visit perhaps have a bearing on his relation, if any, with the Kula system. He had three female ascetics as his immediate pupils who bore the burden of propounding the Krama dicta. They were known as Keyuravati, Madanika and Kalyanika respectively.⁵ In Jayaratha's time there raged a controversy with regard to the total number of Sivananda's actual disciples. Jayaratha quotes a verse giving out the number of his students as seventeen and refutes the same because the verse, in his opinion, does not take into consideration the two other pupils and also because there is always

1. यः शिवात्प्रभृतिसोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।

C.G.C., 4, 121.

अथ सा कालयोगेन शिवानन्दस्य धीमतः ।

शिष्यस्योपादिशद् देवो विदद्वैतस्य निश्चयम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 197. Also see T.A.V., III, p. 192

2. T.A.V., III, pp. 195, 197.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

5. श्रीशिवानन्दनाथास्तस्मान्ग्रहाभ्यः .. श्रीवेगुन्दतो-श्रीरुद्रनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः

प्राप्नुवन्तः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 192. *Vide* p. 195.

a possibility of his having still another student.¹ By implication there was a wide range of scholars and devotees to whom he seems to have addressed his teachings.

It is doubtful if he wrote some specific work for the propagation of Krama. It is unfortunate that his views on various philosophical questions have not come down to us except on one question i.e., the number of Kalis to be worshipped in Anakhya-cakra. It appears there were two interpretations in tune with the doctrinal demands of his views. The tradition is interpreted by one group to mean that he advocated the number of Kalis to be thirteen and two verses are cited from him in support of their thesis.² The other group headed by Jayaratha, instead, holds the number to be twelve which, he declares, has descended to him direct from Govindaraja and cites a verse to substantiate his contention.³ Jayaratha presents it as an uncontrovertible fact that the twelve goddesses alone were intended by the teacher-sage.⁴ Today it is difficult to objectively

1. तदेष,

कमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदाभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।

सप्तदशैव शिष्यानिर्वाचके सर्वशनिर्वणान् ॥ इति नियमो न व्याप्यः— शिष्यद्वयस्याप्यपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

Ibid., p. 195.

2. ननु एवं गुरुक्रमेऽप्यस्य कथंकारमिदं संगच्छताम्, यदत्र द्वादशैव एता देव्य इति, यतः श्रीमदवतारकनाथस्यापि अत्र त्रयोदशैव दिवक्षिताः यः श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामपि परमगुरुत्वेन स्थिताः, यदाह

एकं स्वरूपरूपं प्रसरस्थितिविलयभेदतस्त्रिविधम् ।

प्रत्येकमुदयसंस्थितिलयविश्रमश्चतुर्विधं तदपि ॥

इतिवमुपपन्नकसंख्यं विधाय सहजस्वरूपमात्मीयम् ।

विश्वविवर्तवर्तप्रवर्तकं जयति ते रूपम् ॥

T.A.P., III, p. 197.

3. किंतु अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्मः, यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः, यदाह

कालस्य कालि देहं विभज्य मुनिपंचसंख्यया भिन्नम् ।

स्वस्मिन् विराजमानं तद्रूपं कुर्वती जयासि ॥

Ibid., p. 198.

4. नस्मात् द्वादशाष्टवमेवात्र वक्तुमभिप्रेतं सिद्धपादानाम् ।

Ibid., p. 199.

determine his precise views with regard to this or that issue. This is, however, clear that the twelvefoldness of Kalis was derived by him from the purely functional interpretation of the Absolutic agency. Each of the four functions namely, Emanation, Sustenance, Withdrawal and Rest, happens to enjoy three distinct phases of rise, maintenance and dissolution respectively. It may also be taken to be implied that he subscribed to the thesis of four-function doctrine (Krama- catustaya).

A student of the Krama history is familiar with one more Sivananda (generally referred to by us as Sivananda III, the grand teacher of Mahesvarananda, who belongs to a period as late as the twelfth century. In the tantric history, in general, there are quite a few Sivanandas and any irresponsible identification must be avoided without proper and strong basis. Yet one Sivananda quoted in the *Siddha-Siddhanta-paddhati*,¹ because of his antiquity and historical approximity, may be identical with our author. The tone of the citation also lends weight to the above hypothetical value at present. If such a contention has any force, it is probable that Sivananda wrote some work or works too.

Earlier, in this very chapter, the identity of Sivananda with Srinatha, Antarnetranatha and Jnananetranatha has been suggested. Here one would like to consider additional evidence which could not be adduced there for want of space and relevance. The immediate transmission of the Krama tenets by Mangala Devi to jnananetranatha² in Sitikantha finds a close analogue in Sivananda's receiving the spiritual secrets from Mangala Devi in the *Maharthamanjari*.³ Moreover, Antarnetranatha is the first preceptor ever to be mentioned in connection with the Northern Seat by the *Mahanayaprakasa*.⁴ This, again,

1. उक्तं च शिवानन्दाचार्यैः — सर्वशक्तिप्रसरसंकोचाभ्यां जगत्सृष्टिः संहतिश्च भवत्येव, न संदेहः । तस्मात्तां मूलमित्युच्यते । अतः प्रायेण सर्वसिद्धामूलपाददत्ता भवन्ति ।

Siddha-Siddhanta paddhati, p. 20, MS belonging to Saraswati Bhawan, Varanasi.

2. *M.P.(S),p.* 49.

3. *Vide pp.* 99, 197.

4. *M.P.(T)*, 2.36-37.

bears a close affinity to Sivananda's relation with the Northern Seat.¹ Srinatha is said to have secured revelation of the spiritual truth at the first or original seat.² The caravan of corroborative facts does not stop here. Ksemaraja has quoted from some Srinatha a passage containing his views about Kali³ which is definitely a Krama concept. It is interesting to note that Sivananda has also been referred to as Natha.⁴ From these premises the following conclusions can be safely drawn that -

- (i) Srinatha subscribed to the Krama system,
- (ii) he flourished before Ksemaraja,
- (iii) there is no other Srinatha before Ksemaraja (except one, who is credited with the exposition of the dualistic-cum-monistic thesis and is a contemporary of Amardaka and Traiyambaka) subscribing to the monistic tradition,
- (iv) Srinatha⁵ of Sitikantha does not appear to be different from his Jnananetra⁶, because of the close similarity in their relation with their Pithas.⁷
- (v) there is only nominal and no semantic difference between Jnananetra and Antarnetra,
- (vi) there is a strikingly close resemblance among the accounts of Sivananda, jnananetra, Antarnetra and Srinatha, and

1. *T.A.V., III*, p. 192.

2. *M.P.(S)*, p. 73.

3. यदुक्तं श्रीश्रीनाथपादैः “श्रयेत्स्वातन्त्र्यशक्तिं स्वां सा श्रीकाली परा कला ।”
S.S. Vi., p. 92.

4. क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयमदाशेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।

सप्तदशैव शिष्यानिर्णयं चक्रे ... ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 195.

5. *M.P. (S)*, p. 73.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

7. पीठवरे प्राप्तदिशेन ज्ञाननेत्रनाथेन

Ibid., p. 49.

आदिपीठादिष्टश्रीनाथस्तु

Ibid., p. 73.

- (vii) there is nobody else than Sivananda who could fulfil all these qualifications simultaneously before the time of Ksemaraja.

Hence the proposition laying down their equation cannot be ridiculed as absurd and unfounded. However, this suggestion has been advanced here only as a tentative measure. About his personal life we know nothing except that Samaya, according to the *Pancasatika*, was his spouse.

- (vii) *Vasugupta* (800-850 A.D.)

Among the authors ascribed to this period the claim of Vasugupta must be considered, who is primarily a Trika as well as a Spanda author and is nowhere mentioned as the Krama author. But a close perusal of his *Siva-Sutras* as well as the *Spanda-Karikas* would reveal his contribution to the cause of the Krama system too. There are two schools with regard to the interpretation of the *Siva-Sutras*. Bhaskara represents one school that explains it as embodying the Spanda doctrine and divides the work into three Prakaranas or Prakasas, In so doing he steps into the shoes of Kallata who got the *Sivasutras* in four divisions, the first three of which he explained by his *Spanda-Karikas* and the last one by a commentary called *Tattvartha-cintamani*.¹ Bhaskara comments on the first three chapters only. Here in his interpretations his taciturnity regarding the Krama system does not permit one to form a definite view. But the other school represented by Ksemaraja and Varadaraja interprets the *Sivasutras* in the light of the Trika system or so to say, the Kashmir Saivism in general and divides the whole work into the three sections in accordance with the three Upayas. Thus the second section deals with Saktopaya which is the traditional way of presenting the Krama system. Below in footnote a few Sutras, in addition to the second chapter, that particularly incorporate the Krama tenets

I. ... चतुःखण्डानि साम्यथ ॥

व्याकरोल्लिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।

तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्त्रिमम् ॥

S.S.V., 1. 4-5, also see S.S.Vi, p. 130; Sp.P., p. 30;

I.P.V.V., II, p. 30.

are also indicated.¹ In the philosophical portion a reference has invariably been made to such portions of the *Siva-Sutras* as have the slightest bearing on the Krama system.

Similarly Ksemaraja, who ascribes authorship of the *Spanda-Karikas*² to Vasugupta, presents the basic theme of the Karikas as consisting in the enunciation of the Mahārtha doctrine.³ We have also seen Utpala, the author of the *Spanda-Pradipika*, referring to the common features between the Spanda and Krama systems. Hence this study.

The date of Vasugupta does not present much difficulty. We know Kallata was the direct disciple of Vasugupta. According to Kalhana,⁴ Kallata was a contemporary of king Avantivarman whose period of reign extends from 855 to 883 A.D. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that Vasugupta, the teacher of Kallata, belonged to the preceding generation which might have been alive and active during the first half of the ninth century.

Besides the two works alluded to above, the three other books ascribed to Vasugupta are the (i) *Spandamrta*,⁵ (ii) *Vasavi Tika* and (iii) *Siddhantacandrika*. The claim of the first work as an independent treatise is now rejected by the modern scholars.⁶ It is supposed to be identical with the *Spanda-Karikas* with difference in the title only, because the word *Spandamrta* seems to be more of a metaphorical expression. The *Vasavi Tika* is a commentary on the *Bhagavadgita*. A complete manuscript of it has not yet been discovered. The first six chapters are probably mixed up in another commentary on the *Bhagavadgita* called *Lasaki* by Rajanaka Lasaka the manuscripts of which, according to Natarajan; are however available. The third work e.g.,

1. *Sp.K.*, 1. 6, 12, 17, 21, 22; 3. 13, 16, 25, 27, 30, 43.

2. लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुहान्तकृतनिहिते ।
बसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥

Sp.N., 4.2; also p. 3.

3. *Vide Sp. N.*, pp. 6, 74 and *Sp.S.*, pp. 11-12, 19-22.

4. *R.T.V.* 66.

5. *Sp.N.*, p. 1, verse 2; *S.K.V.*, p. 40, verse 2.

6. *Abhi.*, p. 156. *Vide also Contribution (MS.)*, p. 329.

Siddhanta Candrika is noticed by Buhler.¹ Since Vasugupta is not an exclusive author on the Krama system unnecessary details may be avoided.²

It may not be out of place to add that the *Siva Sutras*, as extant now, are known to us not in their entirety. Ksemaraja, in his *Spanda Sandoha*, quotes two Siva-Sutras which are not traceable to the published text.³ Abhinavagupta also refers to one such Sutra in his *Isvara-pratyabhijna-vivrti Vimarsini*.⁴ It is possible that these Sutras belong to the fourth division of the *Sivasutras* which has not been commented upon by any author except Kallata who is depicted by Bhaskara to have written the *Tattvartha Cintamani* commentary on it. A further probe into the available literature would perhaps give us a few more such Sutras.

(viii) *Three female disciples of Sivananda - Keyuravati, Madanika and Kalyanika* (825-875 A.D.)

We have just seen that Sivananda's immediate disciples included three female ascetics namely, Keyuravati, Madanika and Kalyanika.⁵ As such, there is no difficulty in fixing their approximate date. All our information about them is based on an extract from the *Kramakeli* as preserved by Jayaratha. Till their period one does not find any trace of the mainstream of Krama splitting into sub-schools. Like Keyuravati, Madanika and Kalyanika too were taken into favour by Sivananda.⁶ All

1. Buhler's *Kashmir Report*, 1877, Cat. No. 601 (MSS).

2. For further reference of: *Abhi.*, pp. 154-157; *Contribution* (S), pp. 296-299, 327-330.

3. अस्ति च शिवसूत्रम् 'सकृदिभातोऽयमात्मा पूर्णोऽयं न क्वापि अप्रकाशसंभवः' इति । तथा 'चिद्धनमात्मपूर्णम् विश्वम्' इत्यादिना ।

4. ब्रह्मपदे कमलशरीरस्तदुत्थप्राणिरूपेण सर्वत्र सर्वदा विचरति ।

Both quoted by M.S. Kaul, *A Short Review of the Research Publications* (Kashmir State), year not given, p. 10.

5. पीठेश्वरीभ्यः उत्तरपीठलब्धोपदेशात् श्रीशिवानन्दनाथाल्लब्धानुग्रहाभ्यः श्रीकेयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्याणिकाभ्यः ... ।

T.A.V., III, p. 192.

6. किं च श्रीमदवतारकनाथेन श्रीकारदेवीवत् श्रीमदनिकाश्रीकल्याणिके चानुमुह्यते, इत्यपि अतोऽवसितम् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 192.

of them were the guardian deities of some Pitha.¹ Keyuravati, who was also called Kakaradevi,² appears to be most important among the three. These three were responsible for imparting the Krama tenets to Sri Govindaraja, Bhanuka and Eraka.³ Besides this, Jayaratha has preserved some more information about Keyuravati. The historical value of the information will be determined later while discussing Cakrabhanu. In addition to these three, namely, Govindaraja etc.⁴ she is said to have three other disciples as well whose names are not known.⁵ Yet the preceptorial traditions ensued from the latter three students. Hence they are depicted as 'Savamsas'. It is impossible to identify these people today. At another place also from Keyuravati down to the pupil of Cakrabhanu, sixteen generations of the Krama teachers are said to have flourished.⁶ But validity of such a view is somewhat dubious, because the intention of Jayaratha behind alluding to these views is to suggest the conflicting nature of hearsays with regard to one and the same person or author and impossibility of construing any definite conclusion from such a scattered mass. Nevertheless, the respect enjoyed by Keyuravati is not compromised. This is borne out by the homage paid to her by Eraka or Naverakanatha, who eulogizes her as the Divinity *par excellence*.¹

(ix) *Kallata* (825-875 A.D.)

Kallata, though not exclusively belonging to the Krama

1. *Vide fa.* 5 on p 110.

2. See fn, 6 on p.110

3. *T.A.V., III, p. 192.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

5. अत्र श्रीककारदेव्यास्तस्याः

प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्त्रयः सर्वशास्त्रुः । इति त्रय एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं—
श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकयोरेषि एतच्छिष्यत्वात् नवेरकनाथस्यास्याः अपि शिष्यः ।

Ibid., pp. 195-96.

6. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रसूति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।

संततयोगतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्यम् ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 195.

7. यस्याः सदा खेचरिदृष्टिरोघात्सार्वात्मिकी भाति निरन्तरोक्ता ।

तामस्मि केयूरवतीं प्रसिद्धां नमामि देवीमनिकेतसंस्थाम् ॥

Ibid., p. 196.

school, is one of the most creative geniuses of his time. He is preeminently a Spanda author. The only justification for considering him under Krama lies in his valued contribution to the Krama system through the *Spanda-karika* as well as his commentaries thereon. On the authority of Ksemaraja and Bhatta Utpala one comes to know the amount of the Krama wisdom as contained in the *Spanda-karika*. Abhinavagupta presents Kallata as indirectly propounding a Krama doctrine.¹

Being a contemporary of king Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) his date covers the second and third quarters of the ninth century. Kalhana calls him a great Siddha born for emancipating the suffering masses. Historically he occupies a unique position and from him ensue the two laudable traditions of the Spanda branch. One begins with Pradyumna Bhatta and is continued up to Bhaskara who is also a teacher of Abhinavagupta, and the other starts with Mahabala and is carried up to Utpala Bhatta. Pradyumna Bhatta and Utpala Bhatta are famous for their contributions to Krama as well. Computing backwards from Abhinava (960-1020 A.D.) who is a student of Bhaskara, one arrives at exactly the same period, since five intervening generations have filled the gap from Kallata to Abhinavagupta.

Kallata, apart from being a spiritual and religious personality, was also a man of versatile genius and wide interests. Besides his numerous philosophical major and minor treatises he is credited with the composition of literary pieces as well. A few verses have come down to us through anthologies² and some

1. यदाह श्रीकल्लटः “तुष्टिपाल इति” अत्र पातशब्दं सैव भगवती श्रीमत्काली मातृसद्भावो भैरवः प्रतिमा इत्यलं रहस्यारहस्येन ।

T.S., pp. 104-105, *Vide also T.A.* 10. pp. 208-212.

2. *Vide Subhasitavali* or Vallabhadeva, Verse No. 136.

किं तेन काव्यमधुना प्लाविता रमनिर्झरैः ।

जडात्मनोऽपि नो यस्य भवन्त्यकुस्तान्तरा ॥

Quoted by Dr. S.V. Singh, *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit poetry*, Thesis (MS), p. 78.

other sources.¹ He also contributed his mite to the Kula system as well. It is apparent from Abhinava's reference to him in a positively Kula context.² It is difficult to say whether or not he wrote separate treatises on Kula and Krama. But he did ventilate his views regarding problems pertaining to these systems.

Such wide erudition he could command due to his curiosity and unextinguishable thirst for knowledge. He calls himself as "a student of all" and naturally he never suffered from dearth of people readily telling him everything. After the typical slang "Every Tom, Dick and Harry", we take it, he avers that his teachership ranged from Tapanā to Motaka.³ Abhinavagupta quotes this verse in his *Tantraloka* with slight modification⁴ and admits the debt of Kallata without reservation in one respect. He (Abhinava) also flanked the doors of all sorts of teachers even in branches of learning inferior to his own, out of sheer curiosity and quest for knowledge. In this he was largely inspired by Kallata's example.⁵

The salient factor behind Kallata's peerless renown consists in his controversial authorship of the *Spanda-karikas*. Controversial in the sense that the tradition has not remained unanimous in recognizing him as the absolute author of the

1. उक्तं ह्यनेनैवाव्ययम्—

गुरोर्ह्येताऽपि तु सिद्धविद्या कन्येव दत्ता गुणवर्जिताय ।
सम्भोगहीना विदधात्यकीर्तिं दातुर्पतस्तत्प्रगुणाय दद्यात् ॥

Quoted, *Sp.P.*, p. 54.

2. स्वशरीराधिकसङ्कावभवितामिति ततः प्राह ।

श्रीमत्कल्लटनाथः प्रोक्तसमस्तार्थलब्धये वाक्यम् ॥

T.A. 29.123-124.

3. आतपनाम्नोत्कान्तं यस्य मे गुरुस्तन्तिः ।

तस्य मे सर्वं शिष्यस्य नोपदेशदरिद्रता ॥

Sp.K.V., p. 40, verse 3.

4. *T.A.*, 13.344.

5. श्रीमता कल्लटेनेत्यं गुरुणा तु व्यरूप्यत ।

अहमप्यत एवाधःशास्त्रदृष्टिकुतूहलात् ॥

तार्किकश्रीतबोद्धाहृद्द्वैत्यवादीनसेविषि ।

T.A., 13. 345-46.

said text. There is a group of traditional scholars who attribute the authorship of the Karikas to Vasugupta. Ksemaraja¹ and Mahesvarananda² who closely follows the former, treat it as a work of Vasugupta. In fact this is the heritage that they have received from Abhinava - his (Abhinava's) own statement testifies to it.³ Abhinava and Ksemaraja both seem to base their judgment on the authority of the following verse found in their recension as retained by Ksemaraja in his *Spanda Nirnaya*:

लब्ध्वाप्यलभ्यमेतज्ज्ञानधनं हृद्गुह्यन्तःकृतनिहिते ।

वसुगुप्तवच्छिवाय हि भवति सदा सर्वलोकस्य ॥

—*Sp. N.* 4.2

Strangely enough, this verse is not found in the recension of Bhatta Utpala, author of the *Spanda-pradipika*, who ascribes its authorship to Kallata. He (Bhatta Utpala) on the strength of the 53rd verse, categorically holds it to be a work of Kallata. The verse runs -

वसुगुप्तादवाप्येदं गुरोस्तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनः ।

रहस्यं श्लोकयामास सम्यक् श्रीभट्टकल्लटः ॥

But, amusingly again, this verse is not found in Ksemaraja's

1. तत्र आद्यमेव सूत्रं विमृश्यते... समस्तशास्त्रार्थगर्भा समुचितां स्तुतिमिमामुपदिदेश श्रीमान् वसुगुप्तगुरुः ।

Sp.S., p. 3.

...स्वप्नोपलब्धोपदेशः श्रीमान्वसुगुप्ताचार्यो महादेवपर्वताद्भगवदिल्लुयैव महाशिलातलो-
ल्लिखितानि अतिरहस्यानि शिवसूत्राण्यासाद्य प्रसन्नगम्भीरैरेकपञ्चाशतां श्लोकैरागमानु-
भवोपपत्त्यैकोकारं प्रदर्शयन् संगृहीतवान् ।... इति त्रिनिःश्वन्दमिदं स्पन्दशास्त्रम् ।

Sp.N., pp. 1-2.

2. *M.M.P.*, p. 8.

3. इति दशितं श्रीवसुगुप्तपादैः संविद्रूपारम्भपन्दादेव उन्मेषनिमेषतः संघातविग्रहविपर्ययाः
लयोदयोपलक्षितकुर्यपञ्चकप्रपञ्चसंभवं निरूपयद्भिः ।

I.P.V., III, p. 312;

cp. the first *Kārika* e.g.,

परयोन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयोदयो ।

तं शक्तिचक्रविभवप्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः ॥

Sp.K. 1.

recension. In the beginning of his *Pradipika*¹ Utpala emphatically asserts his position that Vasugupta revealed the Spanda secrets to Kallata who wrote a compendium in fifty verses for the sake of easy understanding by his pupils. He, in this connection, also records a slight modification in the tradition in respect of the *Siva-sutras* to the effect that the *Siva-sutras* were revealed to Vasugupta by a Siddha and not by Siva himself as held by Ksemaraja etc.² Bhatta Utpala is supported by a host of scholars including Bhaskara, the author of the *Varttika* on the *Siva-sutras*, and Ramakantha who wrote a *Vrtti* on the *Spanda-karikas*. According to Bhaskara, Kallata got from his teacher four divisions of the *Siva-sutras* on the first three of which he wrote his *Spanda-karikas* or *Spanda-sutras*, and on the last one a commentary called the *Tattvarthacintamani*.³ Probably the *Spanda-karikas*, intended to be a commentary on the first three divisions, was known as *Madhu-vahini*.⁴ Because both of them, according to Abhinava, are commentaries on the *Siva Sutras* and are mentioned by him in the order that conforms to Bhaskara's stand.

Thus the following facts emerge from the above discussion. Both the schools concurred that -

1. अयमत्र कलाम्नायः सिद्धमुखेनागतं रहस्यं यत् ।
तद् भट्टकल्लटेन्दुर्वसुमुत्तगुरोरेवाप्य शिष्याणाम् ॥
अवबोधार्थमनुष्टुप्पञ्चाशिकयात्र संग्रहं कृतवान् ॥

Sp.P., Introductory verses. This is also to be noted that Ksemaraja talks of 51 Karikas whereas Bhatta Utpala of 60 Karikas.

2. See fn. 3 below.
3. श्रीमन्महादेवगिरौ वसुमुत्तगुरोः पुरा ।
सिद्धादेशात्प्रादुरासन् शिवसूत्राणि तस्य हि ॥
सरहस्यमतः सोऽपि प्रादाद् भट्टाय सूरये ।
श्रीकल्लटाय सोऽप्येवं चतुः खण्डानि तान्यथ ॥
व्याकरोति क्रमेणैव स्यन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्ततः ।
तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्याख्यटीकया खण्डमन्तिमम् ॥

S.S.V., pp. 2-3, verses 3-8.

4. शिवसूत्रवृत्त्योर्मधुवाहिनीतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामण्योर्भट्टश्रीकल्लटपार्दः ।

J.P.V.V., II, p. 30.

Vide also K.S., Chatterji, pp. 31, 37.

- (i) the *Spanda-karikas* were a commentary on the *Siva-sutras*,
- (ii) Vasugupta and Kallata both are related to the *Spanda-karikas* whether directly or indirectly,
- (iii) Kallata did write two commentaries on the *Siva-sutras*.

And the two schools disagreed with regard to -

- (i) its authorship - an issue Vasugupta *versus* Kallata,
- (ii) origin of the *Siva-sutras* - Divine i.e., received from Siva, or Secular i.e., revealed by a Siddha,
- (iii) recension of the *Spanda-karikas* - mutual black-out of the verses pertaining to authorship and their number e g., fifty-one or fifty, in their respective recensions, and
- (iv) divisions of the *Siva-sutras* - three or four.

On the basis of the material produced above there should be no doubt that one does not have extant today the original text of the *Spanda-karikas*. What one has must be an edited text - rendered and modified by the schoolmen in order to cater to their doctrinal requisites. If one sets out to locate its cause, one has to make a study in the motives of these schoolmen before he can positively conclude anything.

It has been frequently repeated that the Spanda system is nearest to the Krama for its unmistakable emphasis on the dynamic aspect of reality which technically passes under the name of Sakti or Spanda or Vimarsa. If this be granted, the *Spanda-karika* must propound a system that is Sakta in nature. It is why the *Spanda-karika*, despite the fact that it is a commentary on the *Sivasutras*, is considered to be the Bible of the Spanda system, whereas the *Sivasutras* are concerned with the Trika in general. According to Bhaskara, Kallata directly transmitted his interpretation of the *Sivasutras* to Pradyumna Bhatta¹ who has been ruthlessly criticized for his Sakta leanings by

१. एवं रहस्यमप्येष मानुषेयाय जावदत् ।

श्रीमत्प्रह्लादभट्टाय ॥

S.S.V., 1.6.

Somananda.¹ In the wake of such contingency, if Kallata is allowed to lay his claim to the *Spanda-karikas*, it will be an uphill task to filter Saiva theses from the *Spanda-karikas*. Because that would mean leaving the Saiva system in the hands of the Saktas who, though kith and kin of the former, tread a different line. Hence Somananda and his fellow-travellers accepted Vasugupta to be the author of the *Spanda-karikas* and accordingly modified their edition in so far as it threw whatever feeble light on its authorship. Kallata, it appears, was the original author, for the simple reason that even before Somananda his system happens to show a marked softness to Sakta tendencies. It was for this reason that his direct disciple falls a victim to the tirade launched by Somananda. Moreover Ksemaraja refers to Bhatta Lollata, who was a precursor of Abhinava and wrote a commentary on the *Spanda-karikas* and suggests that Lollata explained them in conformity with the gloss of Bhatta Kallata, whereas he (Ksemaraja) has not always done so.² Even elsewhere Ksemaraja clearly professes to have taken an independent line.³ In this connection it is also to be noted, to which attention has been drawn earlier too, that Abhinava - the prolific master author - did not write anything on the *Spanda-karikas*⁴ in spite of his numerous reverential references to

1. शैवदर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयुध्यानाम् ।

S Dr.V., p. 98; also see pp. 16, 94-95.

अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः...इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि...तैरशैवत्वमात्मन उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp. 101-102.

Before अभिधानात् Utpala quotes a verse from Pradyumna Bhatta's *Tattvagarbha*.

2. भट्टश्रीकल्लटेनापि तदाद्यन्त इत्येवमेव व्याख्यायि स्ववृत्तौ । भट्टश्रीकल्लटवृत्तयस्तराण्यपेक्ष्य वयमपि तद् वृत्त्यस्तरानुरोधेन सौत्रमर्थमतिविमलमपि क्लिष्टकल्पनया व्याकृतुर्मिश्रिताः ।

Sp.N., p. 34.

3. एवमेतादृशेषु चिन्तारत्नप्रायेषु श्रीस्पन्दसूत्रेषु यदन्यैः सर्वैर्विवृतिकृद्भिर्व्याख्यायि यन्त्रा-स्माभिः किञ्चिद्व्याकृत्य तत्रान्तरममस्मरा अक्षलिप्ताश्च स्वयमेव विचिन्वन्तु सचेतसो... ।

Ibid., p. 13

4. अनन्तापरटीकाक्रमध्ये स्थितिममृष्यता ।

विवृतं स्पन्दशास्त्रं नो गुरुणा नो, मयास्य तु ॥

Ibid., p. 7ⁿ, verse 2.

Kallata. This we know on the authority of Ksemaraja. The only logical and irresistible conclusion that follows in the wake of such strong evidence is to admit the original authorship of the *Spanda-karikas* as belonging to Kallata.

Besides his *Spanda-karika* which is most probably identical with the *Spanda-sutras* mentioned by Bhaskara,¹ which again is perhaps identical with his *Madhuvahini*, he wrote several other works. Amongst which a brief commentary on the *Spanda-karikas* known as *Spanda-Vrtti* has come down to us and has been published in combined IV-Vth volumes of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. What is today known as the *Spanda-sarvasva* is not a different text but probably a name for the *Vrtti* and *Karikas* together.² This is clear from the concluding verses of his *Vrtti*. Kallata also makes it clear in the second concluding verse that he owes the *Spanda*-thesis to Vasugupta who got it in the form of *Siva-sutras* from the Lord in a dream, but the credit of bringing it before the public must go to him (Kallata).³ This statement from Kallata also goes to favour the present ascription of authorship of the *Karikas* to himself.

Of all his *Spanda* works the *Tattvarthacintamani* seems to have won special favour with the later authors. Abhinava refers to it more than once.⁴ Bhatta Utpala quotes it twice⁵ and

1. व्याकरोत्तिकमेतेभ्यः स्पन्दसूत्रैः स्वकैस्तथा ।

S.S.V., 1.5.

2. समाप्तं स्पन्दसर्वस्वं प्रवृत्तं भट्टकस्तटात् ।

स्वप्रकाशकचित्तत्वेपरिभ्रमसोऽस्तुकात् ॥

Sp.K.V., p. 40. v.1.

3. दुग्धं महादेवगिरी महेशस्वप्नोपदिष्टाच्छिष्यसूत्रसिन्धोः ।

स्पन्दामृतं यद्वसुगुप्तपादैः श्रीकल्लटस्तत्प्रकटीचकार ॥

Ibid., p. 40, v. 2.

4. T.A. 10.208. Vide also T.A.V., VII, p. 142; I.P.V.V., II, p 30.

5. तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणी च—

इत्थं तत्तदनल्पमोहदलनप्राप्तस्वरूपोदये

योगी नित्यमनात्मभावविरहात्स्वात्मस्थितौ निवृत्तः ।

दृश्य-द्रष्टृविवेकविद् भवपदव्यापी विमुक्तमयो

व्युत्थानेऽपि समाधिभाग्भवति सन्मोक्षश्रियः कारणम् ॥ इति

Sp.P., p. 30.

या ज्ञेया स्थितिः सैव तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रा इत्युक्ता ।

Sp.P., p. 49 (on Sp.K. 43.)

Ksemaraja also falls in line with them.¹

On the testimony of Bhatta Utpala one is led to conclude that Kallata also wrote a work named *Tattvavicara*. It may, however, be added that this work has not been noticed earlier by any author on the Kashmir Saivism. According to Utpala, Kallata is the author (Granthakara) of the *Karikas*. He has referred twice to the *Tattvavicara* as another work of the author.² From the perusal of the quoted verses it appears to be a meta-physical treatise and an independent work not a commentary, by Kallata who gave expression to the outcome of his philosophical reflections in it.

Whatever little material we have in our possession is sufficient to indicate that in addition to his known works he attempted several other works. Attention has already been invited to his ventures in the spheres of the Kula system as well as the litreature. Jayaratha, while explaining a reference by Abhinava to Kallata,³ cites three sutras⁴ and attributes them to the latter without assigning actual textual source. From Jayaratha's treatment it appears that all the three sutras fall into succession.⁵ These sutras are not traceable to his extant works.

1. S.S.Vi., p. 133.

2. (a) ग्रन्थकृताप्युक्तम् तत्त्वविचारे—

शक्तिप्रसरसंकोचनिबद्धाद्युदयव्ययौ ।

यस्यात्मा स शिवो ज्ञेयः सर्वभावप्रवर्तकः ॥

Sp.P., p. 9.

(b) ग्रन्थकृता तत्त्वविचारेऽप्युक्तम्—

स्वस्वभावस्थिता भावाः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते परस्परम् ।

भोग्यभोक्तृत्वभावेन न कदाचित्स्वभावतः ॥

द्रष्टानुभविता स्मर्ता ग्राहको भोक्तृवेदकः ।

कर्तापलब्धा संवेत्ता ज्ञातेति ज्ञानसंज्ञकाः ॥ इति ।

तेन ज्ञानमेव ज्ञेयरूपतया प्रथते इत्यर्थः ।

Ibid., p. 39.

3. T.A. 28.338-339.

4. (i) वेहनीलादीनां सर्वशरीरग्रहणम्,

(ii) प्राणाख्यानमितदाद्यैर्यम्,

(iii) प्राक्संवित्राणे परिणता ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 133.

5. तदनया समन्तरोक्तया

Ibid., p. 188 (28th Āhnika).

The last two are, however, in all probability from the *Tattvarthacintamani*,¹ though it is extremely difficult to say anything definitely about the source of the first one.

(x) *Govindaraja, Bhanuka and Eraka* (850-900 A.D.)

Govindaraja, Bhanuka and Eraka were the direct spiritual successors to the three female ascetics. They were contemporaries and received their lessons in Krama almost simultaneously from Keyuravati etc.² With them a new element in the Krama history is introduced. The unitary mainstream drifts into various sub-currents and the foundation of multilateral development is laid.³ This multiplicity of traditions was kept alive till the time of Jayaratha.⁴ Both Govindaraja and Bhanuka head the two rich traditions. Govindaraja taught Somananda while Bhanuka was responsible for founding a different line of teachers of the eminence of Ujjata and Udbhata etc. Jayaratha came in this line of teachers and was in possession of the traditional and scholastic secrets.⁵

Since only one generation intervened between these three and Sivananda and since Somananda came in the immediate next generation, their time is almost certain. They may easily be assigned to the second half, or to be more exact, the third quarter of the ninth century.

After his spiritual enlightenment, it occurred to Govindaraja that nothing worthwhile was left for him to do in view of his attainment. Thus with a spirit of dedication he gave himself till his last breath to the task of imparting the system to

1. अतएव श्रीभट्टकल्हटेन 'प्राणाह्वयनिमित्ताद्' यम्, 'प्राक्संक्षिप्तप्राणे परिणता' इति तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौक्तम् ।

S.S.Vi., p. 138.

2. सममेवोपदेशः, श्रीकैयूरवती-श्रीमदनिका-श्रीकल्पाणिकाभ्यः प्राप्नुवन्तः ।

T.A.V., 111, p. 192.

3. श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुकादिश्रेण बहुशास्त्रमेवं गुरुपदेशः समस्तीति ।

Ibid.

4. याज्यापि महात्मनां महागुरुणां हृदयेषु शतशः परिपोष्युतीति ॥

Ibid.

5. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.

the elite capable and eager to learn.¹ Towards the last moment he handed over the doctrinal mysteries to Somananda.² He subscribed to the view that the number of Kalis to be worshipped in Anakhya Cakra was twelve. This view had come down to Jayaratha, although he did not belong to Govindaraja's tradition.³

Eraka was the third pupil of Keyuravati etc.⁴ He developed a feeling of ascetic aversion towards worldly enjoyment that necessarily results in pain. He, therefore, decided to keep celibate all his life and dedicate himself to spiritual emancipation of the laity by means of the stotras⁵ which he composed for propagating the system among the masses. Unfortunately none of his stotras could survive the atrocities of time. Only two verses of his have come down to us. In one of them he adores Kala-samkarsini and describes it as an inevitable outcome of one's attaining the ultimate state.⁶ In the second he extols the spiritual attainment of Keyuravati, his preceptor, who by virtue of her realizing the Khecari state is said to remain in constant unison with the cosmic reality.⁷ Jayaratha has recorded a verse from some other source which speaks highly of Eraka as one having scored victory over the dualistic consciousness.⁸ In fact

1. *Ibid.*

2. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय गुरुवे संचारयाम्बभूव ।

Ibid.

3. अस्य द्वादशापि अभिप्रेता इत्यभिदध्मः, यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनामुपदेशः प्रवृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।

Ibid., p. 198.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 196.

5. तदिदानीमपि निजम् त्वगत रहस्यावदेशं स्तोत्रमुखेनापि तावत्प्रसारयन् लोकान् अनुगृह्णीयाम् इति ।

Ibid., p. 193.

6. श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि सहोन्नकाली, श्रीमोक्तकृष्णकुटिरेष्यति भंगभूमिः ।

इत्याकलय्य परमां स्थितिमेत्य, काससंकषिणी भगवतीं हृत्तोऽधिष्ठिते ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 193.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

8. वन्दे ध्वस्तसमस्तभावविभवं श्रीमन्नेवराभिधं ।

तं यो यत्किरणौषपातविलसत्स्पर्शोदयो जृम्भते ॥

Ibid.

it is a glowing tribute to his spiritual eminence. To point out that he was an avowed celibate¹ is perhaps to imply that other teachers led a married life. He was also known as Naverakana² or Navera.³

Out of all the three known disciples of Keyuravati the personality of Eraka arouses some curiosity and controversy. While dealing with his own genealogy and preceptorial succession in the concluding portion of the *Tantraloka*, Abhinava mentions one Eraka⁴ who is a Desika (teacher) and father of a Vamanatha. The question is whether the two can be identified. Vamanatha is mentioned as a teacher of Abhinava and Eraka happens to be his father. Eraka is, therefore, removed by one generation from Abhinava. One has to bear in mind that the first Eraka is a class-fellow and, for that reason, a contemporary of Govindaraja and Bhanuka and hence is removed by three generations (e.g., Somananda, Utpala, Lakshmanagupta). The other Eraka naturally seems to be a contemporary of Utpala, the grand teacher of Abhinava. It is difficult to reject the theory of Eraka's being a classfellow of Govindaraja in view of their much insisted synchronous initiation. It is therefore, perhaps reasonable to take the two Erakas as different.

(xi) *Pradyumna Bhatta* (850-900 A.D.)

In his essay on the Tripura system Braj Vallabha Dwivedi has observed in categorical terms that the *Tattvagarbha*, a stotra by Pradyumna Bhatta, was a Krama work.⁵ The ground for his contention has been supplied by the theme of the

1. स ब्रह्मचारिवद् यावज्जीवं प्रपन्नलोकोद्धरणमात्रपरः....

Ibid., p. 193.

2. नवेरकनाथश्चास्या अपि शिष्यः ।

3. *Vide in.* 8 on p. 1:1

4. के ते मुख इत्याशक्त्याह—

सदैशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनाथः ।

T.A. 37.60 (*T.A.V.*, XII, p. 414).

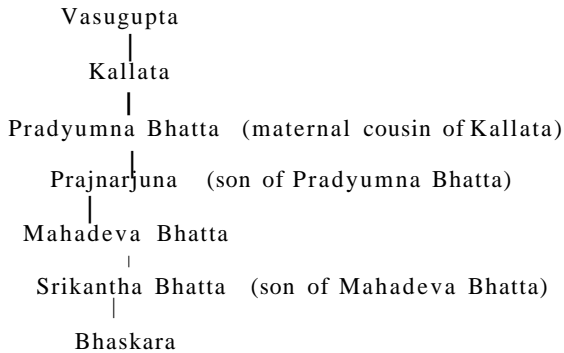
5. त्रिपुरादसैनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कुतयश्च,

S.Su., Vol. 20-11, p. 16, fn. 3.

stotra - it is addressed to Ambika, the Mother Divine. Before the veracity of this statement is examined, a few words about the work and its author appear called for.

Pradyumna Bhatta's importance may be gauged from the very fact that he has been referred to in some way or the other by every author right from Somananda to Ksemaraja. He was bitterly opposed by Somananda for his Sakta predisposition inside the Saiva fold. Utpala elucidates what has already been said by his master. Abhinava and Ksemaraja cite him in their support.

He was a worthy student of his worthy teacher Kallata and also a maternal cousin of the latter.¹ Bhaskara, in the prefatory part of the *Siva-sutra-vartika*, gives out his preceptorial lineage as below:²



Even on a cursory glance it would be obvious that he is removed from Vasugupta by a generation only. And although he was a direct disciple of Kallata, he must have been his junior contemporary too, since he was his (Kallata's) maternal cousin. Between him and Bhaskara three generations intervened. Bhaskara was Abhinava's teacher.³ On the other hand,

1. 'एष मातुलेयाय चावदत् । श्रीमत्प्रद्युम्नभट्टाय' ।

S.S.V., 1.6.

2. Vide S.S.V., 1.3-9.

3. के ते गुरुव इत्याशङ्क्य आह—

अन्येऽपि धर्मशिववामनकोट्टश्रीभूतेशभास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः ।

T.A 37-62.

Pradyumna Bhatta preceded Somananda as the latter criticizes him. Of all these, Kallata and Abhinava are of definite dates, hence Pradyumna Bhatta's time is almost certain. He is somewhere between Kallata and Somananda. He may, therefore, be conveniently placed during the latter half of the ninth century.

Excepting the *Tattvagarbha-stotra*¹ no other work of his has yet come to our notice. On Utpala's authority we know that it was his work.² That Somananda does not refer to anyone else except Pradyumna Bhatta becomes obvious from Utpala's testimony, though he nowhere mentions Somananda by name. The verses that have been cited in this connection by Utpala are prefaced with the phrase "Tairuktam" (lit. said by them³ i.e., him). Here "Tair" (lit. they i.e., he), according to him, stands for the author who propounded the ultimacy of Sakti and also interpreted the Saktistage (state of Sakti tattva) in terms of slight swelling up (Kinciducchunata).⁴ Besides Pradyumnabhatta none else has done so.⁵ Hence, in course of Somananda's criticism of the Saktivadin, all the references and citations are deemed to be from Pradyumna Bhatta, and for the matter of that, from the *Tattvagarbha*.

Owing to paucity of material the task of forming a well-knit view of his philosophy is rendered more onerous. Yet

1. Dr. V.S. Agrawala had told the author about the presence of one manuscript of the *Tattvagarbha* in the Hindu University. It was a recent find. But before the present author could have managed to look into the MS personally Dr. Agrawala, unfortunately, passed away. Since the whole collection, in which the MS was found, is uncatalogued as yet, it is regretted that details of the MS could not be given.
2. **सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते षट्प्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे ।**
S.Dr.V., p. 16.
3. S.Dr. 1.16, 3.1, 3.9; S.Dr.V., p. 16, 94, 101, 102.
4. **यत्स्तेरेव ततः परावस्थातोऽन्तरं शक्तिदशा किंचिदुच्छूनतेत्यादिनोक्ता ततो वैः शक्तेः परत्वं गीयते तैः ।**
S.Dr.V., p. 95.
5. **किंचिदुच्छूनता सैव महद्भिः कैश्चिदुच्यते ।**
S.Dr. 1.16.

Utpala remarks—यदेतदीन्मुख्यं, सैव किंचिदुच्छूनता कथ्यते षट्प्रद्युम्नेन तत्त्वगर्भे ।
S.Dr.V., p. 16.

whatever little is available is adequate to give an idea of his mental disposition. The first premise of his philosophy is to reckon Sakti as the Ultimate and yet continue to be a monist.¹ He stuck to his view in spite of the odds of his Saiva affiliations. Hence he was a Saktivadin though he clung to the Saiva discipline.² The Mother Divine, who is the Divinity par transcendence, is pure luminosity and passes under the name of Siva also.³ He, in a slight deviation from the general practice of identifying Sakti with Ananda and in apparent agreement with Somananda, equated the Sakti-category with "little swelling" which is identical with proneness (Aunmukhya).⁴ This Sakti-stage came just after the ultimate stage which is akin to the Mother Divine⁵ - this view was used as a counter-argument by Somananda against Pradyumna Bhatta. The latter held the absolute female principle as identical with Siva with the reservation that it was Mother Divine who was also known as Siva. Hence, while dealing with the various stages of speech he proclaimed that there was no such form of speech as was not present in Siva, a name of the Mother, marking the Para or transcendent stage.⁶ All the three lower aspects of speech namely, Pasy-

1. अद्वयवादः स्थितः, पश्यन्तीविचारानन्तरं स्वयुष्यानद्वयवादिनः प्रति इदानीम् आरम्भः ।

S.Dr.V., III, p. 94.

2. अन्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः... इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि सद्भिः ।

Ibid., p. 101.

3. यस्या निरुपाधिज्योतीरूपायाः शिवसंज्ञया ।

व्यपदेशः परं तां त्वामम्बां नित्यमुपास्महे ॥

S.Dr.V., III, p. 94.

4. *Ibid.*, see fn. 5 on p. 124

5. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

6. शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि सद्भिर्वर्चि एव क्रमव्यवस्थिताः पश्यन्तीमध्यभावेस्त्रीसंज्ञाभिर्विश्वा-

त्मतया कल्पिताः यदाहुः

...यावन्नोन्मेषभाषणं ।

न तावदर्थं वर्तेत स चोन्मेषः क्रिया मत्ता ।

क्रिया च नानारूपैव... इत्युपक्रम्य

स्वभावस्थितिं भूत्वा तस्मान्मान्यास्ति सा दशा ।

शिवे यस्या न वागूषं सूक्ष्ममप्राप्तसंनिधि ॥ इति... उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp. 101-102.

anI, Madhyama and Vaikhari, emerge necessarily under the aegis of succession, Para always remaining their fundamental fulcrum. Likewise, he was of the opinion that the entire stretch of the category kingdom encompassing the thirty-six categories is, in essence, an unfoldment of the Sakti suggesting that the godly freedom remains inevitably inherent even in the world of logical constructions.¹ Possibly this was the recurring theme of the *Tattvagarbha*.² It is, therefore, due to the force of rectitude of the reflective awareness that one is able to realize everything at will.³ This rectitude is incumbent upon one's recognition of one's potencies of knowledge and action. The main plank of the adverse criticism heaped on him by Somananda consists in the latter's stand that the position of Siva, as the ultimate principle, cannot be compromised. To say that Sakti appears as Siva is a statement made in a fit of devotional ecstasy.⁴ Otherwise, Sakti in utter isolation from its prius (Saktiman) is beyond conception. Nevertheless, if Sakti with utter disregard to its substrate is thought of, the one holding such a view may be anything but a Saiva.⁵ It is argued that not only Somananda argues against him but he (Pradyumna bhatta) himself tacitly

1. श्रीमद्भट्टप्रद्युम्नपादैः संविच्छक्तिप्रसरमात्रतां षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमुपपाद्य यत् वितस्थ विकल्प-
प्रतिभासनस्य स्वातन्त्र्यमुदितं, तत्र एतत् सूत्रार्थ एव सारमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

I.P.V.V., II, p. 337 on 1, P.K. 1.6.11.

2. अतएव श्रीतत्त्वार्थस्तोत्रे विकल्पदशायामपि तात्त्विकस्वरूपस्य सद्भावात् तदनुसरणाभि-
प्रायेण उक्तम्—

अतएव तु ये केचित् परमार्थानुसारिणः ।

तेषां तत्र स्वरूपस्य स्वज्योतिषत्वं न लुप्यते ॥

P.Hr. p. 49.

3. तदुक्तं तत्त्वार्थे—

यदा तु तेषां मुख्यतस्वसामर्थ्यगुणीज्ज्वलाः ।

भवेद्दृढतराद्वरारिता दाढ्यं दीनता ।

तदा च तेषां संकल्पः कल्पपादपतां ब्रजेत् ॥

S.S.Vi-p. 126.

4. अथ शक्तेः परावस्था यैर्भवत्या परिणीयते ।

युक्त्या प्रकाशितो देवस्ततः शक्तिदशा यतः ॥

S.Dr., 3.1.

5. शक्तेश्च स्वतन्त्रं स्वनिबन्धनं कार्यं नान्याश्रयमिति शिवता नान्यत्र क्वचिद्भवेदिति शैव-
दर्शनानुपपत्तिः स्वयूधानाम् ॥

S.Dr.V., p. 93.

acquiesces in the supremacy of Siva by expounding that all the stages of speech finally culminate in Siva.¹ However, the criticism by Somananda is very brief and bereft of constructive logic. In fairness to Pradyumna Bhatta, one must be cautioned that Somananda's last plank is slightly misleading since the former has steered his position clear by recognizing Siva as an expression for or an appellation of the Mother Divine.

Let us now be back to our original question. Is Pradyumna Bhatta a Krama author? The answer is difficult indeed. According to the testimony of Bhaskara, a spiritual descendant of Pradyumna Bhatta, he inherited the Spanda wisdom from Kallata. While discussing Kallata, it was also noticed that Somananda and his followers were rather cut-off from the Spanda school and it is the reason why one does not get any contribution from his group to the Spanda system before Ksemaraja. Pradyumna Bhatta's name nowhere appears in the later Krama literature. Moreover Somananda himself was a man initiated in the Krama discipline, why should he criticize another Krama author? Why then he (Pradyumna Bhatta) be not treated as a Spanda author rather than a Krama author?

As has been said, a categorical commitment is impossible and also uncalled for. But for a fuller and better perspective one must look to the other side of the picture as well. Bhaskara's observation is no doubt a limited but not a negative one. He does not reject Pradyumna Bhatta's claim to Krama. Somananda himself, before the critical study and thorough survey of the Krama system as such, was not known to be a Krama thinker. Neither he (Somananda) has been mentioned in the later literature as a Krama author and nor has any work come down to us from his pen on Krama, yet he is a Krama preceptor. Moreover teachers of the early phase, excepting Sivananda, have seldom been remembered in the later literature. Hence

1. अत्यच्च यैः शक्तिवादिभिः यस्या निरुपधिज्योतीरूपायाः शिवसंज्ञया । व्यपदेशः... इत्येवमभिधानात् शैवदर्शनस्थितैरपि... इत्युपक्रम्य... शिवे यस्या न बाधपूर्णं सूक्ष्मप्राप्तसन्निधि इति तैरशैवस्वमात्मन उक्तम् ।

Ibid., pp. 101-102.

this argument loses much of its force. The reasons for putting forward Pradyumna Bhatta as a Krama author lie in the central theme of the *Tattvagarbha* and its relatively deeper proclivity towards Krama. The *Tattvagarbha* is a hymn paying obeisance to the Cosmic Mother. Earlier it was pointed out that despite Sakta leanings Spanda considered Siva to be the Ultimate principle, as will be testified to by the very first and last verses of the *Spanda-karika*. That is, the Spanda system retained its Saiva fervour in spite of its Sakta tendencies. But in the case of Krama the things were different. There were two distinct schools which occasionally and often necessarily entertained divergent trends. Their most fundamental line of demarcation was drawn by their respective emphases on the Siva or Sakti aspects. The natural outcome of it was to treat either of them as the Supreme Reality, all other things being derived from it. Since the school holding the supremacy of the female deity was in ascendance, Krama has also acquired the name of Devinaya or Kalinaya. Further, it has to be noted that there was a lot of mutual digging at between the two schools, hence criticism by Somananda, the mouth-piece of the "Siva is the Supreme" - theory, of the opposite "Sakti is the Supreme" - thesis is understandable, because in his entire chain of argument he takes strongest objection to the supremacy of Sakti alone. In view of the above argumentation it appears that Pradyumna Bhatta belonged to the line of the Krama thinkers opposite to Somananda's. Hence Pradyumna Bhatta's claim to the Krama authorship requires a careful examination whatever decision one may ultimately arrive at.

(xii) *Somananda* (875-925 A.D.)

It may be recalled that Somananda was the immediate successor of Govindaraja who, at his last moment, transmitted all the doctrinal mysteries of Krama to the former.¹ All information about Somananda's associations with the Krama is miserably confined to this cryptic sentence from the *Kramakeli* as recorded by Jayaratha. Nothing is known whether he ever

1. स चेदं रहस्यं श्रीसोमानन्दाभिधानाय सुरवे संचारयाम्बभूव ।

T.A.V. III, pp. 192.

attempted a work on the Krama except that Abhinava received his lessons in the *Devi-Pancasatika*, a Krama text, from him through Utpala and Laksmanagupta.¹

The determination of his date, although recognized to be an untidious affair by the scholars, is slightly perplexing because of a few bottlenecks in the form of at least five preceptorial traditions that invite our attention in this behalf. On the basis of the following two parallel traditions Somananda emerges as a contemporary of Kallata² :

Somananda ³	Kallata ⁴
Utpala	Mukula Bhatta
Laksmanagupta	Bhattenduraja ⁵
Abhinavagupta	Abhinavagupta.

The truth of this tradition is further corroborated by a statement of Raghava Bhatta, the commentator on the *Sarada Tilaka*, wherein Somananda is represented to be a direct disciple of Vasugupta⁶ - one simply has to recollect that Kallata, too, is an immediate student of Vasugupta. But the greatest anomaly entailed by such an admission would jeopardise the dates of Sivananda, Keyuravati etc. Because according to the original calculation the two were loosely contemporary of

1. श्रीदेवीपंचगादिकेऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादैर्भ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदशैर्नवदेव गुरवः ।

ibid., p. 194.

2. *Abhi.*, pp. 100-101.

3. त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरसायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणमुत्तनाथः ।

T.A., 37.61.

4. भट्टकल्लदमुलेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता ।

सूरिप्रबोधनायेयमभिधावृत्तिमातृका ॥

and भूत्वा सौजन्यमिन्द्रिजवरमुकुलात् ।

Quoted from Bhtteaduraja's commentary on the *Karyalankara-Sara* and Mukula's *Abbidha-vrtti matrka*, *Abhi.*, p. 137.

5. भट्टेन्दुराजचरणोच्चक्रलाघ्रिवासहृद्यश्रुतोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधोऽहम् ।

Dh. L., I; Quoted, *Abhi.*, p. 12.

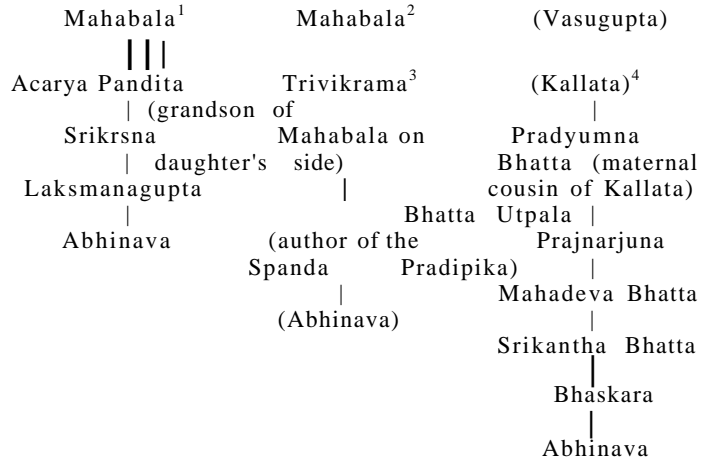
6. आकण्ठं वसुमन्तं वसुगुप्तं सोमानन्दं तथोत्पलाचार्यम् ।

लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं नन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजं च ॥

S T.V., I p. 7.

Vasugupta and Kallata respectively. However both these traditions agree with regard to a gap of two generations subsisting between Somananda and Abhinava or that of three generations between Vasugupta and Abhinava. Since Kallata's date is fixed owing to his flourish during the reign of Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.), there should not be a gap of more than fifty years between Somananda and Abhinava. The implication being that Abhinava should be placed somewhere 900-950 A.D. instead of 950-1000 A.D., his commonly agreed date. Abhinava's accepted date is further established by the fact that he belonged to the next generation of King Yasaskara who ruled in 839 A.D. and the grandson (i.e., Sura) of whose minister Vallabha was Abhinava's student. Hence Abhinava's date cannot be advanced earlier. Let us see how one can emerge from this dilemma.

The other three traditions, given below, widen the gap between Abhinava and Kallata by at least four generations in place of two as noted above. These traditions are :



1. S.T. 25. 83-86.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पुत्राभिर्वाच्येण महाबलेन 'यवायं नाम्नः क्रोधे' इत्यादिनोक्तो विप्रबोद्धयो रहस्यस्तोत्रे । S.P., p. 3.

3. नारायणस्थानज उत्पलाख्यस्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽग्र्यजन्मा ।

Ibid, concluding verse.

4. S.SV., 1. 3-9.

Among these family or preceptorial trees, the one ranging from Kallata to Bhaskara (Abhinava's teacher) involves at least three intermediary generations even if one takes Pradyumna Bhatta, Kallata's first disciple, as the latter's contemporary by virtue of the former's being his maternal cousin. We have already seen Somananda criticising the view and work of Pradyumna Bhatta and he must have taken time in attaining eminence of the kind that he could elicit criticism from Somananda. Thus Somananda is bound to be a junior contemporary, if not a successor, of Pradyumna Bhatta who himself was a disciple of Kallata. In the other tradition ranging from Mahabala to Laksmanagupta, the celebrated teacher of Abhinava in Krama and Pratyabhijna, the latter is separated from the former by two generations or from Abhinava, for that matter, by three generations. This distance between Mahabala and Abhinava is substantiated by yet another tradition starting from Mahabala and coming up to Bhatta Utpala who transpires to be a contemporary of Laksmanagupta on the basis of the temporal equation of the two exactly parallel lines. If these latter twin traditions are correct - they ought to be correct because they *come* from different sources and yet speak of the same thing -, Somananda being the grand-teacher of Laksmanagupta must be a contemporary of the latter's grand-father, Acarya Pandita, and may at best be a successor to or a junior contemporary of Mahabala. Stretching the present logic a little further one may conclude that Mahabala himself was Kallata's successor or in any case a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhatta.

But one should not feel baffled because such a complex analogue is found even within the traditional account of the Krama system itself. It has been made absolutely clear that Bhanuka was a contemporary of Govindaraja, teacher of Somananda in Krama, and was at the head of the tradition which had immediate successors in Ujjata and Udbhata. This Udbhata was perhaps identical with one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher, thus the gap between Bhanuka and Abhinava has been further shrunk from three to two generations, if one abides by the first two traditions mentioned in the beginning.

In the face of such yawning incongruities it is difficult to give a year to year account. One has to make allowance for marginal errors in calculations because the requisite material is not available in its entirety. Keeping this in view, it will be found that, barring the scope of minor adjustments always, our basic stand with regard to respective dates need not be revised. Because, though twentyfive years are allowed for a generation by the historians, one's actual age has no fixed span and may even cross the barriers of middle age or long age. Abhinava himself was known to have enjoyed a long life going well beyond eighty years. Likewise, Mahabala taught Trivikrama, his grandson, implying the old age of the former. In view of all these considerations Somananda seems to have enjoyed a fairly long life. Moreover, he was a very junior, if at all, contemporary of Kallata whose successors in literature too must have enjoyed a considerably long age, otherwise the two generations on the one side and the four on the other covering the same expanse of time is beyond logical comprehension. Here, in this study, twentyfive years have been allowed for each generation with a margin of another twenty-five years for computing one's period and date without prejudice to one's other claims. This practice has additional advantage of making allowance for long age as well. Somananda, therefore, has been assigned to the last quarter of the ninth and the first of the tenth century. This period is always open to minor revisions as researches proceed to make headway.

He is known to have written several works. But only the incomplete texts of the *Siva Drsti* is extant today. One of his minor works i.e., *Saktavijnana* has also been brought out by the Research Department of Kashmir Government. His other two works, both commentaries, are known from references only. One of them is said to be on the *Siva Drsti* - this view has, however, been rejected by Dr. Stein. The other was on the *Pira Trims ka* according to the statements of Abhinava.¹ Let us

1. *P.T.V*, pp.. 16, 52, 59, 63, 87-90, 92, 95, 201.

now switch over to other authors.¹

(xiii) *Ujjata* (875-925 A.D.)

As has already been observed, he came in the line of Bhanuka and the tradition that began with him remained intact up to Jayaratha.² As an immediate successor to Bhanuka, he is supposed to be contemporaneous with Somananda. We are completely ignorant about the other aspects of his personality.

(xiv) *Utpala* (900-950 A.D.)

There is nothing in the works of Utpala himself that may induce one to include him among the Krama authors. It is Jayaratha on whose account one knows that Abhinava received the Krama education from the same set of teachers who imparted to him the lessons in the Trika system.³ In fact, one does not get anything in the form of a tangible contribution, earlier than Abhinava from the line of spiritual teachers as emanating from Govindaraja in the field of Krama. Utpala is credited with having produced as many as eleven works namely, (i) *Isvarapratyabhijna-karika*, (ii) *Isvara-pratyabhijna vrtti*, (iii) *Isvara-pratyabhijna-tika* or *vivrti*, (iv) *Siva-stotravali*, (v) *Ajadapramatrasiddhi*, (vi) *Isvara-siddhi*, (vii) *Isvara-siddhivrtti*, (viii) *Sambandhasiddhi*, (iv) *Sambondha-siddhi-vrtti*, (x) *Vrtti on Somananda's Siva Drsti*, and (xi) *Paramesa-stotravali*. Except works nos. (iii) and (xi) all the works have been handed to us either in full or in fragments. Work No. (iii) i.e., *Isvara-pratyabhijna-tika* or *vivrti* was supposed to be a large commentary which was later commented upon by Abhinava under the title of *Isvara-pratyabijnivivrti vimarsini*. The catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library, Mysore mentions one *Isvara Pratyabhijna-Vyakhya* by Utpala Deva. The MS. is numbered

1. For further details about Somananda cf. *Abhi.*, pp. 135-137, 161-62, 146-47.

2. द्वितीयोऽपि एवमास्ति । तस्यैव चेषा श्रीमदुज्जयतीन्द्रद्वयदिनानामुत्तरपरिपाटीसंततिः यत्प्रसादासादिमहिम्नभिस्समाभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।

T. A. V., III, pp. 192-93.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 192, 194.

(B 167) A 133 Pa and is bound in one with *Isvara-pratyabhijna-nyaya-dipika* by some Mahesvara Nathananda. It is not known if it is identical with the *Tika* in question.¹ Work No. (xi) is noticed by Dr. Buhler in his Kashmir Report as MS No. 458. But probably this is identical with his *Siva-stotravali*. The published edition contains twenty stotras and it is important to note that stotras Nos. 2, 3, 8, 17 and 20 have enough material that contains the Krama undertones.² Particularly the 8th and 17th stotras are most conspicuous by their overt Krama propensity.

There are indications that Utpala perhaps attempted several other works also. A manuscript entitled as "*Mantrasara*" No. 501 of 1895-98, BORI, Poona ascribed to Utpala Deva³ has come to our notice. The MS in all has 11 pages and 21 folios. It abounds in scribal errors and has later, from P. 8. onwards, been mixed with some portions of Ksemaraja's *Pratyabhijna-hrdaya*. But the original work differs from the latter. It seems to be a commentary on the *Paratrisika* and contains an account of successive emergence of Sanskrit alphabet with its symbolic mysticism and descriptive definitions of various categories followed by a discussion on Guna, Substance and various types of subjects (Pramatrs). These lines refrain from drawing any premature conclusions as to its authorship except advancing the hypothesis for future scrutiny.

Utpala's probable date does not present any problem. He, being the pupil of Somananda and the grand-teacher of Abhinava, may safely be assigned to the first half of the tenth century.

1. Similarly there are two MSS numbered 466 and 464 of 1878-76 and described as *Pratyabhijna-vimarsini* and *Pratyabhijna-Brhati-vimarsini* by Utpala and Abhinava respectively at BORI, Poona.

2. *Vide*, for instance, S St.V., pp. 32,48,106,199,206, 296,300,303, 340, 346 etc.

3. सदागमप्रवाहेषु बहुधा व्याकृतं त्रिकम् ।

श्रीमदुत्पलदेवीयं मन्त्रसारं तु (व)र्ण्यते ।

MS, folio 1a, opening verse no. 2.

But before one passes on to the next item it appears advisable to clear up a general misunderstanding with regard to his geneology among the modern authors on the subject.

According to them Utpala was both the son and pupil of Somananda.¹ Besides, he was the father and teacher of Laksmanagupta.² This lineage is said to have been derived from Abhinava's own statement:

त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायिसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।³

[Somananda, his son Utpala and his son Laksmanagupta recline on the ocean of the lineage pertaining to Tryambaka]. The conclusion seems to be in order on the face of Abhinava's statement.

But if one accepts it, one is trapped in another anomalous situation. Utpala himself names his father as Udayakara in the last verse of his *Isvara-pratyabhijna-karika*⁴ and refers to Somananda as his great and illustrious teacher.⁵ If Somananda was his father as alleged above, he could have utilized the opportunity to assert the same. In addition, Abhinavagupta commenting on the last Karika does not dispute Utpala's version but readily confirms the same.⁶ Even on the issue of

1. *Abhi.*, p. 160, 162; *Contribution*. (MS), p. 335.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7, 164, *Contribution*, (MS), p. 340.

3. *T.A.* 37. 61.

Dr. Pandey quotes the text with slight variation and reads **त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरश्रीषि** (*Vide, Abhi.*, pp. 160 and 764) for **त्रैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशायि** as found in the printed edition of the *Tantraloka*. In that case, the English rendering would be 'Somananda, his son Utpala and his son Laksmanagupta, were like waves in the ocean of the lineage pertaining to Tryambaka'. However, this difference in reading is immaterial for our present purpose.

4. **जनस्थायन्तसिद्धयर्थमुदयाकरसूनुना ।**

ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञेयमुत्पलेनोपपादिता ॥

I.P.K. 4.1.18 (*Bhāṣa*. II, p. 315).

5. **इति प्रकटितो मया सुघट एव मार्गो नवो ।**

महागुरुभिरुच्यते स्म शिवदृष्टिशास्त्रे यथा ॥

Ibid., 4.1.16, p. 309.

6. **उदयाकरपुत्रः श्रीमानुत्पलदेवोऽस्मत्परमगुरुद्विं शास्त्रमकार्षीत् ।**

I.P.K., 4.1.16, p. 316

his son he has not kept mum and gives out his name as Vibhramakara whose persuasion impelled Utpala to undertake the commentary on the *Sivadrsti*.¹ Had the truth been otherwise, Utpala would not have failed to mention Laksmanagupta as his son, who was infinitely more illustrious and intelligent than Vibhramakara. Here again he implicitly refers to the author of the *Sivadrsti* as his guru. There was all the more reason to refer to Laksmanagupta in this context, because it was the latter who initiated Abhinava into the *Sivadrsti*. And if Utpala be accused of misleading the posterity, Abhinava had the opportunity to make corrective amends which he did not do. There is an additional collateral evidence to substantiate the present contention that Laksmanagupta was not Utpala's son. According to the *Saradatilaka Tantra* he (Laksmanagupta) was the son of some Sriksna, grandson of Acarya Pandita and great-grand-son of Mahabala.² This point would be examined in detail when we discuss Laksmanagupta.

Then, should Abhinava be held guilty of misguiding the people by his statement on which the conclusion at issue is based? It is not the case. In fact, Abhinava is here alluding to his teachers³ and is discussing their 'Santatikrama' (lit., geneology) which as a technical expression stands for their preceptorial lineage, implying that the unity of a tradition depends upon the extent of its continuity. Anybody falling under that tradition would be known as Santana of his spiritual predecessor.⁴ Purity and exclusiveness of a preceptorial tradition

1. विभ्रमाकरसंज्ञेन स्वपुत्रेणास्मि ज्ञोदितः ।
पश्यानन्दाभिधानेन तथा सन्नह्यचारिणा ॥
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञोक्तविस्तरे गुरुनिमित्ते ।
शिवदृष्टिप्रकरणे करोमि पदसंगतिम् ॥

S.Dr.V., p. 2, V. Nos. 2 & 3

2. *S.T.* 25.83-86.

3. के ते गुरव इत्याशङ्क्याह ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 414

4. यावानस्य संतानो गृहस्तावत्स कीर्तितः ।

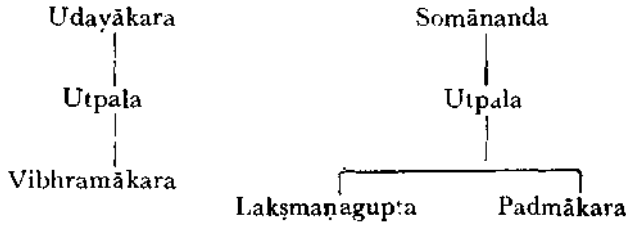
T.A., I. 235.

Jayaratha remarks संतानः शिष्यप्रतिष्ठादिरूपः ।

T.A.V., I, p. 252.

is deemed to be a very sacred affair in Kashmir Saivism.¹ Thus the expression 'Ja' in the words 'Somanandatmaja' and 'Utpalaja' is figurative and not literal. This will be apparent from a perusal of Abhinava's statement in full, because his sole intention is to refer to all the four traditions of Kashmir Saivism pertaining to Ananda, Srinatha, Tryambaka and the Fourth School.²

Moreover, all doubts on this score have been set at rest for good by Jayaratha who interprets the phrase "sons of Somananda" used by Abhinava³ as "pupils of Somananda such as Utpala etc."⁴ The mistake in taking Somananda as Utpala's father and Lakṣmanagupta as his son appears to have crept in due to interpreting the word Atmaja and Santati in their literal sense. Thus Utpala's parental and preceptorial traditions would take the following forms respectively:



(xv) *Udbhatta* (900-950 A.D.)

He is supposed to be the grand pupil of Bhanuka and successor to Ujjata. It is a matter of guess if he ever wrote on

1. तादात्म्यप्रतिपत्त्यै हि स्वं संतानं समाश्रयेत् ॥

भुञ्जीत पूजयेच्चकं परसंतानिना नहि ।

T.A., 4. 264-69.

2. आनन्दसंततिमहार्णवकर्णधारः सद्देशिकैरकवरात्मजवामनायः ।

श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरधर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजजनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥

लैयम्बकप्रसरसागरशशिः श्रीसोमानन्दात्मजोत्पलजलक्ष्मणगुप्तनाथः ।

तुर्ग्याभ्यसन्ततिमहोदधिपूर्णचन्द्रः श्रीमोमतः अकलविक्रिल शंभुनाथः ॥

T.A., 37. 60-61.

3. आभाधारमिमं प्राहुः श्रीसोमानन्दपुत्रकाः ॥

T.A., 3. 85.

4. तमेतं क्षोभस्य सवितस्त्वानन्दस्य आधारं विषयं श्रीसोमानन्दस्यानुकम्पाः पुत्राः श्रीमदुत्पलदेवप्रभृतयः शिष्या प्राहुः -- आचक्षत इत्यर्थः ।

T.A.V., II, p 95

the Krama system, but there is no doubt about his being a repository of the tradition that was kept intact up to Jayaratha. Besides him, there are two other Udbhata as well. One came pretty early and was described as the Sabhapati of King Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.) by Kalhana.¹ He was a great poetician. The other Udbhata, in question, is one mentioned by Abhinava as his teacher.² Of these two, the latter may be identified with the Krama author. However, this personality-equation is being advanced as a tentative measure, for Jayaratha actually reads Udbhatta and not Udbhata.³ But this might be due to scribal mistake also. If this equation be granted, he must have been of fairly advanced age when Abhinava approached him for instruction. He may also be placed in the first half of the tenth century.

(xvi) *Stotrakara* i.e. *Sidha Natha* (900-950 A.D.)

The authorship issue of the famous *Krama stotra* is a crucial question in the history of Krama thought. The tantric history has recorded the presence of about four *Krama-stutis*. One is attributed to Samkara, son of Kamalakara, and is taken note of by Kaivalyasrama in his *Saubhagya-varadhini* on the *Ananda Lahari*.⁴ The other is a work of Abhinavagupta and was composed in the years 990-991 A.D. which will be dealt with during our treatment of Abhinava. Uncertainty prevails about the third *Krama stuti* a reference to which has been made by Monier Williams under the word "Krama" in his dictionary without giving further details or source of information. The fourth is one in question whose authorship is the subject-matter of the present enquiry. We are not aware if the third and fourth works are one and identical. The first *Krama stuti* is presently beyond our scope owing to its adherence to the Tripura system. The third, too, is left out in the absence of necessary and relevant data. Hence we concentrate on the fourth *Krama stuti* whose author is yet a matter of speculation.

1. *R.T.*, 4.495.

2. अन्येषां धर्मसिद्धिर्वाचनकोट्टश्रीभूतेशमास्करमुखप्रमुखा महान्तः ॥

T.A., 37.63.

3. *T.A.V.*, III, p. 192.

4. *S.L.* (Madras Edn.), pp. 13, 45.

The traditional account is silent even on the bare details of the author. He is always described and presented as the Stotrakara.¹ Since the questions of his identity and date cannot be investigated in isolation from each other, the only course open is to treat them together.

The earliest author who refers to the *Krama stotra* is Abhinava himself who, on his own information, wrote commentary on it called *Kramakeli*.² His date is definite i.e., second half of the tenth century, and he himself composed a *Krama stotra* emulating his precursor's example during the year 990-991 A.D. Therefore, the lower limit of the *Krama stotra* is set by the date of Abhinava. It, therefore, must have been composed prior to 950-975 A.D. A dive into Jayaratha's account would reveal that various commentaries had come up by his time and certain doubts were being raised about its precise content and number of verses comprising it. Different interpretations were advanced and a state of confusion tends to overtake us. Jayaratha draws our attention to at least two such expositions.³

The other cue in Jayaratha's treatment traces the traditional line of the Stotrakara in descending order as the Author of the Stotra, Bhaskara and Kuladhara.⁴ Of these, Bhaskara is comparatively familiar figure and is perhaps the same as Abhinava's teacher of the same name. This possibility gains firmer ground in view of the absence of any other Bhaskara prior to Abhinava. Since the Stotrakara preceded Bhaskara, he must belong to the first quarter or the first half, in any case, of the tenth century. In other words, his date should not be later than Bhaskara's. This is the time to which Laksmana-

1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 191.

2. *Vide P.T.V.*, p. 236.

3. इत्यत्र विवरणकारान्तरसंमत एव पाठ इति ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

विवरणकारान्तर implies the presence of two distinct commentators.

4. श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वसु संततिषु ।

Ibid., p. 191.

gupta and Sambhunatha, Abhinava's teachers in Krama and Kula respectively, belonged. On the other hand, the upper limit of the *Krama stotra* does not extend beyond Eraka who, as a contemporary of Govindaraja and Bhanuka, is assigned to the third quarter or the second half of the ninth century. Because, the first ever credit of writing the stotras in the Krama history goes to Eraka who made it a mission of his life to popularise the Krama system through his stotras. Hence the probable time of the *Krama stotra* and, for this matter, its author must fall somewhere within 850-950 A.D.

From the tentative fixation of the probable period of the Stotrakara let us now proceed to discover the identity of the author. The *Cidgagana-candrika*, which on its own authority is a commentary on the *Krama stotra*, attributes the authorship to some Siddhanatha¹ or Siddhinatha.² There is no reason whatsoever to deny the account as furnished by the *Cidgagana-candrika*. Now, according to Prthvidharacarya, the author of the *Bhuvanesi-stotra*, Siddhinatha and Sambhunatha are the two names of one and the same individual.³ During the projected period (850-950 A.D.) only one Sambhunatha is known to the history of Tantric monism. He is the most esteemed teacher of Abhinavagupta whom he initiated into the Kula system and guided along the path of final emancipation. It is of course interesting to note that the first concluding verse of the *Tantrasara* echoes Prthvidharacarya's depiction of Sambhunatha not only in import but in choice of diction too.⁴ This has been the

1. सिद्धिनाथकुतस्तत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पंचिकाम् ।

C.C.C., 4.126.

2. पूर्णपीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद् भावस्तवमादरात् ।

Ibid., 4.131.

3. श्री सिद्धिनाथ इति कोऽपि युगे चतुर्थे प्राविर्बभूव करुणावरुणाभयेऽस्मिन् ।

श्रीशंभुरित्यभिधया स मयि प्रसन्नं चेतश्चकारसकलागमचक्रवर्ती ॥

Sribhuvanesi-mahāstotram, Verse No.37.

Also see,

श्रीशंभुनाथ । करुणाकर । सिद्धिनाथ ।

श्री सिद्धिनाथ । करुणाकर । शंभुनाथ ॥

Ibid., verse no 40

4. श्रीशंभुनाथात् करुणारमेन स्वयं प्रसन्नादनपेक्षवृत्त्या ।

काश्मीरिःकोऽभिनवगुप्तपदाभिधानः श्रीतन्त्रसारमकरोद् शृजुना क्रमेण ॥

main plank of A. Avalon, **the editor of** the *Cidgagana-candrika*, in identifying the two.¹

But let us be careful. The odds against this personality-equation are equally heavy. First, Sambhunatha is famous for his teachings in the Kula system and not in the Krama. Though it is not unusual for a Kula teacher to be proficient in any other cognate philosophical system Abhinava, who is so scrupulous in mentioning the minutest possible details about his teachers, should not have failed to record this aspect of his teacher's personality. Secondly, this Siddhanatha *alias* Sambhunatha of Prthvidharacarya should necessarily precede the latter as it is the latter who refers to the former. As we know, Prthvidharacarya came in the tradition of the Samkaracaryas. The manuscript of the *Balarcanavidhi* in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society² gives out the preceptorial lineage of the Sringerimatha in this sequence - Gaudapada, Govinda, Samkaracarya, Prthvidharacarya, Brahma Caitanya, Ananda Caitanya etc. etc. Thus Prthvidharacarya is placed next to the Samkaracarya who is assigned to the 8th century.³ As Samkara died early, Prthvidharacarya's period too falls in the vicinity of his predecessor's. Therefore his date cannot be stretched beyond the first quarter and, at any rate, the second quarter of the ninth century. Hence Sambhunatha of Prthvidharacarya transpires to be a contemporary of Samkara. But Sambhunatha, the teacher of Abhinava, cannot be put back beyond the first half of the century. In fact, in view of his being Abhinava's teacher, he need not be pushed back beyond the second quarter of the tenth century. Thirdly, Padmanabha the commentator of the *Bhuvaneshi stotra* interprets the word Varunalaya as standing for a village on the banks of

1. C.G.C., Introduction (English). p. 3.

2. MS No. 851. Referred to by Gopal Rai Bakura, the editor, *Bhuvaneshimahastotram*. Introduction, p. 13.

3. शंकराचार्यप्रादुर्भावस्तु विक्रमार्कसमयादतोते ८४५ पंचवत्वारिजदधिकषष्टशतीमिरे संवत्सरे { -782 A D } केरलदेशे कालपीछामे शिवमुत्थमर्णो भाय्यां समभवत् ।
Arya vidya-sudhakara 4th Chapter, pp. 226-27. Quoted. *Ibid* , p.14.

Narmada¹ whereas Abhinava's teacher hailed from Jalandhar.² Moreover, it has also been noted that the upper limit of the *Stotra* cannot be extended beyond the latter half of the ninth century on the basis of the historical premises of the Krama system. In the wake of these discrepancies it is fraught with grave misgivings to identify the two Sambhunathas. It may, therefore, be firmly held that the two are two different persons and the editor of the *Gidgagana candrika* has been misled by the identity of names.

But the author of the *Cidgagana-candrika* is perfectly right when he names one Siddhinatha to be the author of the Krama stotra. Fortunately, the name of one Siddhanatha in the annals of the Kashmir Saivism has come down to us and, for this, our thanks go to Bhatta Utpala whose *Spanda Pradipika* has proved to be a mine of information so far as the early phase of the Krama history is concerned. According to Bhatta Utpala, this Siddhanatha was the author of the work entitled *Abhed-artha Karika* from which a passage has also been cited.³ Since Bhatta Utpala is a contemporary of Laksmanagupta, Siddhanatha may be said to have belonged to any generation earlier to Bhatta Utpala's. But we are not required to go back farther. Because according to the Krama tradition, recorded by Jayaratha and referred to earlier, Bhaskara, the teacher of Abhinava, is an immediate successor to the Stotrakara. Hence Siddhanatha, who is now identified with the Stotrakara, may in all probability have flourished during the first half of the tenth

1. Vide कदम्बया युक्ते वरुणालये ग्रामविशेषे नर्मदानिकटवर्तिनि ।

Balabodhini on the *Bhuvaneshi mahastotram*, p. 25.

2. श्रीमान् जम्भूरिति प्रसिद्धिमगमज्जालम्भरात्पीठतः ।

T.A.V., I, p. 236.

3. प्रोक्तं चैतत् सिद्धनाथेन अभेदार्यकारिकासु-

बस्तुनो भावश्च्यस्य त्वग्राह्यस्य निराकृतः ।

कल्पनामात्रमेवैतत् यन्निबध्यपदेशनम् ॥

नेत्यं विधोर्विबर्तोऽस्ति परिणामश्च न क्वचित् ।

अथवा द्वयमप्यस्तु तथाप्यस्य न खण्डना ॥ इति ।

Sp.P., p. 4.

century and be, therefore, placed some where during 900-950 A.D.

It is by a happy chance that the *Krama stotra*, almost complete, has survived to this date in the pages of the *Viveka* of Jayaratha.¹ In all about twelve verses are accessible. But the chances are that it contained a few verses more, because sometimes two verses instead of one were addressed to certain Kalis, for instance, Rudrakali and Yamakali.² Coming to the contents of the *Krama stotra* we see that there was correspondence in the root idea between the *Krama stotra* and the *Pancasatika*, though they disagreed in one field. While the *Pancasatika* retained the name of Sukali in the list of Kalis to be adored and thus maintained the total number of Kalis at thirteen in *Anakhyacakra*, the *Krama stotra* excluded Sukali and numbered them twelve. Jayaratha also pointed out a misunderstanding current in a section of the followers that the *Krama stotra* went by the *Krama Sadbhava*⁴ in its treatment of the Kills in *Anakhyacakra*. Jayaratha rejects any such possibility and holds, instead, that it did emulate some Agama though quoted but not named by him.⁵ It disagreed with the *Sardasatika* regarding the order of the Kalis. While *Sardhasatika*, as elsewhere, discusses Sthitikali after Srstikali, the *Krama stotra* first takes up Raktakali in lieu of Sthitikali. The primary object in doing so is to present the real Samvitkrama. No incongruity attaches to it. Since, in the Agama the order is modified or reversed so as to conceal the Samvit-krama as is done in the *Pancasatika* with regard to the Sthitikrama. It is in sequel to this that the 'Order of Worship' (Pujana-krama) is ordained by the teachers. With a view to effectively establishing and presenting the Samvit-

1. Vide T.A.V., III, p. 158, 160, 165, 167, 169, 173, 178, 181, 183, 185, 187, 202.

A collection of these verses with the Hindi translation has now been published by Sri Lakshmana Joo under the caption "Krama-naya-Pradipika."

2. Cf T.A. V., p. III, p. 202.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 190 191.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

krama the actual order of Kalis has been preserved and retained in the *Krama stotra* as well as the *Tantraloka*. Abhinava, according to Jayaratha, has stood by it in his *Kramakeli*.¹

Jayaratha's presentation makes it well nigh certain that the *Krama stotra*, in his time, became vulnerable to two types of interpretation, one maintaining the number of Kalis to be thirteen and the other twelve. Jayaratha has no sympathy with former group which had a different text or the reading of the Stotra together with a different arrangement of the verses, as is testified to by another commentary called *Vivarana*. But possibly Jayaratha's group could not make much headway in appealing to the reason of the opponents as is evinced by the compromise formula evolved by Jayaratha that one should better go in for that reading which has the sanction and approval of one's preceptor.²

Abhinavagupta and Sivopadhyaya both have invited our attention to the metaphysical richness of the *Krama stotra*. Abhinava presents it as advocating the elimination of doubt, which as principle of limitation is the primal cause of mundane duality, for realizing the true self.³ For Sivopadhyaya the central theme of the *Stotra* is to prevail upon one to attain the Ultimate Divinity which uproots the limitations accruing from time and space and finds own counterpart in the Prajna-Paramita of Buddhism.⁴

(xvii) *Bhaskara* (925-975 A.D.)

From the point of view of his contribution there is apparently no valid ground for including Bhaskara in the list of

1. इह तु पूजाक्रमगोपनाय स्वशस्यैव स्थापनम्, यदधिकृत्यसंवित्क्रमः परिनिष्ठितिमियत्, अतएवायमेकशरणतया प्रवृत्तेऽपि श्रीक्रमस्तोत्रे ग्रन्थकृतां संवित्क्रममेव प्रदर्शयितुं तद्विवृतौ 'इत्याद्युक्तम्' ॥

T.A. V., III p. 162.

2. इत्येकतरपरिग्रहे यथा एव गुरुरपदेश एव निबन्धनम् ।

T.A. V., III, p. 203

3. *P.T.V.*, pp 233-36

4. इतिक्रमस्तोत्रसंवादात् अयादानत्वेन परैः देवी देशकालाकारावच्छेदविनाशिनी सयासम्भनीया । एवैव भगवती निरावरणरूपा प्रज्ञापारमिता उच्यते ।

V. Bh V., 140

the Krama authors. He is generally included among the authors of the Spanda branch, in the light of which he wrote his famous *Varttika* on the *Sivasutras*. The only reason for making a reference to him, here, consists in the fact that he is presented as the immediate successor to the Stotrakara and as transmitting the latter's doctrinal dicta to the next generation. There was a doctrinal scuffle between the two opposite groups as to whether or not the Stotrakara followed the *Krama-Sadbhava*. Jayaratha rejects any such adherence on the part of the Stotrakara, while the other school acquiesced into the giving out the tradition of the Stotrakara.¹

Bhaskara is a student of Srikantha in the Spanda branch² and of the Stotrakara in the Krama. He is the son of Divakara as stated by him.³ Abhinava's reference to one son of Divakara and author of the *Vivekanjana* is meant for him.⁴ Yogaraja also refers to a son of Divakara as the author of the *Kaksyastotra*.⁵ A verse from this work has figured in the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* of Ksemaraja.⁶ Abhinava has generally referred to him as Bhatta Divakaravatsa.⁷ These references indicate that Bhaskara was more popular as the son of Divakara than by his personal name. As Abhinava has frequently referred to him not only as Divakaravatsa but as Bhatta Bhaskara⁸ also, he is supposed to be earlier than Abhinava. He is also included in the list of Abhinava's teachers.⁹ On the other hand the ancestral tra-

1. एतदाशयेन श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न शास्त्रम् यदाहः—

श्रीक्रमसङ्ख्यावादिक्शास्त्राश्रयतश्च पत्रिका अत्र ।

श्रीस्तोत्रकारभास्करकुलधरपूर्वांशु संततिषु ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 101.

2. *S.S.V.* 1.8.

3. देवाकरिभस्किरोऽहमन्तेवासिगणेरितः ।

Ibid., 1.9.

4. यदाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सो विवेकाञ्जने ।

Bhas. (V), 1, p. 24.

5. यदाह भट्टदिवाकरवत्सः...कक्ष्यास्तोत्रे ।

P.S.V., p. 103.

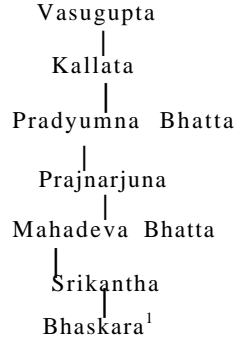
6. *Vide*, p. 86. Also see *I.P. V.V.*, II, pp. 301, 328; *S.P.V.*, p. 79.

7. *I.P. V.V.*, II, pp. 13, 14, 145; III, 388.

8. *Bhagavadgitarthasamgraha*, Chap. 18, p. 2.

9. *T.A.*, 37.62.

dition given by **Bhaskara** also places him approximately around the same period —



The four generations that intervened between Kallata and him may account for a century's gap in between them. Thus he is an older contemporary, if not necessarily a predecessor, of Abhinava and may be assigned to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the tenth century.

Apart from three works enumerated above he is also credited with the authorship of two more works namely, the *Mimamsa-samgraha-kaumudi* and *Padyamrtasopana*. This suggestion is advanced by Natarajan in his valued thesis who has relied on the information supplied by the *Madhya-Yugina-Caritrakosa*, p. 585. There is no evidence either to affirm or deny the statement.

Bhaskara is, however, most renowned for his *Varttika* on the *Sivasutras*. In this connection it is to be noted that not only his approach is different from Ksemaraja's but even their versions of the text of the original *Sivasutras* sometimes vary. Pt. M.S. Kaul, for instance, has called our attention to the following Sutra which is found in the *Varttika* but not in the *Vimarsini*:

विसर्गस्वभावाद्ब्रह्मस्थितेस्तत्स्थितिः ।²

(xviii) *Laksmanagupta* (925-975 AD.)

Laksmanagupta, the pupil of Utpala and grand pupil of

1. S.S.V., 1.3.8.

2. *Short Review*, p. 12.

Somananda, had equal command over Trika as well as Krama and was, therefore, Abhinava's teacher in both the systems.¹ Abhinava has never hesitated in recording his immense respect for his teacher whenever he could get an opportunity to do so.² Like his teachers', none of his works on Krama is accessible today, but there is a strong likelihood of his having written a Krama work so far as available evidence goes to show. Commenting on the word 'Anyatha' of T.A. 15.246, Jayaratha indicates that Lakṣmanagupta advocated a different type of Nyasa-vidhi from one advanced by Sambhunatha.³ His main thesis is to analyse the six-fold Sakta-nyasa, which again is one of the six original Nyasas, in order to invoke and realize Kalasamkar-sini.⁴ This, as we know, is a typical Krama concept. From this one gets inclined to concede that he definitely wrote a few works. The only definite word in this behalf is met with in a statement where he is stated to have produced a work called "Srisastra".⁵ It seems improbable to make out anything definite out of such random and cryptic statements.

But there comes an incentive from another source to keep up optimism. The author of the *Saradatilakatantra* calls him-

1. श्रीमलक्ष्मणगुप्तदक्षितपथः श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाविधौ ।

I.P.V.V. I, p. 1, v. 2;

And vide श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिकापि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादभ्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदशमवदेव गुरवः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 194.

2. *Bhās.* (V), I, opening verse 4; *Bhās.* (V), II, p. 8; *M.V.V.* 1.8; *T.A.*, 37.60; *T.A.* 1.11.

3. *Vide T.A.* 13. 241-254. *Vide* also संभुताय इति श्रीलक्ष्मणगुप्तमते हि अन्यथा न्यासाविधिरित्याशयः ।

T.A.V., IX, p. 122.

4. तलस्त्वावाहयेच्छक्तिं मातृसङ्कावरूपिणीम् ।

योगेश्वरीं परां पूर्णां कालसंक्रिणीं ध्रुवाम् ।

Ibid., 250-51.

5. श्रीज्ञास्त्रकृद्घटितलक्ष्मणगुप्तपादसत्योपदक्षितशिवाद्वयवाददुस्तः ।

I.P.V.V., III, p. 406.

self Laksmana Desikendra towards the end of the Tantra.¹ Contents of the work are not immediately relevant, because it is an esteemed text of the Tripura sect. But what is remarkable is to find this author being presented as a student of Utpala by Raghava Bhatta, the author of the *Padarthadarsa* commentary.² Raghava Bhatta places him on a high pedestal and gives further information that Laksmana was the disciple of Utpala and his preceptorial line ran as under - Srikantha, Vasuman, Somananda, Utpalacarya, Laksmana, Abhinavagupta and Ksemaraja - among whom persons till Utpala were his teachers while others after him, his pupils.³ Raghava narrates the background episode of Laksmanagupta's undertaking to write the *Saradatilaka*. Motivated by a sense of deep compassion he embarked upon producing a digest of entire agamic thinking for its easy comprehension by the laity yearning for spiritual enlightenment but handicapped by its limited capacities of understanding.⁴

In the absence of any negative evidence one cannot discard Raghava Bhatta's account as unauthentic, more so when it is endorsed by the author of the *Saradatilaka* himself,⁵ as has just been noted above. If, therefore, a suggestion is mooted

1. आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जातः प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्रः ।

विद्यास्वशेषासु कलासु सर्वास्वपि प्रथां यो महतीं प्रपेदे ॥

आदाय सारमखिलं निखिलागमेभ्यः ।

श्रीशारदातिलकनाम चकार तन्त्रम् ॥

S.T.(T.), 86-87.

2. तत्रोत्पलाचार्यपूज्यपादशिष्यः श्रीलक्ष्मणाचार्यः...शारदातिलकं तन्त्रं चिकीर्षुः... मंगलम्
...उपनिबध्नन् आह ।

S.T.V., I, pp. 2-3.

3. गुरुनिति बहुवचनं पूजार्थं गुरु-परमगुरु-परापरगुरु-परमेष्ठिगुरुव्यपेक्षया वा तथा च गुरु-
पंक्तिः—

श्रीकण्ठं वसुमन्तं श्रीसोमानन्दमुत्पलाचार्यान् इति ।

लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्तं बन्धे श्रीशेखराञ्च इति तन्त्रिण्यः ॥

S.T.V. on S.T.(T). 1.3, p. 12.

4. S.T.V., pp. 2-3.

5. Woodroffe accepts this account. Vide. *Sakti and Sakta*, pp. 56, 378. Also vide, *The Tantras, Studies on their Religion and Literature*, Chakravarti, p. 65.

out for identifying the *Sri Sastra* with the *Saradatilaka* tantra, it must be conceded in the interest of logical consistency.

The account of Laksmana's parentage also goes a long way to vouchsafe the veracity of the present thesis. At the end of the book he says that his father was Srikrnsna, his grandfather Acarya Pandita and great-grand father Mahabala.¹ All of them, he says, were men of great piety and erudition and enjoyed great reputation for the same. Of all his ancestors, fortunately, Mahabala, his great-grand father, is known to us. He is the author of the *Rahasyagarbha-stotra* and also the great-grand father of Bhatta Utpala on the daughter's side.² Mahabala, as we have already noted during our study on Utpala and Somananda, is a contemporary of Pradyumna Bhatta and Somananda. Laksmanagupta and Bhatta Utpala both being grandsons, one on the son's side and the other on the daughter's, of Mahabala are contemporaries and have blood affiliations. In the history of Kashmir Saivism we have no other Laksrnana except one, the teacher of Abhinava, whose time exactly coincides with that of the author of the *Saradatilaka Tantra*. Care has been taken to make it absolutely clear that Laksmanagupta was only a pupil and not a son of Utpala as has been made out in some scholarly circles.³ Thus, one may be inclined to hold Laksmanagupta as identical with Laksrnana Desikendra and his *Srisastra* with the *Saradatilaka*. The name, *Sri Sastra*, too,

1. महाबलाय प्रणतोऽस्मि तस्मै संविल्लतालिङ्गनशीतलाय ।
 येनाऽऽर्पितं मुक्तिफलं विपक्वास्नायशास्त्राभिरुपाश्रितेभ्यः ॥
 तस्मादभूदखिलदेशिकवारणेन्द्रः षट्कर्मसागरविहारविनोदशीलः ।
 यस्य त्रिलोकविलतं विजयाभिधानमाश्रायं पण्डित इति प्रथयन्ति सन्तः ॥
 तन्मन्दनो देशिकदेशिकोऽभूच्छ्रीकृष्ण इत्यभ्युदितप्रभावः ।
 यत्पादकारुण्यमुद्याभिर्धेकाल्लक्ष्मीं परामश्रुवते कृतार्थाः ॥
 आचार्यविद्याविभवस्य तस्य जातः प्रभोर्लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्रः ॥
 विद्यास्वशेषासु कलाम् सर्वास्वपि प्रयां यो महतीं प्रपेदे ॥

S.T.(T). 25.83-86.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मातामहाचार्येण महाबलेन...रहस्यस्तोत्रे ।

Sp.P., p. 3.

3. *Abhi.*, pp. 7, 164.

implies its automatic association to the Tripura cult. To repeat, he was a disciple of Utpala and son of Srikr̥ṣṇa. He may, therefore, be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

(xix) *Bhatta Utpala* (925-975 A.D.)

He is an important author on the Spanda system of philosophy, but whatever glimpses one gets from his *Spanda-Pradipika*, a commentary on the *Spanda Karikas*, justifies this reference to him under the Krama context. These lines, however, are not addressed to a study of his individual Krama views, since the same have been subjected to elaborate treatment in their respective contexts in the philosophical section, but there is no gainsaying the fact that he was fully aware of the important Krama doctrines and tried to interpret the Spanda and Yoga concepts in the light of the Krama philosophy.¹

Besides the *Spanda Pradipika*, his only extant work, he wrote one work called *Bhogamoksa-pradipika*. It is not known whether it was also a commentary or an independent work. He has referred to it thrice² and in one of these extracts the Krama attitude is easily discernible.³ In the two he deals with the rise of the Spanda principle⁴ and Rahasya-rnudra evidently

1. See, for instance, *Sp.P.*, pp. 48, 49, 50

2. Vide, *Sp.P.*, pp. 32, 49-50.

3. मयैव चोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—

अथवा विभागबोधज्जलनेन विलोप्य वेद्यपीयूषम् ।

पीत्वा तृप्तो विचरेन्लीरोगो योजितरासदैकाकी ॥

एतत्क्रमाथसारं परधाराभूमिका च शक्तीनाम् ।

तदनुज्ञया च कथितं सच्छिष्यबोधनाय यथा ।

Ibid., pp. 49-50.

4. मयाप्युक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—

क्रामाख्ये विषयत्वे निरञ्जनाह्वे क्रमाच्च सिद्धिः स्यात् ।

सूर्यो सौम्यो हृदयालयो शमाच्चेति शास्त्रसर्वस्वम् ॥ इति ।

एवं स्पन्दतत्त्वस्य उदयः प्रोक्तः ।

Ibid., p. 32.

under the influence of the 43rd Karika of the *Spanda Karika*.¹ We are however uncertain about the contents of this word and the system it subscribed to.

In addition he wrote several other work or works, passages from which have been cited by him without naming their source and have been ascribed to himself.² In all these extracts he has dwelt on the common tenets of the monistic Saivism namely, the instrumentality of the objective world to the cause of emancipation, a *priori* unity of consciousness, and matchless superiority of the spiritual guide respectively.

He is different from his namesake predecessor, the teacher of Lakṣmanagupta, and in contrast to bare Utpala, is known as Bhaṭṭa Utpala or Utpala Vaisnava. It has not been possible to trace out the origin or logic of his second epithet i.e., Vaisnava. According to a modern scholar the *Spanda-pradipika* is a commentary on the *Spanda Karikas* on Vaisnava lines.³ This might have been a probable source of his fame as "Vaisnava". But even a superficial peep into its contents belies the above contention. It is a pure Spanda interpretation with occasional flashes about the cognate systems.

He hailed from a place called Narayana in Kashmir and

1. सैष तत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणौ रहस्यमुद्रेत्युक्ता । मयोक्तं भोगमोक्षप्रदीपिकायाम्—
उद्यन्तूता बलेन तु विकासवृत्त्या स्वरूपगतिश्लेष् ।
स्वयमुपसृतुतेन्द्रियार्थानशनलानन्दभूमिगो योगी ॥
एषोच्छृङ्खलरूपा विकस्वरतरा प्रबुद्धबुद्धीनाम् ।
सिद्धाः स्थिताः सदास्यां ह्यानन्दरताः परा व मुद्रैवा ॥

Ibid., p. 49.

2. (a) तथा मयाऽपि—

Sp. P., pp. 49-50.

- (b) मयाप्युक्तं क्वापि—

Ibid., p. 39.

- (c) मयेवोक्तं क्वापि—

Ibid., p. 54.

3. *Contribution*. (MS), p. 340.

was the son of some Trivikrama and Brahmana by caste.¹ Compassion on mankind and anxiety for his students' wellbeing were the chief motives that actuated him to take up the writing of *Spanda Pradipika*. He was a great-grand-son of Mahabala whom he mentions as a maternal grand-father of his father.² Thus he occupies the same position in the daughter's hertiage of Mahabala which Laksmanagupta does in the filial lineage of Mahabala. His time, therefore, is almost definite and may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

(xx) *Bhutiraja I* (900-950 A.D.)

Bhutiraja is a very important name in the history of the Krama thought despite the unfortunate fact that none of his works is extant today. There are four Bhutirajas that attract our notice in the whole range of the Kashmir Saivism. The first happens to be a teacher of Abhinava in Brahma-vidya. The second is the father of Bhatta Induraja. The third is the father of Helaraja, the illustrious commentator on the *Vakyapadiya*. And the fourth is a pupil of Cakrabhanu, a Krama celebrity, and who rather proved to be the focal point of a heated controversy in Jayaratha's time.

We are presently concerned with the number one Bhutiraja because, while quoting him in the Krama context, Abhinava refers to him as his teacher.³ But there should be no misunderstanding, he did not teach the Krama system to Abhinava. The subjects in which he imparted lessons to Abhi-

1. (a) नारायणस्थानसंस्थद्विजवर्गतिविक्रमात् ।

आलो जगन्मुहार्थं व्याख्याति स्पन्दमृत्युषः ।

Sp.P., p. 1., v. 6.

(b) नारायणस्थानज उस्पलाख्यस्त्रिविक्रमाख्यस्य सुतोऽयं जन्मा ।

यस्तेन सच्चिद्व्यहिताय हृष्टा मयैषा च तमोन्मुदे स्यात् ॥

S.P., Concluding Verse 4.

2. अतश्चास्मत्पितुर्मतामहाचार्येण महाबलेन ।

Ibid., p. 3.

3. यदाहः भूतिराजगुरवः ।

T.S., p. 30.

nava were Brahma-vidya¹ and Sambhu Sastra.² Jayaratha has taken extra pains to clear out the misgiving that Bhutiraja ever taught Abhinava the Krama system. Jayaratha explicitly admits that Bhutiraja was a teacher of Abhinava but what he objects to is that the Krama system or any text pertaining to Krama e.g., the *Devipancasatika*, was not his specific field of instruction.³ But at the same time, he did make some solid contribution to the Krama system in his own right which is borne out by the two extracts attributed to him. In one he derives the word Kali from the root Kalana meaning Ksepa and Jnana⁴ and in the other he asserts the sameness of Mantra with the transcendental principle of Awareness owing to its all-encompassing capacity.⁵ Besides the above two sciences, he also initiated Abhinava in three mystic disciplines⁶ pertaining to Pranava Maya and Bindu.⁷ He also entertained definite views of his own regarding Bhuvanadhvan⁸ and Pratistha Kala.⁹

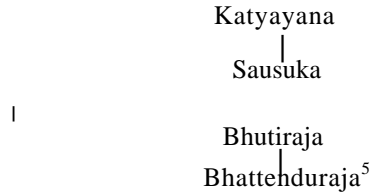
Abhinava had an extremely high sense of respect for his, teacher so that he respected his teacher more than his father.¹⁰

1. अथोच्यते ब्रह्मविद्या सद्यः प्रत्ययदायिनी ।
जिवः श्रीभूतिराजो यामस्म्यम् प्रत्यपादयत् ॥
T.A., 30.62-63.
2. श्रीभूतिराजवदनोदितशंभुशास्त्रतत्त्वशिशुशातिसमस्तभवान्धकारः ।
I.P.V.V., III, p. 405.
3. न तत्राप्यस्य श्रीभूतिराजो गुरुत्वेन स्थितः, न च 'असावप्यस्य न गुरुः' यद्वक्ष्यति
'अथोच्यते...'
T.A.V., III, p. 194.
4. यदाहुः श्रीभूतिराजगुरुवः क्षेपाज्ज्ञानाच्च काली कलनवशतयाथ... इति ।
T.S., p. 30.
5. श्रीक्रमकेलो ष... षट्श्रीभूतिराजेनाप्युक्तं—'सर्वकोडीकारेण स्थितत्वाद् देव्येव मन्त्रः'
इति ।
M.M.P., p. 127.
6. एतद्विद्यात्रयम् श्रीमान् भूतिराजो न्यरूपयत् ।
T.A., 30.120.
7. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 216.
8. *T.A.*, 8.265.
9. *Ibid.*, 410.
10. ततो गृह्णतः श्रीमान् भूतिराजो महामतिः ।
M.V.V., 1.6.

He looked upon him (Bhutiraja) as the Lord-incarnate himself in a human frame.¹ Perhaps barring the teachers of the four main schools (Mathikas), nobody else has won so much praise at the hands of Abhinava as Bhutiraja. Jayaratha had to justify the mention of Bhutiraja's name by Abhinava in the *Tantraloka*² while paying obeisance to his teachers, as the *Tantraloka* having a defined aim and scope need not refer to persons from the outer circles.³

Bhutiraja, by dint of being Abhinava's teacher, may be bracketed with his other teachers and therefore may be said to have belonged to the previous generation of Abhinava. But his date may be pushed a little earlier, because Abhinava was not a student of Bhutiraja alone but of his son as well.⁴ Hence he must have been of fairly old age when Abhinava approached him. He may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the tenth century. He is also identical with the Bhutiraja Number Two who has been referred to as father of Bhattenduraja who, in addition to Dhvanisastra, initiated Abhinava in the mysteries of the *Gita*.

The genealogy of Induraja given by Abhinava in the concluding portion of his *Bhagvadgitartha-samgraha* is self-explanatory. The same is reproduced below:



In this connection the issue of the third Bhutiraja may also be taken up, who is identified with the father of Helaraja.

1. यः साक्षादभञ्जच्छ्रीकण्ठो मानुषी तन्मु ।

T.A. 30 121.

2. T.A., 1.9.

3. T.A.V., I.p. 29.

4. श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥

T.A., 37.60.

5. Bh.G.S., p. 186, also see Abhi., p. 214.

According to Pandey, and there is no reason to dispute him, Bhutiraja in question is identical with this Bhutiraja also. Because Helaraja, in the colophon to each section of his commentary on the *Vakyapadiya*, regularly refers to himself as the son of Bhutiraja (Bhutipratanaya).¹ Abhinava has included one Bhutipratanaya whom he does not name among his teachers.² He came in the lineage of Srinatha, the first exponent of dualistic philosophy, and was possibly taught by his father. By implication, he educated Abhinava in the dualistic Saivism. The two Bhutipratanayas may be identified since,

- (i) Abhinava does not refer to his teacher in Saiva dualism by name but by his parental description i.e., Bhutipratanaya,
- (ii) Except Helaraja nobody else refers to himself as Bhutipratanaya,
- (iii) Abhinava evinces great familiarity with Bhartrhan's system as presented by Helaraja specially in respect of the Kalasakti that acted as harbinger of the Krama concept of Kali.

If that be so, the two Bhutipratanayas, too, become one and Induraja and Helaraja happen to be brothers, one shining as the literary critic and the other as a philosopher.

In this connection attention may be drawn to a reference by Sitikantha to some Dutipratanaya who, in spite of his not belonging to the Krama system, had inherited different versions regarding the Yuganathas and tried to thrust them on the Krama system proper.³ Sitikantha has criticised such behaviour. Our contention is that this Dutipratanaya is none else than Bhutipratanaya. 'Du' and 'Bhu' in hastily written Sarada characters are difficult to distinguish, hence the scribal mistake. This is borne out further by the fact that Bhutipratanaya is shown as adept in the Dualistic Saivism. Here too Du (?Bhu)ti-

1. भूतिराजतनये हेलाराजकुले ।

2. श्रीनाथसंततिमहाम्बरधर्मकान्तिः श्रीभूतिराजतनयः स्वपितृप्रसादः ॥

T.A., 37.60.

3. यस्तु पीठपारम्पर्येण पत्रिकाभेदो भूतिराजतनयपर्यन्तो युगनाथानां दृश्यते स कथं कथं
सामंजस्यं नोपयाति ।

rajatanaya is an outsider in the Krama fold. We may, therefore, possibly identify the two.

Coming to the fourth Bhutiraja we find that he is a different person altogether. Because this Bhutiraja, the pupil of Cakrabhanu, could not have been Abhinava's teacher. For the simple reason that Cakrabhanu, as will be seen in the sequel, is historically posterior (i.e., circa 1050-1100 A.D.) to Abhinavagupta. Hence to say that his pupil (circa 1075-1125 A.D.) was a teacher of Abhinava would be a historical absurdity.¹ Moreover, the method of worship advocated by this Bhutiraja is said to be based on the *Pancasatika*, according to which the number of deities to be worshipped is not twelve. It, therefore, seems logically incongruous to treat Bhutiraja, a spokesman of the not-twelve doctrine, as a teacher of Abhinava, a staunch protagonist of the twelve-deity doctrine.² Thus these two Bhutirajas seem to be two different personalities, though both having definite relationship with the Krama system.

(xxi) *Kuladhara* (950-1000 A.D.)

We know nothing about him except that he directly came into the line of the Stotrakara after Bhaskara.³ He, therefore, appears to be a contemporary of Abhinavagupta.

(xxii) *Bhatta Damodara* (950-1000 A.D.)

He seems to be a minor Krama author and is said to have composed certain Muktakas (independent verses). He has been referred to only once by Ksemaraja⁴ and no other reference,

1. अतश्चास्य एवं गुरुक्रममज्ञानानैरद्यतनेः—
श्रीभूतिराजनामाप्याचार्यश्चक्रभानुशिष्योऽन्यः ।
अभिनवगुप्तस्य गुरोर्यस्य हि कालीनये गुप्ता ॥
इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत् स्वीक्रेक्षितमेव इत्युपेक्ष्यम् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 193.

2. तत्रापि चात्र श्रीभूतिराजस्याभ्ययापूजाक्रम इति देवीपञ्चशताशयभात्रित्य च भूतिराज-
पूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिधधदभिर्भवंदभिरेवोक्तम्, अथात्र द्वादशैव देव्यः पूज्यतया स्थिताः
इत्यभिप्रेतं भवतः तर्हि श्रीपञ्चशतिकाखंमपि न जानीषे ।

Ibid., p. 194.

3. *Ibid., p. 191.*

4. तथा च उक्तं सहजचमत्कारपरिजनिताकृतकादरेण भट्टदामोदरेण विमुक्तकेषु—

P.Hr., p. 70.

either before or after Ksemaraja, appears to have been made by any author to him. The guess that he devoted a few verses to Krama is based on the circumstantial and contextual evidence because the verse ascribed to him¹ deals with the Pancavaha, a typical Krama phenomenon, and is quoted in the same context in particular and under Saktopaya in general. He has been commended for his intuitive realisation of the Supreme Bliss. Since he has not been noticed by any author before Ksemaraja, he might have belonged to the latter's preceding generation. Hence, it is possible he might be a contemporary of Abhinava (950-1020 A.D.). He is different from Damodara-gupta, the author of the *Kuttanimatam* and a minister of King Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). He is also different from one Damodara who was a contemporary of Mankha. (1125-1175 A.D.) and has been mentioned as such,² whereas the present author comes prior to Ksemaraja (975-1025 A.D.).

(xxiii) *Abhinavagupta* (950-1020 A.D.)

The personality as well as the volume and scope of Abhinava's contribution is so rich, enormous and extensive that we propose to confine ourselves strictly to his contribution in the field of Krama alone. Exception will be made only when some new information is intended to be furnished.

According to all available accounts, Abhinava was not his actual name but a title conferred on him by his teachers in recognition of his extraordinary calibre and outstanding intellectual accomplishment.³ He was also called Bala-valabhibhu-

1. पूर्णविच्छिन्नमात्रान्तर्बहिष्करणभाङ्गाः ।

बभिशद्याः परिज्ञानात् स्युर्मुक्तिबन्धदाः ॥

Ibid., pp. 70-71.

2. सूचितभूरिगुणानर्चमश्लाघत स वोत्सया ।

दामोदरं तदासीददादरप्रह्वकन्धरः ॥

S.K.C., 25.68.

3. अभिनवगुप्तस्य कृतिः सेयं यस्योदिता गुरुभिराख्या ।

त्रिनयनचरणसरोरुहचिन्तनबन्धप्रसिद्धिरिति ।

T.A., I, 20.

...स्पष्टेन चाभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः ।

I.P.V.V., III, p. 406.

janga.¹ Abhinava possibly knew the immense value of furnishing historical data in respect of an epoch-making personality. It is why Abhinava's date, span of creative life etc., do not pose problems. To begin with, he has given the dates of composition in the case of his three works. The *Kramastotra*² was composed during 990-991 A.D. (4066 Saptarsi Era), the *Bhairavastotra* during 992-993 A.D. (4068 S.E.)³ and the *Brhati Vimarsini* during 1014-15 (4090 S.E.).⁴ Thus the whole period of his literary activity, giving a margin of five years on each side for other possible undertakings, appears to have been spread over a period from 985 to 1020 A.D. In view of his vast erudition acquired through personal approaches to almost every teacher in all the then possible branches of learning, if he is allowed a preparatory period to thirty to thirtyfive years before he could embark upon writing, he may be said to have flourished and lived during 950-1020 A.D. One will arrive at approximately similar dates from a different source as well. Kama, one of his favoured students, was the grandson of Vallabha, the court-minister of King Yasaskara, who definitely reigned in the year 939 A.D.⁵ It is a strange coincidence that Purna Manoratha, the first known ancestor of Jayaratha, was a colleague of Vallabha in the court of the same king.⁶ Vallabha's son Sauri (who was also a minister) and daughter-in-law Vatsalika⁷ were Abhinava's contemporaries and the latter was looked after by Vatsalika when he was engaged in writing his *Tantraloka*.⁸ In addition, Yogesvaridatta, the son of Karna, came of age and displayed merits equal to his name before the eyes of Abhinava.⁹ Thus

1. भवदेवः स्वकृते तोतातिमत्तिलके मामध्ययनदशायामुवाच वाचम् । दर्शित्वप्ने । बालबलभी-
भुजंगापरत्नामा त्वमसि भवदेव ।

Quoted from an unspecified source, *Contribution*, p. 342.

2. *KS.(A)*, 30.
3. *Bhairava Stotra*, verse no. 10.
4. *I.P.V.V.*, III, p. 407.
5. *P.T.V.*, p. 279; *T.A.*, 37.65.
6. *T.A.V.*, XII, p. 430.
7. *P.T.V.*, p. 279; *A.A.*, 37.73, 75.
8. *T.A.*, 37.82.
9. *T.A.*, 37.76.

Abhinava belonged to the generation next to king Yasaskara's and continued to live for another two generations. Even on this calculation his probable time remains almost the same as above.

In all about fortyfour works, both major and minor, are ascribed to him¹ and twentythree of these have been published till now. But this list does not include three other minor Stotra works² attributed to him namely, *Amaresvarastotra*³ *Devibhujanga*⁴ and *Sivastotra*.⁵ The *Tantroccaya* which figures in the above list, like the *Tantra-vata-dhantka*, is a summary of the *Tantraloka*. A manuscript of it is available in the Tagore Library of the Lucknow University.⁶ Of all the five pages and nine folios, six folios contain Sutras and the rest verses. But the whole thing is so haphazard, and style and method so shabby that it raises serious doubts about its being a work from the pen of Abhinava. Besides, Abhinava refers to one *Slokavarttika* in the *Tantrasara*.⁷ It is uncertain whether this is identical with the famous Mimamsa text of the same name by Kumarila. But the way Abhinava refers to it and the context in which it finds a place, make it quite probable that Abhinava might have attempted a work under this name. Or else it might be another name of the *Malini-vijayavarttika*. The evidence in hand, how-

1. See *Abhi.*, pp. 26-27; *Contribution*, pp. 342.44.
2. *The Works of Abhinavagupta*, J.O.R.I., XIV-IV, pp. 318-28.
3. R.A. Sastri refers in his "Diary" to this Stotra which is in the personal library of Pt. Ram Jiva Kokil, Banmahal, Kashmir, *Ibid*.
4. It is in the library of Vishvabharti, Shantiniketan, *Ibid*
5. The following portion from the letter no 125/R addressed to the present author from the Dy. Director, Research Publication Department. Jammu and Kashmir Government is self-explanatory - "However it is to inform you that the Sivastotram by Abhinavagupta is available with Pt. Lambodar Razdan, 5/o R.N. Temple, Srinagar". We unsuccessfully tried our best to contact Pt. Razdan.
6. Accession No. 45827 and Catalogue no. RS 180.414/A174T.
7. एतदेव अवस्थाचतुष्टयं पिण्डस्थपदस्थरूपस्थरूपातीतशब्दयौगिनो व्यवहरन्ति, प्रसंख्यान-धनास्तु सर्वतोभद्रं व्याप्तिः महाध्याप्तिः प्रचय इति शब्दैः । अन्वर्थं चात्र दक्षितं तन्त्रा-लोके श्लोकवार्तिके च ।

ever, is not conclusive to indicate anything definitely. Jayaratha also appears to attribute to him one work named *Anu-pratyabhijna* and cites a passage from the same.¹ Here again one is totally ignorant if it was another name of certain work among the known works or an original one by itself, or a work by his pen at all. Yet it is difficult to say that all these works, enumerated or alluded to above, exhaust the total expanse of his literary activity. The profuse and frequent references to and extracts from Abhinava² hint at his having written infinitely more than is known today. The MS of the *Sarika-nityapujapaddhati* contains a few verses that are ascribed to Abhinavagupta by the colophon.³⁻⁴ At least in one field, that is, Stotras, one may feel absolutely certain that he penned many that have not come down to us. His and his successors' own statements bear the palm of this contention.⁵ Similarly he wrote a commentary, called the *Tattvaviveka*, on the *Trikaśūtra* which was later embodied in his *Vivarana* on the *Paratrimśika*.⁶

Raniero Gnoli, an Italian scholar of Saivism, has called our attention to yet another five unpublished verses of Abhinava-

I. अनुप्रत्यभिज्ञाकृतान्यनेनैवाभिप्रायेण

नाय त्वया विना बिम्बं स्वच्छे स्वात्मनि दक्षितम् ।

प्रसेना दर्शनेनैव प्रभावाद्भावमण्डलम् ॥

इत्याद्युक्तम् ।

T.A.V., p. 73.

2. Vide, for instance, *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa-tikā*, pp. 12, 26, 31, 73.

3-4. दत्तो मूर्धनि लीलयैव चरणः संसारनाम्नो रिपोः

पीतं सर्वैरसातिशायि भरितं ज्ञानीषधारासूतम् ।

भातः स्वात्ममहेश्वरः किमपरं सम्पूर्णसर्वशिशुम्

कयो भ्रक्ष्यतु नश्यतु श्रयतु वा स्थीरं नोऽत्रप्रहः ॥ इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यानाम् ।

MS. No. 5727, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, (Tantras), p. 568.

For other verses see MS. No. RS 180, 4/A14B, Accession No. 45723, Lucknow University Library. These verses are bound together with the *Pranava-bala-bodhini* of Samkaracarya.

5. Vide, *Bh.G.S.*, 12.6.8; *T.A.* 26.63-65; *P.T.V.*, pp. 22, 59, 163, 198, 223; *Dh.L.*, pp. 197, 397; *Bhas.* (V), I, p. 42; *St.C.*, V., p. 112; *P.S.V.*, p. 112.

6. Vide *Contribution*, p. 347. But no textual authority could be traced in support of this statement.

gupta.¹ According to the colophon of the MS there should be two verses² instead of five as available. As to the possibility of their having been composed by two authors - the first three verses by some unknown author and the remaining two by Abhinavagupta - , Gnoli is inclined to believe that they are all by Abhinavagupta since "Nothing in the style or contents however forbids us from attributing them to Abhinavagupta."³ A manuscript of the same is preserved in the Bhandarkar Institute⁴ which has not been consulted by Gnoli as per his own statement. A final judgement on his findings can only be pronounced after looking into the said manuscript.

Let us revert to the Krama system. The system has profited by him in at least four positive ways - firstly, as an indispensable repository of tradition and thought; secondly, as a sourcebook of authors and their works preceding him; thirdly, as a commentator on the few important Krama texts; and finally, as an original thinker of enviable value who fostered the thought with a critical analysis and insight. But for him, we, today, would have missed the richness of the entire traditional intellectual development.⁵ He assimilated the tradition and then enriched it by exposition and embellishment. In the history of the Krama thought only two names can be cited to match him in the enormity of historical allusions. They are Jayaratha, his own commentator, and Mahesvarananda. But for Abhinava's *Kramakeli* the early history of the system would have remained the "pre-history" for a modern student. As a commentator he has produced the *Kramakeli* on the *Kramastotra*

1. Vide *Miscellanea Indica*, (2, Five Unpublished Stanzas of Abhinavagupta), pp. 222-23.

The MS., according to Gnoli, belongs to a private collection, details of which have not been furnished. Vide, p. 216.

2. श्लोकद्वयीयम् अभिनवगुप्तपादानाम् ।

Ibid., p. 223.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

4. See *Buhler*, No. 474.

5. शास्त्रमस्मद्गुरुह्ये संप्रदायक्रमात् स्थितम् ।

M.F.V., I. 394..

(of Siddhanatha). His other commentary *Vivarana* is an exposition of his own *Prakarana Stotra*. The *Tantraloka*, *Krama Stotra*, *Prakarana Stotra* and *Tantrasara* are his original contributions to the system. The *Tantraloka* covers a vast expanse and, in its massive efforts to preserve and present the Kashmir Saiva thought in its fullness, deals with the Krama dicta and theses to almost perfection. The *Tantrasara* tries to do the same in brief. His Krama works will be taken up for a fuller treatment.

When he diverted his attention from literature to the study of Saiva monism, Krama was his first love in philosophy. The earliest date of the *Krama Stotra* bears ample testimony to it. The first verse of the *Krama Stotra* makes it obvious that he was restless and had no peace of mind before he turned to Krama.¹ Abhinava attained his proficiency in Kramic experiments and went very far in realizing the true spirit of the system. He himself affirms it.² Apart from his specific Krama treatises, there are certain other texts namely, the *Malinivijaya-varttika*, *Paryanta Pancasika* and *Paratrimika-vivarana* wherein he occasionally dwells on the Krama tenets at length. Among his Krama works, the *Krama Stotra* is his first contribution in the chronological order as its earliest date would vindicate.³ After ventilation of his views about the nature and purpose of devotional prayer, the *Stotra* grows through four stages viz., (i) the background of the Kramic emanation, (ii) rise and emergence of Kramic evolution through twelve Kalikas, (iii) repose of Krama in the Absolute, and (iv) the epilogue invoking the Godhead's grace

1. अयं दुःखत्रातत्रतपरिगमे पारणविधिः

महासौख्यासारप्रसरणरसे दुर्दिनमिदम् ।

यदन्यल्पवक्तृया विषमविशिखप्लोषणमुरोः

विभोः स्तोत्रे शशवत्प्रतिफलति चेतो गतमयम् ॥

K.S.(A). 1.

2. अलं वातिप्रसंगेन भूयसातिप्रपञ्चते ।

योऽयमभिनवगुप्तोऽस्मिन्कोरप यागविधौ बुधः ।

T.A , 4.278.

3. षट्षष्टिनामके वर्षे नवम्यामसितेऽहनि ।

यथाऽभिनवगुप्तेन मार्गशीर्षे स्तुतः शिवः ॥

K.S., 30.

on humanity. The order in which the various stages i.e., Kalis, succeed each other is in consonance with the metaphysical aspect (Samvit-krama) of it and not with the ritualistic one (Pujana-krama). The ante-penultimate verse indicates Abhinava's unmistakable adherence to the school that held Siva as the ultimate reality.¹ The *Prakarana Stotra* is known today only from a reference to it by Abhinava in the *Tantrasara*.² Its chief purpose was to dwell on the concept of Kali with an accent upon its etymological implications. The *Prakarana Vivarana*³ was in all probability a commentary by Abhinava himself on the said *Stotra*. Both of these works were intended to cover in detail the nature of the dynamic Absolutism and its *modus operandi* echoing the manifold derivative significance of the word 'Kalana.' A word of caution may be added. Abhinava does not give out the name of this text as the *Prakarana Vivarana*. He simply says *Vivarana*. It is not known whether he meant by it the *Kramakeli*, a commentary on the *Krama Stotra*, or an independent commentary on the *Prakaranastotra* itself. In such a fluid state of affairs one has to base one's hypothesis on the contextual evidence and should press it only to that extent, no further. In this connection, it may be noted that he wrote another work called the *Prakunaka-vivarana*.⁴ It is yet hypothetical to say that the two were identical. Dr. Pandey appears to take them as two separate works.⁵ Nagarajan follows Dr. Pandey.⁶ But on a close perusal

1. अनर्गलस्वात्ममये महेशे तिष्ठन्ति यस्मिन् विभुशिवतयस्ताः ।

तं शक्तिमन्तं प्रणमामि देवं मन्थानसङ्गं जगदेकसारम् ॥

K.S. (A), 28.

2-3. यदाहुः श्रीभूतिराजगुरुवः 'शेषाञ्जानाञ्च काली कलनवशतयायै' इति । एष च सर्वः तत्र तत्र मन्दिरचिते विवरणे प्रकरणादौ वितर्य वीक्ष्यः ।

T.S., pp. 30-31.

4. इत्थं जडैर्न सम्बन्धे न मुख्यं पृथक्संगतिः ।

आस्तामन्यत्र विततमेतद्विस्तरतो भवा ॥

T.A., 10.14.

Jayaratha explains the word 'Anyatra' thus -

अन्यत्रात्र प्रकीर्णकाशिवरणादौ ।

T.A.V., VII, p. 33.

5. Vide Abhi, pp. 28-38.

6. Contribution, p. 356.

their difference does not remain tenable. According to Nagarajan¹ it is a grammatico-philosophical work. If one accepts this contention, which one should, their distance vanishes. Because even the two contexts resemble each other in the respect that the books in question are purported to answer the grammatical and derivational requirements and analyse ensuing implications of the philosophical concepts. Let us, however, await the verdict of future investigation on it. The single work called *Tantraloka* is sufficient to make him the doyen of the monistic philosophers of Kashmir. For fear of repetition no reference is being made to its varied contents. However, Ahnikas 4, 13, 31 and 32 specially deal with the Krama system while Ahnikas 1, 3, 9, 15 and 30 contain brief but useful information about Krama. The *Tantrasara* is an abridged *Tantraloka*. Its Ahnikas 4 and 13 are particularly relevant. The former presents a masterly epitome of the Krama ideals. The *Kramakeli*² is an important Krama text. Although it is a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* of an earlier author, it speaks of the originality and vast comprehension of its author's mind. At present our knowledge is limited to references only made by himself,³ Ksemaraja,⁴

1. *Ibid.*

2. While in Kashmir (1963 Summer) we made an extensive search to trace out its manuscript. We were told by Pt. D.N. Yaksa of the Sanskrit Section of Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar that a MS of the *Kramakeli* was available with Mr. Somanatha Razdan of Purshiar, Aba Kadal (2nd bridge), Srinagar, but it was difficult to procure from him. The personal meeting with the gentleman resulted in the impression that he had inherited a large treasure of rare MSS from his grandfather, an avowed Sanskritist. But he could not be persuaded even to allow us to have a look of the text, not to talk of parting with it. Even the monetary temptations failed. On a later date Prof. B N. Pandit of Khannabal informed us that he knew of one MS of the *Kramakeli* in possession of a person whom he knew. But his efforts, too, were doomed to failure.

3. व्याख्यातं चैनमया तट्टीकायामेव क्रमकेलौ विस्तरतः ।

P.T.V., p. 236.

4. यथोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिः क्रमकेलौ —

श्रीमत्सदाशिवपदेऽपि गतोप्रकाली

श्रीचोक्तदध्रुकुटिरेष्यति भगभूमिः ॥

S.St.V., p. 169.

Jayaratha¹ and Mahesvarananda.² The only thing worthy of note is that it was also liable to two sorts of interpretation with regard to its stand about the full-size controversy on the correct number of Kalis. Jayaratha is very insistent that the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanatha), and for that matter Abhinava, did not budge an inch from the twelve-kali theory.³ But on the other hand, Mahesvarananda tends to show him as supporting thirteen-kali theory.⁴ Nevertheless, so far as the question of interpreting Abhinava is concerned, it is more advisable to abide by Jayaratha not only because of his *Viveka* on the *Tantraloka*, but also because of his claim that he was in possession of the original tradition which started with Sivananda and was actuated by Abhinavagupta.

A brief explanation would perhaps be necessary for exclusion of the *Dehartha-devata-cakra-stotra* from amongst the Krama works, since the same has been taken as a Krama text by some authors.⁵ The stotra, in question, eulogizes the physical body as an abode of spirituality, and each constituent organ of the body has a particular divinity stationed in it. This theme is taken to be a particular aspect of the Krama system. In fact, the things do not appear to be so. This is a general feature of the Kashmir Saivism and consequently all the systems comprising it share this notion.⁶ Hence it has not been considered to be a Krama work.

1. T.A.V., III, pp. 162, 191.

2. M.M.P., pp. 104, 106, 127, 156, 178, 179, 180, 192. For the English rendering of these extracts see *Abhi.*, pp. 482-84.

3. एवं क्रमकेलावप्येतद्गर्भाकारेण यदनेन ग्रन्थकृता व्याख्यातं तत्रापि अन्यथा न किञ्चित् संभाव्यम् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 191.

4. ताञ्च इहैकैकत्र सृष्ट्यादौ चक्ररूपता विद्यते इति श्रीक्रमकेलिकल्पिता...इति द्वादशानामिन्द्रियस्फुरत्तानाम् 'अनाख्याभासयोरत्र नोपदिष्टः पृथङ्मन्.' इति स्थित्या सर्वानुस्यूतया तुरीयसम्मिलतया भासाभट्टारिकया क्षयोदगीभूतया परिस्पन्दतयाध्यवसीयते ।

M.M.P., p. 104.

5. Vide *Abhi.*, p. 485.

6. It may, further, be noted that such a theory in particular may be associated with the Kula system. Cf. N.T. 12.1-4; T.A.V., I, p. 23.

(xxiv) Ksemaraja (975-1125 A.D.)

An illustrious student of an illustrious teacher, Ksemaraja may be ascribed to the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. He was both Abhinava's cousin and a pupil.¹ Of all Abhinava's students he is the only figure who is mentioned by name by Madhuraja Yogin in his *Gurunatha-paramarsa*.² After an examination of the available data, Dr. Pandey has established Vamadeva, Abhinava's uncle, to be his father.³ Among his own pupils he mentions, *inter alia*, Sura or Suraditya, son of Gunaditya, for whose enlightenment most of his works were written.⁴ Among others he includes Srirama, Raktika Bhatta, Gargesa with particular reference to the *Netra Tantra*,⁵ and Kesava. Besides Abhinava he mentions Prayaga as his teacher.⁶ There were probably a few more teachers according to a hint thrown by himself. Accordingly Sankarajnadhara was also probably his teacher.⁷

The present enquiry is concerned with Ksemaraja as an eminent post-Abhinava Krama thinker. He seems to have profound knowledge of the system and in his *Uddyota* on the *Netra*

1. *Vide T.A.*, 37.87.

2. आसीनः क्षेमराजप्रभृतिभिरखिलैः सेवितः शिष्यवर्गः ।

Verse No. 4.

3. *Abhinava*, p. 254.

4. *St.C.V.*, p. 130; *N.T.U.*, II, p. 343; *Sp.N.*, p. 77.

5. *N.T.U.*, II, p. 343 -

संसाररिपुनिर्मायशूरः शूरसमाश्रयः ।

श्रीरामादिगुरुग्रामस्तथास्तेवासिनोऽपरे ॥

भट्टरत्निकगर्भशकेशवाद्या इहार्थनाम् ।

अकार्षुर्मे ततः किञ्चिदिदमुद्योतितं मया ॥

6. श्रीब्रह्मदेवादिगुरुक्रमाद्यः श्रुत्वा गिरं व्याकृतवान्बतन्त्रम् ।

श्रीमान्प्रयागो गुरुवस्तथास्ये तेऽभ्यर्थनायां पुनरप्रवृत्तौ ।

Sv. T.V., VI. (15th Paṭala), p. 146.

7. उद्योतेऽत्र तमामृशन्तु गुरुवः श्रीशंकराज्ञाधराः..... ।

Ibid., II, p. 332.

This line may also be construed to mean that Sankara and Ajnadhara both were his teachers. In this case there would be two persons instead of one as suggested above.

Tantra he refers to *Krama* as a distinct system.¹ In fact it is to single out even a small work except the *Vrtti* on the *Stava-cintamani* from his printed works in which he has not specifically referred to the *Krama* or *Mahartha* system. In his *Uddyota* on the *Svacchanda Tantra* he does the same.² The *Pratyabhijñahrdaya*³ and *Siva-stotravalivrti*⁴ abound in references to *Krama*. Likewise, his commentary on the *Siva-sutras* called *Vimarsini*⁵ and those on the *Spanda-karikas* known as *Spanda-samdoha*⁶ (on the first Sp. K. alone) and *Spanda-nirnaya*⁷ are no exception to the rule. His attachment to the system appears to be so deep that he spares no opportunity to elucidate, present or expound the *Krama* tenets. He even goes to the length of interpreting the entire *Spanda* philosophy in terms of *Krama*.⁸ His own pronouncements make it sure that he planned and achieved this on conscious level. In addition, he also commented upon certain *sutras* from the *Krama-sutras* by some earlier authority.⁹ This incidence has prompted scholars to credit him with the authorship of a *Tika* on the *Krama-sutras*.¹⁰ However, the bulk of available material fails to substantiate it conclusively. Because

1. अतश्च अयं प्रणवादिमाधारणमन्त्रान्तराणां क्रमकुलमतषडर्धादिविशेषमंत्राणामपि च वाचकत्वात् ।

M.T.U., II, p. 11.

2. *Sv.T.V.*, I, p. 11.

3. *Vide* pp. 58-59, 64-66, 69-71, 77-73, 81, 85-86, 92-94, 101-02, etc.

- i. *Vide* pp. 32, 48, 55, 106, 140, 159, 199, 206, 340, 346 etc.

5. The 2nd chapter deals with *Saktopaya* which is identical with the *Krama* system, *vide* pp. 20-23.

6. *Vide* pp. 8, 11-12, 16, 19-22.

7. *Vide* pp. 6-7, 20, 38, 42, 49, 62, 74.

8. एवम्...प्रथमचरमसूत्राभ्यां महार्यतत्त्वम्...इति स्पन्दतत्त्वेनैव विश्वोपदेशः स्वीकृतः ।

Sp.N., p. 49.

एवं चोपक्रमोपसंहारयोर्महार्थसंपुटीकारं दर्शयन् तत्सारतया समस्तशांकारोपनिषन्मूर्धन्यता-
मस्याविष्करोति शास्त्रस्य ।

Ibid., p. 74.

9. तदुक्तं पूर्वमुक्तिः स्वभाषामयेषु क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

P.Hr., p. 77.

यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु... अत्राद्यमर्थः ।

Ibid., pp. 99-100.

10. *Abhi.*, pp. 258-57, 485-86.

nowhere - neither in the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* where a reference has been made to the two sutras of the *Krama-sutras* and their explanation by Ksemaraja,¹ nor in the *Parimala* of Mahesvarananda² wherein the entire portion with regard to the *Krama-sutras* has been adopted *verbatim* from the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* - one comes across any statement to the effect that he wrote a commentary on it. Hence it is doubtful and difficult both to maintain his having written such a work. But he did write some works is pretty clear from his own and Mahesvarananda's statements to this effect. The latter is indebted to him for his exposition of Pancavaha, a Krama concept.³ Extracts from his own Stotras in *Pratyabhijnahrdaya*⁴ and *Siva-stotravali-vivrti*⁵ entertain an unmistakable Krama undertone.

Dr. Pandey has enumerated as many as eighteen works that are ascribed to Ksemaraja.⁶ The mere number of the works attempted makes him a formidable author. The list of Dr. Natarajan swells upto twenty.⁷ But the following works noticed by Dr. Pandey, are missed by him:

- (i) *Dhvanyalokalanoddyota*
- (ii) A Commentary on the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya*
- (iii) A Commentary on the *Krama-sutra*

1. *Vide*, Fn. Nos. 9 and 10 on p. 167.

2. यदुक्तं श्रीकर्मसूत्रेषु... यथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन ।

M.M.P., p. 166.

3. एताश्च श्रीक्षेमराजादिभिः पुस्तकेषु लिखितपठिता इत्यस्माभिरपि नामोपादानपूर्वकं चाकित्येन व्याख्याता इति ।

Ibid., p. 90.

4. स्तुतं च मया—स्वतन्त्रश्चित्चक्राणां चक्रवर्ती महेश्वरः ।

संवितिदेवताचक्रजुष्टः कोऽपि जयत्यसी ॥ इति,

p. 101.

5. तथा च ममैव—प्रज्ञामन्दरमन्थितामममहाभेदोदधेरुदगता-

व्यक्षाक्षेपविवर्तनाभिरभितो दुग्धामृताग्न्यादिना ।

वञ्चिता कुविकल्पदैव्यविरहं भूतीरनादृत्य ये

पापं पापमहो पिबन्ति जगति श्लाघ्यास्त एवामराः ॥ इति,

p. 296.

6. *Vide* Abhi., pp. 254-56.

7. *Vide* Contribution, pp. 363-64.

(iv) A *Stotra*

(v) *Vrtti* on the *Parameasa Stotravali* of Utpala.

The following works recorded by Natarajan, however, seem to have escaped notice of Dr. Pandey:

(i) *Sattrimsat-tattva-samdoha*

(ii) *Paramartha Samgraha*

(iii) *Vamodaya*

(iv) *Sivastotra*

(v) *Spandanilaya*

(vi) *Svacchandana*

It is unfortunate that Dr. Natarajan has not disclosed the sources of his information in connection with the works noted above.

A few necessary remarks might be welcome here. His *Uddyota* on the *Vijnana-bhairava* is available only upto the 23rd verse. Sivopadhyaya starts his commentary from the 24th verse¹ finding Ksemaraja's commentary henceforward mutilated beyond repairs. The *Samba-pancasika* on which he wrote a commentary, published long ago, is a work of some Samba Misra according to the *Rjuvimarsini*. Its full name, therefore, is the *Samba-misra-pancasika* and the *Sambapancasika* is only an abbreviated form.² Hence Ksemaraja's commentary was also known as *Samba-misra-pancasika-vivrti*. The *Bhairavanukarana Stotra* from which Ksemaraja has preserved fourteen verses in his *Vivrti* on the *Svacchanda Tantra*³ is not fortunately lost to us. Gnoli has published this *Stotra*⁴ which he found in the same manuscript belonging to a private collection in which he found five stanzas of Abhinavagupta. In all there are 48 verses out of which stanzas 16-21, 22, 24-29, 31 are quoted in the *Svacchanda Tantra* and verse 3 in the *Samba-pancasika*.

1. श्रुतं देव मयेस्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थे बन्धनम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं प्राणादिपञ्चान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥

V.Bh.P., p. 143.

2. साम्प्रतिपञ्चाशिकाविवृतिरक्षणे श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते द्रष्टव्यम् ।

Rjuvimarsini by Śivānanda, Ed B.V. Dvivedi, p. 223.

3. Sv.T.V., VI, pp. 110-20 (14th Patala).

4. *Miscellanea Indica* (*Bhairavanukarana Stotra* by Ksemaraja), East & West (New series) IX-3, Sep, 1958, pp. 223-26.

The metre of the verses is Arya. The *Stotra* is dedicated to the homage of Cidbhairava. Similarly, one manuscript of the *Paramarthasarasamgraha-Vivrti* is available at the BORI. Poona.¹ A comparative look into the contents of the MS with the one written by Yogaraja proves beyond doubt their absolute identity and it is through a scribe's mistake that the authorship has been confused. The colophon ascribes the work to a student of Ksemaraja.² Regarding other works there is no fresh material to add.

But this does not close the list of his possible ventures. Apart from his suspected Krama works, he quotes from his own unnamed work in the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya*.³ Jayaratha also cites a passage from him without specifying the precise source.⁴ There is a verse in the *Siva-sutra-varttika*⁵ by Varadaraja which raises serious doubts as to whether Ksemaraja wrote a commentary on the *Tantrasara* as well. For want of any internal or collateral evidence the possibility of such a work is not very strong. Srinivasabudha, the author of the *Tatparyadipika* on the *Tripura Rahasya* cites a verse from Ksemaraja.⁶ But the same verse is attributed to the *Agamarahasya* by Bhatta Utpala in the *Spanda*

1. MS. No. 459 of 1875-76.

2. श्रीमत्क्षेमराजस्य सद्गुर्वीम्नायशालिनः ।

साक्षात्कृतमहेशस्य तस्यान्तेवासिना मया ॥

MS. No. 459, folio. 33a.

3. P. 46.

4. तदुक्तं श्रीक्षेमराजपादैः तदियत्पर्यन्तं यन्मातृकायास्तत्त्वं, तदेव ककारसकाग्रस्थाहारेण-
नुत्तरविसर्गसंघट्टसारेण कूटबीजेन प्रवक्षितमन्ते ।

T.A.V., II, p. 178.

5. एतच्छ्रीक्षेमराजेन तन्त्रसारात् समुद्धृतैः ।

संवादैः समतैः सम्यग्वर्णितं निजवृत्तिगैः ॥

S.S.V., 2.13-14.

6. यदुक्तं क्षेमराजाचार्यैः—

ये स्थीश्वरं व्यपदिशन्ति निमित्तहेतुं

दत्तस्तिज्ञाजलिस्त्रीभिरिहेसितायै ।

अन्यापतोपगमनेन वशीकृतस्य

कामोश्वरस्त्विति ममी बत संगिरस्ते ॥

T.R. (J.K.), pp. 104-05.

Pradipika.¹ Owing to Bhatta Utpala's chronological antiquity the proposition seems unlikely that Ksemaraja was the author of this verse or the work from which the verse is quoted. In addition to these he has cited several other passages ascribed to himself,² which are not traceable to the available works either in print or manuscript. Among his works the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* was popular as *Sakti Sutra*³ and its commentary by him as *Sakti Sutra Bhasya*⁴ in the Tripura circles. The *Kamakala-vilasa* refers to it as the *Hridaya-sutra*⁵ and also as the *Pratyabhijna-sutra*⁶ - a name that has been usually in vogue for Utpala's *Pratyabhijna-karikas* among the Saivist schools.

The various stages in his creative thinking may be discerned in the chronological order on his own testimony.⁷ He had his first philosophical encounter with the Spanda system. First, he wrote the *Spanda Samdoha* followed by the *Spanda Nirnaya* in which he perceptibly deviated from the traditional Spanda schoolmen. The *Pratyabhijna* was his next field in which he produced his two famous works namely, *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* and *Svacchanda-tantra-uddiyota*. This was followed by his illustrious commentary on the *Siva-sutra* called *Vimarsini*. Similarly his commentaries on the *Stava-cintamani* and *Netra Tantra*, too, came after that on the *Svacchanda Tantra*. During this period he continued his other literary and philosophical minor ventures allusions to which are splashed through all his works.⁸

He has tremendous respect for his teacher and has closely drawn on him for whatever has passed through under his pen. Yet he never compromised reason and originality with love and reverence. His own pronouncements to the effect amply bear

1. *Vide Sp.P.*, p. 23

2. *Sv.T.*, I, p. 108; VI, p. 16.

3. *Yoginihrdaya-dipika*. pp. 13, 16, 70, 107.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 70.

5. *K.K.V.*, p. 2.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 13, 26.

7. *S.S.Vi.*, pp. 3, 12; *Sp.N.*, pp. 1, 7; *P.Hr.*, p. 63; *St.C.V.*, p. 126.

8. *P.Hr.*, p. 84; *Sp.N.*, p. 13, 34, 36, 77; *S.S.Vi.*, p. 146; *Sv.T.*, I, p. 108.

out his claim.¹ In the last verse of his *Spanda Samdoha*² he makes it absolutely clear that though he owes much of the Spanda doctrine to Abhinava yet whatever he has written embodies his own reflections as well.

From the verses at the end of the *Vivrti* on the *Stavacintamani* it is manifest that he lived at the Vijayesvara, the modern Bijbihara (in Kashmiri Vyajibror), a town about thirty miles off Srinagar on the eastern side where, on persuasion of his pupil Sura, he finished within a couple of days the writing of his commentary on the *Stavacintamani* of Narayana Bhatta,³ who was Ksemaraja's grandteacher also.

Thus, there is no doubt that his contribution to the Kashmir Saivism as well as the Krama system is inferior only to his redoubtable master.

(xxv) *Varadaraja* (1000 - 1050 A.D.) alias *Krsnadasa*

Varadaraja perhaps did not write any treatise pertaining to Krama. The only factor that has necessitated his mention here consists in the fact that his work, *Siva-sutra-varttika*, contains enough important material to indicate the historical development of the Krama concepts and ideas.⁴ In the philosophical section of the thesis every opportunity has been exploited to deal with this aspect of his contributions in their relative contexts. In this connection it has to be noted that notwithstanding his enormous debt to Ksemaraja, he does add a touch of his own with regard to the presentation of the Krama dicta.

The *Sivasutravarttika* is his famous work which he has wholly drawn on Ksemaraja's *Sivasutravimarsini* as confessed by

1. श्रुत्वा सम्यगिदं प्रभोरभितवात्स्मृत्वा च किञ्चिन्मया ।

क्षेमेणाश्रितनेन शिवृतं श्रोस्पन्दसूत्रं मत्ताम् ॥

2. तेनाश्रिप्रणयाद् दिनस्तिचतुर्दश क्षेमराजो व्यधात् ।

क्षेले श्रीविजयेश्वरस्य विमले सैषा शिवाराधनी ॥

St.C.V., p. 130; also see, Introduction. *St.T.*, I, p. vii.

3. विवृतिश्चात्र तत्तन्भवस्तुतिसूक्तिकारप्रशिष्यमहामाहेश्वराचार्यश्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपादपद्मध्वपराजस्य राजानकक्षेमराजस्य ।

Colophon to *St.C.V.*, p. 13.

4. Vide his *Varttika* on the S.S. 1.6, 7, 12, 17, 22; 2-5, 6; 3.16, 43.

him.¹ In addition to this, he appears to have written a book called *Laghu-vrtti-vimarsini* whose manuscript is available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum.² In the opening verses the author calls himself as Krsnadasa³ (and this agrees with the colophon)⁴ and tells that it is a commentary on the *Paratrimika*.⁵ There is no problem in identifying the authors of the two works. Because in his *Varttika* also he gives out his other name as Krsnadasa.⁶ Besides, at both the places he refers to Madhuraja. In the *Varttika* he presents himself as his youngest son⁷ and in the *Laghuvrttivimarsini* as Madhura's student.⁸ In the latter work he throws a veiled hint at his being a direct disciple of Abhinava.⁹ In fact Madhuraja and Madhura are the same persons. Madhuraja himself refers to it in his *Gurunatha-*

1. महामाहेश्वरश्रीमत्क्षेमराजमुखोद्गताम् ।

अनुसृत्यैव सङ्कृतिर्मज्जा क्रियते मया ॥

वार्तिकं शिवसूत्राणां वाक्यैरेव तदीरितैः ।

S.S.V., 1.5 6; also see 2.13.14; 3.214.

2. MS. No. 1074 D. C.O.L. No. 2108D, DCSCMOL. Trivandrum Vol. V, p. 2401.

3. श्रीकृष्णदासः कुरुते लघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनीम् ।

Ibid.

4. इति श्रीकृष्णदासकृतिः श्रीलघुवृत्तिविमर्शिनी सम्पूर्णा ।

Ibid.

5. श्रीपरात्रिंशिकाख्यस्य सूत्ररूपस्य त्रिकशास्त्रस्य अक्षरतो गुर्वी ग्रन्थतो लघोयसी वृत्तिः
...लघुवृत्तिं चिकीर्षुः तत्प्रतिशेषमनुत्तरज्योतिरनुसंधत्ते ।

Ibid.

6. मया वरदराजेन... ।

कृतिना कृष्णदासेन व्यञ्जितं कृपयाजसा ।

S.S.V., 3.124-125.

7. मधुराजकुमाराणां महाहन्ताधिरौहिणात् ।

पश्चिमेन तदालो रुध्रवस्तपश्चिमजन्मना ।

S.S.V., 3.213.

8. परानुत्तरसंघट्टपरमार्थप्रबोधकाः ।

जयन्त्यभिनवाचार्येश्वरणाम्भोजरेणवः ॥

श्रीमाधुरमहाचार्येश्वरणाम्भोजघट्टपदः ।

श्रीकृष्णदास.....॥

DCSCMOL, Trivandrum, V., p. 2401.

9. See fn. 8 above.

paramarsa.¹ According to P.N. Pushp, Madhura is a place name and is identical with modern Madurai.² If such be the case, which it probably is owing to the extensive countrywide tours of Madhuraja, it forms a prelude to Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse with the South that reached its culmination in Sivananda, Mahaprakasa and Mahesvarananda from Cola (Modern Karnatak).

The date of Varadaraja may be settled easily. On the basis of a probable interpretation of the phrase used by Madhuraja e.g., "Siddha-visakha-krpamrta-varse", Dr. Pandey hypothetically places Madhuraja in the Saptarsi year 4167 (1093 A.D.) when he was eighty years of age.³ And if it is interpreted in terms of Kali era, the year of his birth comes to be 4087 Kali. On this latter calculation, he would be 28 years old during the year 4115 of Kali era (1014-15 A.D.) when the *Isvara-Pratyabhijnnavivrti-vimarsini* of Abhinava was completed.⁴ This would naturally place Varadaraja somewhere between 1020-1080 A.D.

But on certain additional evidence Varadaraja seems to have flourished little earlier. The 38th verse of the *Gurunatha-paramarsa* explicitly mentions Madhuraja's age at 74 when he first called on Abhinava.⁵ He lived there for four years at his master's feet and was 78 when he composed *Gurundtha-paramarsa*.⁶ At that time Abhinava was alive. On the above

1. अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचा मुधारसमुच्चा सह माधुरोहम् ।

Verse 39.

2. Prefatory to *Gurunathaparamarsa*, p. ii.

3. *Abhi.*, p. 259.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

5. चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।

पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति गुप्तमध्यापि ॥

6. विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन निस्तीर्णश्रीमतरमैश्वरीप्रवाहः ।

अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते वाचा मुधारसमुच्चा सह माधुरोहम् ॥

G.N.P., verse. 39.

Dr. Pandey quotes this verse as No. 6 from the *Svatma-paramarsa*. *Abhi.*, p. 258.

calculation it would appear that Madhuraja visited Abhinava during 1060-61 A.D. and remained with him till 1064-65 A.D. This would be probably stretching the date of Abhinava beyond proportions. Moreover Varadaraja, though closely following Ksemaraja, does not introduce himself as latter's pupil. Instead, he flashes a subtle hint that he was taught by Abhinava and Madhuraja both. In that case, he might have been of mature age when his father approached Abhinava, because then his father himself was 74. Since he follows the *Vimarsini* of Ksemaraja which was among the latter's last works, he comes to be his slightly junior contemporary and may be placed around 1000-1050 A.D.

It therefore seems likely that the interpretation of the verse, alluded to above, requires a further probe. In this connection we may suggest as a tentative measure that if the word Visakha be interpreted as standing for number 'one' representing Karttikeya (himself) instead of 'six' (representing his six faces) as taken by Dr. Pandey, we find the phrase "Siddhavisakha-krpamrtavarse" will mean "in the year 4117 (and not 4167)." This will further mean that Madhuraja was eighty years old in 4117 (1016-17 A.D.) of Kali era. Thus he would be 78 years when Abhinavagupta completed his *Brhari-vimarsini*. Accordingly all events connected with Madhuraja, on this interpretation, will go back by 50 years. This will more or less tally with our date assigned to Varadaraja and eliminate the difficulties enumerated above.

(xxvi) *Devabhata (Devapani?)* 1025-1075 A.D.

Mahesvarananda refers to himself as a devout adherent to the school of Devapani and accordingly admits that the functional cycles are to be adored in the order that commences with Srsticakra and closes with Bhasa cakra.¹ He rejects any alternative arrangement. Beyond this one knows nothing of Devapani.

1. तन्नोद्दिष्टमंग्या सृष्ट्यादिभासात्तं चक्रं श्रीदेवपाणिस्तम्भविष्टैरस्माभिरनुसन्धीयते, न पुनरेतद्विपर्ययेण ।

M.M.P., p. 108.

Of late certain material has come to notice that may help one hazard a guess in this regard. Dr. Raghavan has invited the attention of the scholars to a work, *Anuttara-srigurupankti-paramarsa*, by name.¹ The MS belongs to the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and bears No. MD 15330. The work deals with the linear chronology of the Pratyabhijna authors in the following sequence - Somananda, Utpala, Lakṣmanagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemaraja and Sura. Sura is mentioned as a pupil of Kṣemaraja. The author of this *Gurupankti* is one Deva Bhatta who describes himself as a pupil of Sura.² We are not aware whether or not Devapani can be equated with this Devabhattacharya, Bhatta being an honorific title or surname. There is another name ending with the word Pani e.g., Cakrapani, among the Krama authors to be discussed subsequently. He has also been referred to as Cakranatha instead of Cakrapani.³ Hence, it does not seem utterly irrelevant to view Devapani's whereabouts in this perspective.⁴

If, at all, such possibility is conceded, Devapani's (?) date is fairly certain, since he comes next to Sura, the pupil of Kṣemaraja (975-1025 A.D.) and may, therefore, be assigned to a period about 1025-1075 A.D. But, it may be repeated, it is a mere hypothesis.

(xxvii) *Hrasvanatha* (1025-1075 A.D.)

With Hrasvanatha one enters into one of the most complicated arenas of the Krama history. His advent is a landmark

1. "The Works of Abhinavagupta", *JOR*, XIV-IV, p. 327.

2. तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत्.....।

.....।।

बहुधेयं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ।

अधीत्य देवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता संतानसंख्या ॥

Quoted, *ibid.*

3. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशब्दाभ्यामात्मनः चक्रपाणिनाम स्तौयति ।

B.U.V., p. 44.

4. Dr. Raghavan also refers to a work named *Sivasutra-varttika* in the MS: No. 21 (other details missing) by one Bhisag Devaraja. *JORI*, XIV-IV, p. 323. His silence over other aspects of the author or text makes it meaningless to derive any implication whatsoever.

in the Krama annals, because he heads a tradition that has produced the texts of the eminence of the *Cidgaganacandrika* and *Mahanayaprakasa(S)* etc.

His time may be discussed first, since it is the main hurdle. The forthcoming paragraphs are addressed to examining the relevant data to the extent available and allowing each factor and evidence to suggest its own conclusion. It may, however, be pointed out that Cakrabhanu's date is a key-factor in deciding the date of Hrasvanatha. Let us take these data one by one.

(i) Jayaratha (1150-1200 A.D.) refers to Hrasvanatha, Bhojaraja and Somaraja in a succession.¹ Hrasvanatha, therefore, must precede Jayaratha and, in view of the intervening generations, be placed around 1075-1125 A.D. In other words he should not be later than this date.

(ii) According to a tradition current in Jayaratha's time,² the series of the Krama teachers from Keyuravati (825-875 A.D.) to Bhutiraja, the pupil of Cakrabhanu, (both inclusive) account for sixteen generations of Krama. In other words, the distance between Keyuravati and Cakrabhanu (both exclusive) spreads over thirteen generations. Allowing 25 years to each generation (i.e. about 325 years) he may be placed around 1150-1175 A.D. since Keyuravati belongs to the second and third quarters of the ninth century. But at this point we encounter another tradition recorded by Jayaratha.³ It does not take the first six

1. श्रीहृद्वनाथस्यापि इति न पंचैव शिष्याः श्रीभोजराजनान्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात्, तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

2. श्रीकेयूरवतीतः प्रभृति श्रीचक्रभानुशिष्यान्तम् ।
संततयोगतिनयस्य प्रथिता इह षोडशैवेत्यम् ॥

Ibid., p. 195.

3. तथा हि अत्र श्रीकारदेव्यास्तस्याः

‘प्रकृतमहानयशिष्याः प्रथितास्तत्रैः सर्वंशास्तु ।’

इति तत्र एव शिष्याः इति न वाच्यं— श्रीगोविन्दराजश्रीभानुश्रीरूपि एतच्छिष्यात्
नवेरकनाथश्रया शिष्यः ।

Ibid., pp. 195-96.

pupils of Keyuravati in vertical order but in horizontal one, that is, the first six pupils were mutually contemporary. Hence, Cakrabhanu's removal from Keyuravati is cut short from 13 to 8 generations ($13-6=7$, +1 representing all the six disciples). The approximate date of Cakrabhanu may, therefore, be put in the vicinity of 1025-1075 A.D. This conclusion is further substantiated by Jayaratha's final premise¹ that twenty generations account for the entire preceptorial tradition from Sivananda to Bhutiraja, pupil of Cakrabhanu. Among these, first generation has three teachers (Keyuravati etc) and the second six (Govindaraja etc.). Thus Cakrabhanu (and not his pupil) is removed from Sivananda not by twenty but by ten generations (both exclusive). Ten we say, because between Sivananda and Cakrabhanu seventeen (excluding both as well as Cakrabhanu's pupil) generations have intervened. If we deduct seven generations (not nine because three pupils would account for one and the other six for the other generation) from seventeen the gap is reduced to ten. Computing it from Sivananda (800-850 A.D.) upto Cakrabhanu, a period of 250 years seems to have elapsed. Cakrabhanu, therefore, comes close to the era (1050-1100 A.D.) as discussed above.

(iii) Jayaratha has drawn our attention to the fact that Hrasvanatha either possessed a commentary in manuscript form on the *Krama Stotra* (of Siddhanatha) or else wrote a commentary on it.² Whatever be the case, Hrasvanatha therefore cannot be placed earlier than 925-975 A.D., the date of the Stotrakara. From Jayaratha's description it is obvious that people had started speculating about the number of the verses in and the central theme of the *Krama Stotra* and, consequently,

1. तदेव क्रमकुलचतुष्टयाश्रयभेदोपदेशतो नाथः ।

सप्तदशैव शिष्यान्तिष्ठन् चक्रे सर्वज्ञनिर्वाणम् ॥

इति नियमो न न्यायः — शिष्यद्वयस्य अस्य अपरिगणनात् अन्यस्यापि कस्यचिच्छिष्यस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 195.

2. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

numerous commentaries had come into existence.¹ Therefore an allowance has to be made for the adequate lapse of time between the *Stotra* and Hrasvanatha so as to give rise to the controversies with regard to the *Stotra*. A hundred years' gap may be sufficient to account for the confusion. Consequently his date falls about 1025-1075 A.D. On this count, Bhojaraja and Somaraja being the consecutive successors would naturally be placed around 1050-1100 A.D. and 1075-1125 A.D. respectively.

(iv) Jayaratha quotes two verses from Somaraja describing his preceptorial ancestry.² It is to be noted that Hrasvanatha was removed from Somaraja only by one generation e.g., Bhojaraja. It was natural for Soma to come at the end of the tradition since he himself is recording the tradition.³

(v) In this connection the *Cidgaganacandrika* also traces the origin of the tradition to Sivananda and places Soma at the end of the tradition⁴ The place of Cakrabhanu comes in between and he is referred to as the pilot (ananagra) among the pupils. It is therefore implicit in it that Soma came at the end of that tradition which was presided over by Cakrabhanu.

(vi) Cakrabhanu is described by Sitikantha as marking the end of human tradition (Manavaugha) but constituting the beginning of the line of disciples (Sisyaugha). With Hrasvanatha the human tradition begins.⁵ In other words Hrasvanatha

1. सर्वेषामेव च विवरणकुतामन्न प्रतिपदं पाठानां श्लोकानां व्यत्यासो दृश्यते, इत्यस्मद्दृष्ट एव पाठे क इत्यायं प्रद्वेषः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

3. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्पर्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन ।

Ibid., p. 196.

4. यः शिवात् प्रभृति सोमपश्चिमस्वरक्रमैकरसिको गुरुक्रमः ।

आननाग्रमिह चक्रमानुतो यस्त्वमेतदुभयं स्वया मया ॥

C.G.C., 4.121.

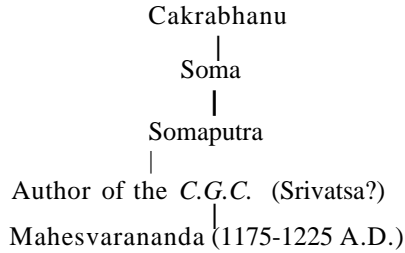
5. मानवौघनेत्रराज्ञी ल्लस्वनरापेति त्रिरूपस्य कुलारणि...उत्पत्तिस्थानम्, तत्रश्च मानवौघ-स्यान्ते शिष्यौघाश्रणीभानुपादः....।

M.P.(S), p. 107.

precedes Cakrabhanu. This tradition was in course of time handed down to Sitikantha.

(vii) Since (a) Hrasvanatha precedes Cakrabhanu,¹ (b) Soma or Somaraja comes at the end of the tradition presided by Cakrabhanu,² and (c) only one generation intervenes between Hrasvanatha and Somaraja,³ the gap between Hrasvanatha and Somaraja is necessarily filled in by Cakrabhanu on the one hand and Bhojaraja on the other.

(viii) To come back to dates again. It has been seen that the *Cidgaganacandrika* takes note of a tradition headed by Sivananda and concluded with Soma. The author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* claims to have learnt the secrets of the system from Somaputra i.e., Soma's son.⁴ That is, the author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* chronologically succeeds the son of Soma. This text has been frequently quoted by Mahesvarananda in his *Parimala* on the *Maharthamanjari*.⁵ Mahesvarananda is assigned to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth (1175-1225 A.D.) century. In the circumstances, the following picture of the authors' chronological succession emerges :



Thus one arrives at Cakrabhanu's probable period which falls about 1075-1125 A.D. Hrasvanatha, owing to his historical priority, would naturally belong to 1050-1100 A.D.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.

3. *T.A.V.*, III, p 196.

4. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽथ किमपि स्तुतो मया ।

C.G.C., 4.125.

6. *M.M.P.*, pp. 28, 53, 71, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103-104, 110, 124, 131, 145, 154, 167.

Sources and Literature

(ix) In this connection a point must be considered. The last verse of the *Cidgaganacandrika* mentions the name of its author as Srivatsa.¹ If this Srivatsa is taken to be identical with one who is Mankha's friend and contemporary,² Srivatsa would be placed round about 1125-1175 A.D.; because Mankha was a court-minister of King Jayasimha³ (1127-1151 A.D.).

In that case the son of Soma, Soma and Cakrabhanu would naturally come around 1100-1150, 1075-1125 and 1075-1100 A.D. respectively. Contemporaneous with Cakrabhanu, Bhojaraja would also be placed during 1050-1100 A.D. Hrasvanatha being an immediate precursor of Cakrabhanu would automatically date back by a generation i.e., 1025-1075 A.D.

Thus from all these considerations Hrasvanatha may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. Similarly Bhutiraja, the pupil of Cakrabhanu, may be bracketed with Soma (1075-1125 A.D.).

Coming to his creative side, one is not placed in a very happy position to say much about his scholarship and contribution. He was also known by another name i.e., Viranathapada.⁴ If one abides by Dr. Pandey's suggested modification of 'Hrasvanathenapi' into 'Hrasvanathasyapi',⁵ one may be able to say that Hrasvanatha wrote a commentary on the *Krama Stotra* in his own hand-writing and the same was accessible to Jayaratha. If, however, the original construction is retained, one would have an occasion to say that Hrasvanatha had his own manuscript copy of a commentary on the *Krama Stotra*. A verse from his manuscript of the *Krama Stotra* which contained

1. वा नरार्थं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ॥

C.G.C., 4. 134.

2. S.K.C., 25.82.

3. Ibid., 25.61.

4. श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि

“श्रीवीरनाथपादैः पंच च देवीतथे कृताः शिष्याः ।”

इति न पंचैव शिष्याः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 196.

5. Abhi., p. 473.

an additional verse pertaining to *Rudra-kali*, not traceable to other commentaries, has been cited by Jayaratha.¹ Hrasvanatha had seen this verse in his script.

Hrasvanatha, too, was not free from the complications of a controversy Jayaratha criticises a verse that gave the number of his pupils as five, whereas Jayaratha points out that he had six students, the sixth being Bhojaraja.² The controversy, however, clarifies the issue of the precise number of his students.

There is one more Hrasvanatha, who is said to have written a work entitled *Advayasampatti*. His father's name was Harsadatta.³ The problem is whether the two could be

1. या सा जगद्ध्वंसयते समग्रं सृष्ट्योर्वपुर्ग्रामयतीति विध्वक् ।

धामाग्निरूपीयसहस्रदीप्तां तां नोमि कालानलरुद्रकालीम् ॥

इति द्वितीयेन श्लोकेन स्तुतिः समस्ति...अथायमपि भवत्कल्पित एव श्लोकः, इति चेत् नैतत् श्रीह्रस्वनाथेनापि स्वलिपिविवरणेऽप्येव श्लोकस्य दृष्टत्वात् ।

T.A.V., III, p. 202.

2. इति श्रीह्रस्वनाथस्यापि...

इति न पंचैव शिष्याः—श्रीभोजराजनाम्नः षष्ठस्यापि संभवात् ।

Ibid., p. 196.

3. श्रीह्रस्वनाथेन हर्षदत्तसूनुनापि अहंकारमयीभूमिः... इत्यादिना अद्वयसंपत्तौ ।

V.Bh.V., p. 90.

In the Library of BORI, Poona, (here is a manuscript of (no. 472 of 1875-76) a work called *Bodhivilasa*. Its author is some Harsadatta-sunu (i.e., son of Harsadatta). The colophon reads -

डा (टा) क (र) देशसमुद्भूतो मोमांसाथनकैसरी ।

हर्षदत्तेति नाम्ना तु तस्य सूत्रोरियं कृतः ॥

It is a small work in Sarada characters. Its author is the son of some Harsadatta very proficient in the Mimamsa system. But the comparison of the text with that quoted by Sivopadhyaya from *Advayasampatti* ascribed to Vamananatha vide *V.Bh.V.*, pp. 78-79 shows their verbatim affinity barring a few minor variations. The only difference between the two texts consists in the four additional verses contained in *Bodhivilasa*, two in the beginning and two towards the close. Keeping in view the arguments advanced above it leads one to formulate the following views - (i) *Bodhivilasa* was an additional title of the *Advayasampatti*, (ii) the MS as it is, has been copied from the *Vivrti* of Sivopadhyaya, appending four extra verses to it, (iii) whatever the name of the text it was written by the son of Harsadatta, possibly also known as Vamananatha, (v) the work was intended to be a commentary on

identified. Abhinava refers to one Vamana, author of a commentary on the *Advayasamparti*, called *Advayasampatti-varttika*.¹ If there is a *Varttika* on the *Advaya-sampatti* of Hrasvanatha, son of Harsadatta, he gets even remoter and older than Abhinava. Naturally the two cannot be identified. There is an additional support for the above contention. The same quotation is attributed to Vamananatha by Sivopadhyaya who attributes *Advayavartrika* to Hrasvanatha, the son of Harsadatta, in a different context.² Here he is spoken of as the author of *Dvayasampatti*. Actually initial 'A' is missing owing to the scribe's omission. Thus Hrasvanatha alias Viranathapada is different from Hrasvanatha at issue who was considerably older than the former.

(xxviii) *Cakrabhanu* (1050-1100 A.D.)

A comparative estimate of the various opinions expressed about Cakrabhanu elevates his stature in the eyes of the reader as an eminent Krama author.

The problem of his date has already been settled by us in the foregoing pages. 'He seems to have flourished around the second half of the eleventh century.

It is to be regretted that no work of his either in reference, manuscript or print has come down today. Hence it is extremely difficult to ascertain the magnitude and nature of his contribution. A few scattered allusions to him are one's only guide.

With him the main human pedigree (Manavaugha) of teachers comes to an end and an intra-human series of disciples (Sisyaugha) begins. He enjoys an position of unchallenged superiority among all the persons that constitute the chain of

the *Advayasampatti*, since Vamananatha wrote another commentary in addition to the existing one by somebody else, and (vi) the commentary also went by the name of the original text as the two extracts cited by Sivopadhyaya prove. This is all that may be said at present.

1. एष एव श्रीशामनविरचिते अद्वयसंपत्तिवातिके उपदेशनयो बोद्धव्यः ।

P.T.V., p. 198.

2. द्वयसंपत्तिकारस्तु शामननाथो विद्वत्स्थानरम् आह,

यथा—अहंकारमयो भूमिः.....1

V. Bh.V., p. 78.

disciples (Sisyaugha).¹ He was possibly a student of Hrasvanatha, because he belongs to the tradition of Soma,² the grand pupil of the former, and because the former had six pupils one of them being Bhojaraja, the teacher of Somaraja.³ The enviable status enjoyed by Cakrabhanu among the tradition of the disciples is possible only when he is at the helm of the tradition. That this is so has been confirmed by Sitikantha⁴ and the *Cidgaganacandrika*.⁵ Since Somaraja is separated from Hrasvanatha by one generation, Cakrabhanu together with Bhojaraja in all probability be a pupil of Hrasvanatha.

Although he belonged to a different tradition from one subscribed to by Jayaratha and Mahesvarananda etc., he came direct in the original tradition of Keyuravati.⁶ As after Keyuravati etc, many a tradition became afloat within the precincts of the Krama system, Cakrabhanu might be associated with one of those traditions. He, through tradition, might be linked with any of the three unnamed disciples of Keyuravati,⁷ since the whereabouts of other remaining three are well known.

Cakrabhanu had eight pupils, himself being the master of them. Amongst these a lady ascetic called Isana was responsible for a fresh tradition which continued uninterrupted till the time of Sitikantha.⁸ His (Cakrabhanu's) role as a Krama teacher has elicited extreme admiration from Sitikantha.⁹

Till the time of Jayaratha his importance had blurred the precise view of his actual contribution, so much so that his pupil Bhutiraja was confused with one of the same name who

1. ततश्च मानवौषस्यान्ते शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुवादः ।

M.P.(S), p. 107.

2. C.G.C., 4.121.

3. T.A.V., III, p. 106.

4. Ibid.

5. C.G.C. 4.121.

6. T.A.V., III, p. 193.

7. Ibid, pp. 195-96.

8. शिष्यौघाग्रणीर्भानुवादः अष्टाणां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याद् राज्ञी ईशानाख्या स(म)दन्तं पारम्पर्यनिदानम् ।

M.P.(S), p. 107.

9. तथैव भानुः श्रीचक्रभानुः शिष्यकमलानां विकासकः, इति

was Abhinava's teacher in Brahma-vidya.¹ Jayaratha completely rejects the theory as without foundation that Cakrabhanu's pupil was Abhinava's teacher. Jayaratha even goes to the extent of decrying the claim of Bhutiraja as a pupil of Cakrabhanu. Cakrabhanu's abstinence from such type of teaching has been the main source of confusion and consequently numerous interpretations of his views.²

Thus the respective stands taken by Jayaratha and Sitantha tend to appear paradoxical. In view of the weighty collateral evidence frequently referred to, it is difficult to agree with Jayaratha that he never taught anybody. He, therefore, might be construed to mean that Cakrabhanu never taught any Bhutiraja and thus the paradox be tentatively reconciled. Possibly this will be a more reasonable attitude towards Jayaratha too.

(xxix) *Cakrapani* (1050-1100/1075-1125 A.D.)

According to the original plan Cakrapani was to be discussed among the authors of the next generation, but this deviation appears necessary in view of the foregoing discussion impelling us to hazard certain suggestions in the context.

The Research Department of Kashmir Government has brought out as the 14th volume of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies a work called *Bhavopahara* ascribed to one Cakrapani with a commentary by Ramyadeva. The *Bhavopahara*, on going through its contents, transpires to be a Krama stotra. Ramyadeva's commentary totally actuated by the Krama ideology leaves no doubt about it. Its precise philosophical views have been fully taken into account at appropriate occasions during the course of philosophical treatment. Ramyadeva, in the opening verses of his commentary³ and in his commentary⁴ on the

1. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 193-94.

2. इत्यादि यदुक्तं तत्स्वोत्पत्तिमेव—इत्युपेक्ष्यम् । नहि श्रीचक्रभानुना प्रायः कस्यचिदपि एवमुपदिष्टम्—तस्मैतथैव इदानीमस्योपदेशस्य अतश्चो दर्शनात् ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 193-94.

3. जयत्यकामोदितरश्मिरूपस्वर्णवितर्पुजात्मकचक्रनाथः ॥

B.U.V., p. 1, v. 2.

देवं चक्रं श्रेये श्रीडाक्रीडीकृतकृतान्तकम् ।

Ibid, verse 3.

4. इति चक्रनाथचक्रेशशब्दाभ्याम् आत्मनः चक्रवाणिनाम बोधयति ।

Ibid., p. 44.

last verse¹ of the *Stotra*, gives out the name of the author of the *Stotra* as Cakrapani who has been variously called Cakranatha and Cakresa etc.

Coming to the personal details and time of Cakrapani one finds a veil of mystery surrounding it. Let us try to pierce through it.

The commentator of the work is Ramyadeva who refers to a work of his son also.² Now both of these, father and son, are described by Mankha as members of his brother's (Lankaka's) intellectual club.³ Ramyadeva, therefore, appears to be a senior contemporary of Mankha (1125-1175 A.D.) and may be assigned to the twelfth century (1100-1150 A.D.). The *Bhavopahara*, in the fitness of things, would precede this period, that is, the lower limit of the *Bhavopahara*'s period would not go below 1075-1125 A.D. The work cannot be much older, because no Krama author beyond Devabhatta (1025-1075 A.D.) takes note of it. Moreover the language of the *Stotra* and the contents both have a greater imprint of mysticism and esoteric symbolism which are definitely signs of the later phase of the Krama system.

During this period there is only one person, except Cakrapani, who has the word Cakra forming part of his name. He is Cakrabhanu. He is a known Krama author. Will it, therefore, be incongruous and without basis to identify Cakrapani with Cakrabhanu? Cakrabhanu's time is about 1050-1100 A.D. Cakrapani's probable time is not later than 1075-1125 A.D. Thus a gap of twentyfive years is not an unbridgeable gap and since there is rather greater certainty about Cakrabhanu's date, it will be better to push the date of Cakrapani slightly back. If this equation be conceded, one would be in a better position to appreciate the creative aspect of Cakrabhanu's genius.

1. महापाशुपतोद्याने कश्चिद्विश्रम्य तापसः ।

चक्रे चिच्छक्रनाथस्य शम्भोर्भावितुं पराम् ॥

B.U., verse 47.

2. B.U.V., p. 6.

3. S.K.C , 25. 33,36.

(xxx) *Bhojaraja* (1050-1100 A.D.)

Whatever little is known about him, has already been brought to notice. A few points of information alone remain to be given here. As seen already, Bhojaraja as the sixth student of Hrasvanatha and a contemporary of Cakrabhanu belongs to the latter half of the eleventh century. He was also known by his other name i.e., Vamanabhanu. Somaraja, from whom Jayaratha quotes, while giving out his preceptorial pedigree in two verses figuratively suggests that Bhojaraja perhaps wrote a work, the *Kramakamala* by name, on the system. Because in both the passages he is portrayed as an adept in letting the *Kramakamala*, bloom. One knows of a similar title e.g., *Kulakamala*, belonging to the Kula system. Hence it is not at all improbable that he might have written some such work. He was a man of high spiritual attainments.¹

Sri Braj Vallabha Dwivedi in his essay on the Tripura Darsana² raises an important question in this regard.

According to him, the *Rjuvimarsini* by Sivananda refers to one Dipakanatha who was ostensibly influenced by Bhojaraja. This Dipakanatha is one among the Tripura teachers preceding Jayaratha. According to the Tripura tradition, Dipakanatha is posterior to Dharmacarya who is the author of the *Laghustava*, and for that matter, the *Pancastavi*, on the authority of Amrtananda, the author of the *Saubhagyasudhodaya*. The 18th verse of the third *Stava* has been quoted by Bhojaraja in the fifth chapter of *Sarasvatikanthabharana* and a verse from the same *Stava* has also been cited by Mammata in the 10th chapter of

1. तदुक्तं स्वपारम्यं व्याचक्षाणेन श्रीसोमराजेन—

श्रीमद्भामन्युः क्रमक्रमलविकासने चतुरः ।

जयति षड्विप्रोऽजितपरमभसि निबद्धसंतानः ॥

येन ध्वस्तः समस्तो गहनतरमहामोहान्धकारो

दत्तः सम्यक्प्रकाशः क्रमक्रमलवनोत्प्लासविश्रान्तिरूपः ।

प्राप्ता येनैव संविन्निरूपमसरसास्वादसंयोगभोगा

वन्दे श्रीभोजराजं गृह्वरमहितं पुण्यमहंद्भिरन्तः ॥ इति ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 194-97.

2. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिताचार्याः तत्कृतग्रन्थः,

S.Su., XX-2, pp. 23-24.

his *Kavya Prakasa*. Thus Dharmacarya is definitely anterior to Bhojaraja and Mammata. His successor (not necessarily immediate) Dipakanatha is said to have been demonstrably influenced by Bhojaraja. Now the question is who is this Bhojaraja - the author of the *Sarasvatikanthabharana* or a different one.

Mr. Dwivedi has raised an important problem. It is difficult to say that the problem can be answered easily. Yet, an annexure may be added to the question itself.

From the above presentation it is definite that whosoever this Bhojaraja might be, he does belong to the same period as do Dipakanatha etc. The author of the *Sarasvatikanthabharana* and the *Tattva-prakasika* (a Saiva Siddhanta text) is identified with the king Bhoja of Dhara whose period is taken to be 1010-1060 A.D. by Smith.¹ Now this Bhojaraja, the Krama author, has been assigned above to the period 1050-1100 A.D. It is, however, not definitely known whether all these Bhojas are one or different. But as a hypothesis one must consider the issue if Bhojaraja, the Krama author, can lay any claim to influencing Dipakanatha. In the history of the tantric system, however, such cross-influences or synthetic personalities do not present an unusual spectacle.

(xxxi) *Somaraja* (1075-1125 A.D.)

Somaraja came next to Hrasvanatha, his teacher, in order of succession. He probably wrote a work which included the details of his preceptorial ancestry. The two verses cited and ascribed by Jayaratha² to him are probably from this work. He was the last teacher in the tradition that came direct from Sivananda³ and was punctuated with the teachers of the eminence of Cakrabhanu. He had a son who later transmitted the mysteries of the system to the author of the *Cidgaganacandrika*⁴. He, as discussed earlier, may be assigned to the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

1. *Abhinava*, p. 172.

2. *T.A.V.* III pp. 196-97.

3. *C.G.C.*, 4.121.

4. *Ibid.*, 4.125.

(xxxii) *The great-grand (Paramesthi) teacher of Jayaratha (Visvadatta?) (1075-1125 A.D.)*

The Paramesthi guru of Jayaratha is mentioned only once and a verse is also attributed to him by Jayaratha.¹ In fact the verse is very popular among the authors of Kashmir Saivism and appears in many a text as a benedictory verse. Jayaratha gives the three interpretations of the first verse of the *Tantraloka* in accordance with its bearings upon the Kula and Krama systems and Abhinava's parentage respectively. It is in the context of the second i.e., Krama interpretation, that the verse is cited in support of his presentation of the Ultimate Awareness technically called Anakhya.

Fortunately Jayaratha gives in full both of his genealogies² - parental as well as preceptorial. In the line of his teachers one finds only one person, Visvadatta, who could perhaps be equated with Jayaratha's Paramesthi guru in question.³ Visvadatta is the father of Tribhuvanadatta and the grandfather of Subhatadatta who is credited with having performed Jayaratha's initiation.

If one puts the two genealogies side by side, it will be apparent that Visvadatta was a contemporary of the two great grandfathers of Jayaratha, namely, Gunaratha and Devaratha. They themselves were grandsons of Utpalaratha who was a minister of the king Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) and their eldest uncle Sivaratha was a minister of king Uchchala (1101-1111 A.D.). Therefore, Gunaratha and Devaratha may be placed somewhere during 1075-1125 A.D. Visvadatta being their con-

1. यदुक्तमस्मत्परमेष्ठियुग्मभिः—

क्रमत्तयसमाश्रयव्यतिकरेण या संततं
क्रममित्यलंघनं विदधती विभात्युच्चकैः ।
क्रमैकवपुरक्रमप्रकृतिरेव या स्रोतते
करोमि हृदि तामहं भगवतीं परां संविदम् ॥

T.A.V., I, p. 11.

2. T.A.V., XII, pp. 430-434.

3. श्रीविश्वदत्तपीतृविभुवनदत्तात्मजः कुलक्रमतः ।

श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्यो भगवत्पूज्य दीक्षाम् ॥

Ibid., p. 4.33.

temporary would also belong to near about the same period. It may also be noted that Utpalaratha II was the maternal nephew as well as a pupil of Vibhutidatta, the father of Visvadatta.¹ Vibhutidatta could not bear the loss of his elder son and consequently being completely disillusioned and detached he could not educate his another son, Visvadatta, who was quite young.² Visvadatta was therefore left to the care of Sricakra, a student of Vibhutidatta, and who handed over all the ancestral learning to Visvadatta.³ Utpalaratha II, the maternal cousin of Visvadatta brought the latter to his home and brought him up. When he attained the age, Utpalaratha got a residence erected for him opposite the temple constructed by some Kanakadatta and gave him sufficient resources - movable and immovable both - in order to relieve him from worldly worries.⁴

It was this Visvadatta who is possibly referred to as Jayaratha's greatgrand teacher. It is really striking to observe that from the very beginning the teacher and the taught relationship had been obtaining between the two ancestral lines - one preceptorial and the other parental - of Jayaratha.

(xxxiii) *Somaputra* (1100-1150 A.D.)

The author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* expresses his indebtedness to the son of Soma for divulging to him the Krama

1. श्रीमान् विभूतिदत्तो व्यधादमुं मातुलः शिष्यम् ।

2. अद्याप्याखिलसंहिता अपि सुतस्नेहान्निषिन्ने मूले
पुले ज्यायसि देवतापरिहृतासेके दिनैः सप्तभिः ।
वैरस्यान्त कनीयसे स यददाद्बालाय सेकं ततो
देव्या स्वप्नविबोधितोऽस्य तनयस्यैतन्मुखेनास्त्विति ॥

T.A.V., XII, p. 430.

3. श्रीचक्राय ददौ द्विजः स भगवान्पूर्वोद्योऽस्मिन्नसौ ।

श्रीचक्रात् स्वपितृकृपाप्तमखिलं तत्साधिकारं व्यधात् ॥

Ibid., p. 431.

4. अयं स परमधामैकात्म्यमाप्ते गुरौ स्वं

निजगृहमुपनिष्ये तत्सुतं विश्वदत्तम् ।...

श्रीकनकदत्तविरचितदेवगुहाग्रे मठं निवासाय ।

कृत्वा ददौ स तस्मै स्थावरधनकनकसंपूर्णम् ॥

T.A.V., XII, p. 430.

secrets¹ or the text on which the former commented. The part of the text that contains this information is very defective, yet its sense may easily be derived. Soma, his father, is the terminal point of the tradition originating from Sivananda.² Being the son of Soma or Somaraja, his time may be determined about 1100-1150 A.D.

(xxxiv) *Ramyadeva* (1100-1150 A.D.)

Ramyadeva is the most important author of his era. His *Vivarana* on the *Bhavopahara* is undoubtedly a Krama work. Despite the fact that he is more inclined towards esotericism, his commentary does not lack in original flashes.³ He has tried to point out the specific character of the Krama system.⁴ An attempt has been made to take note of each contribution of his in its proper place.

In addition to his *Vivarana* on the *Bhavopahara* he has written six other works as stated by him. The works are given below :

- (i) *Akrama-kallola-karika*⁵
- (ii) *Akulakalika-trimsika*⁶
- (iii) *Siva-rava-stotra*⁷

1. सोमपुत्रमपनेष्य मद्गतस्त्वत्क्रमोऽद्य किमपि स्तुतो मया ।

C.G.C. 4.125.

2. यः शिवात्प्रभृतिः सोमपश्चिमस्त्वत्क्रमैकस्मिन् गुरुक्रमः ।

C.G.C. 4.121.

3. *B.U.V.*, vp. 26, 31-32 etc.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. i, 22, 23, 29, 38, 40, etc.

5. न ह्यक्रमानाख्यपरिचयश्चक्रेष्वरीसमूहये कालो नाम कश्चित् उपपद्यते ।

तदुक्तं मयैवाक्रमकल्लोलकारिकासु—

Ibid., p. 4.

6. शोऽयम् अनारावरावो रत्नसंघट्टकतया

त्वामजामिदुतपञ्चकारणद्वावर्णोऽडमरधामभैरवीम् ।

स्तोभ्यनाहतव्यतिक्रमस्फारवकुतवीरघट्टनाम् ॥

इत्याद्यस्मद्विरचिताकुलकालिकात्रिशिकोक्तस्वरूपः ।

Ibid., p. 8; also

उक्तं च मयैवाकुलकालिकात्रिशिकायाम्—

Ibid., p. 38.

7. तदुक्तं मयैव शिवरवस्तोत्रे—

B.U.V., p. 10.

(iv) *Cakresvara-bhairavastaka*¹

(v) *Siva-ratri-vicara-varttika*.²

(vi) *Krtanta-tanti-santi-stava*³

The third and sixth works are admittedly classed as stotras. The second and fourth are also possibly stotras as a close look into the extracts ascribed to them would reveal. The fifth seems, on the usual pattern, to be a commentary on the text entitled *Sivaratrivicara*, which might be from his own pen or from somebody else's. We do not know. The first appears to be an independent work dealing with the Krama system.

According to the colophon⁴ he was the son of Bhatta Jyogdeva and according to the closing verse of his commentary his teacher's name was Yogananda.⁵ He also cites a verse from his son⁶ but does not give his name. From Mankha we know that his name was Lsthadeva.⁷ The fact that his son was mature enough so that his father might quote him leads one to think that Ramyadeva wrote this *Vivarana* at quite an advanced age.

As has been hinted earlier, Ramyadeva was an older contemporary of Mankha. According to Mankha, Ramyadeva was a man of ascetic temperament. He had thorough command over Vedanta and his action bore the imprints of his thought. He was an extremely proficient and generous teacher. He was

1. तदुक्तं मया चक्रेभरभैरवाष्टके—

Ibid., p. 29.

2. तदुक्तं मया शिवरात्रिविचारवार्तिके—

Ibid., pp. 33-34.

3. तदुक्तं मया कृतान्ततान्तिशान्तिस्तवे—

Ibid., p. 41.

4. इति श्रीचक्रपाणिनाथविरचिते भावोपहारस्तोत्रे विवरणं समाप्तम्, कृतस्तवभवमुद-
ज्योन्देशात्मजभट्टश्रीरम्यदेवस्य ॥

Ibid., p. 44.

5. योगानन्दाभिधानद्विजवरवदनायातपीठेशिदेवी-

मादावद्योतितज्ञप्रणयनजनितानन्तसोत्साहहर्षः ।

B.U.V., p. 44.

6. तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः ।

Ibid., p. 6.

7. *S.K.C.* 25.38.

specially at home in the *Kathavalli* and was a successful exponent of the Vedanta text called *Istasiddhi*. These autobiographical touches no doubt lend special richness to Ramyadeva's manifold personality. It is strange that Mankha does not refer to Ramyadeva's attainments in Krama though he was fully conversant with the system.¹ Maybe Mankha is referring to that aspect only with which people were not so conversant, or else Mankha is taking note of only those aspects of the author's personality that won recognition in the intellectual circle. Both, Ramyadeva and his son Losthadeva, are mentioned in the company of Lankaka, Lankata or Alamkara, Mankha's elder brother.² Lankaka was a minister statesman under the king Sussala of Kashmir (1112-1127 A.D.).³ The *Raja-tarangini* refers to him as a man of martial achievements.⁴ Mankha was an officer-in-charge of state administration under king Jayasimha, the son and successor of Sussala.⁵ The reign of Jayasimha falls between 1126-1159 A.D. Thus the literary circle of his elder brother must have been a long affair spread over 1112-1159 A.D. Since Ramyadeva is mentioned along with his son, he must be of ripe age when an audience took place between him and Alamkara. It would, therefore, be reasonable if he is assigned to the first half of the twelfth century.

(xxxv) *Lostadeva* (1125-1175 A.D.)

As alluded to above, Ramyadeva quotes a passage from his son with marked overtones of the Krama system.⁶ It is

1. *S.K.C.* 540

2. *Ibid.*, 25.26

3. निवेशिते सुस्सलभूविजैजसा स्वयं गरीयस्यपि संधिावग्रहे ।

विधाय चक्रे स्वयणोमयीं लिपिं स लेखयंगंस्य विमुदमाननम् ॥

Ibid., 3.62.

4-5. अनन्तरं सुस्सलदेवनन्दनो यमादराच्छीजयसिंहभूपतिः ।

व्यधात्प्रज्जपालनकार्यपूरुषं रुषं वितन्वन्विनीतजन्तुषु ॥

Ibid., 3.83.

6. निशाकास्तकला संहारदेवी तथा चास्मत्पुत्रः

शिव शिवासनमूर्ध्नि सदा स्थिता विगतकालकलाकलनाक्रमा ।

कृशतया कृशिमध्यपलापिनी जयति कापि कला विगतक्रमा ॥ इति ।

B.U.V., p. 6.

possible that his son might have written a treatise on Krama from which a passage has been cited by his father.

Although Ramyadeva does not disclose the name of his son, he is none other than Loshadeva. This information is furnished by Losadeva himself.¹ He was also known as Lostaka. Being tortured by worldly trammels he diverted his attention from poetry to spiritualism. His work pertaining to Krama might be a product of this period.

Mankha has spoken highly of his linguistic accomplishment. He had a linguist's command over six languages and his speech and poetry were characterised by their flawless felicity and lucidity.² Several verses read in praise of Lankaka find place in the *Srikantha-carita* and they betray a real poetic flavour in his utterances.³ He is credited with writing a stotra entitled *Dinakrandanastotra* which has been brought out by Nirnayasagar Press in the Part VI of the Kavyamala series. Towards the close of his life he went to Varanasi, turned ascetic and renounced the world. The stotra gives powerful expression to the pangs of his disillusioned heart pining for the spiritual ultimate. He ultimately gets peace and in a tranquil mood refers to his achievement.⁴ Jalhana, in his

1. इतिपरिहृतवान्स्वकाव्यशिल्पप्रकटनमाकुलितो भवव्यथाभिः ।
व्यधित गिरिश रम्यदेवजन्मा तव पुरतो हृठदैन्यतः प्रलापान् ॥

Dinākrandana Stotra, verse 50.

2. वान्देवतालिनीलीलाधुतपसतिचातुरीम् ।
वदनाम्बुरुहे यस्य भाषाः षडधिशेरते ॥
खलानां यत्प्रबन्धेषु दृढव्युत्पत्तिवर्णसु ।
प्रोद्यचोद्यमया दूरे कुण्ठिता इव पक्षिणः ॥
कतिचिल्लोष्टदेवस्य तस्यापि मुखतोऽभ्यूषोत् ।
श्रीलंककं प्रति प्रोतचारुचादुरसा गिरः ॥

S.K.C. 25, 34-36.

3. *Ibid.*, 25. 37-47.

4. अन्नशे जन्म वंशे सुमहति विहितो वाङ्मयाब्धौ हनूम-
स्तरम्भो दानभोगो तदनु च रचितौ किञ्चिदौचित्यरीत्या ।
शास्त्रा तत्त्वं पतित्वं श्रितमय मयिता संसृतिर्दुनिवार-
वाराणस्यां प्रसन्ना स्थितिरिति कुतितः किं न मे नाम सिद्धम् ॥

Dinākrandana Stotra, verse 52.

Suktimuktavali, attributes a verse to Lostadeva.¹ It, therefore, goes without saying that he was equally gifted in language, literature and philosophy and it is a misfortune that his works, either on Krama or other systems, have not survived the atrocities of time

(xxxvi) *Srivatsa : Author of the Cidgaganacandrika* (1125-75 A.D.)

The time of the author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* is not so puzzling as his identity. The *Candrika* is a commentary described as *Pancika* by him, on the *Krama Stotra* of Siddhanatha. And in autobiographical references he too introduces himself as Kalidasa.² The proposition ascribing the *Candrika's* authorship to Kalidasa has been reiterated and echoed several times.³ In addition, the last line of the second opening verse is practically the same as the last line of the opening verse of the *Malavikagnimitra* of Kalidasa.⁴ These factors have led the editor of the Calcutta edition of the *Cidgaganacandrika* to concede its authorship to Kalidasa.⁵ Karra Agnihotra Sastri, the erudite modern commentator on the text, fully endorses the

1. प्रकृत्यैवगतिवक्त्रेण गुणदैर्घ्यं वितन्वता।
मया शरासतेनेव वाणो दूरं निरस्यते ॥

Quoted, *Kāvyamālā*, Part VI, p. 21, fn. 1.

2. मुक्तमेव न मया मयोचितं प्रेरितोऽस्मि तव तस्मिन् त्वया (?) ।
सिद्धनाथकृततत्क्रमस्तुतेः कालिदासरचितां च पञ्चिकाम् ॥

C.G.C. 4. 4. 126.

3. इह कालिदासचन्द्रप्रसूतिरानन्दिनी स्तुतिर्व्याजात् ।
चिद्गगनचन्द्रिकाब्धेः शमयतु संसारदावध्वयं वः ॥

Ibid., 4. 137.

कालिदासपदवीं तवाश्रितस्तत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः ।

Ibid., 4. 127.

केवलं तदनुवर्णनेऽप्युमे त्वन्मुदे तदपि दासजल्पितम् ।

Ibid., 4. 93.

4. सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स भस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ।

C.G.C. 1. 2.

5. ...सुस्पष्टं स्वीयमभिधानं प्रकटीकृतं कालिदाम इति । अत एवास्य कवी कालिदास इत्यसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम् ।

C.G.C., Sanskrit Introduction, p. 2.

views of Svami Trivikrama Tirtha, the editor of the Calcutta edition. Besides, Sastri advances a few more arguments in favour of his contention.¹ As his entire methodology consists in finding analogues between the present and the original Kalidasa and interpreting them to suit his convictions, it is not very relevant for us to go into whole of it here. However, to cite an instance, he finds an implicit reaffirmation of the *Abhijnana-sakuntala's* eightfold Purls in the eightfold structure of the Vrnda-cakra. Even to the last verse, where the name of some Srivatsa occurs, he accords an entirely mystic interpretation taking him as a crest of meaning called Srivatsa. This is the verse which is of key importance in connection with the authorship-issue. The only difference between Sastri and Trivikrama Tirtha revolves round the identity of this Kalidasa. The former insists that the present Kalidasa is identical with the original one,² while the latter is prepared to concede to the existence of some later Kalidasa who seems to have flourished before Abhinavagupta.³

The testimony of the tradition also lends weighty support to the present thesis. The passages from the *Cidgaganacandrika* quoted by Bhaskararaya in his commentary famed as *Saubhagya-bhaskara* on the *Lalitasahasranama* have been acknowledged by him to be the assertions of Kalidasa occasionally with reference to the name of this text.⁴ Similarly, Sastri has invoked the support of a Tantric text called *Hridayacandrika* by Kavi Cakravartin which explicitly identifies the author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* with Kalidasa.⁵ But it must be frankly stated that a host of scholars, who have profusely quoted from the text in

1. *C.G.C.* with the *Divyacakorika*, (first part of the Introduction), I, pp. 2-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. *C.G.C.*, Calcutta, p. 3. (Skt. Int.).

4. *Saubhagyabhaskara* on the *Lalitasahasranama*, pp. 26, 52, 82, 153, 157, 161.

5. वाङ्मयामृतनिधिः प्रकाशते कालिदास इति कोऽपि चन्द्रमाः ।

येन विदग्धनवन्दिका कृता हृद्गुहासु सुधियां हतं तमः ।

Quoted, *C.G.C.* with *D.C.*, I, p. 3. (introd.).

question, have maintained complete silence over its authorship. Among these are Mahesvarananda,¹ Amrtanandanatha² and Kaivalyasrama.³

A modern student, however, finds it difficult to swallow the claim for the original Kalidasa's authorship of the *Cidgaganacandrika*. To begin with, the author mentions some Siva as a pioneer of the preceptorial line, Cakrabhanu as an eminent teacher and Soma as the concluding figure of the lineage to which the author pledges his allegiance. The author received his tuitions in Krama from the son of Soma. It simply means that he is not the legendary Kalidasa, but a different person. Cakrabhanu and Somaraja, and for that matter his son, more or less have a definite chronological status that puts them within a century's bracket running from 1050 to 1150 A.D. as they come in preceptorial hierarchy. Even the earliest limit cannot go beyond the tenth century, because the author of the *Krama Stotra* i.e., Siddhanatha, belongs to the first half of the tenth century. But since the author maintains direct doctrinal and scholastic affiliation to Cakrabhanu etc., his date need not be pushed back from the point of actual occurrence which falls in the vicinity of the temporal bracket mentioned above. Besides, the earliest references made to this work are by Mahesvarananda who belongs to the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore his date cannot be advanced either, barring the modifications by a margin of 25 to 50 years on each side. Had he flourished much earlier, the early texts could not afford to ignore him altogether. Therefore, on every count, the present author is different from the great poet.

Coming to the other aspect of the question, let us try to find out who this Kalidasa was.

1. *MM.P.*, pp. 27, 53, 71, 73, 93, 94, 96, 99, 102, 103, 104, 110, 124, 130, 154, 167.
2. *Y.H.D.*, pp. 11, 18, 94, 132, 144, 179.
3. *S.V. on A.L.*, p. 4.

The author of the *Cidgaganacandrika* in the last verse gives out his name as Srivatsa in unmistakable¹ tone. Kalidasa seems to be his honorific title and not his actual name, according to his own statement.² Owing to the grace of Mother Divine his unique literary and spiritual accomplishment fetched him this valued title. However, from the historical perspective, many authors have quite frequently allowed to envelop their true personalities due to this practice in India. In order to cater to his vanity it has been natural for an author to emphasise his title as compared with his name.

The present thesis with regard to the *Candrika's* authorship becomes more convincing, if something with regard to the historicity of the author named Srivatsa be available. Fortunately, exactly during this period, one Srivatsa arrests one's attention. Mankha refers to a pair of the two celibates namely Bhudda and Srivatsa³ in course of his description of the literary circle of his brother and heaps an exceedingly high praise on both of them for unparalleled poetic richness and beauty of their verses - as if the Goddess Muse herself put a stamp on the wealth of their poetic art. Mankha, being a contemporary of king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.) is ascribed to the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. Srivatsa, too, therefore, would belong to the same period. Since (i) this Srivatsa and the author of the *Candrika* flourished on an almost synchronous point of time, and (ii) Srivatsa, the author of the *Candrika*, has the title of Kalidasa⁴ for his poetic brilliance

1. पूर्वापीठकृतं सिद्धेस्तद्भावस्तवमादरात् ।

वा नरायं महागुह्यं श्रीवत्सो विदधे स तु ।

C.G.C. 4.134.

2. कालिदासपदवी तवाश्रितः त्वत्प्रसादकृतवाग्विजृम्भणः ।

Ibid., 4.127.

3. यावाविष्कृतो ध्वजमुखचन्दनपुण्ड्रकम् ।

मुद्रितं सूक्तिदेव्येव कोषं काव्यकलाश्रियः ॥

भृङ्गश्रीवत्सनामानो सूरौ सङ्गच्छचारिणौ ।

वाक्यैजितामृतस्वादैः सादरं तावभाषताम् ॥

S.K.C., 25.81-82.

4. Cf. fn. 2 above.

and ingenuity like **his** illustrious counterpart hailed for his poetic achievements, it will not be entirely unfounded to treat the two as identical.

The necessary corollaries that follow in the wake of such proposition are that the author of the *Candrika* was Srivatsa, identical with his namesake referred to by Mankha, who made this attempt for the welfare of mankind. He was known as Kalidasa for his literary genius. The verse containing the line from the *Malavikagnimitra* is spurious and a later interpolation. He was a pupil of Soma's son who perhaps was also known as Gupta.¹ He belonged to Purnapitha, the centre of his spiritual activity, where he wrote this *Pancika* on the *Krama Stotra*.² The whole work, according to the author, comprises three hundred and nine verses in traistubha metre.³ However, there are in all three hundred and twelve verses in the printed edition and the first two verses are not in the above metre. Thus the total number of verses in the above metre amounts to three hundred and ten and if the last verse pertaining to the author himself is excluded, the total corresponds to the figure mentioned by the author.

But it is doubtful that the original text has come down to us in full, because a few verses quoted by Kaivalyāsrama,⁴ Amrtanandanatha⁵ are not traceable to the printed text.

1. गुप्तभाषितजगद्विजृम्भणा मन्त्रतां भजसि तत्त्वमम्ब या ।

C.G.C. 4.36.

व्यक्तिमसदितरक्रमप्रथा गुप्तकृतक्षतबहिर्जगत्क्रमः ।

निर्गतोऽयं सुमहार्थजृम्भितः संभूतौ जगति तेऽन्वयः क्रमः ॥

Ibid., 3.92.

2. पूर्णपीठमवगम्य मंगले त्वत्प्रसादमकृते मया कृतः ।

C.G.C. 4.128.

3. कालवर्षिणि शतैस्त्रिभिः स्तुतिं तावकीमिह नवोत्तरैः कृताम् ।

वैष्णुमैरहः परामृशन् कालचक्रमतियन् प्रसीदति ॥

Ibid., 4.130-131.

4. अम्ब तावकपदद्वयाच्चकस्त्वमन्यो(?) भवति नात्र विस्मयः ।

यस्त्वयैव विवशो वशीकृतः शक्तिरेव समभूच्छिवः स्वयम् ॥

Quoted, S.V. on A.L., p. 4.

5. भावनाममतीन्द्रियं च यत्तत्त्वमुक्तम् ।

Quoted, Y.H.D., p. 179.

(xxxvii) *Ojaraja* (1125-1175 A.D.)

He was probably an authority on the *Devipancasatika*, a recognized agama on the Krama system. With regard to the portion of the text dealing with the importance of the "final seed" (Antya Bija), he differed from the usual interpretation owing to a variation in the reading of the text.¹ This is the only information available about him at present. Since this view was conveyed to Jayaratha by his teacher, Ojaraja might have been a predecessor or contemporary of the former's teacher. His date is quite uncertain. He may, tentatively, be placed during the period 1125-1175 A.D. due to his priority to Jayaratha's teacher. We are completely ignorant about other aspects of his personality.

(xxxviii) *Sivananda II* (1125-1175 A.D.) : *Grand Teacher of Mahesvarananda*

The contribution of the grand teacher of Mahesvarananda is so vivid, rich, versatile and profound that it is difficult to find a like of him in the post-Ksemaraja period save, perhaps, Mahesvarananda and Jayaratha. The only drawback that has obscured his exuberant personality is the non-availability of his works in print. In him one is able to trace a systematic development of the post-Ksemaraja form of the Krama system for which Mahesvarananda fully leans on him. And it is really strange, when the Krama philosophy was moving towards its slow but gradual decay in Kashmir, Mahesvarananda and his teachers kindled the fire in full blaze in Cola, the modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kaveri. One may, in other words, still say that their contribution was immense and so powerful that they succeeded in evolving a sort of Southern school of the Krama system - though it is not stated nor claimed anywhere. The thirteen-deity or not-twelve-deity doctrine, the extra emphasis on the five-fold functional dynamism of the Absolute, the sixtyfive mystic aspects of the Vrnda Cakra, and induction

1. अन्त्यस्य च अस्य बीजस्य...इत्यादिना श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिका माहात्म्यमुक्तम् । अत्र च श्रीमदोजराजस्य पाठव्यवस्थायां मतान्तरमिति तद्गुरुव एव प्रमाणम् ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 197.

of greater esotericism in the body metaphysic of the Krama system in common with other cognate tantric creeds are the chief features of this school.

Except once, Mahesvarananda does not refer to his grand teacher, Sivananda, by name.¹ That he is doing so is itself established on going through the collateral evidence. He, however, ascribes the following works to his grand-teacher :

- (i) *Rjuvimarsini*²
- (ii) *Krama-Vasana*³
- (iii) *Subhagodaya*⁴
- (iv) *Saubhagyahrdaya*⁵
- (v) *Samvit Stotra*⁶
- (vi) *Tripurasundarimandira Stotra*.⁷

Of these the first and third works namely, the *Rjuvimarsini*⁸ and the *Subhagodaya*, are extant even today. Their manuscripts in Malayalam characters are available in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum. The *Subhagodaya*⁹ is a Tripura work and Sivananda Yogi is the author of the text according to the concluding verses.¹⁰ The *Rjuvimarsini*¹¹ purports to be a commentary on the *Nityasodasikarnava Tantra*¹² on the lines of

1. तद्व्युदासेन बहुभिः श्रीशिवानन्दमहाप्रकशिमहेश्वरानन्दप्रभृतियोगिन्द्रैः संभूयवादेनोप-
भुज्यमानत्वात् ।

M.M.P., p. 134.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 112, 123, 129, 178, 193.
3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 115, 117.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 73.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 129.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
8. The *Rjuvimarsini* has since been brought out under Sarasvati Bhavana Granthamala by the Research Institute, Sanskrit University, Varanasi. It was under preparation while the present work was in progress.
9. MS. No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B, vide DCSMCO, Trivandrum, V. p. 1916-1917.
10. शिवानन्द महायोगी सुभगोदयमब्रवीत् ।

MS No. 878B, C.O.L. No. 960B.

11. MS. No. 878D, C.O.L. No. 690D. *Ibid.*, p. 1920.

12. व्याकरोमि मनाक् श्रीमन्नित्याषोडशिकारणवम् ।

Ibid., p. 1921.

the Lopamudra sect of the Tripura system.¹ Its author is Sivananda and his teacher is Svatmananda.² The third work i.e., *Krama-vasana* also passes in the name of the *Subhagodaya-vasana*. Its manuscripts are preserved in the libraries of the Madras Government and the Kerala University.³ The fourth work e.g., *Saubhagya-hrdayastotra* is available in manuscript in the library of BORI, Poona.⁴ Both of these works have been taken note of by Mahesvarananda,⁵ the *Yogini-hrdaya-dipika*⁶ and the *Kama-kala-vilasa-cidvalli*.⁷ According to Dwivedi, the *Sambhavaikya-dipika* too is a work by Sivananda and its incomplete manuscript is in the Madras Government Library.⁸ Mahesvarananda refers twice to this work but is silent about its authorship.⁹

Before advertng to the question of his time one is called upon to answer an important problem whether Sivananda can be credited with the authorship of the *Mahanayaprakasa* (T) as well. As will be realized later, a correct answer will necessarily reduce complexity of the riddle.

The authorship of the *Mahanayaprakasa* is clouded in mystery, as nowhere in the body of the text itself one finds any reference whatever to its author. But the author makes it absolutely clear that he has written some more works¹⁰ as the secrets of the Krama discipline cannot, for fear of corruption and

1. लोपामुद्राक्रमायातसम्प्रदायादयं पुनः ।

अकरोदायमस्यास्य व्याख्यामृजुविमशिनीम् ॥

Ibid.

2. इति श्रीमहामहेश्वराचार्यस्वात्मानन्दनाथशिष्याचार्यशिवानन्दनाथविरचितनिराखण्डशिका-
ण्वसूत्रविवारिणी ऋजुविमशिनी सम्पूर्णा ।

Ibid., p. 1923.

3-4. त्रिपुरादर्शनस्यापरिचिता आचार्याः कृतयश्च,

S Su. XX-2, p. 25.

5. *M MP.*, pp. 13, 73.

6. *Y.H.D.*, p. 68.

7. *K.V.V.*, (C), pp. 5, 18; 36, 41, 43, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64.

8. *S.Su.* XX-2, p. 25.

9. *M.M.P.*, pp. 18, 167.

10. तत् प्रपञ्चितमन्यत्र यदतः साम्प्रतं मनाक् ।

M.P.(T). 1.34

complacence, be put together at one place and only those who are well conversant with the antecedents and consequents of the *Mahanayaprakasa* can appreciate its teaching fully.¹ It is against this background that he refers to the *Samvit-stotra* in respect of certain doctrines.² And in the end of the printed text he attributes the authorship of the *Stotrabhattacharaka*, too, to himself.³ It is to be noted here that one of these texts i.e., *Samvit-stotra*, has been attributed to his grand teacher by Mahesvarananda. The other work i.e., the *Stotrabhattacharaka*,⁴ as well as the *Mahanayaprakasa*⁵ have been frequently quoted by Mahesvarananda. Many of the passages ascribed to the *Mahanayaprakasa* are traceable to the printed text.⁶ But quite a few of them⁷ could not be located in the printed form. This simply goes to prove that the present text as printed is incomplete. It is, no doubt, bewildering that Mahesvarananda, who is so scrupulous in referring to his teacher or grandteacher even where there is no occasion, should maintain reticence over the authorship of these important texts. In the first instance it appears that these works have a different author. But on the second look one may probably have to revise one's opinion. The reasons for this may be set forth below:

1. परं रहस्यं कथितं किञ्चित् किञ्चित् वक्षित् वक्षित् ।
सर्वं समयभीष्टवान् नैकदैव प्रकाशयते ॥
महानयप्रकाशेऽस्मिन् ये पूर्वापरवेदितः ।
हस्तामलकवत् तेषां वस्तुतत्त्वं प्रकाशते ॥

Ibid., 6.23-24

2. स्तोत्रकारस्येदमेव स्थितं चेतसि यज्जगौ ।
सवितस्तोतृः समालोकप्रमाणार्थप्रमातृ (दः?)तः ॥

M.P.(T)., 6.27.

3. एतदर्थानुसारेण स्तोत्रभट्टारके मया ।
स्फुटं ये विवृताः श्लोकास्तत्त्वं... ॥

Ibid., 9.69.

4. *M.M.P.*, pp. 104-5, 116, 127, 131.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 104, 120, 179, 182.

6. *M.P.(T)*. I i, 32; 7.127-128, 175; 9.4.5, 50-51, 67-68.

7. *MM P.*, pp. 85, 87-88, 94-96, 99, 101-2, 104.

- (i) The author of the *Mahanayaprakasa* and the *Stotra Bhattaraka* is the same, because the former uses the word "maya" (by me) with reference to the latter.
- (ii) Although the reference to the *Samvit-stotra* is not accompanied by the word "maya" or the like, it comes from the same pen -, contextual evidence lends enough support to it.
- (iii) The *Samvit-stotra* has been ascribed to his grand teacher by Mahesvarananda. Hence, by implication, these two works should also be credited to the same authorship.
- (iv) Mahesvarananda's reticence with regard to the two works is suggestive, yet it is not necessarily a negative gesture. Because in the case of the *Sambhavaikya-dipika* it was pointed out that it is also a work of Sivananda, the grand teacher of Mahesvarananda, in spite of the fact that he (Mahesvarananda) keeps silent about its authorship, too.
- (v) The work named *Stotrabhattacharaka* cannot be dismissed as spurious¹ since (a) it has been quoted by Mahesvarananda as well as Jayaratha² besides Sivananda, and (b) there is complete correspondence between the *Mahanayaprakasa* and the *Stotrabhattacharaka* on the issues e.g., the thirteen Kalis, unity of Prakasa and Ananda, Mantra as Supreme awareness, etc.³
- (vi) Sivananda in his *Rjuvimarsini* has elevated Prakṛta as the official language of the Tripura school. This view was endorsed and its application extended to the Krama system by Mahesvarananda.⁴ There is an unmistakable evidence to suggest that the *Mahanayaprakasa* was written originally in vernacular (Bhasaya

1. *Abhi.*, pp. 478-479.

2. *T.A.V.*, III. p. 223.

3. *M.M.P.*, pp. 105, 116, 127.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

i.e., in Prakṛta).¹ This coincidence lends a further support to the alleged identity of the authors of the *Rjuvimarsini* with that of the *Mahanayaprakasa*.

- (vii) Even if, for a second, this authorship-equation is not granted there is absolutely no doubt that both - the author of the *Samvit-stotra*, as well as that of the *Mahanayaprakasa* - occupy the same point on chronological scale because the author of the latter refers to the former and the grandson of the author of the former refers to the latter. In fact this historical coincidence in point of time is additional evidence in favour of the present contention establishing identity of the two.

In this connection one may agree with Dr. Pandey² in rejecting the ascription of the *Mahanayaprakasa* to Abhinavagupta by Sambasiva Sastri.³ The contention is utterly untenable in the face of the *Mahanayaprakasa* clearly betraying the influence of Ksemaraja.⁴

Let us now revert to the period of Sivananda. The latest author referred to by Sivananda is Ksemaraja in the *Rjuvimarsini*.⁵ The books referred to are the *Sambapancasika* and *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya Sūtra*. The precise implication is that Ksemaraja marks Sivananda's upper time-limit. Amṛtananda, the author of the *Dipika* on the *Yoginī Hṛdaya* and a pupil of Punyananda, refers to the *Subhagodayavasana* (i.e., *Krama-vasana*) of Sivananda.⁸ Although Amṛtananda's time has not been finally

1. गीतं पुराणाधिष्ठानं भाषया यत्तदुत्तमम् ।

M.P.(T). 1.12.

2. *Abhi.*, p. 477.

3. *M.P.(T), Int.*, p. 2(Skt. Int.)

4. For instance, see

अक्षोभ्यते यदुक्तं तु विश्वीलीलं चित्तिः कथम् ।

सञ्चेत्यत समाविश्य विश्वानुसङ्गभूमिकाम् ॥

M.P.(T). 3.17.

5. साम्प्रतिश्रवणचक्रिकाविवृतिरचने श्रीक्षेमराजाचार्यकृते दृष्टव्यः ।

Rjuvimarsini, p. 220.

Y.H.D., p. 68.

settled the general opinion among the scholars is to place him somewhere in the twelfth century.¹ This may form the lower limit of Sivananda's emergence. It is extremely significant to note that Jayaratha refers to two works of Sivananda namely, the *Stotrabhattacharaka* and *Mahanayaprakasa*. The first is mentioned with explicit reference to the title of the text.² A passage is cited³ from the other without disclosing the source, but the same is found in the *Mahanayaprakasa*.⁴ It is quoted as a *prima facie* view propounding the thesis of the thirteen Kalis against that of Jayaratha's Kali-theory. Jayaratha's time is almost certain. His father Srngararatha was a court-minister of king Rajaraja who is identified with the king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.). Hence he, in any case, must be active during the second half of the twelfth century (1150-1200 A.D.). Thus Sivananda cannot be brought below this period, i.e., 1150-1200 A.D. Ksemaraja, who constitutes upper limit, is assigned to about 975-1025 A.D. The gap can be reduced further, Mahesvarananda refers to the *Cidgaganacandrika* of which the probable time is almost settled. It is put around 1125-1175 A.D. Mahesvar-

1. Y.H.D., p. na. (Skt. Int.).

2. अत एव श्रीस्तोत्रभट्टारकेऽपि

कालावलाढ्यथोमकलावसानं चिन्त्यं जयद्रासकलालयेन ।

चक्रं महासंहृतिरूपमुग्रं गतं त्रिदाकाशपदस्थमित्यम् ॥

इत्यादिना संहारक्रमेणैव अस्योदयः उक्तः ।

T.A.V., III, p. 223.

3. ननु अस्याः परस्याः संविदोऽन्यैरन्यैव भङ्गघात्रयोदशात्मकत्वमुक्तम्,

यदुक्तम्—एकं स्वरूपरूपं हि मानमेयप्रमातृतः ।

सर्गावतारसंहारमयीराक्रम्य वर्तते ॥

स्वस्वरूपानुगुणेन प्रत्येकं कलनावशात् ।

सृष्टिस्थित्यादिभिर्भेदैश्चतुर्धा ता अपि स्थिताः ॥

कालप्राप्तान्तमुदयान्चतुर्धा विभवी हि यः ।

तस्य विश्रान्तिरेकैव ततो देव्यस्त्रयोदश ॥

अनाद्यचक्रे प्राधान्यात् पूजनीयतया स्थिताः । इति ।

इह च द्वादशकत्वमुच्यते इति किमेतत् ।

Ibid.

4. M.P.(T)., 9.15.18.

ananda is the grand pupil of Sivananda. It is, therefore, necessary that whatever probable period of Sivananda's existence one may arrive at, it must account for both of them. Sivananda is removed from Mahesvarananda only by a generation. Since the latter refers to the *Cidgaganacandrika*, his upper limit must be determined by this fact, that is, Mahesvarananda cannot belong to an earlier period than 1125-1175 A.D. On the other hand, Sivananda, by virtue of his being alluded to by Jayaratha, is not supposed to cross the period 1150-1200 A.D. In other words the upper limit of Sivananda does not extend beyond 1075-1125 A.D. (As it is 1125-1175 A.D. for Mahesvarananda) The lower limit of Sivananda is almost decided, as noted above. Hence Sivananda must flourish somewhere between 1075-1125 A.D. to 1125-1200 A.D. In order that Jayaratha might be able to refer to him he must be placed, at least by a generation above Jayaratha i.e., 1125-1175 A.D. He may, therefore be assigned to the second and third Quarter of the twelfth century. This also satisfactorily accounts for both of them, the grandteacher and his grand pupil, as will be clear from the following table :

Sivananda (1125-1175 A.D.)

Mahaprakasa (1150-1200 A.D.)

Mahesvarananda (1175-1225 A.D.).

In this case Mahesvarananda does not ascend beyond 1125-1275 A.D. on the upper side and Sivananda does not descend below 1150-1175 A.D. on the lower side.

Now his system-wise contribution may be detailed in the form of the following table :

<i>Tripura system</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Krama system</i>
1. <i>Rijuvimarsini</i>	1. <i>Sambhavaikya-</i>	1. <i>Mahanaya-</i>
2. <i>Kramavasana</i>	(or <i>dipika.</i>	<i>prakasa.</i>
<i>Subhagodayavasana)</i>		2. <i>Stotra-</i>
3. <i>Subhagodaya</i>		<i>Bhattaraka</i>
4. <i>Saubhagyahrdyastotra</i>		3. <i>Samvit-stotra</i>
5. <i>Tripura-sundarimandira-</i> <i>stotra.</i>		

For reasons of space we are constrained to leave out the detailed discussion on each work.

(xxxix) *Mahaprakasa* (1150-1200 A.D.)

Mahaprakasa is the esteemed teacher of Mahesvarananda¹ and himself a disciple of Sivananda. His time, therefore, ceases to be a problem and he is assigned to the latter half of the twelfth century.

Mahesvarananda has paid glowing tributes to his wide erudition, profound scholarship and spiritual achievements.² It was upon his interpretation of the dream and inspiration that Mahesvarananda took to writing of the *Mahartha-manjari*.³

He had traditional insight into the Mahartha system which came direct to him through his teacher and which he passed on to his illustrious pupil.⁴ He is described as an author of the tantric treatises (Tantrakrt), though none of his works is physically extant. All his works are accessible only in the form of extracts therefrom in the *Parimala*. He was a prolific author of the Stotras, three of which have been brought to our notice by *Parimala*. His *Matangistotra* probably dealt with the concept of Suddha-vidya.⁵ His another stotra was the *Anandatandavavilasa-stotra* pertaining to the Absolute

1. नरवा निरयशुद्धौ गुरोश्चरणौ महाप्रकाशस्य ।

ग्रन्थाति महार्थयञ्जरीमिमां सुरभि महेश्वरानन्दः ॥

M.M. 1.

2. तच्च तत्त्वविद् लोके वेदशास्त्रकलास्वपि ।

महार्थसिन्धुमन्यान् श्रावयामास देशिकम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 199.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

5. यदुक्तमस्मद्गुह्यभिः श्रीमातङ्गीस्तोत्रे —

स्तना धनो पूर्णसुधो मुक्तान्ती तवेषि नन्दामि परस्पराम्बौ ।

स्थिता समन्ताधिकृतौ सुविद्ये ममी तवैवाहमिदम्प्रकाशौ ।

Ibid., p. 44.

freedom as the cosmic principle of causation.¹ The third stotra i.e., *Manonusasana-stotra* dealt with the principle of mind as a unique sense-instrument.² His greatest contribution, however, was Mahesvarananda himself.

(xI) *Jayaratha* (1150-1200 A.D.)

The name of Jayaratha is a milestone in the history of the Krama thought. His commentary on the first, fourth, thirteenth and twenty-ninth Ahnikas of the *Tantraloka* is not only a monument of the Krama culture and philosophical discipline but also a repository of the innumerable historical allusions without which the Krama history would have suffered in accuracy, precision and vastness. The last verse of his *Viveka* on the *Tantraloka* proclaims him to be a thinker of profound merit and matchless standing in Krama in addition to all the then important branches of learning.³ And it is not a boastful or conceited statement, since it is well known that his contribution covers a vast field ranging from all the schools under Kashmir Saivism and Tripura System to literature. In Krama, he is proud of the fact that he directly came in the preceptorial lineage of Bhanuka, a student of Keyuravati.⁴ He

1. यच्चोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिरानन्दताण्डवविलासस्तोत्रे —

वयं त्विमां विश्वतयावमानं बहिर्मुखस्यास्य तथोन्मुखस्य ।
स्वसंहितं विश्वविलापनोद्यत्स्वतन्त्रतानन्दमयीं नमामः ॥

M.M.P., p. 166.

2. तदुक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिर्मनोनुशासनस्तोत्रे —

हंसाः पतन्ति गगने प्रधिसार्यं पक्षौ स्वौ सर्वदेव किल मानसराजहंस ।
अत्यद्भुता तव गतिर्गगने परस्मिन् विक्षेपशून्यमयपक्षयुगं विहाय ।

Ibid, p. 12 ; also see pp. 46, 94.

3. पदे वाक्ये माने निर्खलशिवशास्त्रोपनिषदि

प्रतिष्ठां यातोऽहं यदपि निरवधं जयरथः ।
तथाप्यस्यामङ्ग क्वचन भुवि नास्ति त्रिकदृशि
क्रमार्थं वा मत्तः सपदि कुशलः कश्चिदपरः ॥

T.A.V., VII, pp. 434-35.

4. तस्यैव (भानुकस्य) जैषा श्रीमदुज्जटोद्भूतादिनामां रूपरिपाटीसन्ततिः यत्प्रसादासादित-
महिमाभिरस्माभिरेतत् प्रदर्शितम् ।

T.A.V., III, pp. 192-93.

was, equally, conversant with the other tradition headed by Govindaraja.¹ And, in addition, his familiarity with the southern scholars² goes to evince the vast realm of Krama practically covered by him. Jayaratha probably understood the value of viewing a scholar, for fuller appreciation, against his historical background. He, therefore, provides us with a sufficiently detailed account of his ancestral as well as preceptorial lineage which may be given in these tables.³ (see pp. 211, 212)

From these tables it may be clear that his time poses no difficulty. The dates of his three ancestors are known. From Utpalaratha II (1028-63 A.D.) he is away by four generations and from Sivaratha (1101-11 A.D.) he is separated by three generations. Srngararatha, his father and a minister of Rajaraja, who is generally identified with king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.), is succeeded by him immediately. On the preceptorial plane, he is removed by two generations from Visvadatta, his great-grand teacher and a younger contemporary of Utpalaratha II (1028-1063 A.D.), who brought the former up after the death of his father. After giving due allowance for the intervening generations, he may be safely assigned to the second half of the twelfth century (i.e., 1150-1200 A.D.). This is further confirmed by the fact that he in his *Vimarsini* refers to the *Prthvirajavijaya*⁴ of Jayanaka. According to the general consensus of historians Prthviraja died in the year 1193 A.D. and before his death the work had been written. This is vindicated still further by the fact that Jayaratha wrote his *Vimarsini* on the *Alamkara Sarvasva* of Ruyyaka who was a senior (Seep. 211)

I. यदधिकारेण श्रीगोविन्दराजादीनमुपदेशः प्रबृत्तो योऽस्मत्पर्यन्तमपि प्राप्तः ।

Ibid., p. 198.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 128 [quoting *Mahanayaprakasa* (T)] and 223 (quoting *Stotra bhattarakā*).

3. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 430-433.

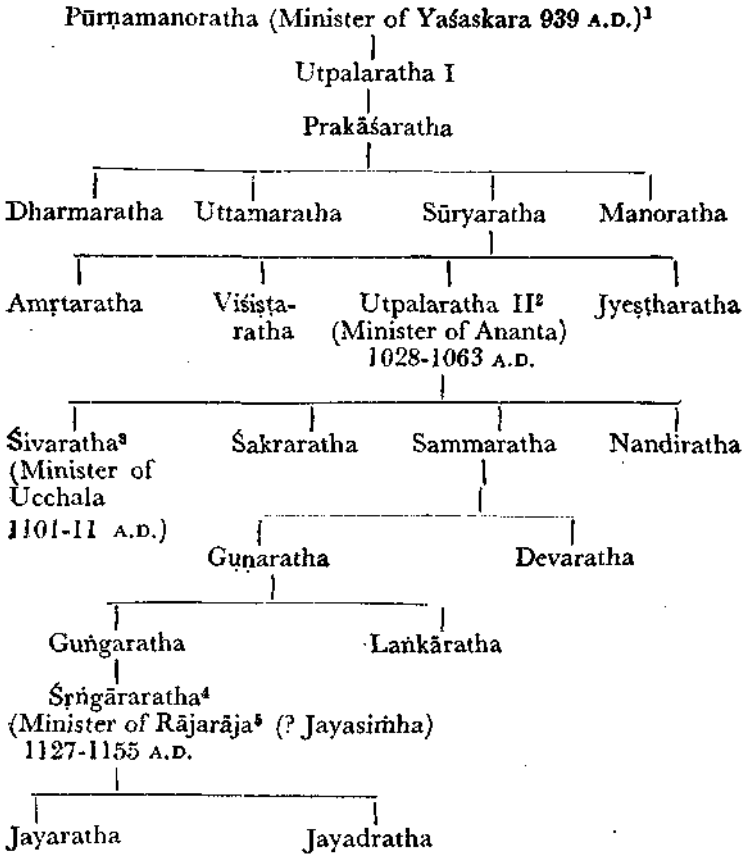
4. यया पृथ्वीराजविजये—

गुल्लिङ्गः परया भक्त्या बाणलिङ्गपरम्पराः ।

अनमदेव यत्सैन्यनिरमोयत नभंदा ॥

Alamkara-sarvasva-vimarsini, p. 82.

I. Parental Genealogy



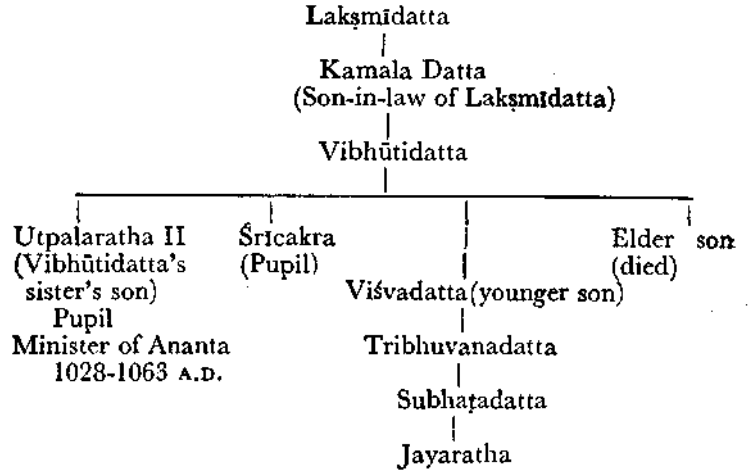
1. T.A.V., XII, p. 430, verse 8.

2. *Ibid.*, verse 13.3. शिवराज्यस्यै श्लोकममुं शिवराजाभिधः ।
विद्वान् पठस्तेन हठात्सर्वाध्यक्षो व्यधीयत ॥

Raj. T., VIII, V, 911.

4. T.A.V., XII, p. 432, verse 28 : Alamkara-Sarvasva-Vimarsini, p. 257.

5. We know of one Rajadeva (1213-1236 A.D.) also. But it is difficult to identify him with Rajaraja because, on the testimony of Jonaraja (Raj. Verse 74-87) he was just a usurper and had neither talents nor energy for asserting his authority (vide Raj. of Jonaraja, pp. 56-57 V.V.R.I.). It is difficult to believe that such a king would have patronized Jayaratha. In addition, this equation will also lead to historical and chronological absurdities which it would be difficult to reconcile.

II. Preceptorial Genealogy¹

(From p. 210)

contemporary of Mankha (1125-1175 A.D.).² Hence Jayaratha's date may either coincide with Mankha's or be little later. Since Jayaratha's father is a minister of king Jayasimha (1127-1151 A.D.), he must succeed his father. Moreover, Jayaratha owes the inspiration for writing his *Viveka* to the same king,³ his date must be in the vicinity of the time of Jayasimha's reign. In view of all these factors, he must be placed during the latter half of the twelfth century.

Thus he was gifted both ways - parentally as well as preceptorially. Even his younger brother Jayadratha is famous for his epic poem called *Haracarita-cintamani* and his stotra

1. T.A.V., XII, pp. 430-31, 433-34.

2. तं श्रीहृदयकमालोक्य स प्रियं गुरुमग्रहीत् ।
सौहार्दप्रश्नयस्सस्रोतःसंभेदमज्जवम् ॥

S.K.C., 25.30.

3. इह मम गतस्तन्मालोके विवेचयतो यतो
निरवधिमभिप्रेतोत्साहः स एव निमित्तताम् ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 432, v. 30.

called *Paridevitadvadasika*, still unpublished, but available in manuscript¹ in the library of Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. There is no ground for the identity of the two brothers as alleged in some quarters because Jayaratha makes it clear that he was the elder.²

He was son of Srngararatha who carried out renovations of five buildings at the Mahadeva hill.³ His initiation was performed by Subhatadatta⁴ whose *Vivarana* on the *Tantraloka* proved a model for his *Viveka*.⁵ In statecraft he owed his proficiency to his father's teacher Srngara, son of Dasirajanaka.⁶ He received lessons in Saivism and other agamic lores from Kalyana. His other teacher Sankhadhara or Sangadhara imparted education in all other sciences including Grammar and Mimams.⁷

Coming to his works one finds that his creative genius almost covered all the fields and in this he is superseded only by his master Abhinavagupta. The *Viveka* on the *Tantraloka* is

1. Classification No. 175 (Bhakti).

2. ज्येष्ठोज्ञयोरकार्षीत् तन्त्रालोके विवेकमिमम् ।

T.A.V., XII, p. 434, v. 41.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 433; verse 37.

4. श्रीसुभटदत्त आसीदस्य गुरुर्गो मभाप्यकृत दीक्षाम् ॥

Ibid., verse 35.

5. व्यधुस्तन्त्रालोके किल सुभटपादा विवरणम् ।

यदर्थं यश्चैभ्यो निखिलशिवशास्त्रार्थविदभूत् ॥

Ibid., verse 39.

6. अप्यस्य राजतन्त्रे विरतयतो राजतन्त्रमास गुरुः ।

दाक्षीराजानकजन्मा श्रीशृङ्गारो ममापि परमगुरुः ॥

Ibid., verse 36.

7. श्रीशृङ्गाररथादवाप्य कृतिनो जन्मानवद्यकम्

श्रीमच्छङ्करात्परं परिचयं विद्यासु सर्वास्वपि ।

श्रीकल्याणतनोः शिवादधियमं सर्वादिमानामपि

व्याख्यातं प्रथमाङ्गिकं जयरथेनाशावधेयं बुधैः ॥

T.A.V., I, p. 310.

Also see T.A.V., XII, p. 433, verse 39-41.

a monument of his learning, but for which Abhinava would have been a mystery to us. On the Tripura system he gave us *Vivarana* which was a commentary on the *Vamakesvarimata*. On the rise and development of the Tripura system in Kashmir no better source can be pointed out.

In the field of poetics he wrote *Vimarsini* on the *Alamkara-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka and presented a model of constructive literary criticism to the later commentaries. Among his thoroughly original works he is credited with writing a work called *Alamkarodaharana* that served as a preliminary to the studies in poetics by his grandson Sangaka. In the last verse of this work, he refers to his *Vimarsini*.¹ There is a manuscript of it in the BORI Library, Poona.² Besides these, he composed a *Stotra* also³, three verses from which are quoted by Sivopadhyaya in his commentary on the *Vijnanabhairava*.⁴ Sivopadhyaya also cites his opinion on the natural Japa.⁵ Jayaratha quotes from himself without specifying the source of his own statement in the *Vamakesvarimata-vivarana*.⁶ On comparing the nature and versi-

1. प्रतिज्ञाभात्रमेवैतद् इत्युपेक्ष्य विचक्षणीः ।

अलंकारविभागिन्यां युजितरक्तचरान्न यत् ॥

सङ्गकमुद्दिश्य निजं सत्यपि बाल्ये श्रुतायिनं पौत्रम् ।

अलिखन्निखिलालङ्कृतिसिद्धान्तं जयरथः स्फुटार्थपदम् ॥

Alamkārodāharanām, end. (MS)

2. MS. No. 240 of 1875-76 of Government Collection.

3. जयरथोऽपि एतद्रहस्यनयनिष्ठितानां तीर्थादिकमपि अनुपयुक्तमेवाह, यदुक्तं स्तोत्रे ।

V.Bh.V., p. 125.

4. बहुलमहसि बोधे श्रोष्ठजलयेकरूपे जननमरणभाषां कातराः कल्पयित्वा ।

अविदितपरमार्थास्तीर्यदेवालययादिश्रवणमुपदिशन्तो हन्त नापन्नपन्ते ॥

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नयकलनया यस्योद्भूते विवेकपरामृते

तुणमिव न सा जीवन्मुक्तिर्गता गणनीयताम् ।

प्रसयसमये प्रयासन्ते स्वसंविदि संस्फुरन्

अभिलषति नैवान्त्येष्ट्याद्याः क्रियाः पशुकल्पिताः ॥

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प्राग्जन्मकोटिसमुपाजितदुष्कृतीष्वेदावहं कमपि पिण्डमवैति जन्तुः ।

ऊर्ध्वोर्ध्वशासनरत्नोऽपि गुरुमुत्ताय तस्मै समर्पयति पिण्डमिति प्रमादः ॥

Ibid., pp. 125-126.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

6. *V.M.V.*, p. 58.

cular style of the two passages, the likelihood of his having written another work or works on the Tripura or other systems becomes stronger.

(xli) *Mahesvarananda* (1175-1225 A.D.)

Mahesvarananda is one of the most prolific authors on the Krama system. His solitary extant work, the *Maharathamajari* with the *Parimala* on it, gives a clear idea of his deep insight into and enormous contribution to the Krama system. Like Jayaratha, he also claims a complete command over not only the *Pratyabhijna Karikas* and *Sivadrsti*, but also on the manifold secrets of the Krama philosophy.¹ He moved with equal felicity in the Kula system.² The very pattern on which the *Maharathamajari* moves, conforms to his synthetic approach to the Krama system by placing it in the overall perspective of the Kashmir Saivism. This attempt of his reflects the impact of the *Tantraloka* which marks an essay in synthesis and not in isolated analysis of the Trika systems.

His original name was Goraksa, but on his baptism he was named *Mahesvarananda*³ by his teacher. He is apparently different from his various namesakes in tantric philosophy.* The traditional Krama philosophy was inherited by him and he came direct in the line of the Krama teachers.⁵ He hailed from Cola, modern Karnatak, on the banks of Kaveri (southern Mysore). He was the son of Madhu (Madhava) and a devout pupil of Mahaprakasa.⁶ He became a consummate scholar in

1. अवगतसिवदृष्टिप्रत्यभिज्ञार्थतत्त्वक्रमसरणिरहस्योक्तासर्वस्ववेदी ।

गुरुवरणसपर्यावांतुरीचिदधनोऽहं गहनमपि हृदन्तव्योम तद् व्याकरोमि ॥

M.M.P., p. 2.

2. इह महति रहस्योन्मूलने मङ्गलाय प्रभवति मम संविद्योगिनीनां प्रसादः ।

अपितु कुलसपर्याविम्बसंबन्धवश्याः सकृदपि मतिमन्तो नैनमुद्घाटयन्तु ॥

Ibid.

3. गोरक्षो लोकधिया देशिकृष्ट्या महेश्वरानन्दः ।

Ibid., p. 1.

4. *Abhi.*, p. 274.

6. *M.M.P.*, pp. 98, 99, 134, 197.

6. चोलास्ते सततोत्सवा जनपदाः श्लाघ्यो गुरौर्माधवी

रेतान्धाः(?) स्फटिकावदातहृदयो नाथः प्रकाशो महान् ।

Ibid., p. 207.

poetics after acquiring an insight into the *Kavyaloka* of Anandavardhana and the *Locana* by Abhinava.¹ Then he made his way into the Pratyabhijna system. As a yogin he conducted successful experiments in spiritualism and consequently was a self-realized person.² Like Jayaratha, he has secured an enviable position, since he ensures a monolith of information for the historical reconstruction of the Kashmir Saivism in general and the krama system in particular. As mentioned by him, he travelled far and wide in almost every direction before he took to writing the *Maharthamanjari*.³

He belongs to the close of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (1175-1225 A.D.). One need not go into the reasons for it, since they have already been dwelt upon at length while discussing the period of his grand teacher Sivananda.

Whatever contribution he has made to the Krama system or other fields is known today from references only made by himself in the *Parimala* commentary. So far we know of eleven works from his pen -

Name of work	Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.
1. <i>Mahartha-manjari</i>	(Extant).
2. <i>Parimala</i>	(Extant).
3. <i>Padukodaya</i>	11-12, 90, 99, 100, 103, 105, 112, 118, 149, 177.
4. <i>Samvidullasa</i>	12, 23, 29, 32, 33, 78-9, 104, 111, 127, 137, 151, 152, 158-59, 172.
5. <i>Maharthodaya</i>	108, 132.
6. <i>Sukta</i>	59.

1. साहित्याब्धौ कर्तुं धारोऽहमास काव्यालीकं लोचनं चानुशील्य ।
तद्वत् स्वच्छं लब्धवानस्मि बोधं पान्यो भूत्वा प्रत्यभिज्ञापदव्याम् ॥

Ibid.

2. समयानुप्रवेशमङ्गलमहाभिषेकसम्पत्संस्कारोपा रोहप्रक्षालितमलोपलेपत्वात्,
औत्तराम्नायाद्यशेषशस्त्राद्यविबोधशिक्षायास्तत्वात् ।

Ibid., p. 6.

3. अर्चयन् देवतां नित्यं जपन् ध्यायंश्च निश्चलम् ।
पयं दंश्च दिशामस्तान् कालं कञ्चिदवाहयत् ॥

Ibid., p. 197.

Name of work	Number of the reference-page in M.M.P.
7. <i>Parastotra</i>	77-78, 94, 107, 140, 148.
8. <i>Komalavallistava</i>	53, 73, 75, 79, 89, 116, 123.
9. <i>Mukundakeli</i>	73.
10. <i>Kundalabharana</i>	73.
11. <i>Nakhapratapa</i>	73.

Perhaps, he has written certain other works in addition to the above. In the penultimate verse of the *Parimala* he has spoken of one *Krama* as his work.¹ We are not aware if the verse may be interpreted otherwise. For, the use of plural number in the word "Krama" coming at the end of Samahara-Dvandva compound should bear out the present observation. Even otherwise he cites a passage without indicating its source and ascribing it to himself.² The verse in question discusses the technical Krama concept of 'Gati'. It is again doubtful if the said verse is from the book suggested above. If this contention holds good, the number of his works goes upto twelve.

It appears that the *Parimala* on the *Maharthamanjari* is his last work, because it is here that the cognizance of these works is taken. It is, however, certain that *Maharthamanjari* was taken up immediately after his *Padukodaya*.³ On his own admission⁴ we know that at least his five works namely, *Maharthamanjari* (and for the reason of that *Parimala*, too), *Padukodaya*, *Komalavalli-or Komala-stava*, *Parastuti* and *Krama* are strictly the Krama

1. पादुकोदयमहार्थमञ्जरीकोमलास्तव परास्तुतिक्रमः ।

स्फारयन् भुवि महार्थसंविदं देशिको विजयते महेश्वरः ॥

M.M.P. p. 203.

2. सृष्ट्यादिषु कृत्येषु इच्छानानक्रियात्मकशक्तिस्तथाङ्गीकारो गतिरिति ।

तदुक्तं मयैव — नैश्चिन्त्योत्कटमुच्चलन्मभिलषन् सर्वोत्तरं वक्तुं
स्वस्मिन् भेदमभेदितेऽपि विमृशन् स्वात्माविशेषं स्फुरन् ।
अथानामुदयव्ययप्रकृतिभूरुच्छ्रायवानिच्छया
देवो हविक्रययोः प्रदीप्तमहिमा भावेषु वो दीध्यतु ॥

Ibid., p. 180.

3. सद्यस्त्वद्वदनात् तस्मात्पादुकोदयशोधितात् ।

पुरातनागमप्रश्नो ग्रन्थः प्रख्यायतां महान् ॥

Ibid., p. 199.

4. Fn. 1 above.

texts. However, this list leaves out the *Maharthodaya* which, too, is a Krama text as its very name implies and which primarily deals with rejuvenation of the respective deities and mantras.¹ His other two works namely, *Samvidullasa* and *Sukta*, are no doubt philosophical works and in a broad way echo the salient theses of the Kashmir Saivism, but no information is at hand about their precise doctrinal associations. Regarding the rest of the works that comprise *Kundalabharana*, *Mukundakeli* and *Nakhapratapa*, the absence of extracts therefrom and Mahesvarananda's wholesale taciturnity make it extremely difficult to be definite about them. But the contextual evidence does demonstrate his emphasis on the literary merit of these works.² Probably these were the pieces of literature. Although the *Komalavallistava* and *Parimala* have also figured in along with these, they have been shown to be Krama works.

The *Maharthamanjari* was the practical realization of a divine vision. The story has it that he was impelled by a Yogini, in whom he visualized Kalasamkarsini, to undertake the writing of the *Maharthamanjari*.³ Obviously, according to Prof. A.N. Upadhye, it is a composition of the Saptati or Saptati pattern.⁴ Since the Yogini, who appeared in dream used Prakṛta in expressing her will, he adopted Prakṛta in his *Maharthamanjari* though he does not betray the command on Prakṛta which he has on Sanskrit.⁵ But philosophically it is a mature text and

1. अन्नं च तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रोद्धारो मदीये महार्थोदये पर्यालोचनीयः ।

M.M.P., p. 108.

2. अतश्च शब्दार्थसामरस्यात्मनि साहित्येऽप्यस्मदाग्रहः परमेश्वरेऽनुग्रह एव यदनुप्राणनाः कुण्डलाभरणमुकुन्दकेलिपरिमलकोमलवस्तीस्तवनखप्रतापादयः प्रबन्धाः प्रख्यायन्ते ।

Ibid., p. 73.

3. स्वप्नसमयोलब्धा सा सुमुखी सिद्धयोगिनी देवी ।

गाथाभिः सप्तत्या स्वापितभाषाभिरस्तु सम्प्रीता ॥

M.M.P., p. 2.

4. 'Prakrit Languages and Kashmir Saivism', Prof. A.N. Upadhye *Dr. S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, p. 193.

5. The composition of the Gathas clearly betrays that the author thinks and mentally drafts first in Sanskrit and then renders them into Prakrit. This introduces a mechanical form and dialectical artificiality in the verses. *Ibid.*

well deserves its description as a "Prasthanā Grantha".¹ It was also known as *Mahākrama-manjari*.²

The work called *Padukodaya* is so named because it expounded the notion of Paduka as its central theme. Paduka is identical with the Power-absolute which consists in pure bliss and tends to eliminate the sense of duality between self and notself.³ It is purely a Krama concept.⁴ Mahesvarananda has considerably influenced the subsequent tantric literature. For instance, Sivopadhyaya leans on him for supporting his several statements.⁵ Ramesvara, the commentator on *Parasu-ramakalpa-sutra*, refers to him on no less than three occasions.⁶ Kaivalyasrama quotes from his *Parimala* in the *Saubhagyavaradhini* on the *Ananda-Lahari*,⁷ *Rajanakalaksmirama*, an 18th century commentator on *Paratrimśika* quotes the *Maharthamanjari* in his commentary styled as *lagku-Vrtti*.⁸ *Saubhagyavaradhi* i also refers to some *Parastotra* and cites from it.⁹ It is not known if it was identical with one composed by our author.

It is to be noted that Jayarasi Bhatta, the author of the *Tattvopaplava-simha* styles his work as the *Maharthodaya*.¹⁰ But it is definitely a different work, because (i) Jayarasi Bhatta is much anterior to Mahesvarananda, and (ii) the work by the former is addressed to the Lokayata system, whereas the latter's deals with the Krama system. Hence the two cannot be identical.

1. *M.M.P.*, p. 202.

2. *Ibid.*

3,4. यद्योपदिष्टमन्त्रविद्भिः—परापरात्मनः स्वात्मनः परानन्दमयो स्वव्यतिरेककवलनोद्धृता परा शक्तिः पादुकेति गीयते इति ।...इति स्थित्या प्रतिपादितसर्वार्थक्रमगर्भत्वमवर्जनोपम् । एतच्च तत्प्रतिपादनमात्रोपक्षीणव्यापारे मदीये श्रीपादुकोदये तन्त्रे द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 100.

5. *V.Bh.V.*, pp. 109 111, 137.

6. *P.K.S.*, pp. 64, 95, 114, 115, 117.

7. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.

8. *P.T.L.V.*, p. 7. (KSS No. 69).

9. *S.V.* on *A.L.*, p. 46.

10. भट्टश्रीजयदेवराजिबुद्धिः सृष्टो महार्थोदयः ।

तत्त्वोपप्लवसिंह एव इति यः श्याति परां यास्यति ॥

Tattvopaplavasimha of Jayarāsi Bhaṭṭa, p. 125 (last portion)

With such an outstanding personality the later stage of the creative phase comes to an end and one finally enters into a period of darkness and complete decadence.
(xlii) *Sitikantha* (1450-1500 A.D.)

Barring the studies in Cola, the Krama studies in Kashmir practically came to a dead stop after Jayaratha. This lull is broken by *Sitikantha*. Thus there were a few sporadic activities during this period as references to one *Siddhapada*¹ by *Sitikantha* show, who like *Lalla* ventilated his views through the then Kashmiri dialect. There is reason to believe that the traditional lore of the system also did not die out completely because *Sitikantha* himself claims to have inherited from, through preceptorial lineage indeed, *Isana* who was one of the eight students of *Cakrabhanu*.² But there is no evidence to indicate if it had any creative activity worth the name. The three hundred and odd blank years are beset with the appearance of *Sitikantha* on the Krama horizon with his *Mahanaya Prakasa* which is different from its namesake by *Sivananda* from Cola.

Besides the *Mahanayaprakasa*, his other works include the *Stotramala*,³ *Kaulasutra* and commentary on the *Katantra Vrtti*. The *Mahanayaprakasa* or *Maharthaprakasa*, as it is alluded to by several catalogues, is extant in print and is almost complete (KSS No. XXI). Not only that it helps one trace the missing links in the history but also that it gives a thorough exposition of the *Mahartha* principle. It is composed in the local vernacular of Kashmir of his time.⁴ But the commentary, that too

1. यत् सिद्धपादा आदिदिशुः..... ।

M.P. (S), p. 32 ; also pp. 59-60.

2. ततश्च मानवीयस्यान्ते शिष्योद्यापणीर्भानुषादः अष्टानां शिष्याणां प्रभुः यन्मध्याह्नाक्षी ईशानाख्या विदितं पारम्पर्यविदाम् ।

M.P. (S), p. 107.

It may, however, be noted that the pedigree of his teachers to be given towards the end of this section does not include the name of *Isana*. It is possible that *Soma*, who heads the list, might have come in that tradition - we do not know.

3. Dr. Pandey attributes, perhaps due to oversight, this work to the author of *Mahanayaprakasa*. Vide *Abhi*. p. 439. *Sitikantha* ascribes the work to himself; *M.P. (S)*. p. 47.

4. अथोचितरचितं नृति सर्वगोचरया देशभाषया विरचयितुमाह ।

M.P. (S). pp. 47-48.

also by the same author, is in Sanskrit. Towards the beginning of the century Grierson contributed a valued paper on the philological study of the Kashmiri language as used in this work. For reasons of space as well as relevance one has to abstain from going into details on this question.¹ He himself refers to the *Stotramala* as a work from his pen.² There are two manuscripts of the same name in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.³ As the contents of the MSS could not be looked into, it is difficult to be sure of its author or subject matter. But presumably it pertains to the *Stotramala* of Sitikantha, because hitherto no *Stotramala* by any other author has come to light as belonging to the Kashmir Saivism. The *Kula Sutra* or *Kaulasutra* is his next work which pertains to the Kula system. Sitikantha also quotes from one *Kulasutra* without mentioning the author.⁴ But the two manuscripts that are available today ascribe it to the authorship of Sitikantha in their colophons.⁵ Aufrecht has taken notice of this

1. "The results value from two points of view. In the first place, they show clearly the lines of connection between the Indo-aryan side of Kashmiri and Sanskrit and, in the second place, they throw light on the various forms in Modern Kashmiri that, but for the Mahanaya-prakasa, would be inexplicable."

Sir George A-Grierson, "The Language of the Mahanaya-prakasa : An Examination of Kashmiri as written in the Fifteenth Century", *Mem. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. xi, No. 2, p. 79.

2. यत्स्वतु स्तोत्रमालायां मयैव—

विलोचयते चित्रपटे यद्योभयं पटैक्यमन्तर्बध्नां गणो बहिः ।

अखण्डधाम्नोऽन्तरमुख्य वेत्तुता ज्ञानत्वमज्ञानान्तर्बध्नां चिदचिषाम् ॥

M.P. (S), pp. 47-48.

3. MSS Nos. 568 and 569 of 1884-86, BORI, Poona.

4. तथा च कुलसूत्रेषु उक्तम्—

कुलपीठक्षेत्रादिवर्यपञ्चपिण्डप्रणवव्यपदेश्यमखिलाभासरूपाया भद्रभावाभिमतसंविदः
समाश्रययुतमात्मायतनं शरीरम् । इति

M.P. (S), p. 60.

5. इति श्रीशितिकण्ठस्य शुभम् ।

(Kashmir MS).

कतिर्गुणभट्टश्रीशितिकण्ठस्येति शुभम् ।

(BORI MS).

work.¹ The one of the two extant manuscripts of this work belongs to Pt. Dinanatha Yaksha, the formerly head Pandit of Sanskrit section, Research Department, Srinagar and other is available in BORI Library, Poona.² Both the MSS begin with a similar remark by the scribe that he has written only a part of the text owing to the mutilated and dilapidated condition of the model script.³ But still the MS at BORI is more correct and enlarged. The (BORI) MS appears to have finished where its Kashmiri counterpart ends,⁴ but it again takes up the thread. The *Kulasutra* seems to have been originally divided into sixteen chapters called Svarakalas.⁵ The (BORI) MS in its continuation gives seven such Kalas from 10th to 16th. The nine are missing. Under such circumstances one should not be surprised if one does not find the passage cited by Sitikantha in the MS. The work is in the Sutra style and highlights the esoteric aspect of the Kula system. The relevant aspects of the text of the MS have been taken note of in the philosophical portion of the thesis. It may, however, be noted in passing that the BORI MS refers to the Kula and Krama system alike.⁶ And a comparative analysis of the *Mahanayaprakasa* and the *Kulasutra* unearths the identity of views with regard to a few controversial problems of the Krama and further establishes the oneness of their authorship. His fourth work, called Nyasa, is a famous sub-commentary on the *Balabodhini* commentary by Jagaddhara on the *Katantra Vrtti*. The present enquiry would not be even remotely connected with the work in the present

1. *Cat. Cat, App. I.* 445.

2. MS. No. 445 of 1875-76, BORI, Poona.

3. अथ कौलसूत्रान्तर्गतानि कानिचित् सूत्राणि लिख्यन्ते आदर्शं छिन्नभिन्नत्वात् ।

(Both MSS).

4. पामरोक्तोपासकसाधकसिद्धिसंयुजां सहैव सहसा साहसाधरणात् समरसोभूतानां वस्तुनि नान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गतापरस्परम् । इति । कौलसूत्राणि ।

MS, BORI, folio 2a (Kashmiri MS ends here).

5. इति कुलसूत्रेषु षोडशस्वरकला ॥

MS, BORI, folio 4b.

6. यतः कुलक्रमप्रतिष्ठितप्रत्यक्षसिद्धः समा(ध्या)चार एव मङ्गलादिकः । इति कुलसूत्रेषु द्वादशस्वरकला ।

Ibid., folio 3a.

context, but for its autobiographical references that make the task of determining his date much easier. He is remotely blood-related to Jagaddhara. He is son of the daughter's daughter of the great-grandson of Jagaddhara.¹ And he wrote his *Nyasa* during the reign of Hasan Shah, the son of Haider Shah.² Sri Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi basing his conclusions on the various statements of the *Nyasa* points out that before he undertook to write the *Nyasa*, he visited Gujarat and was warmly received by the king Mohammad Shah.³ According to the *Kasmirakusuma* by Hariscandra, Husain Shah came to throne in 4583 Kali year equivalent to 1482 A.D. This date is confirmed, with slight modification, by Srivara who puts the period of reign of Hasan Shah from 1472 to 1484 A.D.⁴ and, according to the *Rasamala*,⁵ Mohammad Shah ruled over Gujarat from 1458 to 1511 A.D. On the basis of these historical data it is easy to find out his place in the chronology. He had visited Gujarat before he wrote his commentary; and while he started writing, king Hasan Shah was at the helm. Hence he must have begun his work by 1480-82 A.D. Allowing a margin of about thirty years for intellectual equipment he may be assigned to the latter half of the 15th century. That is, he seems to have flourished during 1450-1500 A.D. On the basis of a few verses in the introduction, according to Dr. Nagarajan,⁶ his family tree on the parental

1. श्रीबालबोधिन्यभिधां कवीन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।
तन्पदकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्याम्यहं तां श्रितिकण्ठकोऽल्पम् ॥

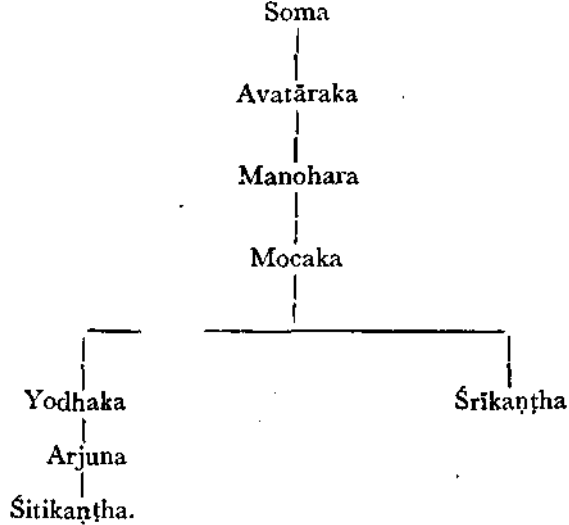
Quoted from *Nyāsa*, Grierson, "The Language of the Mahānayaṇapraśāsa, p. 74.

2. कस्मीराभिपतिः कृपाजलनिधिर्विख्यातकीर्तिश्चिरं
जीव्यान् हैदरशाहसूनुनचः कन्दर्पदपविहः ॥

Ibid.

3. Vide "जगद्धरभट्ट की स्तुतिकुसुमाञ्जलि" by Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi, *Kalyana*, Sivanka, pp. 317-325 (reproduced from his work called *Sahitya Sandarbha*).
4. (Vide *Raj. T.* by Srivara, Chap. VI) *Ibid.*
5. *Contribution*, p. 520,
6. *Contribution*, p. 520.

side, may be roughly drawn up in this manner :—



It is also gathered that Srivara, perhaps the famous historian who was patronized by Sultan Zainul-Abidin, Haider Shah and Hasan Shah successively, Srinasesa (?) and Varadesvara were his teachers. It is, thus, obvious that preceptorially and ancestrally - on both sides - he was richly endowed with an atmosphere conducive to scholarly pursuits.

(xliii) *Ananta Saktipada* (1700-1750 A.D.)

The colophon of the published commentary on the *Vatulanatha-sutra* attributes it to some Anantasaktipada.¹ Although the tradition as recorded here belongs to the Sahasa school and is traced to one very old preceptor of the Krama school namely, Niskriyanandanatha, the commentary as such is quite recent. One knows nothing about the actual author of the Sutras or the commentator thereon. One of the reasons behind this ignorance lies in its total escape from the notice of other texts and scholars. This commentary, like *Chummasampradaya-prakasa*, must be of quite late origin. In the absence of any evidence, either external and internal, it may be bracketed with the

1. सम्राट्प्रेयं श्रीमद्वातूलनाथसूत्रवृत्तिः । कृतिः श्रीमदनन्तशक्तिपादानाम् ।

Chumma Sampradaya on the basis of the similarity of contents. Since a passage from the *Chumma Sampradaya* has been quoted by Sivopadhyaya (18th century), Ananta Saktipada can only be placed somewhere before him.¹ While discussing Niskriyananda some doubts in this behalf have already been expressed.

According to M.S. Kaul, the editor of the printed text, the glossator seems to have commented also upon the *Bahurupa-garbha-stotra*.² The MS. No. 1135 of 1886-92 at **BORI**, Poona contains the text of the *Bahurupagarbhasotra* with a *Vrtti* which is bound in a single cover with the *Svacchanda Tantra*. It is not known if it is identical with one in question.

(xlv) *Bhattaraka* (1700-1750 A.D.)

Not much is known about Bhattaraka except that he was the author of the work named *Prakrtatrimśika-vivaraṇa*. The frequent discussion on the nature of the *Vrṇḍacakra* was the main feature of the book³ - this is all that Sivopadhyaya tells us. The fact that the text primarily deals with the *Vrṇḍacakra* is enough to prove that it was a *Krama* text. From the pattern of the title of the text, it may be conjured up that it was probably an exposition of some text in *Pakṛta* language modelled on the pattern of the *Para Trimsika* in Sanskrit. Since it is from Sivopadhyaya's reference that one comes to know of him, he may be tentatively placed prior to Sivopadhyaya who is assigned to the period 1725-1775 A.D.

(xlv) *Sivopadhyaya* (1725-1775 A.D.)

With him the *Krama* system finally comes to a full stop. He is not primarily a *Krama* author, yet the reason for present temptation to include him among the *Krama* authors lies in his ingenious remarks that he has never failed to make about the intricacies of the *Krama* system, whenever he could seize an opportunity to do so throughout his *Vivṛti* on the *Vijñāna-*

1. *V.Bh.V.*, p. 67.

2. *V.N.S.*, Foreword, p. 2.

3. वृन्दचक्रनिरूपस्तु बहुधा भट्टारककृतप्राकृतत्रिंशकाविवरणे विचार्य इत्यलम् ।

V.Bh.V., p. 69.

bhairava.¹ In depth, subtlety and maturity, he sometimes reminds us of the best masters and presupposes a little bit of acquaintance with the system on the part of the reader. It will be amply borne out in the philosophical portion of the present work.

His erstwhile printed work, the *Vivrti*, is an attempt to restore to posterity the commentary of Ksemaraja that was irreparably lost even in his time. It was available only upto the 23rd verse.² In continuing the venture he closely draws on Ksemaraja as is evinced by the fact that he attributes *Spanda-Karikas* to Vasugupta and not to Kallata.³ By now one is fully conversant with the significance that this controversy assumed in the realms of Kashmir Saivism. But at the same time he points out the omissions of Ksemaraja and throws veiled hint of the improvement brought about by him.⁴

His only other known work, the *Srividyaavivarana* pertaining to the Tripura system - is extant today only in manuscript. One of the available manuscript entitled *Srividyaavivarana* belongs to Pt. Dinanatha Yaksha of Kashmir, whereas the other named *Mantraraja* to BORI, Poona, which is bound with other MSS numbering 452, 481 and 482 of 1875-76. It is not numbered and has been described as "fragment Mantrasastriyo granthah." The book seems to be complete work although the last few words are missing.

Some of his whereabouts have come down to us. In the end of his commentary on the *Vijnanabhairava*, he gives out his name as Sivaguni, Gotra as Kausika and suggests the necessary accompaniments of his name with the Jati-little "Upadhyaya".⁵

1. *V.Bh V.*, pp. 47, 50-52, 58, 66-69, 85-86, 95-97, 104-111, 115, 140 etc.

2. श्रुतं देव मयेत्यादिप्रश्नग्रन्थार्थबन्धनम् ।

ऊर्ध्वे प्राणादिपदान्तं क्षेमराजकृतं शुभम् ॥

V.Bh V., p. 143.

3. यदुक्तं वसुगुप्तपादेः एकचिन्ताप्रसङ्गस्य.....तमुपलक्षयेत् ।

Ibid., p. 84.

4. तद् राति-वाति-क्रियायुगलार्थं द्वितीयपादोक्तः क्षेमराजादिभिः न चेतितो यतो विज्ञानो-
द्योतमङ्गललोकप्रारम्भे भरणार्थ एव प्रकटीकृतः ।

Ibid., p. 115.

5. विज्ञानतन्त्रविभूतिः कृतसंग्रहेयं ध्वन्यन्तरास्वचिदधि स्वमतोर्विलासात् ।

. नाम्ना शिवेतिगुणकौशिकगोलजात्योपाध्यायशब्दयुतयाप्युपलक्षितेन ॥

V.Bh.V., p. 143.

He was also known as Siva-Svamin, but the Jati-title Upadhyaya always formed the part of his name - this one learns from the concluding verse of the *Srividya-vivaraṇa*. It was a commentary on a Tripura text called *Mantraraja* pertaining to the Saubhagya school. He belonged to Kāsthula province of Kashmir which, though escaping a definite identification, was a village or township on the banks of Jhelam (Vitasta)¹. The colophon of the MS also gives the name of his father as Prakasopadhyayasvamin and also the other title of his commentary as *Anubhavabodha-vidya*.² Similarly, the colophon of the *Vivṛti* tells us that he was the pupil of some Sundarakantha who was probably famous as Govindaguru or the teacher of Govinda.³

In this connection it is quite interesting to know the real psychology behind his unusual insistence on the Jati-title Upadhyaya. In his time the Jati-title Upadhyaya carried a special social recognition. He alone could lay claim to the membership of the Upadhyaya class (or Padipi in the spoken language) who could teach respective systems to their followers distinguished by their respective surnames as the Trika, Kaula and Bhatta. In the local dialect the first and third were known as the Tiki, and Raina or Rajana respectively. Those who concentrated on the

1. आश्माद्रेश्चारुद्रादिविपिनमिलितः श्वेतगंगावशात्-
पुनस्त्वान्तेन काश्मीरकविवृद्धशिवस्वाम्युपाध्यायनाम्ना ।
व्याख्यातो मन्त्रराजः प्रकटविमलसत्सम्प्रदायः परायाः
श्रीविद्याया गभीरो हरिहरदिवसे शिष्यबोधार्थमेव ॥
यस्मिन्नेकत्र पार्श्वे बहति परन्दी श्रीवितस्तेति गीता
पार्श्वेऽयस्मिन्मातृवृक्षमरणिगलद्दुग्धधारा नदी च ।
तस्मिन् काष्ठद्वारे विरचितवसनिलम्बवर्णः शिवाख्यो
व्याख्यातृ सौभाग्यविद्यामभिमतफलदा ज्ञातृमुपाध्यायशब्दः ॥

(MS. of Pt. Yakṣa)

2. इतिश्रीविद्याविवरणम् अनुभवबोध-विद्याख्यं कृतिः प्रकाशोपाध्यायस्वामिपुत्रशिवोपाध्याय-
स्वामिनः ।

Ibid.

3. कृतिः श्रीमद्गोविन्दगुरुसुन्दरकण्ठपादपद्यानुजीविनः शिवोपाध्यायस्य इति शिवम् ॥

V.Bh.V., p. 144.

Trika system were called Tiki; those who were dedicated to the performance of the Kaula rituals and the study of the *Kula sutra* were called Kaula; and, those who belonged to the higher strata among the Brahmins and claimed highest accomplishments with their proficiency in the science of Mantras were called Rama or Rajana. Naturally, Sivopadhyaya is fully justified in his extra emphasis on the class-title, because it reflected his still higher social status and superb intellectual achievement.¹

His time is almost certain. According to him, he completed his commentary on the *Vijnana-bhairava* when Kashmir was being ruled by King Sukha-Jivana.² According to historians king Sukhajivana reigned over Kashmir from 1754 to 1762 A.D. Hence he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 18th century.³

6. Certain Krama works by anonymous authors
including exclusive Krama Agamas

Really speaking these works which are proposed to be taken up presently did not require a separate section. They should have been dealt with in the preceding section, but for the reasons specified below. Presently the main intention is to take a brief notice of those works whose authorship, for various factors, is not known today. And consequently their exact chronological position is also a matter of speculation. In the last section a special endeavour was made to maintain a chronological continuity to the fullest possible extent. Perhaps that continuity would be difficult to maintain, if these works of unknown whereabouts were also included therein.

1. एवं त्रिकार्थतत्त्वं ये विमृशन्ति बुधास्तदा । ते व्याख्याता द्विजा भूमौ त्रिकजातीयसंज्ञया ॥
त्रिकी इत्यद्यापि अपभाषन्ते, त्रिककोलादिभट्टानां तत्तच्छास्त्रार्थबोधने गुरवो ये
समुद्दिष्टास्ते ह्युपाध्यायजातयः तान् पादिषी इत्यपभाषन्ते त्रिकाः, कुलमानप्रतिष्ठानात्
कुलपूजारताश्च ये । ते कौला भूवि विख्याताः कुलसूत्रप्रपाठकाः ॥ महाब्राह्मणजातिर्या
सोद्दिष्टा भट्टसंज्ञका । सर्वोक्तृष्टप्रबोधस्था भट्टास्ते पंडिताः स्मृताः ॥ संतप्रयोगकुशला राजान
इतीरिताः रैन इत्यपभाषन्ते तान् जनाः इत्यादिजातिनिर्णयविस्तारसंहितासु द्रष्टव्यम् ।

MS, BORI, folio. 10a.

2. सुखजीवनाभिधाने रक्षति काश्मीरमंडलं नृपतौ ।
अगमन्तिःशेषतश्च विज्ञानोद्योतसंग्रहः सुगमः ॥

V. Bh. V., p. 144.

3. *Kashmir through the Ages*, G.L. Kaul, p. 63.

In this section we have two types of literature. The first type consists of the revealed i.e., Agamic literature and the second includes the works of human authorship. In the first category there are again two subtypes. One pertains to the Agamic Saiva literature of Kashmir in general which every system of the Kashmir Saivism feels impelled to draw upon, and which in its deliberations anticipates many Krama doctrines. The other relates to the exclusive Krama Agamas that are mainly responsible for the rise of divergent traditions with regard to the important Krama theses. Owing to the enormity of the literature of the first type it is not possible to discuss them here, more so in view of their having been resorted to wherever called for in the philosophical part of the thesis. This category includes such esteemed agamas as the *Malinivijaya*, *Sarvajnanottara*, *Brahmayamala*, *Tantraraja* and *Kiranagama*, etc. etc. The other type comprises the Krama agamas alone. They are but a few in number and the relevance of introducing them need not be questioned. The next category of works includes the works of human origin and though their names are known from references, their authors are not known and the texts are not extant. In view of the importance attached to them in the system, a reference to them seems justified. It is proposed to take up the agamas first and then, the other works.

(a) *The Krama Agamas*

Before the discussion of the individual agamas is embarked upon, it may be noted that the Krama agamas as such are of a comparatively later date than their counterparts in the general field. In this connection it is also interesting to note that they generally belong to the 'Nigama' class of the tantric classification. 'Agama' refers to that class of scriptural literature which is addressed to Parvati by Siva, while 'Nigama' is said to refer to works spoken by Parvati to Siva.¹ The

1. आगतं शिखवक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च गिरिजानने ।
गतं च वामुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ॥
निर्गतं गिरिजवक्त्राद् गतं च गिरिजश्रुतौ ।
गतं च वामुदेवस्य तस्मान्निगम उच्यते ॥

majority of the Krama agamas would fall in line with the Nigama class. In fact these two classes of agamas in the strict Krama parlance, represent the two tendencies distinguished by their respective emphasis on the supremacy of the either of Siva and Sakti. Let us now advert to the agamas proper in their probable chronological order.

(i) *Pancasatika or Devipancasatika*¹

The *Pancasatika* is one of the earliest or the earliest known Krama agama. Jayaratha explicitly tells us that this agama was known to Somananda.² Abhinava also seems to have referred to it.³ It was also known as *Devipancasatika*.⁴ A fairly definite date can be assigned to it. Since the *Pancasatika* contains the name of the first four teachers of the Krama including the last one i.e., Sivananda,⁵ and also since it was known to Somananda also, it may be placed somewhere in between them.

1. It has been included among "the works of Early Teachers" by Dr. Pandey, Vide *Abhi.*, pp. 471, 474. But it is not so. That it is an agama is proved by its construction and that it was taken to be so, is established by Jayaratha's own statement. In a passage quoted from it (*T.A.V.*, iii, p. 181) Devi is the speaker and Siva is being addressed, vide सा कला परमाकृति श्रेया भस्माङ्गभूषणा. For a similar passage also see p. 169. Likewise, Jayaratha is very clear on its being an Agama. Vide येन श्रीपञ्चशतिकादौ संहारकालीशब्दव्यपदेश्या, इति तन्नाम्ना आगम उच्यते, इति दूरेण संबद्धः, तदुक्तं तत्र *T.A.V.*, III, p. 166. For a similar statement of Jayaratha, also see pp. 160-161.
2. श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिकाऽपि अस्य श्रीसोमानन्दभट्टपादेष्यः प्रभृति त्रिकदशानवदेव गुरवः ।
Ibid., p. 194.
3. ततश्च प्रागियं शृद्धा तथाचाभासतोत्सुका ।
सृष्टिं कलयते देवी तन्नाम्नागम उच्यते ॥
T.A. 4. 148.
Jayaratha explains आगमे as श्रीपञ्चशतिकादौ ।
T.A.V., III, p. 158.
4. देवीपञ्चशताशयमाश्रित्य च भूतिराजपूर्वाणाम् इत्यभिदधद्भिर्भगवद्भिरेवोक्तम्...तहि श्रीपञ्चशतिकार्थमपि न जानीषे ।
Ibid., p. 194.
5. *T.A.V.*, XI, p. 31 (Ah. 29th).

Sivananda, the first preceptor, is ascribed to the first half of the ninth century and Somananda is distanced from him only by two generations - that is, Somananda belongs to the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. It is, therefore, quite likely that this agama would have come up towards the middle of the ninth century.

Coming to the views of the *Pancasatika* one finds that the Rudrakali, which signifies the nature of withdrawal with reference to the means of knowledge in Anakhya cakra, was termed Bhadrakali by it without any change in the meaning.¹ One of the important implications of Jayaratha's discussion on the pancasatika is that by including the name of Sukali in the list, the text seems to subscribe to the thirteen-kali theory.² This marks a sharp contrast from the *Kramastotra* which sticks to the twelve-kali doctrine. The opponents of Jayaratha object as to how he (Jayaratha) still maintains that the *Kramastotra* follows the *Pancasatika*. First, Jayaratha side-tracks the issue by calling attention to the original question - whether or not the *Kramastotra* adhered to the twelve-kali thesis³ - and then, retorts that if the opponent persists in his accusation he does not even know the meaning of the *Pancasatika*⁴. However, this goes to evince amply that its tradition had suffered a great setback by the time of Jayaratha. Even its text started having variants and naturally became liable to varying interpretations. Jayaratha has cited one such instance, while referring to Ojaraja's interpretation of a portion of it.⁵ Besides these it maintained a topsyturvy manner in Sthitikrama so as to hide the real Samvit-krama. In designing Pujakrama the Krama authors rather emulated it.⁶ Similarly it maintained the separate identity

1. *Ibid.* p. 173.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

3. *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 190-91,

4. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

5. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 197.

6. किं तु आगमे संवित्कर्मगोपनार्थम् आलूनविशीर्णतयैवमभिधानं, यथा श्रीपंचशक्तिके स्थिति-
क्रमेऽपि, यदेव चानुसृत्य महागुरुभिः पूजाक्रमः प्रकृतः ।

Ibid., III, pp. 161-62.

of the Cakras like Srsti and Samhara, etc.¹

(ii) *Sardhasatika*

The *Sardhasatika* is another important agama that completely dittoes the stand taken by the *Pancasatika* with regard to the precise number of Kalis in Anakhya Cakra. And, therefore it always mentioned Sthitikali after Srstikali. On the contrary, in the *Kramastotra* Rakta-kali and not Sthitikali is made to follow Srstikali. An objection is raised by the opponent as to whether it is not a clear violation of the agamic authority.² The context makes it abundantly clear that *Sardhasatika*, too, was an equally authoritative Krama agama as the *Pancasatika*, otherwise sanction of the same would not have been invoked on an exclusively Krama issue. The only other available reference to it has figured in a similar context.³ It appears to be a fairly old agama. On the basis of dialogue between it and the *Pancasatika* it may be assigned to the same period subject to future investigations in the field.

(iii) *Krama-rahasya*

The *Krama-rahasya* seems to be a minor agama. It is referred to only once by Abhinava.⁴ It may, therefore, be

1. तदेवमष्टनवमयोरपि चक्रयोः श्रीदेवीपञ्चशतिके सृष्टिसंहारचक्रयोरपि एकैकविधेति न कश्चिद्विरोधः ।

V.M.V., p. 71.

2. ननु सर्वत्रैवान्यत्र श्रीसृष्टिकाल्यनन्तरं श्रीस्थितिकास्या अभिधानम् यदुक्तं श्रीसार्धशतिके '...इति । तत्कथमिह तदनन्तरं श्रीरक्तकाल्यादिनिर्देशः कृतः, एवं हि आगमविरोधः स्यात् । अन्यत्र here means "texts other than the *Kramastotra*".

T.A.V., III, p. 161.

3. ननु क्रमदर्शने सर्वत्रैव श्रीसृष्ट्यादिदेवीनां मध्ये श्रीसुकाल्या भगवत्या अभिधानं, येन अनाख्यचक्रे त्रयोदश देव्यः...तदुक्तं श्रीपञ्चशतिके...। श्रीसार्धशतिकं तु समनन्तरमेव संवादितम् ।

Ibid., p. 189.

4. एवमस्य प्राधान्येऽपि अवान्तरवस्त्वपेक्षया शास्त्रान्तरेऽन्यदपि किञ्चित् प्रधानतयोज्यमित्याहुः—

श्रीमत्क्रमरहस्ये च न्यरूपि परमेशिना ।

अर्घपात्रं योगधाम दीप इत्युच्यते त्रयम् ॥

T.A. 29. 14.

(T.A.V., XI, p. 14, Ah. 29)

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concluded that this agama may not be as old as the *Pancasatika*, but its antiquity does go beyond Abhinava. Abhinava quotes it in a Kula context in order to show how the emphases vary from system to system. In Kula rituals wine is said to be of utmost importance. But, the *Krama-rahasya* is represented to hold the other view and, instead, attaches the supreme importance to the trio of Arghapatra, Yagadhama and Dipa. Now which else can this other system be? Obviously it ought to be Krama as is suggested by the very nomenclature of the text. That it belonged to the agama's category is confirmed by the fact that it was the Lord Himself who expounded this view in the *Krama-rahasya*. Perhaps, it mainly concentrated on the ritualistic part of the system.

(iv) *Kramasadbhava*

The *Krama-sadbhava* is again an agama of the Nigama type, because it is in the form of a dialogue between Parvati and Siva.¹ Authors of the rank and file of Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Mahesvarananda and Sitikanthacarya have referred to it.

It was possibly known as *Krama* also. While reasoning out the necessity of the removal of doubt, Abhinava looks up to the agamas as well. Among the other agamas the name of the *Krama* also appears.² Jayaratha's immediate interpretation of the word is in terms of the Krama philosophy, but soon after he quotes from each agama at issue and it is the *Krama*-

1. कालोत्थिता महादेव सानन्दा मन्दिनी शिवा ।

T.A.F., III, p. 190.

The address "Mahadeva" may be noted. Vide also

पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चबाहुमहाक्रमम् ॥

M.M.P., p. 108.

2. न चात्र युक्तिरेवास्ति यावदागमोऽपीत्याह—

श्रीसर्वाचारवीरलीलिशाचारक्रमादिषु ॥

शास्त्रेषु विलतं चैतत् तत्र तस्माच्छ्रूयते यतः ।

T.A., 12. 23-24.

क्रमः क्रमदर्शनम्,

T.A.F., VII, p. 106. (Ah. 12).

sadbhava which is quoted for the *Krama*.¹ This seems to be conclusively established, because elsewhere also Jayaratha refers to the *Krama Sadbhava* as *Kramabhattacharaka*, the title *bhattacharaka* being only an honorific one.² This is further confirmed by his reference to *Krama Sadbhava* as the *Kramasadbhavabhattacharaka*.³ It is thus certain that Abhinava by the name *Krama* means the *Kramasadbhava*. Consequently this agama, too, belongs to the period preceding Abhinava.

By the time of Jayaratha, people appear to have lost direct touch with the text. Evidently some confusion prevailed in respect of its actual stand on the number of Kalis to be adored in Anakhya-cakra. At one place, while invoking its authority in support of the Sodasara Cakra Jayaratha takes their number to be sixteen,⁴ while at other place the statement ascribed to it recognizes their number to be seventeen.⁵ Due to the unity of their source it is difficult to know today what its actual stand was. Yet, it is sure that it did not agree with the projected number of the deities at twelve or thirteen. Despite the controversy with regard to the real allegiance of the *Kramastotra*, there is no doubt that the *Kramastotra* took a different line from that of the *Kramasadbhava*. The view, therefore, that the *Stotrakara* closely followed this agama is erroneous and misleading.⁶ It coined a few phrases to describe

1. तत्रत्यमेव ग्रन्थैकदेशमुदाहरति..... । श्रीक्रमसद्भावैर्ऽपि—‘शंकाशून्यो भवेत्सदा’ इति ।
Ibid., 106-107.

2. श्रीक्रमभट्टारकादौ स्थितिनाशकालोऽव्यवस्थेऽप्येवमर्थः, यदुक्तं तत्र—।
Ibid., III, p. 163.

3. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकासीति व्यपदिष्टेऽप्यर्थः ।
Ibid., p. 173; also see p. 190.

4. यदभिप्रायेणैव श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचके षोडशैव देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः ।
T.A.V., III p. 136.

5. यतः श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके अनाख्यचके सप्तदश देव्यः पूज्यत्वेनोक्ताः, यदुक्तं तत्र..... ।
Ibid., p. 190.

6. अतएव च एतदाशयेन च श्रीस्तोत्रकारस्य पूजाक्रमः, इति न ग्राह्यम्—।
Ibid., p. 191.

certain deities. Thus Sthitikali is termed as Sthiti-nasakali¹ and Bhadrakali as Rudrakali.²

According to Sitikantha, the *Kramasadbhava* discussed Vrnda Cakra in detail.³ This is borne out by at least one passage, cited from it by Mahesvarananda, that deals with the Patakrama under Vrndacakra.⁴ The *Krama Sadbhava* is quoted again in support of his view that the order of the five functions of the Absolute, in which they ought to be worshipped, begins with Creation and ends with Bhasa.⁵ A few minor views also have been ascribed to the *Kramasadbhava*, which are not referred to here.⁶

(v) *Kalikakrama*

The utterances quoted from the *Kalikakrama* are marked by their genuine philosophical aptitude unnoticed in any of the agamas discussed so far. It is the reason why Ksemaraja⁷ quotes so profusely from it in his *Vimarsini* on the *Sivasutras*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

2. श्रीक्रमसद्भावभट्टारके रुद्रकालीति व्यपदिष्टा ।

Ibid., p. 173.

3. स च वृन्दक्रमः क्रमसद्भावे सविस्तरमुपदिष्टः ।

M.P.(S), p. 86.

4. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे—

ज्ञानं सृष्टिं विज्ञानीयात् स्थितिमन्त्रः प्रकीर्तितः ।

संहारं तु महाकालमेलापं परमं विदुः ॥

अनाख्यं शक्तिरूपं तु भासाख्यं क्षम्भुरूपकम् ।

पञ्चप्रकारमेतद्धि विज्ञेयं तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

M.M.P., p. 97.

5. यथा श्रीक्रमसद्भावे—

तेषां मध्यात् क्रमेणैव आदौ पूज्यस्तु कः क्रमः ।

तन्मे कथय सुश्रोणि विस्तरेण यथाविधि ॥

इति प्रश्नानन्तरम्—

पुरा यत्कथितं देव पञ्चबाह्यमहाक्रमम् ।

तेषां तु क्रमराजानां सृष्टिरूपोऽग्रतः सदा ॥

ततस्तु स्थितिसंहारमनाख्यं च ततः परम् ।

भासाख्यं च ततः पश्चाद् पूजयेदक्रमक्रमम् ॥

Ibid., p. 108.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 101.

7. *S.S.Vi*, pp. III, 113, 118, 119, 120, 123, 133, 139.

and the later authors do not, except for one identical passage.¹ Because with the passage of time real philosophical zeal started to simmer down among the Krama authors. Among the later authors are included Yogaraja, Sivananda (the author of the *Mahanayaprakasa*), *Jayaratha* and *Mahesvarananda*. The work also passed in the name of the *Devikakrama*. For, while quoting the some passage as hinted above, Mahesvarananda attributes it to the *Devikakrama*.²

The very first look at the extracts conveys the impression of their being from some philosophical treatise and not from an Agama. But a passage cited from it by Ksemaraja³ leaves no scope for doubting its agamic character. In this extract the work is said to be of divine origin, that is, the philosophical truths herein are revealed by Bhairava.

Coining to its time some broad outlines may be indicated. Till Abhinava there is no trace of the work; it is learnt from Ksemaraja for the first time. Since Ksemaraja claims to have received all his knowledge from Abhinava, it may be surmised that Abhinava at least knew of it. Even otherwise, the text might be contemporaneous with or slightly later than Abhinava, because one has already seen that *Vimarsini* is the last work of Ksemaraja.

As to its philosophical contents, one may begin with the most famous passage to which attention has been drawn. As its first premise it declares the entire manifold - whether internal or external - to be of the nature of pure awareness. It is awareness that assumes the form of respective objects.

1. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं बहिरन्तः प्रकाशते ।

ज्ञानादृते नार्थसत्ता ज्ञानरूपं ततो जयत् ॥

नहि ज्ञानादृते भावाः केनचिद्विषयीकृताः ।

ज्ञानं तदात्मतां यातमेतस्मादवसीयते ॥

T.A.V., III, p. 390; *P.S.V.*, p. 90; *M.M.P.*, p. 10.

2. तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं अवसीयते ॥ इति श्रीदेविकाक्रमस्थित्याः...

M.M.P., p. 10.

3. तथा च श्रीकालिकाक्रमे

तस्मान्निश्चयमसंदिग्धं बुद्ध्या योगं गुरोर्मुखात् ।

अविकल्पेन भावेन भावयेत्तन्मयत्वतः ॥

यावत् तत्समतां याति भगवान् भैरवोऽब्रवीत् । इति

S.S.Vi., p. 111.

Nobody has even visualised the objective world unless it has become a fact of his experience. Since awareness does not proceed without its object, just as affirmation is meaningless without negation; and, since the two are always simultaneously realised, the awareness and its object are bound to be one in essence. It is why the Krama system views the objective variety as an expression of the Absolutic dynamism.¹

In another similarly popular passage it draws one's attention to the nature of the Absolute as supreme awareness and that of its power, called Vimarsa, as omniscience. In fact the two cannot be visualised analytically. Thus the process of Japa, if undertaken by a yogin, transpires to be self-reflection on the self-divinity.² In a similar strain it is insisted upon that one, who could realize knowledge - without its referent and - as consisting in self-consciousness, achieves true freedom even during the embodied span of life.³ Ignorance and knowledge, both being the manifestations of the ultimate reality, the talk of destruction of either is meaningless. Because, even when the interplay of nescience is said to have been eliminated, the real nature of it remains intact. To talk of rise and annihilation of nescience is the sheer luxury of figurative language. The only cure, therefore, by implication, lies in appreciating the

1. कालिकाक्रमेऽपि

तत्तद्रूपतया ज्ञानं... अवलीयते ॥
अस्तिनास्तिविभागेन निषेधविधियोगतः ।
ज्ञानात्मता ज्ञेयनिष्ठा भावानां भावनाबलात् ॥
युगपद्वेदनाज्ज्ञानशेषयोरेकरूपता ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi, p. 118.

2. तस्य देवादिदेवस्य परबोधस्वरूपिणः ।

विमर्शः परमा शक्तिः सर्वज्ञा ज्ञानशालिनी ॥
इति श्रीकालिकाकमनिरूपितरीत्या ... स्वात्मदेवताविमर्शानवरतावर्तनात्मा जपो जायते ।

S.S.Vi, p. 113; also see p. 139.

Vide also T.A.V., III, pp. 187, 387.

3. अतएव श्रीकालिकाक्रमे...

तथा सर्वं शुद्धं निरालम्बं ज्ञानं स्वप्रत्ययात्मकम् ।
यः पश्यति स भुक्तात्मा जीवन्नेव न संशयः ॥

Ibid., p. 119.

basically Absolutic character of the two.¹ Thus the experience of pleasure and pain is a necessary outcome of the enormous mental construction. A yogin is advised to pierce through this great illusion of duality so as to attain the real fruit of the yoga.² In fact, the entire objective paraphernalia beginning with the categories of the pure order such as Siva etc. is the logical corollary of the loss of knowledge coupled with the rise of mental constructions. And all the good or bad objects stem from the same. What one calls evil, leads one to pain and hell because of its character as sheer intellectual fabrication.³ It is, therefore, imperative for one to eliminate all the empirical as well as imaginary associations (Vrtti), to rest on the inner plane, to relinquish the empirical network of mental constructs through one's monistic attitude, and then to remain self-composed and ever prepared to kill the element of time, if he cares to reach the highest stage of his existence consisting in freedom. Such a view needs no explanation. Because, just as in one's daily life the objects of a dream are no longer perceptible when the person is awake, in the same way the world ceases to figure in the yogin's perception when he views

1. यदुक्तं तद्वैव—

नाशेऽविद्याप्रपञ्चस्य स्वभाषो न विनश्यति ।
उत्पत्तिध्वंसविरहात्तस्मान्नाशो न वास्तवः ॥
यतोऽविद्यासमुत्पत्तिध्वंसाभ्यामुपचर्यते ।
यत्स्वभावेन नष्टं न तन्नष्टं कथमुच्यते ॥ इति ।

Ibid., p. 120.

2. तदुक्तं श्रीकालिकाक्रमे—

सुखदुःखादिविज्ञानविकल्पानल्पकल्पितम् ।
भिरत्रा द्वैतमहामोहं योगी योगफलं लभेत् ॥

S.S.Vi., p. 123.

3. तदुक्तं तद्वैव—

यदविद्यावृत्ततया विकल्पविधियोगतः ।
शिवानीनैव इदिति समुद्भाषयतेऽखिलान् ॥
ततः शुभाशुभाः भावा लक्ष्यन्ते तद्वशत्त्वतः ।
अशुभेभ्यश्च भावेभ्यः परं दुःखं प्रजायते ॥ इति

Ibid., p. 123; also see, p. 131.

it through Bhavana i.e. identifying it with the universal self.¹

This was of course a Krama text as the above deliberations would show, in addition to the suggestivity of the title.

(vi) *Krama-siddhi*

The *Kramasiddhi* is an agama of a later origin. It is difficult to ascertain its exact period but it was known to none of Abhinava, Ksemaraja and Jayaratha. Throughout the history of the Krama thought it is Mahesvarananda alone who draws our attention to it.² It, therefore, appears likely that the work did not come into light until the lapse of the 11th century.

The lower limit may further be stretched upto the time of Jayaratha. It may also interest one to note that even in later Krama or other tannic literature one does not hear of this work. It, therefore, must have been a minor work. It chose the form of a dialogue between two - the God and the Goddess. But it is doubtful who really played the role of teacher and who that of disciple. Because, of all the four extracts cited by Mahesvarananda only two have some bearing on this point. In one Siva is addressed by Devi who imparts to him the secrets of the Samvitkrama.³ whereas in the other Siva is approached by Devi and he tells her the esoteric

1. यद्वक्तं तत्रैव—

यथा स्वप्नानुभूतार्थान्प्रबुद्धो नैव पश्यति ।

तथा भावनया योगी संसारं नैव पश्यति ॥ इति । तथा

निरस्य सदसद्वृत्तीः संश्रित्य पदमान्तरम् ।

विहाय कल्पनाजालमद्वैतेन परापरम् ।

यः स्वात्मनिरतो नित्यं कालग्रासैकतत्परः ।

कैवल्यपदभाग्योगी स निर्वाणपदं लभेत् ॥ इति ।

S.S.Vi., pp. 133-34.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 89, 97, 101, 109.

3. यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—

सवित्कर्म देव शृणु वक्ष्यामि सुन्दर ।

M.M.P., p. 97.

significance of the word Krama.¹ The obvious conclusion seems to be that this agama adopted a midway course and alternately subscribed to both the tendencies about the concept of the Absolute in the Krama system.

Certain other views, beside those described above, have come down to us. There were varying opinions about the precise order of the five flows (Pancavaha) of the Universal Energy. The order followed by Mahesvarananda was the one laid down by the *Kramasiddhi*.² The question has been fully considered in connection with this study on the Pancavaha. In another passage, the *Kramasiddhi* is represented to have prescribed a specific type of the Patakrama. The Patakrama is one of the constituents of the eightfold approach to the Vrnda Cakra. The Pata consists in finding out the basic identity between Pancavaha and Vrndacakra. But the same may be found to consist in the identity between the five siddhas namely, Jnanasiddhas etc., and the five Absolutic functions ranging from Srsti to Bhasa.³

He also explains the logic behind naming a particular power. It is to be recalled that in each of the five powers (Srsti etc.) all the five powers are present, yet each of them is so termed as to indicate the most predominant one in the group.

1. यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—

क्रकारः क्रोधरूपस्तु मकारो मङ्गलो भवेत् ।
क्रोधे तु मङ्गलं कुर्यात् क्रमः कालक्रमो भवेत् ॥
गुर्वायत्तं क्रमज्ञानमाज्ञासिद्धिकरं परम् ।
क्रमज्ञानान्महादेवि त्रैलोक्यं कथलीकृतम् ॥

Ibid., p. 109.

2. तत्र तत्संप्रदायानुगुण्यात् तन्निश्चितिरुह्या । अस्मदक्रमस्तु निर्दिष्टक्रम एव । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ..... ॥

M.M.P., p. 89.

3. पञ्चवाहवृन्दचक्रयोरैकात्म्यानुसन्धानं पात इति पातप्रकारः ।

एवं सृष्ट्यादिक्रमेऽपि पातोऽनुसंधेयः । यथोक्तं श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
संविद्विद्मं देव शृणु बध्नामि सुन्दर ।
सृष्टिं स्थितिं च संहारानाख्याभासास्वरूपकम् ॥
ज्ञानमात्रं च भेलापं शाक्तं शान्भवसंयुतम् ॥

Ibid., p. 97.

A metaphor will elucidate it. The milk, though present in whole of a cow's body, drips down through her udder only. Likewise, the power of the Lord is all-pervasive and all-inclusive, yet it spreads fully through one power.¹

All these concepts predominate the later phase of the Krama system. This also testifies to its recency in origin.

With this agama one comes to the close of the Krama list of the agamas. But this simply shows the limitations of our knowledge and information at this stage. Numerous references, made to and extracts quoted from the anonymous sources, simply labelled as the agama,² will perhaps bear out the above statement.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the agamas named *Brahmayamala*, *Tantraraja* *Bhattaraka* etc., have not been included among the Krama agamas, as has been done in certain quarters.³ Because in the first place, they belong to the general category of agamas and, in the second place, the contents of the manuscript of the *Brahmayamala*, available in the library of Asiatic Society of Bengal⁴ and the study made by John Woodroffe of the *Tantraraja*⁵ do not present them as exclusive Krama agamas. It is of course a different matter that they do contain useful material on the Krama system too, but not as the Krama system as such but as a part of the wider tantra literature. We have, therefore, not ventured to dilate on them at the moment.

(b) *Non-Agamic Krama works*

Here again the proposed discussion will be restricted to the exclusive Krama texts.

1. तत्तद्विक्तालोपसंग्रहात् सृष्ट्यादीनाम् पृथग्व्यवस्था । यथा श्रीक्रमसिद्धौ—
दोहे व्याप्तं गवि क्षीरं स्तनाभ्यां प्रसृतम् यथा ।
सर्वगा व्यापिनी सूक्ष्मा एकस्मिन् प्रसृता शिवा ॥

M.M.P. p. 101.

2. *Vide*, for instance, *T.A.V.*, III, pp. 132, 171; *M.P.(S).*p. 45 etc.

3. *Abhi.*, pp. 470-71.

4. MS No. 6392, Catalogue No. 5892, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII (Tantras), Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 94-95.

5. *Tantraraja Tantra* (A Short analysis), Sir John Woodroffe, with a Preface by Yogi Suddhananda Bharati, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

(i) *Krama-Sutra*

About the *Krama-Sutra* certain remarks have already been made while discussing Ksemaraja who, for the first time, invites our attention to this text. It was probably written in the Sutra style as the title and the two extracts go to show. The most significant thing about it seems that it was originally written in the own vernacular of the author.¹ The necessary implication being that the Sanskrit version or rendering cited by him was done either by him or was done in his time. If this hypothesis be true, the *Krama-Sutra* in its original form might have been an older text than Abhinava. But, in any case, it must belong to the same period as Abhinava does. This also shows that the trend of composing the Krama works in vernaculars, which later on was acknowledged to be a salient feature of the Krama literature, had its seeds in the early stages of the Krama history. The first of the two Sutras quoted by Ksemaraja asks the aspirant to consume the objects of the sense which act like fetters, just as the fire set ablaze consumes fuel.² The second Sutra lays down the twofold path towards self-realization. The first, which is characterized by inwardness, is known as the Krama Mudra. This consists in turning from the outward to the inward. The second, which is called Mudra-krama, consists in looking from the inward to the outward, that is, in looking upon the worldly objectivity as an expansion of the inner self.³ Both these types are the spontaneous outcome of Samavesa. The second Sutra has been commented upon by Ksemaraja.⁴ Mahesvarananda also

1. तद्वनं पूर्वमुहभिः स्वभाषामयेयुः क्रमसूत्रेषु ।

P. Hr., p. 79.

2. यथा वह्निस्त्वोदितो दाह्यं दहति तथा विषयपाशान् भक्षयेत् ।

P. Hr., pp. 77-78.

3. यथोक्तं क्रमसूत्रेषु—

क्रममुद्रया अंतःस्वरूपया बहिर्मुखः समाविष्टो भवति साधकः । तत्रादौ बाह्यात् अंतःप्रवेशः, आभ्यन्तरात् बाह्यस्वरूपे प्रवेशः, आवेशवशात् जायते—इति सबाह्याभ्यन्तरोऽयं मुद्राक्रमः ।

Ibid., pp. 91-92.

4. अत्रायमर्थः.....।

Ibid., pp. 92-94.

refers to the second Sutra and quotes it together with its explanation by Ksemaraja.¹ But it looks quite feasible that Mahesvarananda did not have the actual text before him, because he does not appear to quote from the original itself but from the *Pratyabhijnahrdaya* instead, which contains both the Sutras as well as its exposition. Moreover, he does not add a word of his own to it.

(ii) *Siddhasutra*

It is referred to only once in the *Mahanayaprakasa* (T). There were two traditions with regard to the proper order in which the various cycles were supposed to succeed one another for the purpose of worship. One of the traditions placed Anahyacakra immediately after Vrnda-cakra and discarded the worship of the three cycles such as Srsti etc. This was probably the tradition followed by Jayaratha etc. One may infer this from Jayaratha's criticism of the *Mahanayaprakasa's* attitude as representing opponent's tradition. The *Mahanayaprakasa* did not agree with his view and maintained that after Vrnda-cakra these cycles must be worshipped in order to ensure the total completion of Pujana that results in acquisition of the tremendous capacity. In this context the *Siddha-Sutra* is quoted in support.² It holds that the worship of all these cakras leads to the attainment of the Khecara state. And as a secondary outcome of the self-knowledge one is able to command the Siddhis like Anima etc. on their own accord.

In this connection it is to be specially noted that Sitanantha also refers to the *Subhasita* (pithy or noble sayings) of some Siddha.³ He has quoted some Siddhapada earlier. Both,

1. यदुक्तं श्रीकमसूत्रेषु—वाह्यादन्तःप्रवेशः आभ्यन्तराद्वा वाह्यस्वरूपानुप्रवेशः इति । तथा च व्याख्यातं श्रीमत्क्षेमराजेन.....।

M.M.P., p. 166.

2. अस्मन्मतेऽपि तदपि परिपूर्णैर्मिष्यते ।
एतत्समाहृदिवशात् प्रभावा हि प्रवर्तते ॥
भूजनात् खेचरत्वं हि मिदमूत्रेषु गम्यते ।
आत्मज्ञानात् प्रवर्तते यथेष्टमणिमादयः ॥

M.P. (T), 8.26, 28.

3. तथा च मिदस्य सुभाषितम्—पिथिव आपता तेज उकारस ।

M.P. (S), pp. 59-60; also see p. 32.

however, appear to be one, owing to the identity of the extracts attributed to them. It is not known if the *Siddha-sutras* have to do anything with the *Siddha-subhasitas*, if one is permitted to present them in this way. The only hurdle seems to be the language. Because, the *Subhasitas* have been composed in Prakṛta, whereas the *Siddhasutra* is apparently a Sanskrit work. However, this is left out as an unsettled question.

The work, in question, belongs to a later date. Siva-nanda II, the author of *Mahanayaaprakasa* (T) is assigned to the second and third quarter of the twelfth century. The work, therefore, may be assigned to a slightly earlier period.

(iii) *Mahanaya-paddhati*

It was a minor work and is referred to only once by Mahesvarananda.¹ It is quoted to substantiate the contention that the external formalities amount to plain mockery. According to it, the strong and abiding reflection on the ultimate reality unobscured by anything constitutes the genuine form of worship. This is a peculiar Krama thesis. In addition, the title of the text goes to prove its Kramic complexion. It might be chronologically slightly anterior to Mahesvarananda who alone refers to it.

(iv) *Kramodaya*

The *Kramodaya* seems to be an important work. Two extracts from it appear in the *Parimala* on the *Maharthaman-jari*.² Amrtananda in his *Yogini-hrdayadipika*³ refers to it twice, though citing the same passage. Bhaskaracarya in the *Setubandha*⁴ commentary on the above also alludes to the work repeating the quotation just mentioned.

1. इत्यादिनीत्या बाह्याङ्गम्बरः केवलं विडम्बनामात्रफलकतया पर्यवस्यति । तया च श्रीमद्भानुपद्धतौ—
परमनिरावरणात्मनि रूपे यो हृदयरः परामर्शः ।
पूजनमेतदितोऽर्थं प्रभुणा निरणामि यद्यपि प्रकृतम् ॥

M.M.P., pp. 111-12.

2. *M.M.P.*, pp. 50, 87.
3. *Y.H.D.*, pp. 266, 283.
4. *Y.H.S.B.*, pp. 286.

Its main accent seems to have been ritualistic. However, in one passage it refers to the five limiting conditions of the individual subject as such as Raga, Kala etc., due to which the universal self appears as personal self.¹ In the other, he calls upon the aspirant to perform Duti-yaga before he embarks upon the worship of nine powers stationed in the body.² The stress on ritualism was so predominant that fivefold esoteric worship (Pancamakara) seems to have overshadowed other things. Like sex in the former, wine occupies a place of eminence in yet another extract. According to it once the liquor, which is a sort of final oblation (Purnahuti) and is defined by harmony of 'I' and 'this' experience, gets in, it obliterates the duality; and the resulting pleasure comes to persist even though there is visibly no object to cause pleasure.³ Hence, it is meant to suggest that one should worship the external cycles only when one's mind has become stable and poised.

In this connection an important point deserves careful attention. The verse quoted by Amrtananda and Bhaskararaya

1. तदुक्तं श्रीक्रमोदये—

रागो माया कला विद्या नियतिः काल एव च ।
पञ्चवृत्त्याश्रयः सर्वं पाशाश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

M.M.P., p. 50.

2. एवं पीठपरामर्शस्य प्राधान्यं द्योतयितुं ह्यादौ द्वतीयजनमारम्भणीयतयोद्भास्यते । अथा श्रीक्रमोदये—

स्त्रियः सर्वेषु वर्येषु योगिन्यः स्थूने संशयः ।
देहवद् योगिनिर्मुक्तिस्तु आत्मवस्त्रिणशोधनम् ॥
योनौ नवाक्षरी न्यस्य लिङ्गे सप्तदशाक्षरीम् ।
गुरुचक्रस्य पूजार्थं कुर्याद् योगिनिभेलनम् ॥
नवाक्षर्या तु मन्त्रेण स्थापयेत्लिङ्गपीठवत् ।
शिवशक्त्यात्मभावेन पुरुषो मन्थकः स्मृतः ॥
मन्थयेदात्मनः शक्तिं मधुवच्चक्रकलशोणितम् ।

M.M.P., p. 87.

3. मन्त्रारणिमथनसम्भूतं इदं ताहन्तासामरस्यरूपं मद्यरूपं घृतपूर्णं हृदि बहुशो हृत्वा परिरक्षुर-
त्परमानन्दो भवेदित्यान्तरपूर्णाहृतिः । अतएव —

प्रविष्टेऽन्तः सिन्धुरसे भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।

सर्वैर्यमैति चमत्कारं विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥ इति

क्रमोदयोक्तरीत्या मनसि स्थिरीभूते बाह्यचकार्त्तनं कुर्यादित्याह — 1

Y.H.D., p. 266; also see, pp. 283, 286.

also occurs with little modification in the *Mahanayaprakasa(T)*.¹ It forms part of the text and there is absolutely no hint of its having been borrowed from some other source. The first ever mention of the *Kramodaya* which finds in Mahesvarananda and Amrtananda is not far away from him, hence the *Kramodaya* does not seem to be an old text. Mahesvarananda also refers to the *Mahanayaprakasa*. That means the two were different works. Now the question is which is the borrower. The whole situation is confusing. The answer depends upon another question - which work is earlier? If the *kramodaya* is earlier the *Mahanayaprakasa* must have borrowed from it, and if later, the *Kramodaya* must be the borrower. But, since (i) Sivananda II the author of the *Mahanayaprakasa*, belongs to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century, (ii) the *Kramodaya* is earliest referred to towards the close of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, and (iii) the verse in question is a part of the text and fits well in the context and conforms to the construction of the text, one may be tempted, for the time-being, to conclude that it is *Kramodaya* which appears to have borrowed from the *Mahanayaprakasa(T)*.

(v) *Amavasyatrimisika*

The *Amavasyatrimisika* seems to be an important text of the age of decadence. It was produced during the lull between Mahesvarananda and Sitikantha who refers to it.² What was the real purport behind such nomenclature is a matter of guess today. Either it contained thirty verses or, like the *Paratrimisika*, dealt with the three Absolutic powers. Sitikantha has elsewhere quoted a verse bringing out the etymological meaning of the word *Amavasya*.³ The verse is self-explanatory. What is important to note in this connection is that Ramyadeva describes

1. प्रविष्टेज्जतः श्रीधुर (संज्ञे) भेदनिर्हरणात्मके ।

स्वैर्यमेति चमत्कारो विना विषयसंगतिम् ॥

M.P.(T), 9.43

2. *M.P.(S).p.p.* 9, 13.

3. अमा नाम रक्षे रश्मिर्यस्या यमति चन्द्रमा ।

अमायां वसते यस्मादमावस्या त्वतः स्मृता ॥

Ibid., p. 82.

the Krama system as the one steeped in or infused by the idea of Amavasya.¹ It, therefore, appears fairly certain to take this work as belonging to the Krama system.

This work was probably more famous as the *Samvada*, because the first of the three verses quoted from the *Amavasya-trimsika* has been attributed to the *Samvada*.² Otherwise, *Samvada* as a loose expression stands for a dialogue or discourse. A perusal of the extract reveals that the book probably owed its name to the three aspects of the ultimate power of the Lord, the three aspects being Will, Knowledge and Action. The present judgement is based on the second verse of the passage. In other words it speaks of the transcendence-plus-immanence, all-pervasiveness, infinitude, ubiquity and equanimity of the Absolute. The innate power of the Lord is all-powerful and, though one in herself, she accounts for the multiplicity by virtue of Her constituting the powers such as Will, Knowledge and Action. But this duality is nothing but functional when She is at work. Otherwise on retiring from activity, She rests in Siva, the infinite Absolute and principle of harmony, holding these differences back in Herself.³

The esoteric idea of the Amavasya came into existence with reference to the Krama system with Ramyadeva who

1. आकस्मिकं करैर्महाकालसंकषिणीकिरणैः चिद्रूपचन्द्रपीयूषरसचर्वणेन अमावस्यावासना-
वासितः कोऽपि संप्रदायः उट्टुङ्कितः ।

B. U. V., p. 29.

2. विश्रामस्थानम् परमात्मा महार्थः । तथा चोक्तम् संवादे —
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च सर्वव्यापी महेश्वरः ॥
इति स एव महार्थनामा ।

M. P. (S), pp. 13-14.

3. तथा च आमावस्यात्रिंशिकायाम् —
योऽसौ परापरः शान्तः शिवः सर्वगतो महान् ।
अप्रमेयो ह्यनन्तश्च व्यापी सर्वेश्वरेश्वरः ॥
तस्यापि सहजा शक्तिः सर्वशक्तिमयी परा ।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियात्वेन सैवेका बहुधा स्थिता ॥
तस्या उदितरूपाया ये भेदा कार्यतो गताः ।
तानन्तस्तु समाहृत्य सामरस्ये शिवे स्थिता ॥ इति ।

M. P. (S), pp. 9-10.

belongs to the first half of the 12th century. And it is referred to by Sitikantha, who flourished at the threshold of the 15th-16th century. The work, therefore, may be placed somewhere during this intervening period.

(vi) *Rajika*

This seems to be a minor work of very late origin and has been mentioned once only by Sitikantha. As to the nature of the contents, it will suffice to say that it dealt with the real character of the great Yaga, otherwise known as Madhya-yaga also. It has three varieties namely, gross, subtle and the ultimate. In the first stage mind, intellect and ego-feeling are withdrawn in order to put an end to the emergence of mental uprisings (Cittavrttis). In the second round the vital airs are withdrawn. Ultimately Prakrti, the principle of pure awareness, makes an anxious present of herself to the Lord finding Him half-satiated. This is the land of unison, harmony. It is in this connection a verse is cited from the *Rajika*.¹ In the *Viveka*, Jayaratha refers to certain Rahasyarajikayoginis who were blessed, due to the grace of Divinity, with a beatific vision and attainment of true knowledge. What one is not supposed to miss in this context is that Rajikayoginis have been referred to as belonging to the "different" system. Since the context is primarily occupied with the Kula system, the 'different' system means "other than the Kula". Hence, in the Kula context these Rajikayoginis are to be remembered only and not worshipped.² It is not known if the Rajikayoginis and the *Rajika* text are correlated. This episode also lends an additional weight to the thesis that it is most likely a Krama text.

Like its predecessor it also belongs to an age prior to Sitikantha.

1. स्थूलसूक्ष्मपरस्त्रीधा मध्ययागः, सामरस्यभूषयेयम्, तथा च श्रीराजिकायाम्—

भूयस्का विश्वमयोर्धं तृप्तिं न यदागतः कुलेमानः ।

देव्या तदा स्वदेहशुश्रूषं निवेदितः कुलाधिपते ॥

इति तांश्चतुरो निवेद्य आकुलीभूता आत्मानं पराभाभूषं समरसीभावयति इति उपहारार्थः ।

M.P. (S), p. 55.

2. श्रीरहस्यराजिकायोगिनीभिः स्वभावाद् भगवत्याः प्रसादेन दृष्टं विग्रहाज्ज्ञानं लब्धम्...। तदमूर्तत्वादिति ते केवलं स्मर्तव्या एष, न तु विज्ञेयात् सम्पूज्याः पूर्वगुह्यस्तथा नोपदिष्टा इत्यर्थः ।

T.A.V., XI, p. 33 (Ab. 29).

CHAPTER VII

KRAMA'S PLACE IN THE WIDER FRAMEWORK OF KASHMIR SAIVISM WITH AN EYE UPON ITS GENERAL TANTRIC CHARACTER

*A synthetic approach to correlation between basic structure
of Tantra and Kashmir Saivism vis-a-vis sixfold Artha
and fourfold Upaya and its bearing on the Krama system.*

I. Overall Perspective of Synthesis between Saiva Metaphysics and Tantricism

Throughout all these pages an attempt has been made to point out and gauge the quantum of the contribution made by the Krama system to the cause of metaphysics and mysticism of monism against the background of its twin personalities condensed into one. These two aspects are its being a part of the philosophical complex known as Kashmir Saivism in the first place and, at the same time, retaining the general Tantric character in the second place. In this section, therefore, our main task would be to see how this synthesis is arrived at. In other words, an effort will be made to examine the perspective in which the sixfold Tantric approach defined by the Arthas is coordinated with or corresponds to the fourfold approach of the Kashmir Saivism spelt by the Upayas. And in so doing the place of Krama is to be determined in this perspective.

2. Jayaratha's Consistent Approach to the Problem

Mahesvarananda and Jayaratha, the two savants of the Krama system, take up the issue. Mahesvarananda regards the Mahartha or Krama system as the ultimate among all the philosophical disciplines and the culminating point of all the

six stages of Tantric culture.¹ But this is hardly a scientific approach. In fact it is dismissing outright the very issue out of the doctrinal enthusiasm. Jayaratha, on the contrary, is very balanced, logical and to the point.² The subsequent observations are, therefore, drawn from him.

3. Sixfold Artha Defining the Six Approaches to Tantric Understanding

The six ways or approaches to the understanding of the Tantra, as outlined by the *Yogini-hrdaya*, are - (i) Bhavartha, (ii) Sampradayartha, (iii) Nigarbhartha, (iv) Kaulikartha, (v) Sarvarahasyartha, and (vi) Mahatattvartha.³ All being technical concepts it is no use rendering them into the English language. Let us see what they stand for.

Jayaratha, at the very outset, cautions that the traditionalists should not look for the reproduction of the orthodox and conventional views. He is approaching them entirely from the point of view of their precise implications.⁴ Except the methodology, he toes the line adopted by the *Yogini-hrdaya Tantra*.⁵

1. योऽयं महाप्रबन्धेन उपक्रान्तो

भावार्थः सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।

तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥

इत्याश्नयस्यित्या तत्तदशेषार्थतत्त्ववैचित्र्यसमष्ट्यधिष्ठानरूपतया महान् सर्वार्थभेदप्रभेद-
क्रोडीकारविचक्षणोऽयं प्राप्यं तत्त्वम्... इति ।

M. M. P., p. 183.

2. V. M. V., pp. 136-140.

3. भावार्थः सम्प्रदायार्थो निगर्भार्थश्च कौलिकः ।

तथा सर्वरहस्यार्थो महातत्त्वार्थ एव च ॥

एवमेतन्महेशानि षड्विधं पारमेश्वरम् ।

व्याख्यानं सर्वतन्त्राणां पारम्पर्येण लभ्यते ॥

(Quoted from T. H. 2.15) V. M. V., p. 136.

4. इह... इत्याद्युक्तं व्याख्यानं प्रतिपदं बोद्धा क्रियमाणं अन्वयिस्तराधानमालोक्यमिवानी तात्पर्यमात्रगत्या उच्यते ।

V. M. V., pp. 136-137.

5. यदागमः

अक्षराद्यो हि भावार्थः केवलः परमेश्वरि ।

सम्प्रदायो महाबोधरूपो गुह्यमुखस्थितः ।

निगर्भोऽपि महादेवि शिवगुणात्मगोचरः ।

कौलिकः स्वात्मसंवित्तिरारमसंवित्तिपूर्वकः ॥

रहस्यार्थो महागुणस्तस्यैः प्रत्ययकारकः ।

महापरमतत्त्वार्थः परमात्मवदास्थितः ॥

Bhavartha consists in the literal meaning according to the intention of the speaker at the time. It may even belong to the other sciences than the Tantra proper. The same, despite its externality, is to be regarded as *Sampradayartha*, if it is meant for enlightenment owing to the exposition of self-knowledge etc. The only conditions it must comply with are that it should be consistent with the Saiva teachings and uncensured by the teachers. Vedic passages like “आत्मा वा रे ज्ञातव्यो मन्त्रश्चः” and “सकृद् विभातोऽयमात्मा” furnish fine examples of the same. But there is one difficulty. The self in the above quoted passages is represented to have shone only once (*Sakrdvibhata*), whereas Siva is a continuously manifest principle. Similarly, these passages depict the self as knowable (*Jnatavya*) and thus reduce it to the status of an object. Consequently it would deserve its reference as 'this' instead of 'I', while the self-luminous Siva is always a subject, an agent. According to Jayaratha no fundamental incongruity is involved here. In fact, Siva, the principle of reality, never forsakes its agenthood even when he manifests the objectivity within because the objective multiplicity is an expression of his unfettered freedom. Since Siva himself becomes an object, there is no discrepancy if he is referred to by 'this' pronoun.¹ The viewing of the manifold variety as essentially one with Siva becomes possible only when objectivity is there. It is why the third type named *Nigarbhartha* consists in its emphasis on realisation of the internal character of multiplicity as Siva by the pure self² which may be Siva, the teacher, or the aspiring self. If this process is continued, a stage comes

शिवगुर्वात्मसंवादरूपेणार्थविभासकः ।

निरस्तसर्वसंकल्पविकल्पस्थितिपूर्वकः ॥

विद्यापीठनिबद्धेषु संस्थितः पिण्डसिद्धिदः ॥

Quoted from *T.H., Ibid*, pp. 138-39.

1. Cp. स्वात्मन्यामुक्तमात्मानं स्वात्मन्याद्वयात्मनः ।

प्रभुरीक्षादिसंकल्पनिर्माय व्यवहारयेत् ॥

I.P.K., 1.3.16.

2. Cp. आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वचनद्वयः ।

अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्त्रयः शिवः ॥

S.Dr., 1.2.

when the Universal Self is instinctively realized as principle of self-luminous pure awareness even in our empirical and phenomenal experiences. Since the prius of such awareness is self and the same is technically known as Kula,¹ the fourth type passes by the name of *Kaulikartha*.²

In the above noted stages what happens is that the emphasis is gradually shifted from 'this' to 'I'. In the first instance, the aspirant has to exert himself to realize this identity, whereas in the second this identity of the self with objectivity itself becomes a fact of experience. Here, too, once this process is rigorously pursued further, immediate self-revelation takes place-the objectivity not being identified with but transformed into pure subjectivity.³ Since it is impossible for an unaccomplished layman to appreciate it, it is termed as *Rahasyartha* (Secret meaning), the fifth type. When even this stage is transcended and pure, alogical, irrelational immediacy prevails and there being no further destiny, it is designated as *Maha-parama-tattvartha*,⁴ the sixth type.

4. Synthesis between six Arthas and four Upayas arrived at

Now, it may be noted that the first two stages, types or approaches obviously find an analogue in the Anava Upaya⁵ which, with the aid of external means, tries to unfold the aspirant's real nature. The extrinsic means include, *inter alia*,

1. कुलमात्मस्वरूपं तु.....।

V.M.V., p. 138.

2. Cp. स्वात्मेव सर्वजन्तूनाम् एक एव महेश्वरः ।
विश्वरूपोऽहमिदमित्यखण्डामसंबुद्धितः ॥

I.P.K., 4.1.1.

3. Cp. ततः स्फुटतमोदारताद्वयपरिवृत्तिता ।
संविदध्येति विमलाधिकल्पस्वरूपताम् ॥

T.A., 4.6.²

4. Cp. तेषामिव समभाति सर्वतो भावमण्डलम् ।
पुरःस्थमेव संवित्तिर्भैरवाग्निविलापितम् ॥

T.A., 2.35.

5. इदं च द्विविधमपि व्याख्यानं वर्णाद्यात्मणोपायरूपम् ।

V.M.V., p. 137.

usage of sacred syllables etc. Similarly, Nigarbhartha and Kaulikartha find their counterpart in the Saktopaya¹ because the Saktopaya consists in processes designed to achieve the refinement of Vikalpas (logical constructions) The purification of logical construction or dualistic consciousness, by definition, means a thorough overhauling of the perspective with reference to objectivity. In simple words, the Saktopaya consists in realising 'this' as an expression of 'I' (Sarvo mamayam vibhavah). Yet, despite this transformation, the Vikalpa remains. The Saktopaya elevates the relation of duality into that of unity and harmony, but the relation itself does not vanish. Therefore, then comes Sambhava which corresponds to the fifth type i.e., Rahasyartha or Sarvarahasyartha and consists in the indeterminate self-realization.² And the last stage i.e., Mahaparamatattvartha is equalled by Anupaya which is the reality *per se* - Awareness pure and simple. In fact Sambhava and Anupaya are not generally distinguished because the Anupaya reflects the highest stage of the Sambhava. In that case the Sambhava would stand for both of the final types.

5. Conclusion : Nigarbhartha and Kaulikartha Versus Saktopaya i.e., Krama

Thus we see how the synthesis between the fundamental structure of the Kashmir Saivism and that of the Tantra in general is brought about. It is to be noted that Krama is generally identified with Saktopaya. Hence Saktopaya on the one hand and Nigarbhartha along with Kaulikartha on the other, provide the common ground where the Tantra and Kashmir Saivism meet. It is, however, beyond the scope of this section to go into the intricacies of the Saktopaya etc., because the same is taken up for detailed analysis in the very first chapter of the philosophical study. These lines are, therefore, intended

1. एतदपि प्रकारद्वयं विकल्पसंस्काररूपतया ज्ञात्तोपायात्मकम् ।

Ibid., p. 138.

2. रहस्यसम्बन्धाभिहितः ज्ञानधरोपायात्मा पञ्चमः ।

V.M.V., p. 133.

to serve as a preliminary to the following section. But for Jayaratha it would not have been possible to find out the traditional, yet logical, attitude towards the two independent literatures - Tantra and Kashmir Saivism - which have more points of contact than those of departure.

CHRONOLOGICAL TREE OF THE KRAMA AUTHORS (Preceptorial Lineage)

(DIVYAUGHA-Divine Tradition)

Vasugupta
(800-850 A.D.)

Maṅgalā or Makāra Devī
Śākta = Khagendranātha (Kṛtāyuga)
(Melāpa = Kūrmanātha (Tretāyuga)
Mantra = Meṣanātha (Dvāparayuga)
Jñāna = Mīna or Macchanda
(Kaliyuga)

(SIDDHAUGHA-Tradition of the Accomplished)

Vātulanātha
(675-725)Gandhamādāna
(700-750)Niskriyānanda + Jñānadipti
(725-775)Vidyānanda + Raktā
(750-800)

Śaktyānanda + Mahānandā

(MĀNAVAUGHA—
Human Tradition)Śivānanda + Samayā
(800-850)

Kallaṭa (825-875)

Pradyumna
Bhaṭṭa
(Maternal
cousin of
Kallaṭa.
825-875)Prajñārjuna
(850-900)Mahādeva
Bhaṭṭa
(875-925)Siddhanātha = Śrīkaṇṭha
(Stotrakāra) (900-950)Bhāskara
(925-975)Kuladhara
(950-1000)Mahābala
(850-900)
Trivikrama
(grandson and
grand pupil of
Mahābala
900-950)Utpala Bhaṭṭa
(925-975)Mukula Bhaṭṭa etc.
(Literary tradition)Somānanda
(875-925)Utpala
(900-950)Lakṣmaṇa-
gupta
(925-975)Abhinava-
gupta
(950-1000)Kṣemarāja
(975-1000)Accord-
ing
to
S.T.Keyūravatī or Kakāra
Devī
(825-875)Madanikā
(825-875)Kalyāṇikā
(825-875)Three Anonymous pupils
(850-900)
13 generations
intervenedHrasvanātha or Viranāthapāda
(1025-1075)Cakrabhānu
(1050-1075)Bhūtīrāja II
(Cakrabhānu-
sisya)
(1075-1125)Dūtārāja-tanaya
(? Bhūtīrāja-
tanaya + six
generations)Iśānā
Śitikanṭha* (A/B)
(1475-1575)Cakrapani = Yogānanda = Devabhāṭṭa
(950-1075) (1050-1075) (1025-1075)Ramyadeva
(1075-1125)Loṣṭhadeva or
Loṣṭhala
(1100-1150)Devapāni (?)
(1075-1125)Svātmānanda
(1100-1150)Śivānanda II
(1125-1175)4 others
(not known)
(1050-1075)Govindarāja
(850-900)Somānanda¹
(875-925)Utpala²
(900-950)Lakṣmanagupta³
(925-975)Abhinavagupta⁴ = Bhaṭṭa
(950-1000) Dāmodara
(950-1000)Kṣemarāja
(975-1125)Śūra
(1000-1050)Varadarāja
or
Kṛṣṇadāsa
(1000-1050)Yogarāja
(1000-1050)Bhānuka
(850-900)Ujjāta
(875-925)Udbhaṭṭa
(900-950)Lakṣmī Datta
(975-1025)Kamala Datta
(1000-1050)Vibhūti Datta
(1025-1075)Utpala-
ratha II
(1050-1100)Śrīcakra
(1050-1100)Elder
son
(died
early)Younger son
Viśva Datta
(1075-1125)Tribhuvana Datta = Śrīgāra, son of Dāśī
(1100-1150) Rājānaka (1100-1150)Subhaṭṭa Datta = Ojarāja = Kalyāṇa
(1125-1175) (1125-1175) (1125-1175)Jayaratha⁵
(1150-1200)

APPENDIX "B"

CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL SOURCES*

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2. *Bodha-vilasa* Harsadatta-sunu, *MS* belonging to BORI, Poona. *MS* No. 472 of 1875-76, Sarada.
3. *Chumma-sampradaya* (C.S.) Niskriyanandanatha, *MS* belonging to the Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Govt., Srinagar, *MS* No. 253. Devanagari.
4. *Chumma-sampradaya-prakasa* Niskriyanandanatha, *MS* belonging to Pt. Dinanatha Yaksha, formerly Head Pandit, Sanskrit Section, Research Deptt., Jammu and Kashmir Govt., Srinagar, Sarada.
5. *Isvarapratyabhijnasutra-vimarsini-vyakhya* Of an unknown author, on the *Vimarsini* of Abhinavagupta, *MS* belonging to the collection of Dr. K.C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta Institute of Aesthetics and Saiva Philosophy, Lucknow University, Devanagari. It is different from Bhaskari and equally illuminating. The text has almost been edited by Dr. K.C. Pandey in collaboration with Dr. N. Rastogi and is to be published shortly under the auspices of the Abhinavagupta Institute.
6. *Isvarapratyabhijna-vivrti* Acarya Utpaladeva, *MS* belonging to Shri Kantha Kaul, V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur, a Devanagari transcript of which is available in Dr. Pandey's collection at Abhinavagupta Institute, bound with others including Paratrimika of Rajanaka Lasaka, available in fragments only (33 leaves), Sarada.

* Asterisk has been used to indicate the edition generally referred to in the present work, in case there is more than one edition of the text.

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 - *(a) Author unknown (but possibly by Siddhanatha) incorporated in T.A.V., pp. 157-202.
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*Actually it is Nagarajan, Nataranjan is a misprint.

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CORRECTIONS

Page	Foot note if any	Line	For	Read
4		14	works. The fact	works. Because of the fact
23		17	word	Word
30		7	Kalinaya	Kalinaya ²
39		11	tantra	Tantra
52		3	the palpitate	to palpitate
53	1	3	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(delete)
53	2	1	Sp. P., pp. 49-50	(Add after शक्तीनाम्)
67		2	to divergent	to excite divergent
70		16	etc. ⁴ In	etc. ⁴ , in
72	4	1	cf. fn. 1, p. 55 supra	Cf. fn. 2 supra
96		18	1149 A.D.	1155 A.D.
104		11	1000 A.D.	1020 A.D.
109	1	1	Sp. K.	S.S.
112		20	960	950
114	3	3	I.P.V., III, p. 312	I.P.V.V., II, p. 312
122		22		(Add after 'different' :) "Moreover the 2nd Eraka is referred to as father of some Vamanatha while the first one kept celibate throughout his life. As such, their identity appears quite remote."
122	3	1	p. 1:1	p. 121
132		29	incomplete texts	complete text
143		20	Sardasatika	Sardhasatika
151		2	word	work
167		1-2	it is to single out	it is difficult to single out
171		24	works ⁸	works
171		28	pronouncements	pronouncements ⁸
172		1	claim ¹ . In the last verse of his Spanda Samdoha ²	claim. In the last verse of his Spanda Sandoha ¹
172		10	Stavacintamani	Stavacintamani ²
181		9	and 1075—	and 1050 —
181	5	1	Abhi., p. 473	Abhi., p. 473, Cf. Fn. 2 on p. 178 supra
193		11	Lankata	Lankara
194		5	Losadeva	Lothadeva
205	5	3	Y.H.D., p. 68	6, Y.H.D., p. 68
209	3	2	निरवध	निरवध
210		15	1151 A.D.	1155 A.D.
210		28	(See p. 211)	(See p. 212)
212		2	be little	be a little
215	3	1	देशिकद्वया	देशिकद्वया
215	6	2	रेताब्धाः	रेतीधः
230	1	6	भस्माङ्गभूषण	भस्माङ्गभूषण
236		4-5	Śivananda (the author of the Maha- nayaprakasa)	Śivānanda II (the author of the Maha- nayaprakasa (T))