INTRODUCTION
TO THE
PĀÑCARĀTRA
AND THE
AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

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ADYAR LIBRARY, ADYAR, MADRAS, S.
1916
PREFATORY NOTE

THE book, small in size but rich in contents, which is herewith placed before the public, has been written by a prisoner of war during his captivity at Ahmednagar, though some of the materials on which it is based had, fortunately, been collected by him before the War broke out. Only three of the Samhitâ MSS. of the Adyar Library, namely those of nos. 8, 70 and 195 of the synopsis on pp. 5 ff., which were acquired recently, have remained entirely unknown to Dr. Schrader.

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

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the work may preliminarily serve as a concise but encyclopaedic reference book on the Pāñcarātra, until it shall be superseded by subsequent more exhaustive publications.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

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

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

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

ADYAB, JOHAN VAN MANEN,
August 1916. Assistant Director, Adyar Library.
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INTRODUCTION
TO THE PĀṆCARĀTRA AND THE
AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITĀ

INTRODUCTORY REMARK

THE publication of the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, by the Adyar Library¹, has been undertaken with a view to starting investigations in a branch of Sanskrit literature which was once cultivated in countries as far distant from each other as Kasmīr, Orissa and Mysore, but is now practically extinct except in a very few places of Southern India where considerable remnants of it are still being preserved and partly even studied. Some scanty information about it has, indeed, reached the West, and a few of the Samhitās of the Pāṇcarātras have been published; still, when asked about the latter, most orientalists will even now be likely to confess that they have so far seen only the “Nārada Pāṇcarātra”, “a Tāntīc work of little if any value”²; while, as to the philosophy of the Pāṇcarātra, the theory of the Ṭvātaras in its common Vaiṣṇavite form and a very elementary conception of the doctrine of the Vyūhas (derived from the commentaries on Brahma Sūtra II, 2, 43) will be found to be all that is known. An attempt will be made in the following pages to provide the future student of this unexplored field with a provisional foundation.

¹ Two volumes, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, S., 1916.
²Au-dessous du médiocre, is the final judgment of the Rev. A. Roussel’s Étude du Pāṇcarātra, Mélanges de Halle, p. 265.
I. THE LITERATURE OF THE PĀNCA RĀTRAS

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

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

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

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

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

1 Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research III, 6, p. 40-41.
3 Which also mentions, on p. 956, our edition of Abhirudhyāna Samhitā (then in the press).
available lists of Samhitas, including those which pretend to give 108 names, actually conforms to this number but all of them enumerate either more names or less, is one thing telling in their favour; and when, as is the case, it can further be shown that a respectable number of the texts enumerated are still available, while not a few of the others are found to be quoted or summarised in the later literature, and that a number of Samhitas which are not included in any of the lists, are either extant or quoted — then the value of the latter can no longer be denied. We have, consequently, collated those lists, four in all, and with them a fifth list found in the Agni Purāṇa, and as a result offer the following table in which all the names occurring in the lists have been arranged in alphabetical order. The figures added to the right of the names indicate the place each Samhitā occupies in the said lists: this, as will be seen, is of some importance for determining the mutual relation of the lists, etc. The following abbreviations are used (in addition to K., P., V., H., A. referring to the lists themselves):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p.} &= \text{published [and preserved in MS.]} \\
\text{l.} &= \text{not published but preserved in MS. in a public library [and privately]} \\
\text{v.} &= \text{neither published nor in any public library, but known to be preserved privately, in some village, etc.} \\
\dagger \text{(Dagger before name)} &= \text{quoted in some work of the post-Samhitā literature.} \\
\text{A.L.} &= \text{Adyar Library.} \\
\text{M.G.L.} &= \text{Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library.} \\
\text{P.B.} &= \text{Vedāntadesika's Pāṇīvaratravali, edition, Vyāhāratāragini Press, Madras, 1883.}
\end{align*}
\]
Neither the number of daggers nor that of v.'s may be said to be exhaustive. The Kapitājala list (first column) comprises 106 names, the list of Pādma Tantra (second column) 112, that of Visṇu Tantra (third column) 141, that of Hāyasirsa Samhitā (fourth column) 34, and that found in the 39th adhyāya of Agni (Āgneya) Purāṇa only 25.

A still shorter list, namely that of the apocryphal Nāradīya mentioned above, has not been taken into account; it comprises the following seven names: Brahmā, Saiva, Kaumāra, Vasiṣṭha, Kāpila, Gautoṣmiya, and Nārādīya.

1 Govindācārya, loc. cit., p. 954, omits the four Samhitās named in the first half of sūkta 105 of the edition, perhaps because this line was not in his MS., which, however, may be a case of haplography caused by the identical ending (in Vāmanavatayana) of this and the preceding line. For, as proved by our table, there were at least two Vāman Samhitās, and the second pada of the omitted line, namely Jaiminuvāmanavatayana, is found in nearly the same form (Vāmanam Jaiminlyukham) in an otherwise different sūkta of the Kapitājala list. Still, as it can be proved that the Pādma list is corrupt in at least one place (Kūrṇaṃ for Kṛṣṇaṇa, see remark in our table), it would not be surprising to find that the first or second Vāmanavatayana is a misreading for Vāmanavatayana (=Vānvant Samhitā).

2 We do not regard padmatantram mādhantram in sūkta 26 as the names of two Samhitās but supply an ādi between the two words; cf. the word mādhantram in the next three lines.

3 This may be the S'iva, Sarva, or Ahirbudhnya of our synopsis.
Synopsis of the Sāṃhitā lists found in Kapinjula, Pādma, Viśnu, and Udayasirya Sāṃhitās and in the Agni Purāṇa.

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<td>1. 1. 1. Agastya</td>
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Error for Amāna?  
Gṛgṛṣa, K.  
M.G.L. 5200 must be a later work than P. 45.  
P. 68. reads Kṛṣṇa, but see ibid. IV. 52, 127.
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<td>40. Garsûnûnûna</td>
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</tr>
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<td>41. + Garsûnûnûna</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>v 42. Ghâlûnûna</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>44. Gomûna, ulûna</td>
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<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Uûrûnûna, Hûmûnûna</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>99</td>
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<td>46. Hûmûnûna, Hûmûnûna</td>
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<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. do. (II)</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>48. + Jâyûnûna</td>
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<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. + Jâyûnûna</td>
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<td>50. Hûshûnûna</td>
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<td>51. Jûshûnûnûna</td>
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<td>121</td>
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<td>v 52. Hûshûnûnûna, Jûshûnûnûna</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
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<td>53. + Tûrûnûnûna</td>
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<td>64. Dîkûnûnûna</td>
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<td>87</td>
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<td>65. + Dûrûnûna, Dûrûnû- nûna</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>66. Dûrûnûna</td>
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<td>Place in List</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. Nallala, Khulna</td>
<td>K. 8, P. 4, V. 131</td>
<td>Not identical with the published &quot;Nalula Putharit&quot;.</td>
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<td>75. Naluma, Aya</td>
<td>K. 8, P. 132</td>
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<td>73. Narayana, Pinyya</td>
<td>K. 8, P. 14, V. 18</td>
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<td>74. Naurata</td>
<td>K. 74</td>
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<td>75. Padongpara</td>
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<td>76. Padonibhata</td>
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<td>77. Padonibhata</td>
<td>K. 20, P. 29</td>
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<td>K. 56</td>
<td>Same as Mahapurusya.</td>
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<tr>
<td>79. Padava</td>
<td>K. 1, P. 7, V. 34</td>
<td>Padavaya (throughout).</td>
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<td>80. Padava, Padava, Padavaya (I, II)</td>
<td>K. 60, P. 2, V. 34</td>
<td>Padava. The published text cannot be K. 60, but may be K. 65.</td>
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<td>82. Paddalaya</td>
<td>K. 92, P. 118</td>
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<td>83. Paddalaya</td>
<td>K. 51, P. 103</td>
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<td>84. Padmanarveera</td>
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<td>85. Padvayya</td>
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<td>86. Padiya</td>
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<td>87. Pata</td>
<td>K. 82</td>
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<td>89. Pudurkola</td>
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<td>90. Purana</td>
<td>K. 90</td>
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<td>91. Puripudur</td>
<td>K. 106, P. 21</td>
<td>Puripudur, see Pudurkola.</td>
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<td>K. 86</td>
<td>Purisaha, see Pudurkola.</td>
</tr>
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<td>93. Pudurkola</td>
<td>K. 82, P. 88</td>
<td>Purisaha, see Pudurkola.</td>
</tr>
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<td>K. 82, P. 90</td>
<td>Purisaha, see Pudurkola.</td>
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<td>K. 2, P. 11, V. 4</td>
<td>Purisaha, see Pudurkola and Pudurkola.</td>
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<td>102. Pudurkola</td>
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<td>104. Pudurkola</td>
<td>K. 90, P. 33</td>
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<td>105. Pudurkola</td>
<td>K. 2, P. 12</td>
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<td>p. 106. Pudurkola</td>
<td>K. 95, P. 100</td>
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<td>REMARKS</td>
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<td>107. + Ṣīkṣāyam-ṛṣya</td>
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<td>55 41 68</td>
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<td>Cf. Lakṣāug.</td>
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<td>60 60 60</td>
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<td>114. Māhāmātrā</td>
<td>18 18 18</td>
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<td>115. Māhāmātrā, see Māhāmātrī</td>
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<td>121. + Mārīrya (I)</td>
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<td>122. + Mārīrya (II)</td>
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<td>123. Māhāmātrā, Māhāmātrī</td>
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<td>124. Mārīya</td>
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<td>127. + Mārīrya</td>
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<td>129. Mārīya</td>
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<td>130. Vāla, see Vārīka</td>
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<td>131. Vāla</td>
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<td>133. Vāla, see Vālaks</td>
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<td>135. Vāla</td>
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<td>138. Vāla</td>
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<td>141. Vāla</td>
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<td>143. Vāla</td>
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<td>147. Vāla</td>
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<td>148. Vāla</td>
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<td>149. Vāla</td>
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<td>151. Vāla</td>
<td>42 42 42</td>
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<tr>
<td>152. Vāla</td>
<td>53 53 53</td>
<td>...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Doubt as to which of the three is pronounced and quoted.
- Cf. Vārīka.
- Cf. Vāla.
- Cf. Hāyārīya.
- Cf. Yaśāmātī.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>NAME OF SAPHIITA</th>
<th>PLACE IN LISTS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>155. Venu</td>
<td>K. 15 V. 24 A.</td>
<td>Called, as II. Vīrūdhamay. Probably same as Vīravām, mentioned in P. U.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156. + Vīrāmīkon</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>The three works contain are (1) one Vīgu Saphitā consisting of 30 patches (S.G.L., A.L.); (2) one + Vīgu Tātum being a Vīgu-Śivārutaka (A.L.); (3) one + Vīgu Saphitā being a Pravāhāra-Śivārutaka (M. G. L.). Of these the second is the one containing the list of Saphitās with itself as No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157. Vīgu (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protends to be part of Kīnagurāca S. Evidently—Topp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158. p. 159.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably—Vālhallā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. + Vīgarākha</td>
<td>63 61</td>
<td>Q. Vīgarākha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162. Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>46 60 15 17</td>
<td>Vīgarākhara. Vālhallā, see Vāl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163. Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>hallā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164. + Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>86 87</td>
<td>Vīgarākhara. Q. Vīgarākhara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. + Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>106 106</td>
<td>Q. Tākhyān, etc.; V. lists Vālhallā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>V. list reads Śukra. For Śukra of. Tākhyān, Tākhyān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169. Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Ā. Tākhyān, Tākhyān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170. Vīgarākhara</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>Ā. Tākhyān, Tākhyān.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q. Śukra. Śukra.
To the above 210 names have to be added those of a few Samhitās which are extant but apparently not included in any of the lists, to wit:

- **211.** Another Upendra Samhitā, being an Upendra-Kapila-yaṇa seen, recent, perhaps the work mentioned in V. list (cf. our remark in the Synopsis). MS. no. 5500 of M.G.L.

- **212.** Kāvyaparitāma Samhitā of which M.G.L. has no less than four copies (cont. 632 R. 61).

- **213.** Paramatmāttramāyantra Samhitā, containing the instruction of the god Bhagavat by Bhikṣuṇīs on the origin of the world, an important though not very ancient work of which fifteen adhivāyas of the first parichhodas are represented, in MS., in M.G.L. (no. 5800) and twice in A.I.L.

- **214.** Pādmasamhitā Tantra, M.G.L. 5206, which, however, may be found to be a portion of Śanakamūra Samhitā (cf. colophon in Devar. Cat.).

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

Chinmatkhandi, Mātaka Varsarāpīyama, Suhapresana, Srīkālakara, Sudarshana, Samaudhava, Haṇa, Haṇapsūravacara.1

Among the few Samhitās found in libraries outside the Madras Presidency (in India or Europe) there is none which is not also represented in one of its three great public libraries, namely the Tafijore Palace Library, the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the Adyar Library of the Theosophical Society. The first of these (possessing but a few of the P. Samhitās) has made no new acquisitions since Burnell's time; the Pāñcarātra MSS. of the second are described in vol. XI of its Descriptive Catalogue; the Adyar Library collection, not described so far and growing constantly, comprises at present the following nos. of our Synopsis: 1, 7, 8, 11, 48, 70, 81, 88, 84, 106, 113, 134, 149, nos. 1 and 2 of the Viṣṇu Samhitās, 154, 158, 161, 165, 176, 187, 195, and 206; further no. 213.

The editions of Samhitās, most of which are now not easily obtained, are the following eleven:

1 For Suhapresana cf. the colophon of M.G.L. 5360 (third Viṣṇu Samhitā); for Suhapresana Viṣṇusūkṣmaḥ, etc., and for the last two names Samhitā no. 213 above. Srīkālakara, presumably identical with Sṛṅkālakara quoted in Srūtyaprakāśa, and Haṇapsūravacara are both quoted in Spandapradīpikā (ed. p. 33); Maṇḍana is mentioned in Vedaśabdarhaka's Rahasyasūkṣma; the other names are from Pāñcarātraprakāśa.

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

The second entry refers to the script used, the last gives the name of the editor (who is also the publisher, if the press is not the publisher). A portion of Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā, in the Telugu character, is not worth description.
1. Is'vara Samhitā, Telugu, Sadvidyā Press, Mysore, 1890, Yogi Parchasārathi Aiyangār.
2. Kapīṣṇa Sāmarti, Telugu, Kalyāṇa-kumāravilāsa Press, Tirukkovalūr, no year, Yogi, etc. (see 1).
4. Pādma Tantra, Telugu, 1891, rest as in 1.
7. Bhaṛadvāja Sāmarti, Telugu, no year, rest as in 1.
8. Lākṣmi Tantra, Telugu, 1888, rest as in 1.

With the exception of Brhad Bhaṛma Sāmarti all of these need re-editing, a critical edition of 4, 8, and 11 being particularly desirable.

That occasionally the same name has been given to two or even more different works, is nothing unusual in the Āgamic literature. For instance, among the Sākta Tantras there are, according to Dutt’s list, three Prāpaṇa Tantras, two Harigauri Tantras, three Kūbdikā Tantras, two Yogini Tantras, and two Mrdani (?) Tantras. It is quite possible, for this reason, that the above Synopsis is wrong here and there in referring the same name in translation of Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, Introduction, pp. VII—IX.
different lists to the same work. Vice versa, the identity of Ananta and Sesa, Vihagendra and Tarklya, etc., suggests the possibility that in a few cases two or three different names may have been erroneously reckoned in our table as referring to so many different works.

At any rate, this much may be said with certainty, that the literature we are concerned with is a huge one. For, even supposing there were only 200 Samhitás, and trying to calculate, by means of the extant works, their total extent, we find that the Samhitá literature of the Púcarátras must have once amounted to not less but probably more than one and a half million slokas.\(^1\) Truly, the Samhitás have some right to speak of "the ocean of the Púcarátra"!

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

Our earliest source of information on the Púcarátra is believed to be the so-called Náralýa section of the Sánti Parvan of the Mahábhárata.\(^2\) This view seems to receive further support from the fact that apparently all of the extant Samhitás are full of the so-called Tántric element which in the Mahábhárata is, on the contrary, conspicuous by

\(^1\) It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Śripátrasna (II, 41), Viśvánilaka (I, 140 and 146), and other texts, the original Púcarátra had an extent of one and a half crores.

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

At any rate, the possibility of the existence of Pâścarâtra Saññhâta at and before the time of the Nârâdya cannot well be denied. But the assertion, by Pañjît P. B. Anantâcârya, in the Bhumikâ to his edition of Sâtvata Saññhâta, that the expression sâtvata-vidhi in the above-mentioned passage of the Bhishma Parvan distinctly refers to that particular Saññhâta because of the words “sung by Sañkarsana” is unfortunately not admissible. The same claim could be made, with even better reasons, for the present Saññhâta, in that it is an account, by Ahirbudhnya, of what he had learnt from Sañkarsana himself when the Dvâpara age came to a close. The coincidence, however, is quite irrelevant, not only

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1 Bhândâkar, loc. cit., p. 40.
2 Sâtvatâ-saññhâma sûtra-saññhâma-graha (I, 71), Dvâpara-samhitûsamâna (I, 73), Dvâpara-samhitû (I, 73). In Sâtvata Saññhâta Sañkarsana is the questioner, not the teacher.
because a Śaṃkaraśaṅga Śaṁhitā is mentioned and quoted, but most of all because it is, according to the system, Śaṃkaraśaṅga’s function to proclaim the Śāstra, which means, according to Ahirb. Śaṁhitā (II, 19), that all knowledge comes ultimately from him who, in the beginning, started the great universal system from which all single systems, including the Pāñcarātra, have emanated.

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

Of those South Indian Śaṁhitās the oldest one now available seems to be the Iśvara Śaṁhitā. It enjoin⁴, among other things, the study of the so-called Tamil Veda (drāmāgī śruti) and contains a Māhātmya of Molkoto in Mysore. It is quoted thrice by Yāmunācārya⁵, the teacher of Rāmānuja, who died in the first half of the eleventh century (ca. 1040). Yāmuna claiming for the Āgamas the authority of a fifth Veda, the said Śaṁhitā must have been in existence at his time for at least two centuries. This would bring us to about the time of Śaṅkara whom, then, we may provisionally regard as the landmark between the northern and the southern

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

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

Yāmuna’s work being the oldest one extant by a South Indian author quoting from the Sāmhitā literature, it is noteworthy that in addition to Īśvara Sāmhitā he quotes the Parama, Sāṅgīlīya, Saṅkumāra, Īndrarātra (= third Rātra of Mahāsanatkumāra Sāmhitā), and Pañmodbhava Sāmhitās. Yāmuna’s successor, Rāmānuja, quotes also Parama Sāmhitā, further Pauṣkara Sāmhitā and Śītrvata Sāmhitā.

¹ Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 4. It remains to be seen whether the worship of only the first two Vyūhas (for which there are still more ancient testimonies, ibid., p. 3) was not perhaps a precursor of the Pāñcarātra of the Sāmhitās.
² Which is too recent to be mentioned in the Padma list and therefore not likely to be identical with Bṛhma Nārāda, as Govindaśārya is inclined to believe (loc. cit., p. 955).
⁴ Agamaśāmya ed. pp. 7, 69, 70, 71, 72.
In the fourteenth century the famous Vedāntadesika wrote a special work on the Pañcaratra in which he mentions particularly Jayakhyā (9 times), Pārāmasvāra (6 times), Paṇḍkara (9 times), Pādma (4 times), Nārādiya, Śrīkara, Śātvata (each thrice), Ahirbudhnya, Bhārgava, Vāraṇa, Vihaṇḍra, and Hayagriva (each twice); moreover the Samhitās figuring in our Synopsis as nos. 17, 28, 31, 41, 49, 58, 71, 72, 75, 77, 97, 106, 127, 149, 166 (?) 171, 172, 177, 191, 195, 201 (or 202); Citrakhaṇḍī, etc. (see p. 12, note 1); and, finally, a few doubtful names such as Tantrasanijīka (=Tantrasāngara?), Āgamākhyā, etc.

In the North of India the oldest work quoting the Pañcaratra, which we can lay hands on, seems to be the Spandaprādipikā of Utpalavaisnava, who lived in Kashmir in the tenth century A.D., about one generation before Yāmuna. The Samhitās mentioned by name in this work are: Jayakhyā (Śrījayā, Jayā), Hamsapārāmasvāra, Vaihikyāsa, and Śrīkālaparā; while two more names, namely Nārada Śangraha and Śrī Śātvatāḥ, may, but need not, be connected with some particular Samhitā. Of eight other quotations, all of which are vaguely stated to be “in the Pañcaratra” or “P. Śruti” or “P. Upaniṣad”, one is found, in a slightly different form, in Ahirbudhnya Samhitā. Utpalavaisnava quotes also

1 Pāñcaratravakṣa, of which there is an edition in Grantha characters (see above) p. 4.
2 J. C. Chatterji, Kashmiri Skaites, pp. 13, 16.
4 Pp. 54 and 20, ibid.
6 XV, 71b: Pramāṇa-pratītya, etc., reproduced by Utpala (ed. p. 41):

Pramāṇa-pratītya ity eva antaḥ stavaḥ stavaḥ 
Bhūmiśākṣā punaḥ ca eva bhūmiśākṣā ca prajñā-paṇḍarīti
the Paramārtasāṁ in its original Vaiṣṇavite form (not the Śaivite recast by Abhinavagupta). All this, as also his name and that of his father (Trivikrama), proves that Utpala, though a Śaivite author, must have been originally a Vaiṣṇavite. And it further seems to enable us, as since the rise of the Śaivite system (Trika) philosophical Vaiṣṇavism is practically extinct in Kashmir, and as there is no likelihood of any Pāñcarātra Samhitā (except the few spurious works) having been composed in Aryan India after that time, to fix the eighth century A.D. as the terminus ad quem of the original Pāñcarātra Samhitās.

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

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

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

3 Both is the case, for instance, with the spurious Nārādya. Also the Agastya Samhitā mentioned by Rhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 67 note 2, if a Pāñcarātra Samhitā, would belong to this class, as does the first of our three Agastya Samhitās.
The number of oldest Samhitās mentioned increases through internal references: Abirbudhnya (5, ss) mentions Sāttvata, and the latter (9, ss) Pauṣkara, Vārāha, and Prājapatyā (Bṛhima). Direct reference of one Samhitā to another will also be found of great value for determining the mutual chronological relations of the Samhitās. For instance, the fact that Abirbudhnya mentions Sāttvata (5, ss) and Jayākhya (19, ss) shows, of course, that these two must be older. So also the hint, in Isvāra S. (1. ss), that the three chief Samhitās are Sāttvata, Pauṣkara, and Jaya, and their respective expansions Isvāra, Pārāmesvāra, and Pādma, is well worth noticing; and also the statement, in Pādma Tantra (IV, 23. ss), that we should consider as the Six Gems: Pādma, Sanatkumāra, Pārāma, Pārāmodbhava, Māhendra, and Kāţya. These few data enable us to fix already provisionally the chronology of the most important of the ancient Samhitās, in the following way:

1. Pauṣkara, Vārāha, Brāhma (order uncertain).
2. Sāttvata
3. Abirbudhnya
4. Pārāmesvāra
5. Pādma
6. Isvāra (before 800 A.D.)

And certainly connected with the fact that the only Samhitā commentaries extant, besides one on Bṛhadrāja Samhitā, appear to be the following three, preserved in Erāna-gaṇe: one Sāttvata-samhitā-śāhaya by Alasiśvarabhāṣṭa, son of Yoginidhābhāṣṭa; one Isvāra-samhitā-śāhaya by the same; and one Pārāmodvāra-samhitā-śāhaya by Nṛsiṃhasīr, son of Sanatkumāra-svāhāḥin.

Mentioned in the Pādma list, therefore earlier, but later than Abirbudhnya, to judge from the text preserved in A. L.

To be distinguished from the one mentioned in the Pādma list; see below.
It appears to be a fact that out of these works the triad Paùskara, Sàttvata, and Jaya has on the whole been considered the most authoritative part of the Pañcaratra scripture.

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

Among which "Purṣa" and "Sàmānya" are decidedly doubtful.
of an Is'vara Samhita also in the Hayasira and Agneya lists.

What are the principal subjects treated in the Samhitas?

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

1 Ahirbudhnya being a somewhat unwholesome word, Is'vara may have, mêtriaconal, been substituted for it in those lists, but, of course, not in the Pâdma list, which does contain the name Ahirbudhnya.

2 For a fuller description of these four branches see Govinda-cârya's article in J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 361 sq.
work, the Mahāsanaatkumāra Saṃhitā. The Hayāśīra Saṃhitā has a position of its own in this and other respects: it consists of four Kaṇḍas called, after their contents, Pratiṣṭhā, Saṃkarṣa (so), Liṅga, and Saura Kaṇḍa. The second Kaṇḍa professes to deal with worship (pūja) but contains also a good deal on pratiṣṭhā; the third is altogether Sāyatana. Finally the Pārāśvara Saṃhitā deserves mention here in that it adheres to the well-known division in Jñāna Kaṇḍa and Kriya Kaṇḍa answering resp. to Pādas 1-2 and 3-4; and perhaps Bhāradva-ja Saṃhitā as the rare (if not unique) instance of a Saṃhitā dealing with Conduct only and especially pūrṇaṅgā.  

1 The names of the Rātras of the latter are: Brahma, Śiva, Indra and Rāja Rātra; the fifth is not in the MS. For the former see below.—The following passage of Vīhagendra Saṃhitā (1, 32—34) is also noteworthy, though it looks like a late compromise: When the Kṛta Yuga has just appeared, by the grace of Kaṇava the following five, namely Ananta (the Serpent), Garuḍa, Viśva-karma, the Skall-bearer (Śiva), and Brahmā, hear it (the Sastras) in parts [as follows]: in the first night Ananta [has his questions answered], in the second night Garuḍa, in the third night Śiva, in the fourth [is answered] what has been chosen by Vedhas (Brahmā), and in the fifth Kaṇḍa [is the question]. Thus each of these hears for himself the Religion of Faith (śraddhā-śrāstra) in the form of a work on Knowledge, Yoga, Construction, and Conduct, consisting of one hundred thousand ślokas. [Hence, since the whole of it] has an extent of five hāth (of ślokas), it is called the Pratīṣṭhāstra.”

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

3 See the summary of contents in the first adhyāya. That the description of the Jñāna Kaṇḍa covers 141 ślokas and that of the Kriya Kaṇḍa only 34 is, I believe, due to the author’s wish to have done with the former. For the Saṃhitā, though evidently complete (see the total of ślokas given for the two Kaṇḍas together) has no other Jñāna Kaṇḍa. Therefore, the last line of the adhyāya will probably have to be interpreted thus: “I shall now [by treating the Kriya Kaṇḍa] put forward the śāstra twofold in the manner explained; listen to me!”

4 This is perhaps the most widely spread of all the Saṃhitās. It has a porājya (supplement) contained in the edition, and belongs, as mentioned, to the few Saṃhitās of which a commentary is extant.
It may be supposed that the name Pāñcarātra points to five principal subjects treated in that system. So it is, indeed, understood in the apocryphal Nārādiya, which says that the five kinds of rātra="knowledge" are tattva, mukti-prada, bhakti-prada, yavgaśa, and vaiveśika, that is to say that they are concerned respectively with (1) ontology (cosmology), (2) liberation, (3) devotion, (4) yoga, and (5) the objects of sense. Though the five books of the said Saṃhitā accord but very imperfectly with this division, and the five Rātras of Mahāsaṃkumāra Saṃhitā still less, and though the Nārādiya as a whole can certainly not be used as a Pāñcarātra authority, the above statement may none the less rest on good tradition. In this case rātra, originally "night", would have come to mean — how, we do not know — both a cardinal doctrine of a system as well as the chapter or work dealing with that doctrine, that is: it became synonymous with tantra and saṃhitā, so that Pāñcarātra would be a designation of the ancient Vaiṣṇavite system in exactly the same manner as, according to the twelfth chapter of Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, Śaṅji Tantra was one of the Śaṅkhya Yoga. This explanation, though perhaps at variance with the chapter just mentioned stating (in sl. 45—18) that the Pāñcarātra consists of ten cardinal teachings (saṃhitās), is at least not so fanciful as "the night=obscuration, of the five other systems", or "the system, cooking=destroying, the night=ignorance", or the attempts to connect that name with the five sacraments (branding, etc.) or the five daily observances (abhiṣamana, etc.) of the

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

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

1 Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 31; spacing-out ours.
2 Ibidem.
3 Note also the importance attached in Ahirb. Saṣṭha (chapter 87) to the meditation on God as a sacrifice (yajñavāpa-dhara deva, s.l. 30).
4 With, or without, the help of Bhagavad-Gītā II, 69.
[known] as Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, etc.

as Prajñā called Vāraṇā through which He split into five, appearing five-mouthed.

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

(1) Philosophy;
(2) Linguistic occultism (mantra-vāstra);
(3) Theory of magical figures (yantra-vāstra);
(4) Practical magic (māya-yoga);
(5) Yoga;
(6) Temple-building (mandira-nirnaya);
(7) Image-making (pratisthā-vidhi);
(8) Domestic observances (samākara, ahnika);
(9) Social rules (varṇāsvama-dharma);
(10) Public festivals (utsava).

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

1. The five forms are also referred to in the very first sloka of our Saṃhitā. With the idea of Nārāyaṇa's self-sacrifice is apparently also connected the story of the "Sacrificial Lotus" (yajna-prākāra) springing from the navel of Padmanābha (Lakṣmī T. V., 22, and elsewhere).

2. Which are, of course, not the same as those enumerated in adhyāya 12 of Ahiro. Saṃhitā; see our summary of the latter in the final section below.

3. And, in addition, perhaps the subject of "worship" in a general treatment combining the materials for it distributed among several of the above subjects, notably 8 and 10.
II. THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PĀNCARĀTRAS

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

1. NIGHTS AND DAYS OF NARAYANA

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

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1 The writer regrets keenly having had practically no access, while writing this Introduction, to the rich collections of Pāncarātra MSS. stored up in the Adyar and Madras Libraries. Still he feels confident that the following account will not show any serious gap. Abbreviations will be easily recognised, except perhaps "P. Prakāśa S." which is no. 913 mentioned on p. 11 above. The edition quoted of Pālai Lokākṣaṭya’s Tattvārātra is the only existing one of the Sanskrit translation, published as no. 4 of the Caukhambā Sanskrit Series; while the edition used of Sṛṇivāsa’s Tattvārātra Dīpeśa is no. 50 of the Anandārama Series. Tattvārātra (fourteenth century) may almost be called a collection of Pāncarātra Sūtras, and its commentary, by Varānramaṇa, is specially valuable for its copious extracts from ViṣṇuSaṃhitā. All references by figures only are to Aḥirbudhṇya Saṃhitā.

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

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

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

3 Tavya nāyur-mānak riḍhyate, P. Prakāra Saṁhitā I, 3, 43, repeated 58.

4 Kālānucarata, ibid. I, 3, 55.
by nights, etc., He "does the work of the night (rātritvam ca rachitā) by causing Brahman ¹ and the rest to fall asleep". Our Samhitā illustrates the Days and Nights of the Lord by an image of dazzling beauty: during the Day the universe is like a sky sprinkled all over with cirrus clouds—the Brāhmic Eggs, of which there are koṭi-arbudas of koṭi-oghas of koṭis (an unimaginably high number); while during the Night it resembles a sky without a single cloud.

2. Higher or "Pure" Creation

(Evolution, First Stage.)

In the eighth and last part of the Cosmic Night (pauruṣī rātī) ² the great Sakti of Viṣṇu, awakened as it were by His command ³, "opens her eyes". This uvamaṣa "opening of the eyes", says Ahirb. Saṁb., is like the appearance of a lightning in the sky. And it means that the Sakti, which was so far indistinguishable from the "windless atmosphere" or "motionless ocean" of the Absolute, existing only as it were in a form of "darkness" or "emptiness", suddenly, "by some independent resolve" (kasāmacit svātāntrayat), flashes up, with an infinitely small part of herself, in her dual aspect of kriya (acting) and bhūti (becoming), that is Force and Matter. ⁴

¹ Who, after his "death", belongs to the liberated.
² Ibid. I, 3. 55-57.
³ Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā IX, 16, 14, 38.
⁴ "The eighth part of the Pralaya is called layāntina", P. Prakāśa S. I, 1. 61; cf. I, 2. 42, 57.
⁵ Ibid., I, 1. 83.
⁶ XIV, 7-8: Tasyād kotyārdvātāms' ati dos, etc.; so VIII, 36, and III, 27-28. Cf. Lakṣmi Tantra IV, 4. The Bhūti Sakti, as will be seen, includes what we call soul.
Here it will first be necessary to remark that, in spite of frequent assurances as to the real identity of Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu, the two are actually regarded as distinct: even in Pralaya they do not completely coalesce but become only "as it were" a single principle (4. sv), the Lakṣmi eventually emerging from the Great Night being the old Lakṣmi, not a new one. The mutual relation of the two is declared to be one of inseparable connection or inherence like that of an attribute and its bearer (dharma, dharmin), existence and that which exists (bhāva, bhava), I-ness and I (aham, aham), moonshine and moon, sunshine and sun. Still, the dualism is, strictly speaking, a makeshift for preserving the transcendent character of Viṣṇu: Lakṣmi alone acts, but everything she does is the mere expression of the Lord's wishes.

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

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

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

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

2 This accounts for the remarkable fact that the Kashmirian philosopher Ksemaraja has defined the Pāñcarātra as the system teaching the identity of God and Nature, that is to say pantheism (parī drṣṭa bhavānām Viṣṇuḥ, tad-viśeṣaḥ pradhānān āhaḥ—ṭi Pāñcarātan Mahāpravṛttam paryayenaṁ tattvamānād iti Avadhūta Sūtra-śāstra, ed. P. Pratap, 114, 197); Pratyabhijñādhvaya, Śrīnagāra, ed. P. Pratap, 117).

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

Now, the six Gunas are described as follows:

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

¹ V, 16; cf. V, 15 and VI, 6; Bāhūti and ēka-bāhūti are in these passages, like bāhū elsewhere (see. above p. 30), used in contradistinction to bhāsati, and not in the sense of the Bāhūti Sakti. For the latter, like the Kriyā Śakti, is connected with three Gunas only (see below), while in the passages concerned the appearance of all the six Gunas is referred to.

² Or "channels of jñāna" (jñānasya śrtayā), Lakṣmi Tantra II, 35. Yamunākṣra, the teacher of Bādhaṇa, has tried to justify, philosophically, this Pāṇḍarātrā concept of jñāna. A thing, he says, may be both substance and attribute: dvārayaih anyata vṛti, dvārayaṇa sahasro言, which he illustrates by means of the flame (substance) and the light it sheds (attribute).

³ Lakṣmi Tantra II, 35, etc.
The second Gunā is aicarṣya "lordship", that is "activity based on independence", "unimpeded activity". According to Lakṣmi Tantra (II, 28) this is identical with what is called teclā "will" in other Tatrasūtras.

The third Gunā is sakti "ability, potency", namely to become the material cause of the world (jagat-prakṛti-bhava). It is elsewhere defined as ogha-āhāra "accomplishing the non-accomplished", that is to say, being able to produce something the cause of which cannot be accounted for by empirical methods.

The fourth Gunā is bala "strength" defined as "absence of fatigue" (śvarna-hāni), or "fatiguelessness in connection with the production of the world", or "power to sustain all things", "sustaining-power" (dhāraṇa-sāmartya).

The fifth Gunā is vīrya "virility", that is "unaffectedness (changelessness, vičāra-viraha) in spite of being the material cause". This is a condition, says Lakṣmi Tantra (2. 1), not found within the world, where "milk quickly loses its nature when curds come into existence".

The sixth and last Gunā is tejas "splendour, might", which is said to mean "self-sufficiency (sahakāra-anapakṣa) and "power to defeat others" (pūndra-kirāta-sāmartya). The latter definition is in Lakṣmi Tantra (2. 46), which adds that some philosophers connect (yojya anta) tejas with aicarṣya.

The six Gunās are the material, or instruments, as it were, of Pure Creation, (1) in their totality, and (2)
by pairs, in the following way: the Guṇas, as connected partly with the Bhūti and partly with the Kriyā Sakti (5. 7), are regarded as falling into two sets, namely Guṇas 1 to 3, and Guṇas 4 to 6, called respectively visrama-bhūmayaḥ "stages of rest" and svrama-bhūmayaḥ "stages of effort"; and the corresponding Guṇas of each set (1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6) join to form a pair connected with some special divine manifestation, as will be explained presently.

In their totality the Guṇas make up the body of Vāsudeva, the highest personal god, as well as that of his consort Lakṣmī, in the way that these two are constantly seen by the free souls inhabiting the Highest Space. It is mainly in this form, to wit as a person qualified by the six Guṇas and distinct from his Sakti, that God is called Vāsudeva (5. 26).

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

1 These names are not in Abhirā Samh. ; see, however, Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 24; II, 33; III, 4. Of. also what is said below on the different condition of the three Vyūhas during and after Creation.
2 Sudgna-rāgraham devam (V, 28). The six Guṇas exist also before creation, but without being active (V, 3).
3 See below.
4 Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, p. 59.
5 Of. the Śakti Pārāsād, etc., at the beginning of Irāvāsya and other Upaniṣads.
6 Not found in the Samhitās, in so far as known to us.
The Pāñcarātra teaches a chain, as it were, of emanations; each emanation, except the first, originating from an anterior emanation; and thus the favourite image of the process has, with the Pāñcarātrins, become that of one flame proceeding from another flame. Any production, up to the formation of the Egg, is imagined as taking place in this way.

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

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

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

\[1\] See for instance Pañcama Tantra I, 2. 21.
\[2\] Citāntīka-guṇapāṭhā Vītā tattvavartika-kārikādha (V, 21).
The Śaktis of the Vyūhas, hinted at in our Saṁhitās, are mentioned by name in a number of later Saṁhitās. Mahāsanatkumāra Saṁhitā, for instance, teaches that Vāsudeva creates from his mind the white goddess Śānti, and together with her Saṁkarsana=Siva; then from the left side of the latter is born the red goddess Śrī, whose son is Pradyumna=Brahma; the latter, again, creates the yellow Sarasvatī and together with her Aniruddha=Puruṣottama, whose Śakti becomes the black Raṭi who is the threefold Māyā Kosā to be mentioned below.

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

\[ \text{creation} \] (5.4o), takes \( 3 \times 1,600 = 4,800 \) human years.

1 Which is, of course, also the length of the Pralaya of Pure Creation; see our Saṁhitā pp. 35-36.

2 Indrārata, sixth adhyāya; cf. Lākṣmi Tantra, sixth adhyāya.

3 It is important to bear in mind that these four couples are all of them brah-ṛṣa-ja “born outside the [Mundane] Egg” and therefore not identical with the prakṛtic Gods, Śiva, etc., who belong to Gross Creation (described below, section 5). It is impossible otherwise to understand certain accounts such as the following one of Lākṣmi Tantra, fifth adhyāya: Brahmā and Sarasvatī create an egg (15), Viṣṇu and Lākṣṭhīn lie down in it (20), from Viṣṇu’s navel there springs the Sacrificial Lotus (21), and from the Lotus are born Brahmā and Sarasvatī (27-28).

4 Viṣṇukrama Saṁhitā, in Tattvātāśaya ed. pp. 125-127; Lākṣmi Tantra IV, 8-20. The dogma of Guṇas 1 to 3 being connected with creation only, and Guṇas 4 to 6 with moral progress only, is not quite adhered to in several Saṁhitās, it being somewhat hard to believe that Saṁkarsana should create by means of Knowledge but teach philosophy by means of Strength; that Pradyumna should teach ethics by means of Virility rather than Ability, etc.

5 Lākṣmi Tantra IV, 8, 31; IV, 24, and II, 47.
period of Pure Creation those Gunas only are actually manifest, though as mere “stages of rest” (visvamabhāmanayāh), which become active at the beginning of Non-pure Creation, while the “stages of effort” (groma-bhāmanayāh) can come forth only after all the Tattvas are created.

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

With Saṃkāraṇa Non-pure Creation becomes dimly manifest in an embryonic condition, as a chaotic mass without internal distinctions. This is expressed in the Saṃhitās by the grotesque but often repeated statement that Saṃkāraṇa “carries the whole universe like a tilakākha (dark spot under the skin)”, which apparently signifies that the world he carries is still so to speak under the surface, existing only in a germinal condition², as a minute part, as it were, of his body. The Guṇa with which Saṃkāraṇa performs his cosmic function, is sometimes stated to be jñāna, but as a rule bala. His name Baladeva (the strong God) is also connected with this aspect of his, and so he is often described by means of such compounds as asvaph-bhuvaṇa-adhāra “support of the whole world”.

Through Pradyumna the duality of Puruṣa and Prakṛti makes its first appearance³: he is said to perform, by means of his Guṇa aśvayya, both the māṇava sarga and the vaidya sarga⁴, that is, the creation of the

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² As maṣṇya evaśraḥ, Lākṣāṇa Tantra VI, 7.
³ Lākṣāṇa Tantra VI, 10: bhoktr-bhoyyn-sanwstis bu wilwii tutra tiḥtha.
⁴ LV, 17; LI, 31 (Ahirb. S.).
Group Soul and of Primordial Matter plus Subtle Time.

Aniruddha, finally, "gives opportunity for growth to body and soul" (52. s₁-s₂) by taking over the creation of Pradyumna and by evolving out of it Manifest Matter (vyuktta) with Gross Time, and, on the other hand, the so-called Mixed Creation (mūrta-parīkṣiṭi) of souls; that is to say: he becomes, through his Guṇa sakti, ruler of the Cosmic Eggs and their contents.

The cosmic activities of the Vyūhas are also — not, however, as it seems, in the oldest Saṃhitās — stated to be the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe or of the Cosmic Egg. These statements are of a somewhat contradictory nature. Lakṣmi Tantra, for instance, teaches (4. 11, 12, 20) that the cosmic function of Aniruddha is creating, that of Pradyumna preserving, and that of Saṃkaraṇa destroying; while, according to Viśvaksena Saṃhitā (loc. cit., p. 125 fl.), Saṃkaraṇa "by means of his Guṇa bala takes away all this", Pradyumna "by means of his Guṇa aivamrta creates that [totality of] moveable and immoveable [beings]", and Aniruddha "by means of his [Guṇa] sakti supports and protects this whole world, the infinite Egg".

The ethical activities of the three Vyūhas are declared to be the teaching (1) by Saṃkaraṇa,

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

* Viśvaksena Saṃhitā, loc. cit., p. 129.
* Of. the identification of Saṃkaraṇa and Śiva, etc., mentioned above p. 36.
* In Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā also, Aniruddha is occasionally called "protector", "overseer", and the like (see, for instance, LI, 53; LV, 42), but elsewhere (LV, 21; etc.) it ascribes to him all the three activities.
of the sūtra or “theory”, namely, of monotheism (ekāntika-mārgya); (2) by Pradyumna, of its translation into practice (kṛitya); and (3) by Aniruddha, of the gain resulting from such practice (kṛiya-phala), to wit Liberation; the instruments applied being respectively the Guṇas jñāna or bala, vīrya, and tejas. According to Viṣṇuksena Saṁhitā (Tattvārtha ed. p. 125) the teaching of Saṁkaraśaṇa is not confined to the Pāñcarātra, but includes the Veda (that is, of course, its esoteric portions). The same source says (loc. cit., pp. 126, 127) that Pradyumna “introduces all religious rites [to be performed by a Pāñcarātra]”, while Aniruddha “makes known the whole truth about the [ultimate goal of] the soul”.

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

1 Bhūṣana-ābhaṇa-vaikāṣṭha, LV, 42, and 53.
2 The former according to V, 21–22 (Ahiṁ. Saṁhitā) and Vijy, 5, loc. cit., p. 123; the latter according to Lakṣmī Tantra IV, 18.
Vāsandeva. But the original meaning of the doctrine must have been rather that the Vyihas are something like tutelar deities of the said principles. This is, indeed, the teaching of Viśvaksena Saṃhitā, which declares (loc. cit., pp. 125 ff.) about Saṃkāra: “He is acting as the superintendent of all the souls”; and about Pradyumna: “He is the superintendent of the mind (manas); he is declared to be of the nature of the mind (manomaya).” About Aniruddha no similar statement is made; still his being declared to be the creator of the mītra-varga, that is, of the souls dominated by Rajas and Tamas, shows that he was actually looked at, by the author of that Saṃhitā, as the adhiśthotṛ of the Ahaṃkāra. In the same Saṃhitā the superintendence of Saṃkāraṇa is described as follows: “Then Saṃkāraṇa, the Divine Lord, wishing to create the world, made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life and severed it from Nature.” And, after having done so, the God obtained the state of Pradyumna.” In Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, as we have seen, the duality of Soul and Nature appears first with Pradyumna. It is he, not Saṃkāraṇa, who is called there the “Lord of the souls” (58. 88), while Aniruddha is indeed called superintendent, not however of the Ahaṃkāra but of each of the three Guṇas (6. 88 ff.) or of the whole manifested world (see above p. 38, note 4). But though there is nothing in our Saṃhitā, in so far as the account of

1 Sa'yam samasta-trivarte adhiśthotṛtya sthitah.
2 For which reason it is also missing in Tattvārāyaṇa in the aphorism on the activities of Aniruddha (ed. p. 127).
3 Jīva-vatūryat adhiśthotṛya prakṛte tu vivṛgya tat, which the commentary explains thus: “He made himself superintendent of the Principle of Life, which was absorbed in Nature, and on the strength of that superintendence severed it from Nature so as to render the appearance of names and forms possible.”
4 Viveka = vivekanam.

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creation is concerned, that would make the Vyūhas appear as tutelar deities in the sense mentioned; there are indeed a few passages referring to individual life which could be so interpreted. For example, we read (53. 45 fl.) of Pradynma that he is a source of joy by his purifying influence on eśīga (=āukāti), and again that he is the internal ruler (antar-netrakoti) of the organ of knowledge (jñānendriya); of Sunakarsana (59. 25, 27 fl.) that he causes the soul to flee from the world and reach Liberation by making it obtain correct knowledge; and of Aniruddha (59. 24): "He bestows upon men the fruits [of their actions]", — which fruits (=results) here undoubtedly include, or even exclusively denote, those earned by selfish actions (good and bad).

From each Vyūha descend three Sub-Vyūhas (ypādhatava, marikaṃtavr), namely, (1) from Vasudeva: Kesava, Nārāyaṇa, and Mādhava; (2) from Sunakarsana: Govinda, Viṣṇu, and Madhusūdana; (3) from Pradynma: Trivikrama, Vāmana, and Śrīdhara; and (4) from Aniruddha: Hṛṣikesa, Padmanābha, and Dīnodaṇḍa. These twelve are the "Lords of the months", that is, the tutelar deities (udhidaiva) of the twelve months and the twelve suns, and as such play an important part in diagrams (yantras), etc. They are usually represented, for the purpose of meditation: Kesava as shining like gold and bearing four discuses, Nārāyaṇa as dark (like a blue lotus) and bearing four conches, Mādhava as shining like a gem (sapphire) and bearing four clubs, etc.; and they are said to protect the

\[1\] Aṣṭāṅga, says Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.
\[2\] Aṣṭāṅga, Mahāsaṃkramaṇa S. III, 6, 33.
\[3\] That is the sun in the twelve months of the year; cf. the rūccbha, VIII, 47th fl. of Aṅkhib. Saṃhitā, further Yat. Dip. ed. p. 85.
\[4\] V, 49; VIII, 49; XXVI, 33 fl.
\[5\] Yat. Dip., loc. cit., to be compared with the fuller and slightly different description in adhy. XXVI of our Saṃhitā.
devotee's body if represented on the same (forehead, etc.) by certain painted vertical lines (ārdhānaprāpratī).

Another set of twelve Vidyāvaras 1 descending from the Vyuhas is mentioned in a number of texts 2 and derived in Pūjma Tantra I, 2. 20 ff. in the following way: from the Vyuha Vāsandeva springs another Vāsandeva, from the latter Puruṣottama, and from him Janārdana; similarly from Saṃkarṣana another Saṃkarṣana, Adhokṣaja, and Upendra; and from Aniruddha another Aniruddha, Acyuta, and Kṛṣṇa. These twelve are enumerated after the twelve Sub-Vyuhas and called, together with the latter, "the twenty-four forms" (caturvīṁśati-mūrtiyaj). To Pure Creation further belong the so-called Vībhavas (manifestations) or āvatastras (descents), that is incarnations of God or His Vyuhas or Sub-Vyuhas or angels (see below) among this or that class of terrestrial beings. 3 The principal Vībhavas are, according to Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā (6. 30 ff.; cf. 56. 2 ff.), the following thirty-nine:

10. Kṛṣṇadāman. 23. Pārijatāhara. 36. Rāma Dhiro-

1 This term in Mahāsamarthakumāra S. III, 6, 34.
2 See for example Vihaśendra S. II, 16, and the passage mentioned in the preceding note.
3 Vībhavo nāma tat-tat-saṅkṣeyya-rūpeśvarīvihāray, Yat. Dip-
This list has been reproduced almost exactly from the
ninth pariccheda of Sāttvata Sāphītā (ed. pp. 79-80); and
to that work we are, indeed, referred by our Saṁhitā (3.
87 fl.) for a comprehensive description of the origin,
etc., of those Vibhavas. However, the description,
though it is actually found there, covering over 160
slokas of the twelfth pariccheda (ed. pp. 97-109), does
not, apart from some hints, deal with the origin of the
Vibhavas, but only with their form and activity as objects
of meditation. Still less can be gathered from the
twenty-third pariccheda of the same Saṁhitā and the
fifty-sixth adhyāya of the Ahirbuddhnya, where the thirty-
ine Vibhavas are once more reviewed in connection with
certain Mantras. We must, then, try to identify the
names without any direct help, which, however, as will
be seen, is not very difficult.

We shall naturally begin by picking out the ten
Avatāras enumerated in the Nāyāyanīya section of the
Śānti Purāṇa, which, for obvious reasons, must be ex-
pected to be included in our list. They are nos. 9
(=Haṁsa), 15 (=Kūrma), 23 (=Matsya), 16, 17, 29, 35,
36, 37, and 38.

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

1 Sāttvata S. XII, 66: nīpam asa bhogiyayyāma: Lakṣmi T. V,
21: Padmayd $aha vi$yyau apsu susrwy twain cakr&.

2 Referring to the story related in Vana Purāṇa, 188 fl.
flaming robe, waited upon by Lakṣmi, Cintā, Nidrā, and Puṣṭi.¹

Again, there are four other Avataras who rather seem to belong together and therefore, says Śātāvata Śāṃhitā (12. 199), may be meditated upon either collectively or singly, namely nos. 31 to 34 (including one already mentioned) who are Viṣṇu appearing as the four sons of Dharma and Ahiṃsā.² They are described, in Śātāvata S. (12. 199—208), as four ascetics clad in deer-skin, etc., the one reciting Mantras, the second absorbed in meditation, the third teaching meritorious works, and the fourth performing austerities.

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

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

No. 3, Ananta, is not the serpent Seṣa but Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa.⁴ In Padma Tantra (I, 2. 29) he

¹ Śātāvata S. XII, 163 fll.
² Nārāyaṇiya, opening chapter; see Bhandarkar, Viṣṇupurāṇa, etc. (E. I. A. R. vol. III, part 6), pp. 32-33. It is clear that this Kṛṣṇa is not exactly identical with the well-known one.
³ Cf. Taitt. Up.: agor ṣeṣaḥ mabhato mukhyam, etc.
⁴ Or rather the demons Madhu and Kaitabha; see chapter 41 of Ahirbudhnya Śānkhīti.
⁵ Who is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of Seṣa rather than of Viṣṇu Himself.
is inserted after Parasurama as the eighth of the ten Avatāras instead of the first (Hānśa) who is omitted. No. 7, Kapila, is, according to our Saṃhitā (56. 81), the Saṃkhya philosopher, and he is evidently the same as Kapila the teacher of the Nāga kings referred to elsewhere. No. 10, Krodātmak, can be none also, to judge from Sāttvata S. 12. 45 fr., than Viśnu as the Yajūś-varāha or Yajūś-sūkara, — a particular aspect of the Boar incarnation. The description, in 56. 85-86, of no. 24, Lokanātha, points to Manu Vaivasvata who was saved from the deluge by Brahmā as a fish and made the [secondary] creator of all living beings. No. 20, Kāntātmak, is described in Sāttvata S. (12. 85 fr.) as a beautiful youth with "eyes unsteady by love", etc., that is to say as Pradyumna, or Kāma reborn (after his destruction by Śiva) as the son of Kṛṣṇa. But in Ahirbudhnya S. (56. 8) he has the epithet amṛta-dhāraka "carrying nectar" which seems rather to point to Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods, or to Dābibhakta1. No 26, Datātreyā, is the well-known sage, son of Ātri and Anasūyā. No. 37, Vedavid, is, according to Sāttvata S. (12. 1s sf.), the famous Veda-Vyāsa. All of these are among the twenty-two Avatāras enumerated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. 3), supposing that Krodātmak may be identified with Yajūś, Kāntātmak with Dhanvantari, and Lokanātha with Puruṣa (the Male or Progenitor). The following are also Purāṇic: Dhrūva (No. 2), the Rṣi and polar star, celebrated, in Sāttvata S. 9. 105, as the bearer

1 Padma Tantra I, 1. 23 fr.; Viśuvatikās 11, 170 fr.; etc.
2 Note especially evāraja and evāva-vrata.
3 See below, note 3, on no. 18, next page.
of the Adhāra Sakti; Vāgīsvara (no. 13), who is Hayagrīva or Hayagrīva; and Śantatman (no. 25), if he is, as may be supposed, either Śanatkumāra (Sanaka) or Nārada, as the expounder of the Śattvata system.¹

Śaktyatman (no. 4) is Viṣṇu as iṣṭā-rūpa-dhāra (Śattvata S. 12, 8), that is, assuming the particular form required for pleasing some devotee. Vidyādhīdeva, “the Lord of Virāj”, is the four-faced Brahmā. No. 8 is Viṣṇu in the form in which He appears to Arjuna in the famous Visvārūpa Adhyāya (11) of the Bhagavad-Gītā. No. 11 is Aurova. No. 12 is Viṣṇu as dharma personified. No. 18, also called Amṛtāharaṇa, is Viṣṇu as the restorer of immortality to the gods.¹ No. 19 is Viṣṇu as the husband of Lākṣmi (who threw herself into His arms when she emerged from the ocean). Nos. 21 and 22 are Viṣṇu conquering respectively Rāhu and Kālanemi. No. 23, finally, is Kṛṣṇa wresting from Indra the celestial tree.

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

¹ Of. Aśvīndeṇa Śamhitā, adhy. VIII, 34 ff., where, however, the term has a much wider sense.
² The only description of Śantatman is in Śattvata S. XII, 110: “Having a mind full of compassion, carrying the couch and lotus in his hands, showing the 'threshold path of knowledge, renunciation, and virtness deeds.”
³ Of. the story of the churning of the ocean. The epithet would also fit Dadhiḥkṣeta to whom Indra is said to owe the Amṛta, and who, is mentioned among the chief Avataras in Vyākaranas S., loc. cit., p. 136 (Dadhiḥkṣeta co deva durāhastām 'mṛtipradah).” Amṛtāharaṇa is, thirdly, an epithet of Ganeśa as the stealer of Amṛta.
that the real number is only thirty-six, because Kapila, Dattatreya, and Parāgrāma are only secondary Avatāras. For there are more "secondary Avatāras" among the thirty-nine as well as outside their number.

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

The distinction referred to in our Samhitā* between primary (mahā) and secondary (gaṇa, avaṇa) Avatāras is explained at length in Viṣvaksena Samhitā (loc. cit., pp. 130-132). There the primary Avatāras only are declared to be like a flame springing from a flame, that is to say Viṣṇu Himself with a transcendent (āprāktta) body, while a secondary Avatāra is a soul in bondage with a natural body which, however, is possessed (ācīṣṭa) or pervaded, for some particular mission or function, by the power (vakti) of Viṣṇu. The primary Avatāras only should be worshipped by those seeking Liberation, while for mundane purposes (wealth, power, etc.) the secondary Avatāras may be resorted

* See below.

16 ' 17> 29 ' S6< H and 3s f ur
, 51 :
taA yao

1 Nor does the further division of the secondary or avaṇa Avatāras according to mūrayājīta and sūkhyājīta (loc. cit., p. 130) help to solve the riddle; for Viṣṇa belongs necessarily to the same class as Kapila, etc.

* Namely nos. 16, 17, 29, 36, 34, and 35 of our list; see Bhandarkar, loc. cit., p. 41.

* VIII, 31: vihandante-samyuṣam tad ye cha āyākāya-samabhavam.
The said Samhitā enumerates as instances of secondary Avatāras: Brahman, Śiva, Buddha, Vyāsa, Arjuna, Parasurāma, the Vasu called Pāvaka, and Kubera, the god of riches.

As for the origin of the Avatāras, Viśvaksena Samhitā declares that all of them spring from Aniruddha, either directly or indirectly, examples of the latter class being Mahēvāra (Śiva) who descends from Aniruddha through Brahmā, and Hayagrīva who comes from the Fish, who himself springs from the direct Avatāra Kṛṣṇa. According to Lakṣmi Tantra also (2, xx) all the Vibhavas descend from Aniruddha. Pādma Tantra, on the other hand, says (1, 2. xx *śastra* J. 2. 8. 8) that of the ten Avatāras the Fish, the Tortoise, and the Boar have sprung from Vasudeva; the Man-lion, Dwarf, Śrirāma and Parasurāma from Saṃkarṣaṇa; Balarāma from Pradyumna; and Kṛṣṇa and Kalki from Aniruddha; and it indicates that the other Avatāras are to be distributed in a similar way.

The Avatāras are not confined to human and animal forms: the vegetable kingdom is sometimes chosen, as in the case of the crooked mango-tree in the Daṇḍaka Forest mentioned by Viśvaksena S. (loc. cit., p. 150) as an instance of this class of incarnations.

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

1 Possessed of the quality of making heretics, therefore called mohana “the bewilderer”!

* That is, the three manifestations of Prajāpāti mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary, sub voce Avatāra).

Visnu, owing to His omnipotence, is capable of "descending" into such images with a portion of His sakti, that is, with a subtle ("divine", "non-natural") body. This is the Aroฮ Avatара or incarnation for the purposes of ordinary worship. It is exhaustively treated in Visvakṣena Samhitā (loc. cit., pp. 122 and 148).

There is, finally, the Antaryāmi Avatara, which is Aniruddha as the "Inner Ruler" of all souls (vismanda sarvou-dhārām)—a very old conception based on a famous Upanishad passage. The Antaryāmin is the mysterious power which appears as instinct and the like, and which as the "smokeless flame" seated in the "lotus of the heart" plays an important part in Yoga practice.

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

To Pure Creation, thirdly, belongs the parmanavayum, "Highest Heaven", or Vaikuṇṭha, with all the beings and objects contained in it. This Highest

1 The presence of God as a Viśhava in generated bodies such as those of Nāma and Kṛṣṇa is also explained in this way; see Yat. Dīp. ed. p. 33 where this is the answer to the question: "How can there be a junction between the natural and the non-natural?" (pṛthvī-srṣaṁ-bhūvaṁ svayam kathām? ).
2 Visvakṣena S. loc. cit., p. 122.
3 This conception of God residing in the soul but not identical with it will be found to be reasonable for the apparent Advaitism of a good many passages in the Pāñcarātra literature.
4 See VI, 21 fl. of Aḥīrb. Samhitā. This is the second-highest in the list of Tatrās, Laksamit Tatrā Vi, 43, enumerating: the Lord, Highest Heaven, the Purūṣa, Sakti, Nyāti, etc. For example, lit. "apno; sphere": the synonyms dhiṣṭa, sālka, etc., are also used; cf. loc. cit., VII, 9.
5 This name is ambiguous in that it also denotes, and more often so, the (lower) heaven of Viṣṇu in Svāya-loka, — which is a reflection,
Heaven has nothing to do with any of the temporal heavens forming the upper spheres of the Cosmic Egg. This is indicated by its being called Tripāda-vibhāti, "manifestation of the three-fourths [of God]", in contradistinction to the one-fourth with which Aniruddha creates the Cosmic Egg. The Highest Heaven, in that it is not reached, at Liberation, until after the "shell" or "wall" of the Cosmic Egg has been "pierced", is defined as "infinite above, limited below." 

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

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

as miniature, of the Highest Heaven — and occasionally even that whole sphere. Viṣṇu-loka is an equally ambiguous term. Some Saṃhitās connect each Vyūha with a particular heaven; see, for instance, Viṣṇugṛha Saṃhitā, II, 20.

1 Srī viṣṇu-pradēṣa-purāṇē, adhik-pradēṣa parātātāmā; Yat. Dip. ed. p. 53. The journey of the liberated soul to the boundary of the Cosmic Egg and further on, is described with infinite detail in chapters 5 to 7 of Tripādavibhātabhamānāraṇaya Upaniṣad.

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

3 See above, beginning of section 2, p. 29 ff.

4 P. Prakāsha S. I, 14: Viṣṇuḥṣaṭadvikāvanā hiṁśa.

5 Or bhoga-vibhāti, Tattvātman ed. p. 76.

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

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

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1 See below section 3 of this part of our Introduction.
2 One edition of Yat. Dip. includes women (nādis)!
3 Of, for (1) the jñāna-sandālayinī lokāḥ, and for (2) the sāmanālayinī bhogāḥ and sāmanālakṣetra lokāḥ mentioned in VI, 24 and 23 resp. of Ahirbudhnya Sāphita.
treated of above. He assumes this form as a "root of his innumerable Avataras" and especially for the enjoyment of the angels and the liberated.

The Divine Figure is adorned with nine chief ornaments and weapons, which symbolically represent the principles of the universe, namely, the Kaustubha (a jewel worn on the breast)=the souls, the Srivatsa (a curl of hair on the breast)=Prakṛti, a club=Mahat, a conch=the Sāttvīc Ahaṃkāra, a bow=the Tāmāsc Ahaṃkāra, a sword=knowledge, its sheath=ignorance, the discus=the mind, the arrows=the senses, a garland=the elements. These weapons and ornaments are not merely regarded as symbols but also as actually connected (as presiding deities or the like) with the Tat-tvās they represent. In this sense we read, for instance, in Viṣṇuṭilaka (2.85-83) that during the universal night the soul "in the form of the Kaustubha" rests in


3. Pāncaśūtra I, 22. 52 treated of above.

4. The para form of God is four-armed and of dark-blue complexion (Viṣṇu, S., loc. cit., p. 186; Pāṇḍa Tantra I, 2, 13 and 15). It has sprung, according to Pāṇḍa Tantra (1, second adhikāra; cf. Viṣṇuṭilaka II, 5 ff.), from a still higher, the very first, form of God (vīyaṃ abhyakṣa kandaṇaṃ; Viṣṇuṭilaka II, 10: Viṁasrethābhyaṃ mahāḥ; cf. Ahirbudhyā, XLIV. 7: mahāḥ paramabhavāram) which is two-handed (cf. Vīhaṅgendra S. II, 16), of the colour of a pure crystal, and clad in a yellow robe — just as the Sudarṣaṇa Purusa (maṇḍreśvaro Bhagadā) residing in Vaiṣṇuṣha who appears to Ahirbudhyāya, XLIV. 22 ff. (cf. XLIII. 9 ff.). This is the "heavest of Purusās" and the "Highest Light" seen by Brahmā in meditation (Pāṇḍa Tantra I, 3, 16 ff.) and "ever to be remembered by Yugaṇḍha as seated in the lotus of the heart" — that is, evidently, the Antardhanam placed here above the Para. This form, again, has originated from "that which has all forms and no form", "Brahman without beginning, middle or end."

See next section of this Introduction.

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

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

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

1 Nityādīta saṁhāhāvā tathā vīśīdīta Hariv, Vinavataṇa S., loc. cit., p. 133, cf. p. 136. Śaṁsa-watū, "not and risen", is a Tatpurana compound of the Visesaḥbhāyapada class, cf. saṁsirodha, etc. The comm., loc. cit., p. 132, gives no etymological explanation, but merely paraphrases the two terms by means of nityā-saṁktā-saṁbhāva and Śaṁsa-watū, respectively. Cf. above p. 50 the expression "nityā-saṁktā-ābhava Śaṁsa-vatū".

2 Padma Tantra I. 2.16 sl.; cf. Viṣṇuṭilaka II. 11. Here the Para is not nitya, "eternal", but a periodical manifestation like the Vyūha Vāsudeva. This is, of necessity, also the standpoint of the Ahirb. Śaṁpha, which, however, in calling the Absolute nityādīta (II. 25) and Lakṣmī udāktaudbākta śāṁktā-dūṣṣṭā (III. 6), is not consistent in the use of these terms.

3 The two are clearly distinguished in Padma Tantra (see note 3 on p. 52), also in P. Prakāra S.I. 2.3 : Puruṣaḥ Viṣṇuḥvahāha, cutvāro bhāvaṁ tato.

4 Viṣṇuṭilaka, however (II, 11-16), modifying this account, identifies the Para with Nārāyaṇa.
of twelve S'aktis. The first of these views is naturally favoured in such works as Ahirbudhnya Sa'hithi, which make Sakti a real philosophical principle. The second view is based (in a rather strained manner) on the weighty authority of the Uttaranåśiya (end) which is the continuation, in the White Yajurveda, of the Purusa Sūkta. The third view is the one adopted in the later Visistâdvaïta, where, however, it plays such an insignificant part that, for instance, in Tattvatrya this is the only item connected with the Para Vasudeva which is mentioned but not explained. It is apparently not found at all in the older Sāphitā literature. It is, however, expounded at some length in one of the Minor Upaniṣads, namely Sītā Upaniṣad, where (as in Vihagendra S. 2.) Śri, Bhūmi, and Nīla are identified respectively with the Icchā, Kriyā, and Sākṣāt Sakti of the Devi; Śri representing good luck (bhadra), Bhūmi might

1 See Ahir. Sa'h. VI, 25; IX, 31; XXXVI, 55; Lakṣmi Tantra VII, 9-10.
2 This, of course, does not exclude the admission of the existence, in Highest Heaven, of minor Saktas; cf. XXXVIII, 55 of Ahir. Sa'hita, enjoining that the worship of God should be followed by that of the gods and [their] Saktas (prati-gopilā) forming His retinue.
3 Padma Tantra I, 2-46; Pārameśvara S. I, 7, where Bhūmi is called Paśti (Lakṣmiṣaṭātāḥ sarvāḥ ca utsra Bhagavatā sakta).
4 Vihagendra S., 2nd adhyāya; P. Prakârâ S. 4, 58-59; Parāśara S., adhy. 8 to 10.
5 Tattvatrya, ed. pp. 55, 122; Yat. Dīp., ed. p. 84.
6 The comm. makes a futile attempt at excusing the author, ed. p. 122.
7 The comm. both of Tattvatrya and Yat. Dīp. have no other Śruti authority for it than a stanza of the Saiva Purāṇa, to which they add, as Śruti quotation, the passage of the Uttaranāśiya mentioned above, Sriśivāndeśa explaining that Nīla must be understood implicitly!—In P. Prakârâ S. (hardly earlier than the twelfth century) the three Saktis, regarded as aspects of the one Sakti, are connected with the souls, the white Śri taking care of the souls in which the Sattva Gūḍa dominates, the red Durgā of the Tāmasic ones (I, 1, 62-69).
(prabhāva), and Nilā the moon, sun, and fire. Śri, further, is threefold: as Yoga, Bhoga, and Vīra Sakti (connected resp. with Yoga practice, domestic and temple worship); Nilā as Soma is also the goddess of vegetation, and as sun the goddess of time, while as fire she is connected with hunger and thirst, heat and cold; and Bhūdevī, of the nature of the Prajña, is the sustaining power of the earth with its fourteen planes. The mention, in the Upaniṣad, of the Rṣi Vaikhanasa (though the passages in question are probably interpolated) seems to indicate that we should seek for these doctrines rather in the Vaikhanasa than in the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās. Eight Saktis, namely "Lakṣmī, etc." are often mentioned but seldom enumerated. They are evidently the following eight, associated in Vīhāendra S. (8. s) with the "hero form" (vīra-mūrti) of the Sudarsana, to wit: Kirti (Fame), Śri (Fortune), Vījāyā (Victress), Sraiddhā (Faith), Smrīti (Memory), Medhā (Intelligence), Dhrītī (Endurance), and Kṣamā (Forbearance). ¹ In Pāḍma Tantra (I, 2. ss) and Viṣṇu-tilaka (2. ss) they are stated to originate from the Srivatsa of Viṣṇu. The following twelve Saktis are enumerated in Sātvata S. (9. ss): Lakṣmī, Puṣṭi (Prosperity), Dayā (Compassion), Nīdrā (Sleep), Kṣamā, Kīnti (Beauty), Sarasvatī (Learning), Dhrītī, Maitri (Benevolence), Rati (Venus), Puṣṭi (Satisfaction), and Maitri (=Medhā). These play a part in the Avatāra theory and elsewhere. For instance, the fourteenth Avatāra is said to be waited upon by Lakṣmī, Nīdrā,

¹ For another "eight women" see XXVI, 37 ff. of Ahirb. Saṁhitā.
² Who, as we have seen (p. 52, note 3), is subordinate here to a higher aspect of God.
Priti (=Maitri), and Vidyā (=Sarasvatī); and the thirty-ninth by Lakṣmī, Cintā (=Matī), Nidrā and Pucī.

Of the two classes of Jīvas or individual souls existing in the Highest Heaven, the more exalted ones are the so-called Nītya-s (eternal ones) or Sūris (sages, masters), which two words can be fairly accurately rendered by "angels". They differ from the other class to be dealt with hereafter not in point of knowledge, both being declared to fully participate in the Lord's omniscience, but (1) in having been always free from defilement, and (2) in holding perpetually certain offices as coadjutors of the Lord. The duties they have to discharge are, however, so mysterious that hardly any attempt has been made at defining the same. These angels are, besides the "door-keepers" and "town-watchmen" of the "Holy City of Vaikuntha", called respectively Canda, Pracanda, Bhadra, Subhadra, etc., and Kumuda, Kumudākṣa, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, etc., the so-called Pārśadas or Pāriśadas, that is "companions" (retinue) of God, and in addition to [or among]
the latter the three more prominent beings called Ananta, Garula, and Visvaksema. Of these, Ananta or S'csa, the serpent, is the couch of Vișnu, and Garula, the "king of birds", his so-called vehicle (vāhaka), while Visvaksema, the "lord of hosts", is described as a sort of chief minister to God in all affairs heavenly and mundane. This part of Visvaksema, if taken in earnest, would seem to clash with the activities of the Vyiilias; and he appears to have actually ousted them in that sect described in the thirtieth chapter of Anandagiri's Śīkṣaśāstra, which recommends the worship of him only who "rules the whole universe like a second Avatar of the Lord residing in Vaikuntha." Lastly, it must be stated that Nityas can incarnate at will in the world, just as Vișnu Himself.

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

1 Called also S'çatana "the eater of leavings", namely, of God, that is, presumably, the executor of His plans; cf. the commentaries, Tattvottara, ed. p. 20; the explanation, ibid., of the Serpent's name S'csa (the "appurtenance" of Viṣnu, namely, His bed, seat, etc.) is little convincing. — Visvaksema occurs in the story narrated in adhy. XLI of Ahihir. Saph., stanzas 18 and 30 fl.

2 ibid. is mentioned a gorgeous Temple of Visvaksema in a place (in Northern India) called Marundha (spelt Marundha in the poetical paraphrase, Anandavrama Series no. 28, p. 559).

3 Cf. p. 44, note 5.

4 Svarupam svarupam ayiṣṭi jāmānandaleśhākṣeṣam 1 svarusvapu-prayātipaiś u ratiś-ratiś-vāhakāpitah 1

Visvaksema S, loc. cit., p. 13; the second half also in Ahihir. Saph., VI, 27.

8
far as this undoubtedly means that the liberated by passing through the Sun get rid of their subtle body, Tattvatraya (ed. p. 12) is right in teaching the “atomicity” of any, even the bound, soul, if described in itself. The liberated, then, are bodiless. But this only means that they have no “karma-made” body; they can assume, whenever they like, a “non-natural” body, or even simultaneously several such bodies, and freely roam about in the whole world. They are, however, excluded from actual interference in worldly affairs, differing in this respect from the angels, as already noticed. Among the Muktas there exists no gradation or social difference of any kind—they being as equal, essentially, as for instance grains of rice—still their mode of life differs by the difference of devotional inclinations preserved from their last earthly existence. “Whatever form [of God] the devotee has been attached to in his mundane existence, that kind does he behold as an inhabitant of the Highest Heaven.”

We are not told whether the liberated have any intercourse with each other, but if the bodies of Pitṛs (ancestors, etc., lost by death) are created for them by God, and if, as is often said, they are intent upon nothing but service (kāśīkārya) to God, then, indeed, they are practically alone with their God.

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1 The soul is also vibhu, in spite of its atomicity; see below section 6 of this part of our Introduction.
2 As Yogins can do already while still alive, the classical example being that of Saubhari (Tattvatraya ed., p. 31, Yat. Dip. ed., p. 70).
3 Yat. Dip., ed. p. 78.
5 Tattvatraya, ed. p. 33.
The Visistadvaita teaches that there exists a second class of Muktas, namely the so-called Kevalas or "exclusive ones"; who are actually altogether "isolated" because they have reached Liberation, not by devotion to God, but by constant meditation upon the real nature of their own soul. They are said to be living, "like the wife who has lost her husband", "in some corner" outside both the Highest Heaven and the Cosmic Egg. We have so far not found this doctrine in any of the Pancharatra Samhitas but should not be surprised if it were eventually discovered in one or several of them.

3. INTERMEDIATE CREATION

(Evolution, Second Stage)

"Based" on Pure Creation, but performed with only one myriadth part of the infinitely small portion of divine energy employed in it, is that other manifestation of the Bhuti Sakti which is "different from the pure one" (suddhataura), that is, partly "mixed" and partly "impure", namely the Kūṭastha Purusa and the Māyā.

1 Yat, Dip., p. 76, Tatvavatya, ed. pp. 28, 121.
2 Tatmākātva, VI, 7.
3 III, 27; Laksmi Tantra IV, 35.

The use, in our Samhitā, of the terms sūdhikātara and sūddhayodhita is of a bewildering ambiguity. In VII, 68-70 the term sūdhikātara has a different meaning in each of the three stanzas, namely, in 68: "comprising the pure and what is different from it"; in 69: "other than pure"; and in 70: "belonging to both the pure and what is different from it". — "what is different from it" (ini=a=ita=ita) being in 68 inclusive of, in 70 exclusive of the "mixed" creation, the latter being evidently not included either in 69. Similarly the sense of sūddhayodhita in V, 9 and LIX, 55 concerns with the first of the above meanings (suddhata implying the "mixed"), and that of sūddhay-asuddhay-maya in VI, 34 with the third. — Instead of "mixed" (Visvaksena S., loc. cit., p. 128 fl.) the present Samhitā says "pure-impure".
Sakti with their respective developments. This Non-pure Creation falls into a primary and a secondary one, and the former, again, consists of two well-defined stages of which the first, to be described in this section, may well be called the Intermediate Creation.

The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, called also simply Kūṭastha or Puruṣa, is explained in our Saṃhitā (6. 33) in the words: "An aggregate of souls, similar to a bee-hive", the pure-impure condition of Bhūti,—such is the Puruṣa piled up by souls blunted by beginningless Germ-impressions (pāvane)"; with which should be compared the definition in Lakṣmi Tantra (7. 11-12): "By Puruṣa is meant the all-knowing, all-faced Bhokṭa Kūṭastha: as his parts go forth from him all the eternal souls (jīva), and likewise at [the time of] Dissolution the work-[bound] souls, go back to him, the highest soul (nāra)." The Kūṭastha Puruṣa, then, is the soul of souls, that is to say, the totality, regarded as the source, of all disembodied but karma-bound (non-liberated) souls

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

There are several speculations about the meaning of this word which is, of course, the old Saṃkhya term mentioned already in the Buddhād Nikāyas. The explanation viśeṣat sahāta "existing in the form of a heap (collection, aggregate)" seems to be favoured, in our Saṃhitā, by the image of the bee-hive (see below). Other passages, however (XVI, 38, cf. 46; XXIV, 24; etc.), suggest the idea of the Puruṣa "standing at the top" of the soul's pedigree. The latter explanation is the one which Vedānta-sūtras prefer to the former; see his commentary on Śrībhāṣya for Bhagavadvādīta XII, 3 (वीशेषत: साहेता वीधित: खाययो नाम नामा सुपरस्थ: कुटस्थाय)

8 In IX, 25 this image is used for the Māyā Sakti, while in IX, 27 the Kūṭastha is compared with [the hole of] an Udumba tree swarming with countless bees.

The Kūṭastha (and likewise the four Mānas to be mentioned) is not a mere collective being; cf. the description of Brahmān as "consisting of the totality of bound souls ".

before the creation and after the dissolution of the "non-pure" universe.

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

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

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

The Mäyä S'akti, called also simply S'akti; further Bhagavat S'akti, Mūlaprakṛti, Sāsvadvidyā, or simply Vidyā, is the same to the material universe as is the Kūṭastha to the world of souls; that is to say, it is the non-spiritual energy which comes into existence, by the side of the Purusa, as the primitive form of the "matter" or "nature" (prakṛti) into which the Manus are destined to gradually "descend". As "root-matter", however (§ 4), it differs from the Mūlaprakṛti of the Śāṅkhyas (mentioned as such in 7. 1) in that the latter is only one of its two manifestations, namely, its so-called "Guna body" (guṇa or guṇamaya vapus), the other one being the "Time body" (kālamaya vapus) consisting of Kāla "Time" and its "subtle" cause, namely Niyati "Restriction".

These three last-mentioned, that is Niyati, Kāla, and Guna, are declared to originate from the forehead, eyebrows, and ears respectively of Pradyumna (6. 12).

1 Altogether eight such "forms" (mūrya-atara) are enumerated, along with the Viśhavas, etc., in Pādmasastra (1. 2. 29-30), namely, brahmi, prajñāprātya, viśesā, dīvyā, drṣṭi, māṇuṣī, ākṣari, and pośākā; cf. Śāṅkhyasāra Karikā 58.

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

3 For the connection of Niyati with the forehead cf. the phrase lalate likliitwm, "written on the forehead"=fate.
just as the four pairs of Manus have been derived from his mouth, etc.

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

Developed for a thousand years (55. 4s) by the Yoga of Aniruddha (6. 14) there emerge now once more, but this time successively, the already-mentioned material principles (6. 4s fl.): first, directly from Aniruddha, Sakti; then, from Sakti, Niyati; from Niyati, Kāla; from Kāla, the Sattva Guṇa; from the latter the Rajo Guṇa; and, from the latter, the Tamo Guṇa; and simultaneously and in the same order the Manus travel through these Tattvas by “descending” into each of them, after its appearance, and “staying” in it, for some time, “as a foetus” (kalali-bhūta, 6. 4s), — which means (to judge from their further development) that they appropriate successively the individual faculty which each of these Tattvas is capable of bestowing. By the way it may be mentioned here that the chapter on Dissolution (4. 84-86) inserts the Kūṭastha between Aniruddha and Sakti, assigning thus to the Kūṭastha a position similar to that of Brahman in the Upaniṣads, creating the world and then entering it.

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

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

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

Niyati, "the Sakti consisting of great knowledge", is "the subtle regulator of every thing"; such as "the form which [a being] may have, its work, and its nature" (6. 44). It is clear from this definition that Niyati is not only what the Vaiśeṣikas call Dis, to wit the regulator of positions in space, but that it also regulates, as Kārmic necessity, the intellectual capacity, inclinations,

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1 For an able account of these see Chatterji, Kashmir Shaivism, pp. 75 ff. Cf. also Schomerus, Der Śiva-Stiddhānta, p. 137.
2 Or Mahārī, Paramesvari, Bhadrakāli, etc.
3 Or Mahāvāki, Sarasvatī, Mahādhenu, etc.
4 Or Mahāmaya, Kālaratri, Nidrā, etc.
5 Lakṣmi Tantra, VII, 13; IV, 67; VI, 12-10; see for the names also IV, 36, 39 ff., 62, and V, VI, VII (passim).
7 Sākṣat prabhu, VI, 46.
8 Which is foreshadowed in Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad III, 8. 9: "By the order of this Imperishable One are kept together (vaiityav tīphantah) sun and moon ...... are the gods dependent on the performer of sacrifices, the manes on the funeral gift." Cf. also ch. IV, 4, 23: uter viṇḍarāpaṇa.
9 Chatterji, Hindu Realism, pp. 58 ff.
and practical ability of every being; that is to say, that it includes the functions of the above-mentioned Śaiva principles called Vidyā, Rāga, and Kalā.¹

1. Kāla, Time, is defined (4, 18) as "the mysterious power existing in time, which urges on everything", and, in another passage (6, 14), as the principle which "pursues everything to be matured, as the stream [is after] the bank of the river." It is further said (6, 15) that this is "the cooking (maturing) form of time". Kāla, then, as originating from Niyati and giving origin to the Gānas, is not time as it appears to us (subjective time) but a subtle force conditioning it. This distinction between the ordinary or empiric and a higher or transcendental time can be traced back² to the Kāla hymns of the Atharvaveda and is recognizable in the great epic in such phrases as "Time leads me in time".³ One Upaniṣad⁴ speaks of "the time that has parts" (sakalā kāla) and "non-time having no parts", the former being "later" than the sun and stars, the latter "earlier"; further on, time that "cooks" (matures) all beings, but is excelled by "him in whom time is cooked". From these two famous texts and similar ones it was eventually concluded that the

¹ The Śaiva principle Niyati, as distinct from Vidyā, etc., was originally in all probability nothing more than the Dr of the Vaiśeṣikas; but the use of the word in common language in the sense of Fate has (at least in the Dravidian school) obscured its relation to the other Kanculcas.
² Or "counta, measures" (kālayaśī).  
³ Kālayaśī pūcistam rūṣayam.  
⁴ See my comprehensive sketch of the earlier history of Kāla in Uber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhās, pp. 17 to 30.  
⁵ Kālaḥ kāla nayatś mośa, XII, 227, 29.  
⁶ Maitreyāya VI, 15.
changing time which we observe in daily life is only "time as an effect" (bārya-kāla) the cause of which must be a "time without sections" (akhayāja-kāla) and unchanging'; and (2) that there must be a sphere or condition which is totally unaffected by time', though time exists in it as an instrument to be used at will; — that is to say that there are, strictly speaking, three kinds of time, to wit: (1) effected or "gross" time, which plays no part until after the creation of the Tattvas'; (2) causal or "subtle" time which, though relatively "eternal" (and often called so) is also created, namely, by Aniruddha (or Pradyumna); and (3) "highest" time existing in Pure Creation. It is, evidently, in this sense that our Samhitā declares (53. 10-11): "<span class="reference">Grōss is called the time possessing the lava (one-sixth of a second), etc.; <span class="reference">subtle the one determining the Tattvas; while that which pervades the activity of the Vyūhas is styled Highest Time". That there may be a still higher time connected with Vāsudeva alone is denied in the words (53. 11-12): "Effecting by time belongs always to the triad of Vyūhas [only]: the Lord Vāsudeva is not a Vyūha nor a possessor of time." It follows, then, that the Tattva called Kāla emanating from Niyati is the second or "subtle" kind of time."

1 Yat. Dip., ed. p. 50, and elsewhere.
2 Tattvatrasya, ed. p. 122.
3 Though, as will be seen, it comes into existence already before the latter is completed.
4 Though said to form a tetrad together with the Vyūhas, V, 25-26.
5 There is more material about this subject (for instance, adhyap III of P. Prakāśa S.); and it will probably be found that the conception of time is not exactly the same in some Samhitās as in others.
"The Guṇa Body, or that form of S'akti mentioned above which is manifested gradually from Kāla" (6. 81-82) consists of the three Guṇas, as already remarked. It has to be added that each Guṇa, while evolving in the manner described, comes under the special protectorship of Aniruddha in the form of the Trimūrti; that is to say: Aniruddha as Viṣṇu becomes the superintendent of Sattva, as Brahmā n that of Rajas, and as Rudra that of Tamas. These three gods, together with their Saktis (Lakṣmi, Sarasvati, Gauri)

1, regarded as the forces underlying the formation of the Avyakta, are called in Lakṣmi Tantra (6. 20-21) the "Sheath of Generation" (prasūti-kosā). In the same text (4. 82 fll.) it is stated with regard to the first origin of the Guṇas that they have been formed from [an infinitesimal part of] the first, second, and third of the six Guṇas of the Lord. The qualities which become manifest through the Guṇas are according to Bhārt. Saṁhitā: (i) lightness, brightness, healthiness, pleasure; (2) motion, passion, restlessness, pain; and (3) heaviness, obstruction, inertia, stupefaction.

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

1 Who, however, according to Lakṣmi Tantra V, 8 fll., have sprung: Brahmā and lakṣmi from Mahākāli + Pradynma; Rudra and Sarasvati from Mahākāli + Śaṅkarsana; and Viṣṇu and Gauri from Mahāvidyā + Aniruddha.

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

3 The other three being employed for the creation of Kāla; ibid. V, 24-25.
our Saṃhitā (6. 6.), by such names as Tamas (Darkness)\(^1\),
Guna-sānya (Equality of Gunās)\(^2\), Avidyā (Ignorance),
Svabhāva (Nature), Aksara (the Imperishable), Yoni
(Womb), Ayoni (the Unborn), Guṇa-yoni (guṇamaya
yoni, Guṇa-made Womb).

4. LOWER PRIMARY CREATION

(Evolution, Third Stage.)

The "descent" of the Manus into Matter having reached the Tamo Guṇa (6. 6.), and the three Guṇas
having joined to form the Miilaprakṛti (6. 1 fl.), there
follows now that evolution which is the only one
known to the Classical Saṃkhya with which, as we
shall see, the Pāñcarātra does on the whole, but not
throughout, agree.

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

\(^1\) That is, undifferentiatedness. Cf. the expression dviśātman used
promiscuously with aprakāta in Kāthaka Upaniṣad III, 10-13.

\(^2\) Meaning that in this condition, as distinguished from the later
"inequality of Guṇas" (guṇapratyāntam), the three forces are equally
distributed in every particle of matter.

\(^3\) In the Classical Saṃkhya time is a mere quality of matter
(Saṃkhya Sūtras II, 13), — an impossible view in an early system,
cf. Schrader, Uber den Staud der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit
Mahāvīras und Buddhas.
Sāṃkhya: Prakṛti changes, like milk and clay [changing, respectively, to curds, etc., and pots, etc.], owing to the proximity (=magnetic influence) of the unchangeable Puruṣa. But both these Tattvas are being “cooked” by Time. Again, there is this difference, that there are not many Puruṣas, as in classical Sāṃkhya, but at this stage only the one Kūṭastha or Samaśti (Collective) Puruṣa.

As the first product of this combined activity of the three there emerges from the Avyakta the Mahat (masc., neutr.) or “Great One”, called also Mahat Tattva “the Great Principle”. Our Saṃhitā enumerates (7. s-v) the following more or less pregnant synonyms for this term: Vidyā, Go (Cow)*, Avani (Earth), Brāhma (the Cosmic One), Vadhu (Woman)*, Vṛddhi (Growth), Mati (Intellect), Madhu (Honey)*, Akhyati, (Non-discrimination), Īśvara (Lord), and Prājña (Wise)* to which some others, mostly synonyms of Mati, have to be added, notably Buddhi.

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

1 How, in spite of this, the Puruṣa remains “unchanged” (apurvaśam, VII, 1), is not explained.
2 The Mahat and remaining principles are symbolized by the lotus growing from the navel of Padmanabha (Aniruddha); see Indrarātra I, 18 (Mahat-ādyase puskajam), etc.
3 Cf. note 3 on page 62.
4 Cf. Bhādarāyaṇa Upaniṣad II, 5.
5 The last two names are from Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad where they are used with reference to the susupti plane of consciousness. For Akhyati see below p. 73.
Mahat, we are first told (7. e-n), is threefold, in conformity with the three Guṇas, its Tāmas element appearing as Kāla (time), its Sattva element as Buddhi (reason, intellect), and its Rajas element as Prāṇa (vitality). The next statement, which would hopelessly conflict with the preceding one, unless we refer it not to the cosmic Mahat but to Buddhi as an individual organ (cf. below), is essentially identical with the teaching of the twenty-third āryā of Śāmkhya-Kārikā, namely that Mahat manifests itself in four Sāttvic and four Tāmasic forms, being respectively good actions (dharma), knowledge, dispassion, and might, and their opposites.*

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

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1 Cf. Lākṣmī Tantra XVI, 2-4:

So Mahān uṇena, taydipī vīdhās śīrṣaḥ prabhūtāh 1
satteko Buddhir tīrṇon, rājanāth Prāṇo ou hi 11
tāmanāḥ Kāla tīrṇ akṛtās; tenāṃ etatbhuyam śiśvān śṛṣṭa i1
Buddhār ādhyātmaśaya, Prāṇo ātmanagnyaya ou 11
Kālaḥ kālavanāmyos parinipātaya kāraṇam 1.

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

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

* In the comm. on Tattvaśāraya, ed. p. 79, the relation of the two kinds of time distinguished there are actually likened to that of the Āryakta and the Vyakta.
a form of Mahat can be nothing else but Gross Time referred to above, p. 66. And that this is not only the form of time which we perceive, but first of all the one with which we perceive, must be concluded from the fact that the two other forms of Mahat, namely Buddhī and Praṇa, are regarded as individual powers acquired by the Manus during their “descent” through the Great Principle. With regard to Buddhī it is expressly stated (7. 15-14) that to the eight Manus, while dwelling in “the womb of Vidyā”, there originates that “natural organ (vaidyāma indriyam), called Bodhana, by means of which they can ascertain [the nature of] things, discriminating between the real and the unreal.” The five Praṇas are in Classical Sāṃkhya a common function of Buddhī, Ahamkāra, and Manas, which three together form the so-called Inner Organ (antah-kaarana); whereas, according to the mentioned statement of our Saṃhitā, corroborated by 7. 42-44, they come from Mahat only.1

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

2 Kārikā 29; Sūtra II, 31.

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

The one important thing to be noticed in connection with Mahat is that Buddhī is not a mere synonym for it, as in Classical Sāṃkhya, but one of its three forms: the Sāttvīc one; and that the individual organ Buddhī is a product of the Sāttvīc Mahat in exactly the same sense as Manas is a product of the Sāttvīc Ahaṃkāra. This is a sign of antiquity; for in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad also (3. 10-11) Buddhī and Mahat are not yet identical, the former, called jñāna ātman "Knowledge Self", being a lower principle than the "Great Self" which, in its turn, is inferior to the "Quiet Self" (vānta ātman) which, again, is excelled by the Purusa. On the other hand, this distinction between Buddhī and Mahat, together with the synonyms of the latter, furnishes the solution to the riddle, never before satisfactorily answered, as to the origin of the term Mahat. The synonyms may be divided into two classes, to wit (1) those that are mere names of Prakṛti, such as Gṛō, Avāni, Brāhmi, Vadhū, Vṛddhi, Madhu; and (2) those referring to consciousness. Of the latter class, again, those which are

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

1 On the latter, generally called Vaikṛta Ahaṃkāra, see below.
common to Mahat and the organ Buddhi, namely, Buddhi, Mati, Trayi, and Vidyā, are for this reason as little significant in themselves as are the names of Prakṛti. But the remaining three names referring to the subconscious life, namely, Akhyāti, Prajñā, and śvarā, clearly indicate that nothing else can be meant by Mahat than the Praṇa or Mukhya Praṇa of the ancient Upaniṣads, which is both vitality (pṛṇa, āyus) and sub- or super-conscious intelligence (prajñā), and on whom the five Praṇas as well as the senses are said to depend like servants on their master. Mahat is cosmic Praṇa, the "Breath of the World", the "Unconscious", that is the physical, yet intelligent energy at work at the building up and preserving of organisms. Praṇa in this sense is called in the Upaniṣads: Brāhmaṇa, protector (ruler, lord) of the world, breath (ātman) of the gods, generator of beings, eater, the one sage; and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad 3.7 an [apparently current] stanza on the Praṇa is quoted in which the phrase occurs: "great they call his might (lit.: greatness)" (mahāntum aṣya mahimāvam āhoh) which is perhaps the source of the name Mahat. A proof for the correctness of our equation Mahat=Prāna is contained in the enumeration, in the twelfth chapter of this Śāṅkhya, of the principles taught in the Śāṅkhya system, where in the tenth place we do not find

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

2 The principal passages to be compared, also for the following, are: Kaṇṣāṅkṣā, III, 4, 20, II 1; Chāndogya IV 3; Maitrāyaṇī II 6; Prāṇa II.

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

1 We were not yet aware of the equation, when writing our article on the Saṅghaṭa in Z. D. M. G., 1914, and consequently thought of the five Prāṇas only.

2 Except for those who have made up their minds to distribute the teachings of the Nikāyas between two radically opposed sects.

3 Not, of course, identity.

4 The vijnāna-dhātu of the Nikāyas, therefore, must be regarded as a sort of consciousness in potential from which the sad-dhyātman, and, through it, the caṇḍašāḥ abhādhaḥ evolve.

5 Byhadâmayaka Upaniṣad IV, 3, 36: evam evaṃ purnaḥ ...
he is "this great being (mahād bhūtām), infinite, shoreless, all-consciousness (vijñāna-ghana)" which [in the form of limited conscious functions] arises "from the elements" and vanishes into them again (II, 4. 12); he is the "name" (nāman) surviving the decay of the body (III, 2. 12) and building up the new embryo (IV, 4. 4) — just as the Buddhist vijñāna element which moreover, as contrasted with the body (ṛūpa), is also called nāman; he is, in short, "that great, unborn Self which, among the Prānas, is the one consisting of consciousness." And, finally, this description of the "Self" seems to agree, in all essential points, with that also in the Tattvamasi section of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, though there already two higher principles appear than the Prāṇa (namely Tejas and Parā Devatā), while in Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad only a very feeble attempt is made at distinguishing the Ātman from the Prāṇa. The position of the Prāṇa, then, is still unsettled in the older Upaniṣads; and it is, we hold, from this half-settled idea of the Prāṇa or Ātman that the pre-classical Sāṅkhya, on which the Pāṇcarātra is based, has derived its conception of the Mahat as the Unconscious consisting of intelligence, vitality, and time.

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

1 Sa vā eva māhān aṣa ātman go'gām vijñānamayaḥ prāṇesu (IV, 4.22.)
sammambha (egotistic interest) and samlcalpa (imagination, will) in accordance with the two organs called the [individual] Ahamkāra and Manas with which it endows the Manus passing through its “womb” (7. 20, 42-43). Manas is declared a direct product of the Vaikārika, and Ahamkāra evidently comes from the Bhūtādi, while the Taijasa seems to participate equally in the production of both those organs.1

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahamkāra</th>
<th>Taijasa</th>
<th>Vaikārika</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanmatras: Bhūta</td>
<td>Buddhi</td>
<td>Karmendriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śabda</td>
<td>ākāśa</td>
<td>svātra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparva</td>
<td>vāyu</td>
<td>vāc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūpa</td>
<td>tejas</td>
<td>pāch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasa</td>
<td>āpas</td>
<td>pīdā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandha</td>
<td>ēkaśvīrī</td>
<td>ghrāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pāyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1 See p. 70, note 2.
2 Of SākhMya Kārikā 25: Taijāniḥ ubdharam. Lākṣmi Tantra, speaking on Non-pure Creation generally, says (IV, 34) that “mostly Rajas” is engaged in it which is, however, “flanked” by Sattva and Tamas (abātikṣa satravatāt gavami doṣau tasya ātīkatah).
cause of Air (vāyu), while as a mediate cause it helps in producing the Skin sense (tvāc) with the help of which, finally, the faculty of Handling (pāqi) originates. And so forth.

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

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

1 As is apparently the doctrine of the Śaṅkhya Karikā (cf. Dassen, Allgemeine Grundbegriffe der Philosophie I, 3, p. 445 bottom). It should, however, not be forgotten that the Karikā gives only the barest outline of the system.

2 Adhyāya IV, see especially st. 35 ff.

3 Ed. p. 56 ff. Another Śāstra (ibid., p. 57) mentions the opinion that from dhūra springs the prāśa-tanmātra, from the latter vēpa, etc.; and still another view (an intermediate one) is found in Viṣṇulākha II, 62 ff. where the prāśa-tanmātra is said to produce dhūra, the latter (not the former) the prāśa-tanmātra, this one vēpa, etc.

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

There follows\(^3\) what corresponds to the Fall of Man in Jewish and Christian theology, to wit the jñāna-bhṛṣṭa-s or "fall from knowledge" of all the Mānava-mānava-s (7, 8). This mystic event is narrated thus: Vidyā\(^*\) becomes, with "some portion" of herself, a cow; which means, continues our text, that she obtains the condition of a cloud; then the milk called varṣa (rain; year) proceeding from the latter becomes food; and the souls eat of that "milk of nature" (material milk; vaidyam payah) and their naturally unlimited knowledge becomes limited (obscured, contracted). Thus religion becomes necessary, and the "Manus of old"\(^6\) start the

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

\(^1\) Atmany adyaṃ ādhyātmaṁ àsraṁ Aniruddhaṁ dadhati (VII, 48).
\(^3\) Aparimāṭhā (VII, 63.)

\(^\ast\) In the account we are reproducing, though perhaps not in the order of events, Vīṣṇu-tilaka teaches (II, 65) that at the creation of the Mahāt Tattva "there originates, together with the Gūṇas, the delusion of man"; while, on the other hand, delusion seems to set in gradually towards the end of the first Yuga: see below, next section.

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

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

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

5. SECONDARY OR "GROSS" CREATION

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

Of this so-called Secondary or Gross Creation, referred to but occasionally in our Saṃhitā in one or two places¹, Pādma Tantra gives the following short account (I. 5. 10-21):

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

¹ Origin and internal evolution of the Brahman, that is the Cosmic Egg in the Aprāktā and in the Prāktā stages corresponding respectively to the Brahmāṇḍa Kora and the Jīvadeha Kora (fifth and sixth Koras) taught in Lākṣmī Tantra VI, 23-25, unless, as seems to be done in some texts (including perhaps the one in question) the origin of the Egg is reckoned from that of the Lotus (Mahat, etc.), in which case the fourth or Prakṛti Kora would be merely the Apyakta from which the Lotus originates.
² P. Prakāsa S., 1, 2 end. Primary (preparatory) creation takes place during the eighth part of the Night.
³ Tattvatraya, ed., p. 64.
⁴ As we may call it, though the use of these terms (sadvarika "mediate" sruti, atīdhī sruti) seems to be, as a rule, restricted to the internal evolution of the Egg; see, for instance, Tattvatraya, ed. p. 65, etc., and Indrārātra, 1, 17 ff.
⁵ XXX, 8 ff., XII, 3-6.
⁶ Cf. Lākṣmī Tantra V, 74 ff.; Viśvakarma S., loc. cit., p. 64.
coalescing into a mass (sanhatiṃ vinā) create beings. They, then, from Mahat down to the Gross Elements, became massed together, under the influence of the foremost Purusa. Then [out of them] an egg was produced from the navel of Padmanābha, who is a portion of Myself, and [in the egg] thou, O Lotus-born one, becamest the womb of the world. It is thus that at the beginning of creation this whole world came to arise from Prakṛti:"

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

1 Hid. I, adhy. 3; cf. Viṣṇulīka II, 40 ff.
2 In the pericarp, says Praena S. II, 41.
3 P. Prakāśa S. (III, 37-38) says that Brahmā has sprung "from the lotus-bud, the prakṛtyc one, being of the nature of the world (lokamaya), which itself has sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu sleeping in its (the egg's) interior, namely in the midst of the water." According to Lakṣmi Tantra V. 13 ff. the egg containing the Avyaktāivas created by Brahmā and Sarasvatī (that is, Pradyumna and his Sakti) after which Hṛṣikesa (=Aniruddha) having mentioned "Aavyaktā had a "good sleep" in it together with Padma, the result being the Sacrificial or Time Lotus springing from Hṛṣikesa's navel and Brahmā and Sarasvatī (Hiranyagarbha and his Sakt) springing from the Lotus.

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

The sources are at variance as to the number and names of the Prajāpatis, and between these and
Brahmā some authorities insert a “Mann”. Mahā-
sanatkumāra Saṃhitā (Indrārātra 6. 24 ff.) describes as follows the origin of an “intramundane tetrad”
(antarāṇḍasthitā caturmṛtī) corresponding to the four Vyūhas: the first of the Prajāpatis, Dakaśa, had a mind-
born son, Acyuta (Viṣṇudeva), whose mind-born son was Saṃkarsana, called Rudra (Śiva), whose mind-born son was Pradyumna, whose mind-born son was Aniruddha.1

There are, as will be understood from the above, more attempts than one at combining the very ancient
story about the Golden Egg giving birth to god Brahman with the later one of the lotus springing from the navel
of Padmanābha and these again with the theory of the Tattvas; as there are also, of course, more authorities
than one dispensing advantageously with either the navel or the lotus or both in explaining the origin of
the Cosmic Egg.2

The plurality of Brahmanas’ is emphasized in several Saṃhitās. “Of such Eggs”, says Viśvakāna
S. (loc. cit., p. 60), “there are thousands of thousands, or even myriads of them”, and more. They are

1 According to this text there are three Śivas, namely: (1) the Vyūha Saṃkarsana; (2) the son of Brahman and father of the
Rudra; (3) the grandson of Dakaśa; further three Brahmanas, namely: (1) the Vyūha Pradyumna; (2) the “first of Gross Creation”;
and “Lord of the Egg”; and (3) the great-grandson of Dakaśa.
2 Our Saṃhitā admits (VIII, 2 ff.) that some derive creation from the Egg, others from the Lotus.
3 Referred to already in a Vedic text, namely Bāṣikalamantra Upaniṣad (9): Maha praṇāthā bhava asvadakavāya.
invariably described as consisting of fourteen spheres (loka) surrounded by seven enclosures (āvaraṇa); and they are said to arise simultaneously like bubbles of water.

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

1 See for instance Pādma Tantra I, adhyāyas 10 to 12.
2 Tattvārāja, ed. p. 66.
3 See Varavaramuni's comm. on Tattvārāja, ed. p. 118.
4 Who, in evolving the contents of the Egg, is regarded as "consisting of the totality of bound souls" (buddhāsmin-saṃstāti-rūpa); Tattvārāja, ed. p. 65 comm., and elsewhere.
wishes (sl. 58); but then, in adhyāya 15, confronts the "descendants of the Manus" (manu-santoMdh, sl. 7) with "those who have sprung from the mouth, etc., of Brahmā (brahma-mukhādy-udgatāh, sl. 20)." A clue to the solution of the riddle is furnished by the version contained in Pādma Tantra (I, 1. 28 ffl.) and Viṣṇutilaka (1. 148 ffl.), though in some particulars it is not likely that it represents the original theory. It runs as follows: The original religion (ādya dharma, to wit the Pāñcarātra) was first, in the Kṛta age, proclaimed by god Brahmā to "the sages of sharpened vows" who taught it to their disciples with the result that, everybody following the Pāñcarātra, people were liberated [or went to heaven, Viṣṇutilaka], so that "hell became naught and a great decrease of creation took place (sṛṣṭi-kṣaya mukān āśe)." Brahmā, consequently, felt uneasy, went to the Lord, and, on the latter's kind inquiry as to how the world was progressing under his rule, replied: "What shall I say, O Lord of gods! All men, being full of faith and masters of their senses, sacrifice as prescribed in the Great Secret; and so they go to the Place of Viṣṇu from which there is no return. There is [now] no heaven and no hell, neither birth nor death." This, however, was against the plan of the Lord, and so He started, with the help of Brahmā, Kapila, and Sīva, five more systems (Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Bā dulīa, Jaina, and Saiva) conflicting with each other and the Pāñcarātra "for the bewilderment of men." Now, the sloka containing the phrase "a great decrease of creation took place" is also in Viṣṇuśaṅkha Sanhitā

1 The Citrarākhaṇḍīs appear to be meant.
2 That is, no death followed by re-birth.
(loc. cit., p. 129), which shows that that Samhita, although deriving the Pure Group from Pradynama and the Mixed Group from Aniruddha and Brahmān, must have held a view similar to the above as regards the mutual relation of the two. Our present Samhita speaks twice (6. 13; 7. 47-48) about the Manus passing from Pradynama's care to that of Aniruddha, and once about their withdrawal into Aniruddha, in the period of Praalaya (4. 39 fl.). This suggests the idea that, while both classes of souls are introduced into the Egg by Aniruddha (Padmanābha), the pure ones only are so introduced directly, the impure ones, however, indirectly and later, namely, by being first transferred to Brahmān.

For, it must be remembered that the great majority of unliberated souls left over from the preceding Kalpa and now to be reborn enter of necessity this new period of their samsāra with a remainder of good and bad Karmas, or only the latter, that is as “impure” beings. These, evidently, must be re-introduced into earthly life by the highest representative of Rajas, that is the god Brahmān; and they cannot appear on earth as long as the first Yuga, in which Sattva prevails, is not over. The small minority, on the other hand, in whom Sattva predominates, must for this very reason, in order to terminate their career, appear in the first Yuga without passing through Brahmān: the Lord, therefore, says Viṣvaksena Samhita (loc. cit., p. 129), creates “with the bit of good Karmas” (sukta-lagna) they have left, and for which they must still receive an earthly reward, the sūdha-sarga.1

These pure beings of the Kṛta age, then, correspond to the Ānāgāminis [and Sakṛḍāgaminis] of Buddhism, that is

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

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

1 (1) Brahmānas only live in the eastern realm called Sīvāroha; (2) children (descendants) of Brahmāna fathers and Kṣatriya mothers in the Rāma world of the south-east; (3) Kṣatriyas in the Nārasipha world of the south; (4) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Vaiśya mothers in the south-western region (name missing); (5) Vaiśyas in Śrīdhāra Loka of the west; (6) children of Brahmāna fathers and Vaiśya mothers in Vāmana Loka of the north-east; (7) children of Brahmāna fathers and Śūdra mothers in Hayasirsa Loka of the north; and (8) children of Kṣatriya fathers and Śūdra mothers in Vaṁdeva Loka of the north-east. — The names of the Vīṣṇus are partly very strange. For example, Jujwrauçin, Sōka, Viṣāda, Lobha, Pañcāktman, and Bāhyātman are names of north-western Vīṣṇus; and Bhūda, Bhavya, Bhavīyaśā, Deha, Dehavat, and Saritraśāna some names from Hayasirsa Loka.
chapter closes by mentioning that there are innumerable Visnus in Kapila Loka.

6. Nature and Destiny of the Soul

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

The souls in this condition are called Nāras.

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

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1 For "Kapila Visṇu", the teacher of the Nāga in Pātāla, see Padma Tantra I, I. 28 and Viṣṇulakṣaṇa II, 170 fl. The inhabitants of the netherworlds (Aṭala, etc.) are said to be so happy as to have no longing for heaven (Viṣṇulakṣaṇa II, 170).

2 The following, abbreviated from P. Prakāśa S. I, first adhyāya, will be recognised as an elaboration of the story of Mārkaṇḍeya referred to above in connection with the twenty-seventh Avatāra (described Aḥirb. Saṅh. LVI, 28-29).

3 Yoga-adhikāra upāyāṇa vinidrīvānapad Āvataḥ, P. Prakāśa S. I, I. 40.

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

5 P. Prakāśa S. I, I. 11 fl. (corrupt) ; 5. 10-11; etc.


7 P. Prakāśa S. mentions Śrīnāga and Vaiśeṣika, further the three classes of Purāṇa, and, as belonging to the Sāttvika class, the Bhāgavata (I, 12. 7; 4, 32).
view of the Pāñcarātra as to the fate of the souls during the Great Night; and it is an important document chiefly because it clearly shows that the Liberation taught in the Pāñcarātra is not, as might be understood from certain passages, something like the Gradual Liberation (krama-mukti) of the Advaitins in which the soul finally, together with the god Brahmā, loses its individuality. The Pāñcarātra says indeed, using the Advaitic term, that the soul "becomes one" (ekī-bhavati) with the Lord in Liberation and then once more in the Great Dissolution; but the meaning of this is, in the former case, that the soul joins the Lord 1 in Vaikuṇṭha, and, in the latter case, that it becomes latent in Him when Vaikuṇṭha with everything else is temporarily withdrawn. 2

It is this very view to which we are led by the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā; for, if the soul is a part of Lakṣmi, it cannot, of course, "become one with the Lord" in any higher sense than that of the "perfect embrace" of the divine couple 1 from which the two emerge again as separate beings as soon as the time for creation has come.

1 More exactly: His heavenly form, the Para Vasudeva.
2 The case of Brahmā is peculiar. He ought to join the liberated in Vaikuṇṭha (the withdrawal of which, at Pralaya, is later than that of the Egg). But we can find no reference to this. The Saṁhitās speak of the end of his life but evidently avoid mentioning his "death" or "liberation". Possibly this has something to do with the difficulty, or impossibility, of deciding to what extent he is a bound soul and to what an Avatāra of Viṣṇu.—The withdrawal of Vaikuṇṭha is mentioned in Pr. Prakrīta S. I. 1. 14: Vaikuṇṭhahitam-vidyutāni na hitim. Note also the following saying, ibid., cl. 18: 

"That which is called Dissolution by the wise, is not really Dissolution."

Or a "contraction" of Lakṣmi, as the Goddess herself calls it in Lakṣmi Tantra VI, 36: pramātā cetañāḥ prakāśa, mat-sampōnoḥ sa seṣātā.

* See below our résumé of adhyāya IV.
The difficulty, however, is that there are numerous passages in the Samhitas where this view is apparently set aside. For, although animate and inanimate nature, soul and body, subject and object, are declared to be two aspects or parts of the one Bhūti Sakti, still the idea, obtaining since the earliest times in Indian philosophy, of a closer relationship of the soul than of matter with God is by no means absent in our Samhitas and quite conspicuous, naturally, in those Samhitas which operate either not at all or but a little with Lakṣmi as a philosophical principle. And it is this idea, in all probability, which is ultimately responsible for the intrusion into the Piśacarātra of certain foreign elements such as those we will now point out.

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

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

1. Oṣana—cetya, dhātu—deha, bhākī—bhāgya (V, 9 fl.).
may again be cancelled through the divine grace (mugraham).¹

Now, whether the five Saktis mentioned are the Lord's or Lakṣmi's, the fact is undeniable, I believe, that the soul is not here regarded as a mere portion of Lakṣmi² but as a third principle distinct from both Vasudeva and Matter (or Lakṣmi respectively), — just as in those passages (45.a-4; 38.19; etc.) which speak of Avidyā or Māyā as "veiling" the true nature of the jīva and the para (soul and God). That is to say: we have here nearly the standpoint described in Viṣṇutilaka in the words (2.44-45): "There is a triad here: Brāhmaṇa, Jīva (soul), and Jagat (world); Brāhmaṇa is a mass (vāst) of Light, Jagat a mass of elements (bhūta), and Jīva a mass of knowledge."

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

¹ For further particulars see our résumé of the adhyāya, below, next chapter.
² They are, indeed, also described as the pañca kṛṣṇi of the Devi, for instance in I, 2 and XXI, 12 of Ahirodeva’s Sahāhita.
³ From the general standpoint of our Sahāhita we should have to say that Viṣṇu causes Lakṣmi to act with one part of herself (namely Nigraha, etc.) upon another part (the soul), thus bringing the latter into connection with a third part of herself (namely matter) — (which would reduce the cosmic process to something like a physiological disturbance in the Goddess.)
size of a mote" (trasannu-pramāṇa)? The scholastic view, namely that the liberated soul, though essentially atomic (like the bound one), is omnipresent in that its consciousness is "ever omnipresent" (svadā-vibhu) — the latter being related to the former as the light spread in a room to the lamp (or flame) from which it radiates — is a plausible explanation of the soul-mote and its millions of rays (2. 2.7), but must be rejected in the present case where omnipresence is expressly distinguished from omniscience. As a matter of fact, nothing remains but to admit that we have here a Śaiva tenet in Vaisnavī garb. For, the Śaivas do teach that the souls are naturally "omnipresent"; that is: not hampered by space, though limited, while in bondage, by niṣyati or spatial restriction. The latter, as we know already, is one of the five (or, including Māyā, six) limitations of the soul called Kaśicukas, and the connection of our chapter (14) with these is the more evident as the two other Taints, to wit those of "Little-knowing" and "Little-achieving" are absolutely identical with the Kaśicukas called Viḍyā and Kalā. The surprising solution of the problem, then, is that in our passage the word aṣa does not mean "atomic" but "small, little" in the sense of "spatially restricted" and as the opposite

1 Tattvārāya, ed. p. 33; Yat Dip, ed. pp. 69 and 72.
2 Viśva, svat-sautraka, ca; Sārvabhaum, Sāngīra, Poona ed. p. 69 (11. 23, 13); Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya, Srinagar ed. p. 22; etc.
3 Pratyabhijñā Hṛdaya, loc. cit., and elsewhere.

* See above pp. 63, 64. The Pāṇḍarātra doctrine of the Māyā

Kṣaṇa was developed by the Śaivas into the theory of the Kaśicukas, after which the latter influenced the Pāṇḍarātra.

* The five Kaśicukas called kāte, uṣṇa, uṣa, ṛṣa, and uṣani are said to result from the "contraction" of sarvaston, sarvastot, sarvantot, sarvanāt, sarvokṣhetra respectively; Pratyabhijñā

Hṛdaya, loc. cit.
of that which is, not so much omnipresent, as beyond space.

The relation between the jiva and the para (individual and highest soul) is, in several Samhitâs, described in a language so thoroughly Advaitic that an influence from that quarter is, indeed, beyond question, even admitting that several such passages may be mere echoes of those (seemingly or really) Advaitic passages of the Bhagavad Gîtâ such as 13.27 ff. of the latter work. However, with one or two exceptions, the said borrowing will always be found to be a merely formal one, which is only to be expected, considering that the general trend of the Pâñcarâtra is clearly non-Advaitic.

The most perplexing passages of this sort are perhaps to be found in Pâdma Tantra. In one of them (I, 4. 14-16) Brahmân puts the straight question: “What is the difference, O Highest Spirit, between Thee and the liberated soul?” to which the Lord answers no less directly: “They (the liberated) become I; there is no difference whatever.” This seems to be plain Advaita, but the answer goes on: “As I live (vâcharâmi), just so live the liberated souls”, which immediately brings back the idea of plurality, and so

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

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

In another passage of Pādma Tantra (I, 6. 16 ff.) the great problem is stated with unusual precision: "Scripture emphasizes the oneness of the highest Self and the one called Kṣetrajña (Knower-of-the-field, the soul); [but] the plurality of this Kṣetrajña is proved by the diversity of bodies." Three well-known Advaitic images

1 See above pp. 56 ff. In Pādma Tantra they are mentioned, for instance in I, 33 ff.
2 And even one of its sources, to judge from the fact that it is mentioned as No. 6 in the Śaṅhitā list of Pādma Tantra. The mutual relation of the two is, however, not quite clear.
3 I, 33; I, 114; etc.
4 II, 30; cf. above, pp. 58, 59.
5 Viṣṇutilaka II, 100. The soul in itself, that is in its natural form, is often compared with a gem.
6 Maṇi-ratna maṇī-ratna vṛgyaṃjapati vṛgyate; II, 54, ibid.
are used to illustrate the relation of the One and the many: the pot in the water, the pot in the air, and the one figure reflected in many mirrors. Yet, none of these (as shown by the rest of the chapter) is used in the Advaitic sense: God as the Inner Ruler pervades the soul, while He is, of course, also outside it; and the reflected images proceed from their original like the rays from the sun: "Just as, by means of gates of various kinds, people go forth from a town, even so the souls go forth from Brahman — this is called Creation; and as, through those gates, the inhabitants of that town enter it again, just so [the souls] go [back] to that Brahman — this is called Withdrawal." It may be objected that the rays sent out and again withdrawn by the sun have no separate existence in the sun itself, but this is not the common Indian, or, at any rate, not the Pāścarātra view; and even the Apanisadic image of the rivers entering the ocean means for the Pāścarātrin only that in Liberation the souls become practically but not really one.

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

1 The first and second images occur in Maitrey Upanisad II, 18 (see my edition of the Minor Upanisads, vol. 1, p. 116); for an elaboration of the second see Gaṇāpāla's Māṇḍūkya Kārikā III, 3-8.; the third is a transformation of the image found, in Brahmabindu Upanisad 12 and other texts, of the one moon and its many reflections in the tank.

2 Vaisñavīka II, 95 a., being an elaboration (if not the original) of Padma Tantra I, 6, 43-44.

3 Padma Tantra I, 6, 24.

4 Pād. I, 6, 31-52, referring to Yoga (= temporal Liberation).

5 That the famous Gītā passage Mānbadhyāt, etc. (XV, 7) is also to be understood in this sense, can be gathered for instance from Yat. Dip., ed. p. 74, where the teaching of Yādavaprakāśa, namely "Brahmacāra jñātā", is rejected as erroneous.
III. THE AHIRBUDHNYA SAMHITA

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

1. THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

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

2. **Name of the Samhitā.**

As a rule one of the eleven Rudras is understood by Ahirbudhnya. In our Samhitā, however, this is a name of Siva himself in his Sattvic form, as the teacher of liberating knowledge, as which he appears for instance in Jābāla Upaniṣad.¹

How he came to be called by this name, must, I fear, remain a problem.² The “serpent (ahi) of the bottom (budhna)”, in the Veda an atmospheric god (mostly associated with Aja Ekapād, another being of this kind), seems to belong to a number of minor deities who amalgamated with Rudra-Siva in such a way that their character and name became some particular aspect of that god. If “in later Vedic texts Ahi budhnya is allegorically connected with Agni Gārhapatya”³, this certainly shows that he was a beneficial being, not a malevolent one like Ahi Vṛtra, and this is

¹ In the Purāṇas of such passages as Pādma Purāṇa LXXXI, 5 where Siva is addressed: Bhagavad-dharma-tattva-jīva.
² Notwithstanding the explanation attempted on pp. 3 ff. of the Sanskrit preface to our edition.
³ Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 73.
particularly clear in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which may be directly connected with the Pāñcarātra view of Ahirbudhnyā, namely the passage 3. 2 running as follows: “Prajāpāti, after having sprinkled the creatures with water, thought that they (the creatures) were his own. He provided them with an invisible lustre through Ahirbudhnyā.”

3. PROVENIENCE AND AGE

It has already been stated that one stanza of Ahirbudhnyā Śaṃhitā is evidently quoted by Utpala Vaiṣṇava in his Spandaprātipikā. This would, of course, prove that the Śaṃhitā (like Jayākhyā S. mentioned in the latter and also in Utpala’s work) must have once existed in Kāsmīr. That it was actually composed in that country, must be concluded from two other passages, namely 26. 12 and 45. 11, recommending, or mentioning respectively, the wearing, as an amulet, of a certain diagram (gaṇḍī) drawn on a sheet of birch-bark (bhāṛya-putra). Birch-bark, as is well known, was the writing-material of ancient Kāsmīr. In chapter 39 we read (sl. 28): “He shines like the sun freed from the confinement (or obstruction) by hima”, which evidently refers to the sun rising from behind the snow-mountains (hima), that is to a sunrise in the Kāsmīr-valley. A third indication of the

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

About the age of the Samhitā hardly anything more can be said with certainty than that it belongs to that class of Samhitās for which we have fixed the eighth century A. D. as the terminus ad quem.1 The only passage which might seem to indicate a later date, is the stanza 45.1 where king Kusadhvaja says to his teacher: “From thee have I obtained the Higher Science and also the Lower one; and by the fire of the Higher Science all my Karmas has been burnt up.” It is difficult to read this without thinking of Śaṅkarācārya’s system. But Kusadhvaja, being a Paścarātrin, refers, of course, to the two “methods” (vīti) described in the fifteenth adhyāya, distinguishing between the Veda and the inferior systems on the one hand, and the Pāścarātra on the other. The distinction is based on that in the Bhagavad-Gītā between the orthodox who swear on the Vedas and the enlightened ones who worship the Lord.2 Nor does the definition of āvidya (ignorance), in 45. 4-5,

1 Above p. 19.

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

Trayānāyogas mīrgadāḥ phalārde ramantrya iti

dīvinī te maṇḍūkāḥ na ca mām menatra param iti.

But traya (as, indeed, veda in the Gītā) is never meant to include the Upaniṣads, as can be seen from Viṣvaksena S. calling the two classes veda-mīrgadāḥ and vedānta-mīrgadāḥ. The idea of the fire of true knowledge destroying karman is, of course, also quite familiar to the Gītā (see, for instance IV, 37).
as the power obscuring the real nature (*param rupam*) of the *jiva* and the *paramatman* necessarily point to Śaṅkara’s Advaita, because in the Pāṇcarātra the Nigraha or Tirodhana Śakti is the cause of the “obscuration” of the souls but not of their plurality. In both these cases, however, there remains, of course, the possibility of Advaitic terms and phrases (earlier perhaps than Śaṅkara) having been adopted by the Pāṇcarātra.

If, on the other hand, there is in our Śaṁhitā an indication of an earlier date than the one mentioned, it would seem to be the fact that the “sixty topics” of the older Śāṅkhya are enumerated in it. For, these sixty topics, as I have shown elsewhere, could no longer be enumerated by the Śāṅkhya themselves as early as the fifth century A.D. The brilliant Śāṅkhya Kārikā of Īśvara Kuśa having by that time completely eclipsed the older Śāṅkhya, no later author could speak of the latter as though it were the only existing one, as does our Śaṁhitā. As for the *terminus a quo* of the latter, I venture to say that a work in which, as, apparently, in the eighth chapter of the Ahirbudhnya

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1 See above, p. 88 ff.
2 See below, our *resume* of the twelfth adhyāya.
3 In the article *Das Śaṭītānta* in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1914, p. 101.
4 Not only in the adhyāya concerned. Elsewhere too, when the Śāṅkhya is briefly characterized, it is stated to teach the three [or four] principles: time, soul, and [unmanifest and manifest] matter; see, for instance 55, 42: Śāṅkhya-kāra-kriyā-viśeṣa-pravṛtti (for *pravṛtti*-vidyā-prayojanam cf. above pp. 69, 69). Śaṁkarācārya mentions both the *“sankhyā-yoga”* (*sāṁkhya-yoga-viṣeṣyakriyā*) and the *“atheistic”* Śāṅkhya (comm. on Brahmasūtra II, 2, 37 ff. and II, 2, 1 ff.), but regards as the three chief principles of the former God, soul, and matter; which shows that, while the Śaṭītānta did no longer exist at his time, the Śāṅkhya-Yoga of the Mahābhārata had, yet survived in another (more orthodox) form, the so-called Vaidika Śāṅkhya of later authors.
Samhitā, and as in Saṅkara’s Brahma-sūtra Bhāṣya (ad II, 2. 1s), Buddhism is understood to be divided into the three great schools of the Skandhavādins (Sarvāstivādins, S.), Viśṇavādins, and Śūnyavādins, cannot well have been written until some time after the Mahāyāna had established itself, say: after 300 A.D.

4. CONTENTS OF THE SAMHITA

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

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

\[1\] See, below, our résumé. There is one more direct reference to Buddhism in our Sāmhitā, namely in XXXII, 17, where the Lord is stated to be worshipped as Buddha by the Bauddhas.

\[2\] See p. 26.
latter of whom is asked by the former for an explanation of that mysterious discus of Viṣṇu called the Sudarsana. On many occasions—in connection with the divine weapons (astra), powers (śakti), and magic formulas (mantra)—the dependence on the Sudarsana having been mentioned, Bharadvāja wants to know:

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

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

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

2. Still dependent for the latter on Śaṅkaraṇa, his teacher, see II, 3. It may be surprising that in Nārada's hymn in this chapter (as also in XXXV, 91-93) Ahirbudhnya, a bound soul, is praised as the absolute one (ecacentra), ever-satisfied one (niṣṭhā-śruta), creator and destroyer of the universe, etc.; but it should be remembered: first, that he is a secondary Avatāra, and secondly, that this sort of hymns is simply propagating that bona fide exaggeration of the ancient Śūktas which moved Max Müller to invent the name henotheism for the religion of the Vedic bards.
Nárada had been induced to approach S'iva because he had observed the amazing strength of the Sudarśana in Viṣṇu's fight with the demon Kālanemi.  

Durvāsas agrees to impart to Bharadvāja this dialogue between Nárada and Ahirbudhnya, that is, the Ahirbudhnya Sāṁhitā. But he only agreed to give it in an abridged form: the extent of the original Sāṁhitā was two-hundred and forty chapters; then, time having advanced and human capacity deteriorated, it was reduced, “for the benefit of men”, to half the original, and now a further abridgment to only sixty chapters had become necessary.

Chapter 2. Explanation of the word Sudarśana (slokas 7 to 9): it denotes Viṣṇu’s Will-to-be (ṣyām tiṣṭi samkalpa), dars’ana (seeing, sight) meaning prakṛṣṇa (prospective thought), and sa (well, perfectly) expressing its being unimpeded by time and space. Everything in the world being dependent on the Sudarśana, the latter’s power is, of course, natural (nāmāṇiṣṣṭha, sl. 12) and not created. Two of Nárada’s questions are herewith answered. After some more questions of Nárada (to be answered in the course of the

1 After which Viṣṇu vanished so that Nárada had no means of applying to Him directly, whereas Siva, as a mundane being with his residence on the Kailasa, was, on the contrary, accessible to him.

2 In the same way Padma Sāṁhitā claims to have been reduced from 15 millions to 500,000, then to 100,000, and finally to 10,000 stanzas.

3 Śyām = bahu sūrya; cf. the beginning of adhyāya XXX.

4 The divine will is inseparable from wisdom and action; see III, 30. The root ṛṣ (combined with pra in prakṛṣṇa) is used in this sense in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 2; 3: Tad aṁyata bahu ṛṣasya prajāṣyati “That [Brahman] wished: I will be many, I will be born”, which passage is clearly the basis of the above definition. Cf. also Maitrayāṇa Upaniṣad II, 6 narrating how Prajāpati being tired of his loneliness contemplated himself and by this act became the creator of all beings (es ātmānām abhiṣṭhāya, es bhaveti prajā arjat).
Samhitā) there follows (sl. 22 fl.) a long explanation of the concept of the "Highest Brāhmaṇ", the real nature of which is experienced in Liberation only, and which nobody can hope to attain by his own efforts, even if he would fly upwards in space like the king of birds (Garuḍa) for a thousand years with the velocity of thought. The last section is concerned with the definition of the six Guṇas of God (see above, p. 31 fl.)

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

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

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

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

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1 For "cloud"—Cosmic Egg see above pp. 29 and 78.
philosophic views (s'lokas 1 to 23). Narada complains that there are so many different opinions about creation, some holding that it is effected by three elements, others assuming four, again others five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, or eleven elements; some tracing it back to an egg, others to a lotus, others again to fire, to "another body", to knowledge (vidyā), or to the Void (śūnya).

Ahirbudhnyā answers that the variety of opinions has several causes: first, the natural impossibility for human speech to express adequately truths concerning the Absolute; then, that people ignorant of synonyms (aparyāyovido janāh) often mistake different names for different things; that the intellectual attainments of men differ considerably; and, finally, that God has an infinite number of different aspects one of which only is, generally, grasped and taught by a philosopher. Ahirbudhnyā

1. Fire, water, earth; Chandogya Upaniṣad VI, 4 ff.
2. Earth, water, fire, air; view of a materialistic teacher of the Buddha's time, also apparently of a Buddhist sect (the Jānakas).
3. The four and other; view of many Upaniṣads and of certain materialists.
4. The five and the soul; a view mentioned in the Jain scriptures and called (by the comm.) atmanasātho-vāda.
5. The four, the soul, and pleasure and pain (regarded as substance); the saptakāyya-vāda of a rival of the Buddha (Pakudha Kaṇḍāyas) and evidently also of some later philosophers.
6. The five, Buddhi, Abhākāra, and Manas (Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4), or, possibly, the eight Aksaras (fire, earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, heaven, moon, stars) enumerated in Mahāsāntakumara Saṁhitā (Indraśtra I, 30 ff).
7. The eight and the soul; Bhagavad Gītā VII, 4-5.
10. That is, "another aggregate [of Skandhas]" or "other Skandhas" (Aṣaya-aggregate or "trunk, stem"); referring to the Saṃkhyā school of Buddhism and its doctrine of the asesati. That (cf. next note) "another substance" is meant is less likely.
11. Evidently the two Buddhist schools of the Vijñānavādins and Iṣṭayānādins are meant.
concludes by mentioning that of the "Brahmic days" some are pleasant, while others show an excess of rain, war, etc., and then, at the request of Nārada, turns to the question of the ādīhāva (sl. 34 fl.).

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

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

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

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

Chapters 10 to 12 are devoted to the description of the Sthit Cakra, that is the Sudarsana as the regulative principle (přomāṇa) of the various forces active during the period between Creation and Dissolution. Chapter 10, on the one hand, and chapters 11 and 12, on the other, refer to what the Śaivas call the Artha Adhvan and the Śabda Adhvan. Prṇāṇa is defined (in sl. 15) as “that by which everything obtains its fixed measure (iyattē)”. Another definition (δ2-83) runs: “The course of Hari’s Will possessed of the Regulative Wheel (pṛṇāṇa-cakra) is [to be recognized in] the limit (moryādā) eternally fixed for every principle (tattva).”

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

1 The reading pade appears after all preferable to pate (with the latter, however, cf. bhūti in III, 7 and V, 5).
2 A third definition (pra-ma) is found in XIII, 5-6.
and the like; and (3) how it renders possible the continuance of the world by means of the divine Sastras\footnote{"Weapons" which, however, in contradistinction to the Astras, can never be used by mortals, but only by their divine bearer with whom they are inseparably connected.} such as the Discus, Plough, Club, Conch, etc., used by the Lord in His Avatāras in order to fight the unrighteous, and how, on the other hand, it keeps effective the one hundred and twenty magical Astras, the imprecations by Rsis, et hoc genus omne.

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

Chapter 11 begins by explaining why the Avatāras of God become necessary in the course of time. The reason is the inevitable deterioration of the world in the course of the Yugas: first, indeed, there is a predominance of the Sattva Guna, but soon it begins to diminish, owing to the incessant growth of Rajas and Tamas, and so “this Sattvic divine limit” begins to fluctuate (sl.8). After this introduction the chapter takes up the description of the original Śāstra which, at the beginning of the golden age, came down from heaven “like a thunderclap”, “dispelling all inner darkness”. It was proclaimed by Saṅkaraṇa. It was an harmonious whole comprehending within it everything worth knowing for man: the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, Saṁkhya, Yoga, Pāyupata, etc. (sl. 20-46), and consisted
of a million chapters. The first men — the divine Manus, the Mānavas and Mānavamānavas — regulated their whole life by means of it to the satisfaction of the Lord. But then, “by the change of time”, the division in Yugas, and with it the shrinking of Sattva and the growth of Rajas, became manifest at the beginning of the Treta age; and, “the high-souled Brāhmaṇas wishing wishes (longing for pleasures), that beautiful system (sudrastanam sudrabhatam) took a slow course”. Then the divine Rsis, taking counsel, decided that from the original Śāstra separate systems suited for the diversity of intellects should be extracted, and, after having practised severe austerities for very many years, they set to work, with the result that Apāntarata-pāpas (Vicāyana) fashioned (tattvyata) the three Vedas, Kapila the Sāṁkhya, Hiranyagarbha the Yoga, and Śiva (Aharbudhnya) the Pāṣupata, while the Lord Himself extracted, as the purest essence of the “sole divine Śāstra”, the “system (tattva) called Pāṣcarātra describing Him as Para, Vyuha, Vihava, etc., and being recognizable by having Liberation as its sole result”.

Chapter 12. The five recognized philosophical systems described in this chapter, namely the Trayi (or Vedic science), the Sāṁkhya, the Yoga, the Pāṣupata, and the Śāṅcata (or Pāṣcarātra), are the same as the five “sciences” (āṇādās) mentioned by Vaisampāyana in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata. In the latter,

1 Ye proktas tāksaṛgopa; for “original creation” as distinguished from Brahmā’s creation see XV, 20.
2 Cf. XV, 10 sū.
3 See my article Das Śāṅkṣṭra in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1914, also the first Sanskrit Preface in our text edition, p. 46, quoting the sūkṣa Śāṅkṣṭram Yogaḥ, etc.
however, merely their names are mentioned, for with reason the present chapter has a claim to our special attention, the more so as the Śāṃkhyā described in it is not only called by the name Saṣṭitastra, "System of the Sixty Tops", — which is the name of the source of the oldest Śāṃkhyā treatise we possess, the Śāṃkhyā Kārīkā — but actually consists of sixty topics which are enumerated though unfortunately not explained on this occasion. We have analyzed this chapter and tried to identify the sixty topics in a paper read in Athens in 1912 before the Indian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists and subsequently published (see previous note). Here a few remarks must suffice.

By Trayi or [Vedic] Triad is meant the whole authoritative literature of Brāhmaṇism, that is, not only the three Vedas, but also the Ātharvana¹ and all the twenty-one so-called auxiliary sciences down to politics (vātī), and the science of professions (vārtā).

The Saṣṭitastra consists of two so-called "circles", the "circle of nature" (prākṛti-maṇḍala) and the "circle of educts" (vaiḥṛta-maṇḍala), comprising respectively thirty-two metaphysical and twenty-eight ethical topics. All the former have been adopted by the Pāñcarātra², which, however, has expanded the first of them (Brāhmaṇa) by advancing the theory of the Vyūhas and the conception of Lakṣmi. The second, puruṣa, is evidently the Kūṭastha Puruṣa (Saṃsaṭi Puruṣa) of the Pāñcarātra; the third to eighth are identical with the Māyā Sakti, Niyatī, Kāla, and the three Guṇas taken separately; the

¹ Which is kept separate "because it chiefly deals with exorcism and incantations."
² We did not come to this conclusion until recently and consequently failed more or less, in the article mentioned, to arrive at the explanation of nos. 3, 9, and 10.
ninth, aksara, must be the guna-samya called Avyakta; the tenth, prāpa, is Mahat; the eleventh, kartr, the Ahamkāra; the twelfth, sami (very likely a corruption of svāmi; cf. Bhag. Gītā 10. 22) is Manas (the central or “ruling” organ); and the rest are, of course, the ten senses and ten elements. To what extent the other “circle” agrees with the Pāñcarātra, cannot be made out by means of the mere names, though all of these can be discovered in the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga literature, as shown in the paper quoted.  

There are, declares our chapter, two systems (śaṁhitē) of Yoga, to wit the “Yoga of Suppression” (nivṛddha-yoga) — which is, of course, the one dealing with the “levelling of the mind” (citikriya-nivṛddha) — and the “Yoga of Action” (karma-yoga). The former has twelve topics, the latter is divided into “the Yoga of manifold works” and the “Yoga of one work”, each of which is again divided into “external” and “internal” Yoga. The Pāñcarātra system characterized by the enumeration of eight topics is, to judge from the latter and the three slokas referring to it in the preceding chapter (11. 4 ff.), not identical with that “wild and outlandish” system usually referred to as Pāñcarātra by philosophical authors, but rather with that Āgamic Saivism on which are based the later Śaivaite systems both of the north and of the south of India, although, when speaking of the Pāñcarātras as the

1 See above pp. 72 ff.
2 For “Guna” (no. 20) we should now also call attention to the guna-parādept of Yoga Śūtra II, 19.
3 The Nakulīta Pāñcarātras, who also distinguish these two kinds, understand by Yoga of Action the muttering of Mantras, meditation, etc. (Sarvadīrāṇa Saṁgraha). The twofold Yoga taught in Lakṣmi Tāntra (XVI) is (1) sanyāsa, and (2) samādhi, the latter being the fruit of the former.
4 Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, etc., p. 124.
"people of strong vows" (13. 14), our author seems vaguely to include in the name also the less philosophical sects (Kāpālikas, etc.).

The Sattvata system, finally, is said to embrace the following ten topics: 1. Bhagavat, 2. kṣaṇa, 3. viṣyā, 4. kāla, 5. kārtavya, 6. vaisesikī kriyā, 7. samyutma, 8. cintā, 9. mārga, and 10. mokṣa. Of these, the first and last require no explanation; no. 2, said to be thirteenth (15. 7), must refer to the Kriyā Pāda; no. 3, according to 15. 12, the knowledge of the seven padārthās; kāla appears to refer to the paścā-kāl-vihāra or rule of the five "timely" observances of the day (nābha-rāma, etc.) described, for instance, in the thirteenth adhyāya of the Cāryā Pāda of Pāda Tantra; by kārtavya in all probability are meant the five ceremonies (kunuma) or sacraments (sūrdakāra) constituting the initiation (dikṣa), while no. 6, as shown by 15. 10 ff., are the "special duties" connected with the several castes and stages of life; no. 7 refers to Yoga, no. 8 to meditation; and no. 9 presumably to Bhakti.

About the remaining systems (Buddhism, Jainism, etc.) s'loka 51 simply remarks that they are fallacious systems (sāstrabhāṣa) founded by Gods or Brahmāris.
with the object of spreading confusion among the wicked.

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

Chapter 13 is a review of the objects of life. The only thing "which is always and everywhere the sumnum bonum (hitam atyantam) of men" is, of course, "the absolute discontinuance of the succession of sorrows, and the eternal happiness implied in it" (vi. 9), which is tantamount to the attainment of one's real nature, that is, the nature of God (bhagavannamayata, bhagavatī) (vi. 11).

The two ways (sādhana) leading to it are sacred knowledge (jñāna) and religion (dharma), of which the latter is the stepping-stone to the former. There are two kinds of sacred knowledge, to wit the direct (ṣakti-kāramaya) and the indirect (parokṣa) knowledge of God. Of these, again, the latter is the cause of the former. Religion is also twofold in that it is either (1) mediate (vyavahāvanat) worship, that is worship of some representative of God such as the god Brahmā, or (2) the immediate worship (ṣakti-ārdhanya) of Him whose manifestation (vibhūti) all those gods are. Pāścarātra worship is of the second kind, Vedic and Pārṣuṣata worship of the first. Study of the Śaṅkhya results in

1 In Pādma Tantra I, 1. 44 all the systems founded in addition to (not derived from) the Pāścarātra are: the Yoga of Brahmā, the Śaṅkhya of Kapila, the Buddhist Śānyavrāda and the Ārhaṭa Sāstra (Jainam) — both of the latter, like the Pāścarātra, proclaimed by the Lord Himself (namely in the Buddha and Śāṇbha Āvatāras mentioned in the Bhagavata Purāṇa) — and the three Śaivite systems founded by Śiva; the Trāyī being, indeed, mentioned as conditio sine qua non of the Pāścarātra (I, 1.65) but not reckoned as a philosophical system. Possibly these six systems are the same as the six samvatsākhya-dharmā, which, according to XXXIII, 64 of our Sānthitā, the ideal Purohitā must be acquainted with.
indirect, of the Vedânta in direct knowledge of God, while Yoga practice also leads finally to direct knowledge. — The two mundane objects are wealth (îrvâna) and love (kâmâ). These and religion are characterised by mutual interdependence in that each of them may become the means for attaining one or both of the other two. However, neither wealth nor love but only religion is an unfailing instrument, while Liberation (moksa) is never a means for accomplishing anything (sâdhuva) but only a thing to be accomplished (sâdhuva). For the attainment of any of the four objects both internal and external means must be employed. In the case of love, for instance, these are: (1) the sincere resolve [to fulfil one's duties as a householder], and (2) the ceremony of marriage.

Chapter 14 treats of Bondage and Liberation. The soul belongs to the Bhûti Sakti, being that portion of hers which, owing to Time, passes from birth to rebirth until, having entered the "path of the Sâstra", it is at last "reborn in its own (natural) form" (svaâlakâjîyate, so.: râpeha), that is, liberated. The reason and object of this saṃsâra is shrouded in mystery: it is the "play" of God, though God as the perfect one can have no desire for playing. But how the play begins and how it ends, that, indeed, may be said. The Will of God called Sudarsana, though of innumerable forms, manifests in five principal ways, to wit, the Saktis called Creation, Preservation, and Destruction [of the universe], and Obstruction (âîgra) or Obscuration (tirodhâna) and Furtherance (anugraha, favouring) [of the soul]. At the beginning God "obstructs" the souls by "obsuring" or "contracting" their form (âkâra), power (aîvarya), and knowledge (vijñâna). The result being the three
Taints (mila) or Fetters (bandtui) of the soul, to wit (1) atomicity (anusvavā), (2) impotence (ākicītkaratā, kīcīt-
karatā), and (3) ignorance (ajñatva, kīcījñatva). These are, of course, the counterpart of three perfections which the soul in her natural condition has in common with the Lord, namely omnipresence 1, omnipotence, and omnisci-
ence 2. It is owing to the three Taints, according to our chapter, as also to the passions arising from the contact with Matter, that the soul finally treads the path of action and so produces Vāsanās (Germ-impressions) leading to new births; and it is the Karman so produced which (like the seed producing a tree, and the tree producing seeds, etc.) ultimately necessitates a new Creation, and so establishes the Creative, Preservative, and Destructive Saktis of the Lord. This is called the "transmission of obscuration" (tirodhāna-parampavrā, sūt. 25) of the Nigraha Sakti. It comes about with the assistance of the two parts of Bhūti called Time and [Māyā-] Sakti (sūt. 26). It has no beginning, but it may have an end, so far as the individual is concerned, by the breaking in of the Power of Furtherance or the divine grace (anugrahasakti-pāta),

1 In the sense fixed above p. 90.

2 This doctrine, closely connected, as we have seen, with the Śaiva doctrine of the Kaṇḍikas, has, on the other hand, nothing in common with the Śaiva doctrine of the three Taints. For, in the latter the Āyuva Mala consists in the loss or absence of both knowledge and power, while the Māyā Mala is the evil of being connected with matter (Māyā and its products), and the Karmā Mala that of the perform. of good and bad deeds. Cf. Pañcarātra Agama i, 4. 2-3 quoted by P. T. Srinivāsa Iyengar in his Outlines of Indian Philosophy p. 150, and the three sūkas of Vāmadeva, in the Tippaṇī on Pūrṇakājālīrājadeva, Srinagar edition, p. 15.

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

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

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

1 That is, chosen; cf. Kāthaka Upaniṣad 1, 2. 23: yam evaisa tve na laukyāh.

2 These ideal first men are described at length and contrasted with the later men (offspring of Brahman) in Viṣṇukṣeṇa Samhitā, loc. cit., pp. 166-169 (note especially p. 166 bottom: Vyūkasāstraṃ balāramānāṃ karvate te jagapateh). See on them further Pādmas Tantra I, 1. 35 ff. where, however, as in Viṣṇutiṣaka I, 146, it is the god Brahman from whom they receive the holy sāstra.
"Sāttvata statute". If they embrace the Pāṃśupa, etc., they have to give up the Vedic rites which are compatible with the Yoga only.

Then follows the discussion of the castes and the periods-of-life (śl. 26 b ff.) the conception of which is, on the whole, the orthodox one. For a Śādra it is more meritorious to serve a Brāhmaṇa than a man of either of the other castes (33). Non-hurting (a-himsā), truthfulness, forgiveness, and conjugal loyalty are obligatory virtues for all castes. The Saṃnyāsa Āśrama is for the Brāhmaṇa but may exceptionally be embraced by the Kṣatriya also; the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya are entitled to the first three Āsramas. The second birth is the investment with the sacred thread, the third the initiation into the Pāñcarātra. When Brahmacarya is completed, the student may stay with the teacher as a Naiṭikā, or he may enter any of the other Āsramas. The Grhastha as well as the Vānaprastha will reach the heaven of Brahmān by strictly observing their respective duties; while, by acquiring, at the same time, the highest knowledge, they will be liberated. Unless he be one of the latter class (a Juñāṇin or Knower), the Vānaprastha will end his life by means of the Great Departure (mahā-prasthāna) [or some other lawful kind of religious suicide] (39). In the long description of the Saṃnyāsin there is nothing extraordinary except perhaps that his end is compared, just as the Buddhist Nirvāṇa, with the going out of a lamp.¹

¹ "Sāttvata-pādana", cf. p. 15; "sāttvata-aiddhi".
² Like those enumerated in the Law Books and Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣada.
³ Pradīpa via śrutārtha, Śr. 73. Cf. the similar image employed (in IV, 76) for Laksmaṇa’s absorption into Viṣṇu at the end of a cosmic day.
Chapters 16 to 19. In addition to the forms described, the Sudarsana or Kriyā Sakti manifests itself also in the form of Mantras, that is, sounds (and their graphic symbols) and the holy utterances composed of these. The description of this so-called Mantramayi Kriyāsakti (16. 8-10) or “Sound-body of Lakṣmī” (16. 44) is the object of the next adhyāyas.

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

(Śl. 36 fl.) Speech begins with the Nāda1 resembling the sound of a deep bell and perceptible to perfect Yogins only; the Nāda develops into the Bindu (Anusvāra) which is twofold, as the śabdā-brahman or “Sound Brāhma” and the Bhūti (related to each other as the name and the bearer of the name); and then from the Bindu proceed the two kinds of sounds, to wit the vowels (svara) and the consonants (vyahjana). The vowels appear in the following order: first the a called sauttara (“chief” sound), then the i,

1 Or the last lingering of the nasal sound in the correct chanting of the syllable OM; cf. below adhyāya 51 (explanation of the Tāra Mantra).
then the u, from which spring the corresponding long vowels and, on the other hand, by mutual union, the diphthongs: \(a+i=\eta, a+e=\nu\), etc., and further, by amalgamation with a consonantal element (\(r, l\)), the \(r\) and \(l\) sounds. In accordance with the theory of the four states of sound (Parśa, Pasyanti, Madhyama, and Vaikhari) it is then shown how these fourteen vowels (or rather the \(u\) as their common root, sl. 45) gradually emerge from their latent condition by proceeding, with the kuṇḍalini Sakti, from the Mūlādhāra (perineum) to the navel, the heart, and finally the throat where the first uttered sound arising is the aspirate, for which reason the Visarga is interpreted literally as "creation" (ṣṛṣṭi), its counterpart, the Anusvāra or Bindu being in an analogous way declared to represent the "withdrawal" (ṣṛṣṭi) of speech. The Anusvāra is also called "sun" (sūrya), and the Visarga "moon" (soma), and the sounds \(a, i, u, r, l, \eta, o, \) and \(\tilde{a}, \tilde{i}, \tilde{u}, \tilde{r}, \tilde{l}, \tilde{\eta}, \tilde{\nu}\) are respectively "sun-beams" and "moon-beams" and as such connected with day and night and with the Nādis called Pingalā and Iḍā. The vowels \(a, i, u, \) and \(r\) are said to be each eighteen-fold (how, is not stated), the \(l\) twelve-fold, etc. From the first consonant, the \(h\) sound, which represents Vāsudeva, originate successively (each from the preceding one) the \(s, \tilde{s}, s^*\) sounds which, together with the \(h\), are the Fourfold Brāhmaṇ (catur-brahman), and, with \(h\) and \(k\), the Fivefold Brāhmaṇ (pañca-brahman)\(^1\). From the \(s^*\) springs the \(v\), from the \(v\) the \(l\), from the \(l\) the \(r\), and from the \(r\) the \(y\); then, from the \(y\) the \(m\) which represents the totality (samaṇṭi) of the souls, that is, the Kūṭatātha Puruṣa. Then

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

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

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

2 Of Ramapurvatapamja Upanisad, end (61, 84), naively asserting that the Rāma diagram (containing the Māla Mantra in the mystic language) is “a secret hard to understand even for the Highest Lord” (ramaṇam Paramesvaro varamudgī darṣyam).
lists, then, are an indispensable key to the Mantrás. There are, however, more such symbolic words in use, as can be gathered, for instance from the second of the opening stanzas of our Saḥhitā, where the word inā (moon) means the letter ī; from the mystic alphabet employed in Rāmapūrvaśārṇa Upaniṣad (ed. 74-80); etc. etc.¹

Chapter 18 takes up the uddhāraṇa or quotation (which is, in reality, a sort of developing) of the Sakti Mantra and Saundarṣana Mahāmantra (both of which contain as their chief constituent the word sahasrāṇa “thousand-spoked” expressed respectively through the Sākta and the Vaiṣṇava alphabet), of the Bijas (“seeds”) hum and phat and of the Āṅga (auxiliary) Mantra cakrāya seāhā; and Chapter 19 continues the subject by describing the well-known five Āṅga Mantras¹ referring to heart, head, hair-lock, armour, and weapon; further an Upāṅga Mantra, the Cakra Gāyatri, and a number of Mantras referring to the Couch, etc., and other “weapons” of Viṣṇu.

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

¹ Indrakśhārya = śaṅkunā, referring to the letter ś in the name Śrī.
² An important contribution to this subject is vol. I of Arthur Avalon’s “Tantrik Texts”, namely “Tantrabhāṣā, with Vaiṣṇāvāṇa Upaniṣads and Mudrānighaṇṭa”, containing collections of such words used, among the Saktas (and elsewhere), as symbols for letters.
³ Of ŚrīṢaṁHamurvaśārṇa Upaniṣad II, 2 with commentaries.
The disciple, unmarried or married, but belonging of necessity to the “twice-born”, must with perfect sincerity confess to the teacher everything he has “done or not done”, after which he may be accepted on probation and, after some years, definitively, if he has succeeded in convincing the teacher that he is free from greed and infatuation, capable of guarding the secret tradition (brahmacarya-goyin), etc. In that case, with the usual Nyāsas, etc., the Sudarsana Mantra is imparted to him, of which the three Rṣis are: the Paramātman (in the “highest sense”), Saṅkarṣaṇa (“subtle”), and Ahirbudhnya (“gross”); the body being also, on this occasion, regarded as threefold, namely, as consisting of the gross body, the subtle body called puryastra, and the ātman or atomic body. The duties of the disciple are described at some length (śl. 43-45), the importance of “confessing himself and whatever belongs to him” being once more emphasized. The Mantra should on no account be used for a mundane purpose or trifling object, but only for the protection of the three worlds, government, or king; only for welfare, not for destruction.

Chapters 21 to 27 are descriptive of magical diagrams called rūpa or yantra, their respective merits, and the way of meditating upon the Yantra Devatās. The latter, among whom are the Sudarsana Puruṣa (26. s fl.) and the twelve Sub-Vyāhas (26. s fl.), are described at some length on this occasion. Incidentally there is a description of the Kali Yuga
In these chapters the mystical alphabets play an important part. Chapters 28 and 29 deal with worship (ārādhana): the former with the obligatory, the latter with the optional worship which a Kṣatriya is recommended to perform for ensuring victory. In the latter case the rites vary with the region (east, south, etc.) in which the warrior wishes to attack.

Chapters 31 and 32 consist of an outline of the Yoga theory and practice. The Yoga, as the counterpart of the "external sacrifice" (bāhiṣkārya), is "worship of the heart" (hrdaya-ārādhana) or the self-sacrifice (ātmicārvita) offered to God by giving Him one's own soul separated from matter, that is, in its original purity (31.4-5). In this condition the soul is in touch with everything (svacchandra) and all-supporting (svasrotām); without eyes, ears, hands, and feet, yet all-seeing, all-hearing, with hands and feet everywhere; "far and yet near"; "the imperishable part in all beings" (akṣaraṁ svabhāvānātham), the "Highest Place of Visnu" (31.7-11). Yoga, in fact, means "union of the life-self (soul) and the Highest Self" (jñātmakāvanātmanoḥ sampyo grahaḥ, 31.18). According to this passage, then, Yoga would be the temporal attainment, during life, of a feeling of perfect oneness with the Lord. Of a feeling only of such oneness; for that a soul ever actually becomes one with the Lord, is excluded by the premises of the system, as we have

1 Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV, 3. 23 41.
2 Īśavasya Upaniṣad 5.
3 It may be useful to remember here that Rāmaṇja and his followers found no difficulty in relating all such expressions (for instance in the Bhagavad Gītā) to the individual souls as separated from matter, that is, in their pure condition in which they are essentially, though not numerically, the same.
seen in the last section of part II of this Introduction. Such feeling of identity is also attributed to the liberated.\textsuperscript{1}

From 31.18 to the end of 32 the eight Yogāṇgas are described at some length and not without some originality: (1) the ten constituents of Yama (brāhma- 
carya=not regarding one's wives as objects of enjoyment; 
ārjuna=concordance of speech, thought, and action); (2) the ten Niyamas (śraddha=confidence in the work enjoined; 
āstikyā=conviction that there exists, asti, a something, evātu, accessible through the Vedas only); (3) eleven chief postures; (4) the Prāṇāyāma, with a long physiological introduction on the tubular vessels called 
Nādiś (forming the "wheel" in which the soul moves about like a spider in its web; 32.18) and the ten winds of the body, and directions as to the purification, within three months, of the whole system of Nādiś; (5) 
Pratyāḥāra, which is not merely a negative act (withdrawal of the senses) but also a positive one (nīcavāmya 
Bhagavati "entering into God"); (6) Dhārāṇā, the "keeping of the mind in the Highest Self"; (7) Dhāyaṇa, 
meditation on the "wheel-formed" Viṣṇu (Sādārvana 
Puruṣa) who is here described as eight-armed, clad in 
jewels, with lightning-flashes as the hairs of his head, etc.; and (8) Samādhi, which is reached by gradually 
tensifying Dhyāna until the Siddhis or magical powers (of making one's body infinitely small, etc.) become 
manifest and spirits and gods begin to serve the Yogi.

\textbf{C h a p t e r s} 30, 34, 35, and 40 are occupied with the subject of the Astras or magical weapons,

\textsuperscript{1} At least in the Śaiva Siddhānta (Schomerson, loc. cit., p. 405), but undoubtedly also in the Pāmorātan, though the wish of 
karūṣārya (above p. 55) is of course inconsistent with it.
that is, occult forces of nature, of an obstructive or
destructive character, which can be set loose, directed, and
withdrawn by those who know the spells connected
with them.

Chapter 30 traces back the origin of the Astras
to the creation of the world. Before creation the Lord,
having nothing to play with (ilūpyākṣum)³, could find
no satisfaction (na rūtim lehha). He, consequently, made
Himself manifold (ātmānān bhūv akalpayet)³ by
creating Pradhāna and Puruṣa (primordial matter
and the soul) and then from the former, with the
help of his Sakti in the form of Time, the Mahat,
the Ahamkāra, etc., down to the gross elements.
Out of these He then formed the Cosmic Egg, and in the
latter He created Prajāpati (the four-faced Brahmān)
who, “looking at the Vedas, framed, as before, the mani-
fold names and forms of the gods, etc.” So “the Highest
Lord, though all of His wishes are ever fulfilled, could ex-
perience, by means of the beings created by Himself, the
flavour of playing (ilā-vasa)”. He discovered, however,
that there was in His creation a tendency towards the bad
which could be counterpoised only if He with a portion of
Himself would become the protector of His creatures.
So He created, as an instrument against the wicked
(Daiteyas and Dānavas), His Sudarsana form, and the

¹ With the beginning of this chapter cf. chapter XI:1 and
XXXVIII, 10 ff.
² “For Him all of Whose wishes are fulfilled, creation, etc., can
have no purpose” (P. Prakāsā S. 1, 1. 4) and is, therefore “play”
³ So far the chapter is a paraphrase of some well-known Upa-
niṣad passages which belong to what the Visistadvaita calls patakas-
svatapta) or texts reconciling monism and pluralism in that they
show that the world, that is, the “body of God” (cf. LII, 23, being
a reproduction of Bhagavad Gītā XI, 7), was latent in Him before
creation.
gods and kings being unable to use the latter, He produced from it the Astras or magical weapons. These, a little over a hundred', are enumerated by name and in five groups according as they have sprung from the mouth, breast, thighs, feet, or "other limbs" of the Sandarsana Purusa. The first four classes constitute the Pravartaka (offensive, destructive), the fifth class the Nivartaka or Upasamhara (defensive, obstructive) Astras. A definition of these two kinds is found in 36. 12-15 where the second are described as having the hands joined in supplication (sañjñāni), while the first are said to look as though they were to devour all the worlds (nikṣatram āvaśeyabhūvānī).

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Giving Him the following epithets among others: śuddha-śūrdhineśvara, vikūtabandārī, śuddhānandasaśchanda, Visvaksena-mukhāś cintājalī, kṣayeśwarāś, apiśvātāmaca, nīlaścavāmoṣa-śarva-mahāyoga.
consisting of figures (namely the Sudarsana Purusa surrounded by the twelve Sub-Vyūhas, etc.), and the latter of Mantras only in the place of the figures. The meditation on the second form is for the teacher of Mantras, the Brāhmaṇa, only; the worship of the first is much recommended to kings and others desirous of material prosperity (śṛf) who, to ensure complete success, may build a special vimāna (kind of temple) for the purpose. The very preparation of the soil (bṛṣya) for such a building is a highly meritorious act.

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Indicating thus that the Kārmic chain (to which the diseases belong) has no absolute beginning.

\textsuperscript{2} The creation of "names and forms" here referred to as connected with primary creation is, of course, different from the one attributed to the god Brahman.

\textsuperscript{3} That is, souls; \textit{bhūtani}=\textit{purusha}. 

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There follow five magical recipes for curing (1) fever, (2) consumption, (3) urinary troubles, (4) dysentery, and (5) epilepsy. In the several cures the throwing of certain substances into the sacrificial fire, the use of vessels with Yantras etc. engraved on them, and presents to Brahmins play an important part, while practically no internal medicine is prescribed for the patient.

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

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

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

Chapters 43 and 44. On the power of the great Sudarṣana Mantra, the root of all Mantras (44.12), enabling one to cause to appear before oneself the Sudarṣana Purusa in persona (with two arms, etc.), clad in a yellow robe, of dazzling splendour. Chapter 43 narrates how Ahirbudhnya, chapter 44 how Bṛhaspati, obtains this sight. The latter asking with surprise how He, being known as eight-armed in the world, can now stand before him in a human form, the Sudarṣana Purusa declares that He has four forms (vyāha) showing respectively two, eight, sixteen, and sixty-two arms, and moreover a fifth form in which He appears as the All (visvamagati). At Bṛhaspati's
request He appears to him in the All-form and finally as eight-armed.  

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

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

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

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

1 God in His All-form is called in the Gītā “thousand-armed”, while He usually appears, according to that source (XI, 46), in His four-armed shape. It is noteworthy that, instead of the latter, we have above the eight-armed shape.
of Naiśāsikha a king called Pramaganda. His son Durdharsa, a Rajarshi and Cakravartin (royal sage and emperor), had by his principal wife Vatsala a son called Mañisekhara who married Prāci, ascended the throne when his father retired to the forest, and had born to him through Prāci seven sons. At that time the demon Vikatākṣa and his numerous descendants had become the plague of the country, and Vikatākṣa having obtained from Brahmā the boon of invincibility, nothing was left to the king but to apply for help to the Lord Himself. So, in order to learn how to approach the latter, Mañisekhara went, on the advice of his Purohita, to the sage Durvāṣa, and, directed by the latter, to Śāla-grāma on the Sarasvati (the holiness of which place is brought into connection with the Vārāha Avatāra and described at length in sl. 78 to 86). Here he worships the Lord for one month with arcana, japa, and dhyāna, after which He appears to him, eight-armed, etc., and emits out of His breast the Aindra Cakra (being the Astra described in 40. 28-24): first one, then ten, then a hundred, etc., filling all space and killing the asuras.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) Story of Sunanda (48, 49 ff). There reigned, at Śṛgārapura, a king called Sunanda who had a son called Sunati. Once the latter, having gone out hunting, meets in a forest a very beautiful Nāga girl who enchants him and takes him with her to the Nāga world. There she delivers him to Anāgamaṇḍari, the daughter of the Nāga king Vāsuki, who makes him her...
husband. Happy beyond measure owing to his intercourse with the princess he forgets his whole past. King Sunanda, after having had a vain search made for him everywhere, ceases, out of grief, to take food. Then his Purohita goes to the hermitage of his teacher Kanya on the bank of the Tamasā and reports to him what has happened. Kanya, having entered into a trance, "sees" the "story of the boy" which is as follows: After futile attempts at finding in the Nāga world a husband worthy of the beautiful Anagamāfjarī, the Nāga girls began to look out for one on earth, and so discovered Sumati in the forest in which he was hunting. One of the girls, called Rama, specially proficient in witchcraft (māya-visāradā), succeeded in enticing him to the Nāga world, where he was now living unaware of his past, as the husband of the charming daughter of king Vasuki. There was one means of bringing him back, namely the great Sudarsana diagram inscribed with golden letters on a mirror (darpnna). With this message the Purohita returns to his king. The latter, delighted, has the magical mirror at once constructed and, with its help, enters the nether regions and arrives at Bhogavati, the capital of the Nāgas. He finds his son and abducts him together with his wife and female servants; he is, however, overtaken by Vasuki and his army of Nāgas. In the ensuing battle the Nāgas are conquered by the Prasvapana and Āgneya Astras (the sixty-first and twenty-first of the Pravartaka Astras) coming forth from the magical mirror, the former causing the Nāgas to sleep, and the latter setting fire to their town. Now Vasuki asks for peace, offering precious jewels and a thousand Nāga girls, whereupon Sunanda withdraws the Astras and returns to his capital.
(4) Story of Citras'ekhara (49. i fl.). There was, on the bank of the Sarasvati, a beautiful town called Bhadravati, ruled by a king called Citras'ekhara. The father of the latter had once, using an aerial chariot presented to him by Indra, attacked and killed a Dānava called Sānkukarna, owing to which deed the son of Sānkukarna, called Amarsana, was incessantly harassing Citras'ekhara and his town. When the two armies had met for the seventeenth time before Bhadravati and returned home again after a drawn battle, Citras'ekhara made up his mind to apply for divine help and set out in his aerial chariot for the Kailāsa. "While he is driving over the mountains, his chariot suddenly stops short on the peak of the Mandara. He alights, and, after having walked for a while, meets, on the bank of a tank, Kubera, the god of riches, who tells him that this is the place where Mahālakṣmi is living, to worship whom he had come here; and that, as it was due to her that his chariot had stopped, he should therefore apply to her. Hereupon Kubera disappears, but sends a Guhyaka who offers his services to the king and proposes that they should spend the night on the spot, which they do. Then in the morning, the Guhyaka takes the king to the palace of Mahālakṣmi. The king then sings a beautiful hymn to Mahālakṣmi, who is pleased and gives him a banner showing the Sudarsana diagram (yantrita dhwaja). The king then returns to his capital and conquers, by means of the banner, the army of the Asuras.

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

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

1 No. 65 in chapter XL; probably the same as no. 38 of the Saphāraka Astraśa.

2 The fifth of the Pravartaka Astraśa (XXXIV, 14-16).
the king of the gods and saluted him with friendly words, explains to him his invincibility, whereupon the two part as friends.

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

The first Mantra explained is the Tāra or Tāraka Mantra, that is, the sacred syllable ŌM. In its "gross sense" it simply consists of the letters ṃ and m, meaning respectively āṃ and mīṃ, and thus representing the sentence: "Everything (sarvam) limited (mitam) is threaded (ātm) on Him (omtiu)." In its "subtle sense" it is composed of the letters ā, ū, m denoting respectively: (1) the waking state and gross universe with Aniruddha as their protector; (2) the dream-consciousness and subtle universe superintended by Pradyumna; (3) the susuptī state and corresponding universe with Śaṅkarāśṭara as their guardian-deity; then (4) the echo of the m (ardhamatrā) representing Vasudeva (the triya); further (5) the last lingering of the nasal sound, which is the undifferentiated Śakti of the Lord as the "fifth stage"; and, finally, (6) the silence observed after the pronunciation of the syllable, which is Viṣṇu as the Highest Brāhmaṇa.1 In its "highest sense" it means the belonging together

1 Cf. Dhyānalbinā Upaniṣad 4; also above p. 52, note 3, and p. 53.
(expressed by the letter m) of (1) α, that is, Viṣṇu possess-
ed of the active Sakti and (2) ω, that is, Viṣṇu possessed of the inactive Sakti, namely, during the cosmic night. OM in its “subtle sense” is said to further denote: Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and the Avyakta of the Purāṇikas; the Śādākhyā, Aisvarya, Sadvidyā, and Śīva of the Pārāśurāmas; and Vyakta, Avyakta, Purusa, and Kāla of the Śaṅkhayas.

Another instructive example of this sort of linguistic occultism is the explanation (52. 2-ss) of the word namas (“respectful obeisance, bow”, etc.) occurring in OM namo Viṣṇuṣu and many other Mantras. In the “gross sense” the word is declared to mean prapatti or self-surrender, the six constituents and obstacles of which are here explained at some length (sl. 14-24). In the “subtle sense” the word is regarded as consisting of the three constituents na, ma, and s, which together represent the sentence: “No (na) selfish regard (mamya) for one’s self and one’s own (svamī svanye ca)”, namely the famous Śaṅkhya formula ndsmi na me nāham, if properly understood (sl. 28). The “highest sense”, finally, is explained by means of the Mantra key (17. 21, 24, 11) in the following way: na signifies “path”, ma “chief”, and the Visarga “Highest Lord”, the combination of the three meaning that the chief path for attaining God is the one called reverential obeisance (namana).

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

1 LI, 41. We take it that nandhaça is a corruption of sadbhaya.
2 Śāṅkhya Karika 64. The formula is also Buddhist; see my "On the Problem of Nirvāṇa" in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society for 1906, p. 107.
the meaning deducible from the case-relation or connection with the verb (kriya-kara-samsarga-labhya, etc.). Similarly, the “subtle sense”, in that it is derived from the crude or uninflected form of the noun, is called the meaning derivable from the uninflected base (pratipādikasūkta) and the like.

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

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

1The same which is the subject of the Nyāsiṃhapūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad.
the infinity of the cause as compared with its products. The second stanza refers to Saṃkarṣaṇa; for he is the Lord of Immortality or the one with whose help the soul through "food" (ānna), that is, the material universe, reaches Liberation. The third stanza, after praising the greatness of Saṃkarṣaṇa, states that Pradyumna's service is still greater (from the worldly standpoint?) because he is the creator of Puruṣa and Prakṛti. In the fourth stanza the "one quarter" of God which alone has become this world is naturally identified with Aniruddha, the Inner Ruler (antarāryāmin) of all beings who pervades both "that which has food (=experience of pleasure and pain) and that which has no food", namely the animate and the inanimate nature.

After this, the strange saying of the fifth stanza, that from the Puruṣa has sprung the Virāj, and from the Virāj the Puruṣa, is no longer enigmatical: the first Puruṣa is of course Aniruddha, and the second Puruṣa the god Brahmā, the Virāj being the Parā Vidyā or Highest Prakṛti, that is, the matter (in the form of an Egg) out of which the god Brahmā is created.

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

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

Chapter 59, towards the end (sl. 54 ff.), gives a résumé of "this Śamhitā of the Pāñcarātra, the divine one comprehending" Śāmkhya and Yoga, etc., the very secret one", "the highest science corroborating all Upaniṣads",* and warns against imparting it to anyone except a true devotee of Vasudeva.

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

2 Nothing about the origin of the Vyūha theory can be gained from the Upaniṣads, it being referred to only in a few of the latest, to wit Mudgala, Triśaḍväbhūtiśāntānyāya, and Gopālottarātāpīṇī. Mudgala speaks of Aniruddha as the Pāda Nārāyaṇa and mentions one Puruṣa Śaṅhitā containing a succinct explanation of the Puruṣa Sūktā. Triśaḍväbhūti is the only Upaniṣad which looks like a Pāñcarātra treatise. Gopālottarātāpīṇī (10 ff.) identifies Śaṅkaraśāstra, Pradāyuna, Aniruddha, and Kṛṣṇa (in this order) with the Viśva, Taijasa, Prajāta, and Turiya, and with the a, u, m, and ardhamātra. In the Upaniṣads, generally speaking, the Pāñcarātra is as unknown as should be expected of a system of non-Brahmanic origin.

* Lit. : commensurate with (सम्मेत्).

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

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

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

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

\[ \text{vaśyagga bhāvāpakavānanam girvāmgaṇam uṭtamaṁ} \]
\[ \text{nāṇāvibhāvanāṁśtuṁ yo’vatiṣṭhata vānane u (90)} \]

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

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

"Śīstraṁ nāṇāvibhāvanāṁ, by which must be meant the Trayā including Dharmāstātra, Puruṣa etc. (see above p. 110), and possibly the “Vedāntas” (Upaniṣads), but not the [non-Vedantic] philosophical systems, these being referred to by nos. 17 and 18.

3ivaśāṅgaḥ svapnuḥ kīrtvā. This passage appears to be corrupt, though samudrāḥ is, indeed, among the epithets of Śiva.

3 Munaṛgaḥ svapnuḥ pārve; cf. Bhag. Gītā X, 6 (and above p. 61, no. 2).

* Jimūtaḥ “clouds”, i.e. atmospheric gods; cf. nabhāvarahā, khecarah, and the names of their kings (Jimūta-vahana-ketu) in Nagāmanda.
17. [Higher] Knowledge 21. The moon; 

(vidyā); 

18. Inferior Knowledge 22. The sun; 

(aparā vidyā)¹; 

19. Fire; 23. Water; 

20. Wind (air); 24. Earth. 

Then follow the concluding words:

ity akṣam amalekṣāya

caturvimsatīsamkhyaṃ ca bha(h)āparakṣayaṃ mahat

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

II. Four Kinds of Worship

Sātvata Samhitā 2, 2.12³

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

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

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

¹ Here we have once more the two Sciences mentioned above p. 97.

² A very different (premature) translation of most of this passage has been given by Bhandarkar in his Vaiṣṇavism, etc., pp. 59 ff.
tion, worshipping the [great light] called Vāsudeva: from It has sprung a supreme Śāstra expressive of Its nature (tādāyik), bestowing discrimination, a great theosophy (bhūvahāmanujātām, uhat) containing the divine path (dhīyā-parāyaṇa) and aiming at Liberation as the one [desirable] fruit [to be attained]. I will impart to thee, for the salvation of the world, that original [Śāstra] existing in many varieties, bestowing perfection (or: magical powers) and Liberation, the pure one, mysterious one, leading to great success.

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

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

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

1 Literally either "since creation" or "till creation". In the latter case the meaning would be: until creation, properly speaking, began (begins) by the appearing of the Nāja Gūṇa, that is the activity of god Brahmān. "Agraff adhikārīpah" is an epithet of the ideal first man also in Ahir. S. (XV, 11),
2 (cf. above p. 52 n. 3; Vāsudevaḥcyānaḥ mukh, etc.
3 This worship, connected with the diagram of sounds (varṇa-balava), the six Attributes of God, etc., is described from ch. 13 to the end of the chapter.
4 For mukhānām and yajñānim.
5 Of. above p. 97 no. 2.
(4) But for [the worship of] the Mantra diagram relating to the [thirty-nine] Vibhavas and for the ceremonies connected therewith none are authorized but the [truly] seeing ones, who have completely cast off the idea of the mine, are satisfied with doing their duty and wholly devoted, in deed, speech, and mind, to the Highest Lord.

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

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR VYUHAS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF MEDITATION

Sātvata Samhitā 5, 9.21

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

1 Explained in chapter IX of the Samhitā, some later chapters being apparently also referred to. In Aḥirvī, s. the caivaśravās described in chapter LVI should be compared.

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

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

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

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

1 This is, of course, the eagle ensign (garuda-dhvajā). It must apparently be imagined as being carried by some one of the Lord's retinue (a Nitya); cf. below the note on Pradyumna's banner.

2 Or Sīkharā, the compound (svādīvārīkha-dhvāra) admitting of both readings, which mean respectively a kind of ruby and a species of the hemp-plant. Svādīvārīkha may be also translated: "the crown of a Sindūra tree".

3 When Sīva is called tālaṅka, the word tāla means a cymbal (cf. his ṛmava). But Saṃkaraṇa's tāla is a dēvaja, as can be seen from the parallelism in the description of the Vīāha, not to speak of other reasons. If Hindu sculptors represent Baladeva with a cymbal (?), this would seem to be a case of sculpture influenced by literature misunderstood. The palm banner is nothing extraordinary: Bheṣma, for instance, is said to have had one.

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

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

All of these [four] wear "the garland of wood-flowers, are distinguished with the Srivatsa (Visnu's curl of hair on the breast), and are embellished with the king of jewels, the Kaustuba, on their breast, [further] with lovely diadems and crowns, necklaces, armlets and anklets, bright marks (made with sandal-wood, etc.) on the forehead, glittering ear-rings in the shape of a Makara (sea-elephant), excellent chaplets of manifold flowers, and with camphor and other delicious perfumes. As adorned with all of these: thus should they always be meditated upon."³

¹ This, as will have been noticed, is essentially a description of Kama, the Indian Amor, as, indeed, Pradyumna is also the name of Kama re-born after his destruction by Siva; cf. above p. 45.
² The marpa (deer, antelope) is also the ldéchana of one of the Jain Tirthankaras (Sánti), all of whom can be seen represented, with their respective emblems added above (or below) them, just like labels attached to portraits, on the wall of one of the cave temples of Bhuvanéśvara (Orissa).
³ For the first three items cf. above p. 52.
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The list enumerates the ten elements, ten senses, three-fold Inner Organ, Prakriti, Pranati, Mayi, Kila, Niyati, Sakti, the Purusa, Highest Heaven, and the Lord. But the next chapter explaining these admit that the "highest principle", namely the Lord, is "not a principle" or "higher than a principle" (Aristotypes). The next section, Lakshmi Tantra VII, 65.)
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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

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

p. 14, ll. 11/12 from bottom: "Nārada's visit to Svetadvipa is Nārāyaniya."

pp. 14, fl. (chronology of the Samhitās) and 97 fl. (age of Abhiruddhyn Saṃhitā). Having just now received the J. R. A. S. for January 1916, containing A. A. Macdonell's important article on The Development of Early Hindu Iconography, we may say with regard to the latter that, although undoubtedly iconography will have to play a part in the establishment of the chronology of the Pāñcaratā Saṃhitās, it does not seem that at present much can be gained from it for the older part of that literature. For, though only "from the eighth century onwards Viṣṇu appears with eight arms" (loc. cit. p. 128), the iconographical material so far available from the earlier centuries is evidently far too scanty to prove that Viṣṇu was not represented as eight-armed, etc. (in addition to the four-armed form), long before that time. The following statement (p. 127) on the four-armed Vasudeva is noteworthy, because it agrees with the date fixed on other grounds by Prof. Garbe for the later parts of the Bhagavad-Gītā (of which particularly XI, 46 should be compared): "The second half of the first century a. d. may therefore be regarded as the period when the Hindu gods began to be represented with four arms."

p. 16, ll. 8/7 from bottom: to "about the time of Śaṅkara" the following foot-note should now be added: "We are thinking of the date which has so far had the consennt of most scholars (728-532). The attempt made quite recently, namely by S. V. Venkateswara in the J. R. A. S. 1918, pp. 161 fl., to demonstrate that Śaṅkara's life-time was 803-897, has not convinced us."

p. 16, l. 12 from bottom: for "teacher" read "teacher's teacher."

" 17, l. 10: after "Upeṇdra Saṃhitā" insert " (no. 211) ."

" 18, l. 18: for "Pāñcaratā" read "Pāñcaratā ."

" 18, l. 9 from bottom: read " (see above p. 4) ."
p. 24., l. 5: for vais'eśika read vaisayika, and add a footnote: "This is strange and suggests the idea that an original "vais'eśika" has been misunderstood by the author; cf. the sixth topic of the Sāttvata system below, p. 112."

27. note 1, said before last sentence: Yativindrama. Dipikā, a later work of uncertain date, contains much modern material unknown to the Pāñcaratāra.

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

p. 32 fl.: Is it a mere coincidence that in Zoroastrianism also God has six attributes? it is true that the two sets have apparently not much in common, still: might not the monothemonism of the Pāñcaratāra, which evidently originated in the north-west of India, have made some external borrowings from the great religion of Iran? A similar question seems to arise with regard to the "sun-beams" and "moon-beams", into which the vowels are divided (p. 110), and the "sun-letters" and "moon-letters" of Arabic grammar, but here we find it hard to believe in any borrowing except from some common source.

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

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

Pradūma, connected with aimsata and ērya, having become the superintendent of the principle [called] mind (manas), carries out the teaching of religion and the creation of the Pure Group consisting of the four Manas, etc.

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

49. l. 10: After "Upendra" insert: "from Pradyumna another Pradyumna, Nyāśa, and Harî":

56. l. 17: for "Caṇḍa, Pracānda" read "Caṇḍa, Pracānda",

58. l. 6/7: "They can assume " to "body". As a matter of fact, the soul in Heaven seems never to be imagined without a body, it being holiness, and necessarily so, only in its Mars condition (p. 56), that is during the Great Night, when even non-natural matter is non-existent ("unified"). We may, therefore, ask in this connection whether the "atomic body" mentioned in chapter 30 (see p. 122) is not either a "non-natural" body possessed already, unknowingly, by the soul, or else a third "natural" body, the only one remaining
to the soul for its passage from the Sun to Heaven. For, according to the view of Kaushitaki Upanishad which has been adopted by the Visistadvaitins and was apparently also known to the Pañcarātrins, the liberated soul has still many stations to pass on its further journey from the Sun to the river Viraja (Vṛjara) which is the boundary between this and the other world, and it cannot do so, evidently, in a bodiless condition, for which reason Yat. Dip. teaches (ed. p. 77) that not before crossing the Viraja does the soul exchange its subtle (second physical) body for a nonnatural one, whereas Tripādāṁbūṁmahāṁśa Upanishad (chapters V and VI), on the assumption that the Viraja is not the said boundary but still within the Egg, declares that the soul through bathing in Viraja exchanges its subtle body for a "magical body" (śantramayasya śarīra, later simply called śantramaya śarīra), and long afterwards, in a place far outside the Egg, namely the Brahmacidāya river, casts off the "magical body" in order to assume its final garment, the "immortal Divine body consisting of the bliss of [Brahma] knowledge" (vidyānandamaya śarīra, later simply called mantramaya śarīra).
SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ERRATA

Found in the edition of Ahiirbudhnya Samhitā.

Page line

79 9 : for दिनजनितवाचकः read ex conj. विहार विक्षारकः.

82 10 : dele (अथ धारणादिप्रज्ञांबं) and enter between lines 8 and 9 : (अथ पुत्रवादेशमज्ञानं).

107 10 : for शालमित्र प्राप्ति read सामाधिकार.

126 16 :) शैष्टिकः read ex conj. शैष्टिकः.

127 3 :) शैष्टिकः read ex conj. शैष्टिकः.

495 9 : तोपनिति read ex conj. तोपनिति.

532 6 : "स्वस्य मे" read ex conj. स्वस्य मे.

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

581 12 : for किरने read किरते.

594 2 : राधुविद्यायःकृतं read राधुविद्यायःकृतं.

598 8 : चारामात्याशाशीवैशेषिकनिष्ठातारः read चारामात्यvokeे चारामात्याशाशीवैशेषिकनिष्ठातारः.

615 3 : कथार्थः read कथार्थः.

626 6 : "नद्वायंनिष्ठने read नद्वायंनिष्ठने.

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