The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition

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My greatest handicap in writing this monograph has been the paucity of manuscript material to which circumstance has allowed me access. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to see more than a tiny number of the hundreds of manuscripts that most probably contain material to contribute to our knowledge of the Śāiva canon and, indeed, the Kubjikā cult. I can only hope that fate will be kinder to me in the future than it has been in the past and allow me access to the manuscripts in Nepal which for many years now I have dearly hoped to study.

I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to a number of people who have helped and inspired me during more than fifteen years of study in India and in Oxford, where I had the privilege of working for my doctorate. One of the first who comes to mind is Mr. G. S. Sanderson, whom I consider not only a fine scholar but also a friend. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor R. Gombrich, who was my supervisor during my years at Oxford and is one of the most sincere people I know. I cannot be grateful enough to Professor Vrajavallabha Dvivedi, former head of the Yogatantra Department of Sampūrṇānanda Sanskrit University. In our many conversations in Hindi and Sanskrit, he has been an inspiring guide to several areas of Tantrāśāstra. Dr. B. P. Tripathi, head of the Research Department of the same university, has also helped me a great deal, not so much in the field of Tantric studies, but in Sanskrit grammar. His profound knowledge of Pāṇini and the Sanskrit language has inspired me to take delight in the Sanskrit itself, not just as a tool to read texts but as a language to speak and write for its own sake.

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PART ONE

The Śaiva Āgamas
Preliminary Remarks

The past two decades have witnessed an unprecedented growth of interest in the Hindu Tantras both on the part of the layman and scholar alike. This vast area of study, so badly neglected in the past, is now slowly beginning to come into its own. The new interest, accompanied by a greater (although still very limited) knowledge of the Tantras, has led to a more critical and scholarly approach to the study of these sacred texts. Although scholars in the past were aware that important internal distinctions exist in the 'Tantric tradition', they were largely glossed over in an attempt to penetrate the 'philosophy of the Tantras', or the 'principles of Tantra'. Important exceptions on the Śaiva side (we are not concerned here with Vaishnava Tantra) have been the studies and critical editions made in recent years of the Siddhāntāgamas. This important work must be largely credited to the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry and in particular to Pt. N. R. Bhatt and Dr. Hélène Brunner-Lachaux, who has contributed to it immensely by her extensive work on Siddhānta ritual. Another area of research has been the Śrīvidyā tradition. Many of the major Tantras and allied works of this school have been edited and independent studies published. However, apart from these two major fields, hardly any other work has been done on individual Tantric traditions. The aim of this monograph is to pursue this line of approach further by presenting a preliminary study of another Hindu Tantric tradition, namely, the cult of Kubjikā, the details of which are recorded in the Tantras of the Western School: the Paścimāmnāya.

The Paścimāmnāya belongs to a category of Śaivāgama variously called 'Kulāgama', 'Kulasāstra' or 'Kulāmnāya', which we shall attempt to delineate in the second part of this monograph. Although not as extensive as the Siddhānta or as well known and diffused as the Śrīvidyā, the Paścimāmnāya is an important and substantial Tantric tradition. Up to now very little work has been done on the Paścimāmnāya (see appendix A). Hardly any texts of this school have been edited, although about a
hundred independent works, some of considerable length, are preserved in manuscripts, almost all of which are in Nepal (see appendix D). At this preliminary stage of research we would do well, first of all, to locate this sacred literature in the vast corpus of the Śaiva Āgamas. Such is the aim of this monograph. Thus, although we shall deal with the Tantras and cult of Kubjikā, we are here primarily concerned only with the contents of these Tantras that can help us to locate them in the Śaiva canon and construct their history. We are acutely aware that we are considerably handicapped in this task not only by our limited knowledge of the Paścimāṇḍaṅgā but also by our scant understanding of the structure of the Śaiva canon. Even so, we feel that, however provisional it may turn out to be, at least an attempt should be made to plot, even if in the most general terms, the extent and divisions of the Śaiva Āgamas. Forced as we are at present to work largely with sources in manuscript (many of which are corrupt), and given the vast amount of material that has yet to be studied and the even greater amount that has been lost, our endeavor is audacious, perhaps foolhardy. Even so, we shall be amply rewarded if this work leads to new insights into possible future avenues of research not only in the Kubjikā Tantras but, more generally, into the Śaiva canon.

The Śaiva Āgamas

The earliest known references to sectarian Śaivism are found in Patañjali’s Great Commentary (Mahābhāṣya) on Pāṇini’s grammar probably written in the second century B.C. Patañjali refers to the Śivabhagavats which he describes as itinerant ascetics who wore animal skins and carried an iron lance. The Śaiva symbols found on the coins of the Greek, Śaka and Parthian kings, who ruled in Northern India between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D., confirm that Śiva was already well established during this period as a sectarian god. Unfortunately, however, no sacred texts of any pre-Āgamic Śaiva sect have been preserved. Possibly none were written during this early period. It is not unlikely that when Śaivism developed into a popular movement it relied at first on the Vedas and related literature along with the developing Epic and Purānic traditions as sounding boards for their sectarian views. We might also justifiably speculate that there must have existed numerous oral traditions that ultimately contributed to the development of a corpus of sacred Śaiva literature—the Śaiva Āgamas—that considered itself to be independent of the authority of the Vedas and had nothing to do with the Epics or Purāṇas.

Although it is not possible to say exactly when the first Āgamas were written, there is no concrete evidence to suggest that any existed much before the sixth century. The earliest reference to Tantric manuscripts cannot be dated before the first half of the seventh century. It occurs in Bāna’s Sanskrit novel, Kadambartī in which the author describes a Śaiva ascetic from South India who “had made a collection of manuscripts of jugglery, Tantras and Mantras [which were written] in letters of red lac on palm leaves [tinged with] smoke.” Bāna also says that “he had written down the doctrine of Mahākāla, which is the ancient teaching of the Mahāpūrajñapata,” thus confirming that oral traditions were in fact being committed to writing.

If our dates are correct, it seems that the Śaiva Āgamas proliferated to an astonishing degree at an extremely rapid rate so that by the time we reach Abhinavagupta and his immediate predecessors who lived in ninth-century Kashmir we discover in their works references drawn from a vast corpus of Śaivāgamic literature. It is this corpus which constituted the source and substance of the Śaivism of Kashmir, which Kashmiri Śaivites, both monists and dualists, commented on, systematized and extended in their writings and oral transmissions. The dualist Siddhāntins, supported by the authority of the Siddhāntāgamas, initiated this process by developing the philosophical theology of the Siddhānta. Subsequently, from about the middle of the ninth century, parallel developments took place in monistic Śaivism which drew inspiration largely, but not exclusively, from the Bhairava and other Āgamic groups which constituted the remaining part of the Śaiva corpus.

It was to this part of the Śaiva Āgamas that the sacred texts of the Paścimāṇḍaṅgā belonged. These Tantras, unlike those of the Siddhānta, advocated in places extreme forms of Tantricism that actively enjoined such practices as the consumption of meat and wine as well as sex in the course of their rituals.

Āgamic Śaivites who accepted these practices as valid forms of worship constituted a notable feature of religious life throughout India. Although many of these Śaivites were householders, the mainstays of these traditions were largely single ascetics, many of whom travelled widely and in so doing spread their cults from one part of India to another.

An interesting example of this phenomenon is Trika, nowadays virtually identified with monistic Kashmiri Śaivism. Abhinavagupta, who was largely responsible for developing Trika Śaivism into the elevated, sophisticated form in which we find it in his works, was initiated into Trika by Śambhunātha, who came to Kashmir from neighbouring Jālandhara. Sumati, his teacher and an itinerant ascetic like himself, was said to have travelled to the North of India from some “sacred place in the South.”
The Jain Somadeva confirms that Trika was known in South India during the tenth century. Somadeva identifies the followers of the Trikamata as Kaulas who worship Śiva in the company of their Tantric consorts by offering him meat and wine. It is worth noting incidentally that Somadeva was very critical of the Trika Kaulas. “If liberation,” he says, “were the result of a loose, undisciplined life, then thugs and butchers would surely sooner attain to it than these Kaulas!” Although Somadeva was a Jain monk and so would naturally disapprove of such practices and tend to take extreme views, it appears nonetheless that Trika was not always as elevated as it now seems to us to be.

Although the Paścimānāyā is entirely confined to Nepal at present, it was, according to one of its most important Tantras, the Kubjikāmatā, spread by the goddess to every corner of India, right up to Kanyakumāri in the South, identified, by allusion, with Kubjikā, the goddess of the Paścimānāyā. A long list of initiates into the Paścimānāyā and their places of residence is recorded in the Kubjikānyāyānikatilaka, a work written before the twelfth century. It is clear from this list that the cult had spread throughout India although it was certainly more popular in the North. That the Paścimānāyā was known in South India in the thirteenth century is proved by references in Mahesvarananda's Mahārāhamaṇḍari to the Kubjikāmatā as well as a work called "paścimānā" which may or may not be the same work but most probably belongs to the same tradition. An old, incomplete manuscript of the Kubjikāmatā is still preserved in the manuscript library of the University of Kerala in Trivandrum.

Despite relatively early references to the existence of Āgamic Śaivism in the South, it seems that the Śaivāgamas originally flourished in northern India, spreading to the South only later. Madhyadesa (an area covering eastern Uttar Pradesh and west Bihar) was, according to Abhinavagupta, considered to be the “repository of all scripture”—hence also of the Śaivāgamas and the Kulaśastras. The importance of this part of India is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Benares, in the centre of this area, is to be visualized as a sacred place (piṭṭha) located in the heart of the body in the course of the Kaula ritual described in Tantrāloka. Similarly, Prayāga and Vārānasī are projected in the same way onto the centre of the body during the ritual described in the Yoginihṛdaya, a Kaula Tantra of the original Śaivāgama. The sacred circle (maṇḍala) shown to the neophyte in the course of his initiation into the cult of the Brahmayāmala is to be drawn in a cremation ground with the ashes of a cremated human corpse. In it are worshipped Yaśas, Piśācas and other demoniac beings, including Rākṣasas led by Rāvaṇa, who surround Bhairava to whom wine is offered with oblations of beef and human flesh prepared in a funeral pyre. The name of this circle is the “Great Cremation Ground” (mahāśmaśāna) and is to be drawn in Vārānasī. Siddhēśvarī is a quarter of Benares named after a goddess worshipped there; she was originally called Siddhayogēśvarī, an important goddess of the Trika.

Although the Paścimānāyā was not popular in Kashmir, we must first examine the monistic Kashmiri sources to understand something of the development of the Śaivāgama and the relationship between the different groups which composed it, including the Kaula group to which the Paścimānāyā belongs. This is because Abhinavagupta's Trika encompassed the entire spectrum of Śaivāgamic cults ranging from those of the Śaivaśiddhānta and the Siddhānta-type ritual of the Svachanda cult popular in Kashmir, right through to those of the Bhairavatatantras and Kulaśāstras to Trika. There are references to more than five hundred lost works within this range. Many of these Tantras and related works must still have existed in the fourteenth century when Jayaratha commented on the Tantrāloka and quoted extensively from these sources. From the manner in which he talks about these Tantras it appears that some at least of the rituals they described continued to be performed in his time. However, outside the Himalayan region matters were different. Thus, although the Siddhānta flourished in the South, we can infer from the numerous references in Mahesvarananda's Mahārāhamaṇḍari, written about this time, that a good number of the primary Tantras familiar to Abhinavagupta were not known in the South. However, the secondary works associated with them (many still scripture in their own right) as well as Kashmiri works of known authors and texts belonging to the Kramaśāstra had been carefully preserved and even added to.

A great deal of this literature has been lost. There is no denying the fact that a relatively sudden interruption of the traditions associated with these texts has taken place: a break has occurred in the development of the Tantras. Within two or three centuries not only had the bulk of the Bhairavatatantras and similar Tantric works been lost, but even Abhinavagupta and the monistic Kashmiri authors seem, except in a few isolated cases, to have disappeared. It was only in the beginning of this century that the works of these authors started to be rescued from oblivion when their works began to be edited by Kashmiri scholars employed in a government research centre at Srinagar which published them as the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. The study of these texts made scholars aware of the loss of a large and rich corpus of Tantric literature. Indeed, this loss has been so great that all the developments in monistic Tantra after Abhinavagupta, with the important exception of the cult of Śrīvidyā, were fresh beginnings which had little direct connection with the older corpus, so much so that the younger scriptures are no longer called “Śaivāgamas” but “Tantras.”
Thus the term "Tantra," which has anyway a wide range of connotations, is used at times to denote a Sākta Tantric scripture to distinguish it from a Śaiva Āgama, whereas we find both words used in the early corpus without distinction.

The reason for this loss has certainly much to do with the ethos of Hinduism itself and its history as a whole. The secrecy that these types of Tantras have always imposed on themselves is indicative of the uneasiness which these Tantric cultural elements must have aroused in many. Thus the Purāṇas, which are from many points of view the bastions and guardians of Hindu orthodoxy, initially tended to reject the authority of the Tantras and so largely avoided quoting from them. However, insofar as the Purāṇas aimed to be complete compendiums of Hindu spirituality and practice, they later included long sections from Tantric sources, especially when dealing with ritual, the building and consecration of temples, yoga and related matters. Thus there is much Tantric material to be found everywhere in the Purāṇas. The Brahmavaivartapurāṇa contains a brilliant theological exposition of the Supreme as the Goddess Nature (Prakṛti), which is a theme dear to Tantra in its later phases. The Devi, Devībhagavata, the Kālikā and large portions of the Nārada Purāṇas are extensively Tantric. The hymns eulogizing the names of the goddess, accounts of her actions, lists of female attendants of male gods, their Mantras, Yantras and much more show how strong the influence of Tantric ideas was on the Purāṇas. They also demonstrate that such trends were not only clearly apparent in the history of the development of Tantra but applied to them also. These developments, in other words, concerned the whole of the literate tradition, and so the Purāṇas could, without difficulty or self-contradiction, incorporate relevant material from the Tantras.

These incorporations were drawn from the entire range of Tantric sources available at the time in which they were made. It seems likely, in fact, that a possible way in which we can gain some idea of when these Tantric passages were added to the Purāṇic text is to establish the type of Tantric source from which they were drawn. No one has yet attempted to apply this method in an extensive or systematic way. However, the validity of this approach finds the support of R. C. Hazra, who in his work does attempt to date some Purāṇic passages on this basis. The Agni and Garuda Purāṇas, for example, deal extensively with Tantric topics. Their treatment is based largely on the Saiva Gamas and Pāñcaratrasamhitās which belong to the early Tantric period, i.e., prior to the tenth century. As an example relevant to the study of the Purāṇa, we may cite chapters 143-147 of the Agnipurāṇa where the goddess Kubjikā is extolled and the manner in which she is to be worshipped is described. As Kubjikā is not worshipped in the way described in the Agnipurāṇa in later Tantric sources, we can conclude that this addition must be relatively early.

The changes in the Tantric material found in the Purāṇas also serve to underscore the fact that many of the early Tantras were lost and their cults superseded by others. Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the effects of the passage of time with its changing fads and interests. Manuscripts in India have a relatively short lifespan; if they are not copied, the texts they transmit soon become obsolete. Through the centuries much has been lost in this way from all the Indian śāstras. In the case of the Tantras, particularly the esoteric ones such as those belonging to the Bhairava and Kaula groups, this natural process was reinforced by the custom of disposing of the Tantric text once the teacher had explained its meaning to his disciple. Moreover, the regional character of many of these Tantric cults entailed the scarcity of copies of their Tantras. Not infrequently, therefore, the speaker of a Tantra prefaces his instruction with an exhortation to hear the Tantra which is "very hard to acquire (sudurlabha)."

There were, however, other factors at work apart from purely mechanical loss. Let us go back to the Purāṇas. Although the Purāṇas drew from Tantric sources, their attitude to the Tantras varied and was at times far from positive. The orthodox community, which the Purāṇas largely represented, was not always in favour of the Tantras, even though they somehow accepted them. The problem was that the Tantras often set themselves in opposition to the orthodox line. For one thing, the Āgamas as a whole rejected the authority of the Vedas. Some Āgamic schools took a milder tolerant view, others stuck to a harder line; even so the Āgamic tradition as a whole thought of itself as being quite distinct from the Vedic. This was particularly true of the Bhairava and the other classes of Tantras that suffered the greatest loss. Thus the Anandaśākta-ra-tantra declares:

The wise man should not elect as his authority the word of the Vedas, which is full of impurity, produces but scanty and transitory fruits and is limited. [He should instead sustain the authority] of the Śaiva scriptures.

Abhinava remarks:

That which according to the Veda is a source of sin, leads, according to this doctrine of the left, directly to liberation. In fact, all the Vedic teaching is dominated by Māyā.

The Purāṇas basically sustain the authority of the Vedas. Under-
standably, they therefore reacted against these scriptures which so explicitly opposed themselves to it. Sometimes these differences were simply ignored; in other cases, however, the Purāṇas manifested an open hostility towards the Śaivāgamas. The Purānic passages which represented the orthodox standpoint staunchly condemned these scriptures as inferior. They agreed that Śiva had revealed them, but his reason for doing so was to delude the apostate and distract him from the true path: they are the scriptures of darkness (tāmas). The Kārmapūrāṇa is particularly adamant in its opposition to these scriptures and repeatedly stresses that the Vedas are the sole source of right conduct and true religion (dharma). The Kārma, which is a Śaiva Purāṇa, wants to disassociate itself completely from Āgamic Śaivism. It displays an almost obsessive concern to condemn the scriptures of the heretical (pāṣandav) Śaivites, namely, those of the Kāpālikas, the Bhairava and Vāma Tantras, the Yamalas and those of the Pāşupatas. Similarly in the Varāhapūrāṇa, Rudra himself denounces the Pāşupatas and the other followers of the Śaivāgamas as given to “mean and sinful acts” and as “addicted to meat, wine and women”. Their scriptures are outside the pale of the Vedas (vedabāhyā) and contrary to them. The smāra Śaṅkta Devībhagavata unambiguously declares that Śiva made the scriptures of the Vāmas, Kāpālikas, Kaulas and Bhairavas with the sole intention of deluding them. Even so, it is more tolerant towards these scriptures than the Kārmapūrāṇa, and so prescribes that those portions of them that do not go against the Vedas can be accepted without incurring sin.

These instances are just a few of many examples that clearly demonstrate that a marked tendency existed within Hinduism to reject these scriptures and condemn their followers. It is not surprising, therefore, that these Tantric traditions were at times actively repressed. We read, for example, in hagiographies of Śaṅkara’s life of his encounter with the king of the Vidarbhas in eastern Maharashtra who asked Śaṅkara to suppress the heretical views of the Bhairavatantras—a request with which he gladly complied. King Yāsakara of Kashmir (938-48 A.D.) was concerned to enforce the rules regulating the caste and conditions of life (varnāśramadharma) amongst his subjects and was therefore against the Tantric practices of the Śaivāgamas which had no regard for them. He was so opposed to these practices that he did not hesitate to imprison even the nephew of his foreign minister for attending Tantric gatherings (cakramelaka).

This resistance within Hinduism to the Āgamas was not, however, the direct cause of their loss, although it must have been a crucial attendant factor. The interruption that occurred in the Tantric tradition was catastrophic: it took place suddenly and was totally devastating. We must therefore seek a cause which was immediate and directly effective. Nor do we have to look far. The eleventh century, which marks the beginning of this change in the Tantric tradition, coincides with a sudden reversal in the course of India’s history, namely, the advent of Muslim rule. In the beginning of the eleventh century the brief incursions of Muslim raiders into Indian territories that had been going on for centuries turned, under the lead of Mahamūd of Ghazni, into a full-scale invasion. The onslaught of Islam forced Hinduism to retreat, challenging its resistance and stability as a whole. The Muslim scholar, Al-Biruni, who came to India with the invading armies noted that “the Hindu Sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.” Mahamūd of Ghazni did not manage to conquer Kashmir, although he plundered the Valley in 1014 A.D. and again attacked it, this time without success, in the following year. But even Kashmir, although outside the Muslim’s reach for the time being, felt the intense impact of the Muslim presence in India. Kṣemendra, the Kashmiri polymath, describes in his Acts of the Incarnations of Viṣṇu (Daśavatāracarita) written in 1066 A.D., the dire conditions that will prevail in the world on the eve of the coming of Kalki, Viṣṇu’s last incarnation who was to finally herald the dawning of a new age of freedom. He says:

The Dards, Turks, Afghans and Śākas will cause the earth to wither as do the leper his open, oozing sores. Every quarter overrun by the heathen (mlechcha), the earth will resound with the sound of swords drawn in combat and her soil will be drenched with blood.

The following centuries, during which the Muslims consolidated and extended their rule, witnessed the disappearance of Āgamic Śaivism in the north of India. The Āgamic Siddhānta survived these upheavals by fleeing to the South where the Muslim presence was not as powerful as in the North. Dunuwila writes:

After the twelfth century the Siddhānta seems to have been losing popularity over most of India, giving way to more syncretic forms of Hinduism. The Siddhāntins also seem to have lost their posts as Royal Preceptors with the downfall of the dynasties that patronized them, as did the Kalacuris in the early thirteenth century. What remained of the Siddhānta was apparently annihilated by the ever-increasing Muslim incursions into Central India from the more northern regions of the country already under Muslim dominion. The Hindu will to resist the Islamic invaders, never very firm, was demoralized by Prthvīrāja III’s
defeat at Taran in 1192. Mālā, the Siddhānta's homeland, was raided by the Mamluk Delhi Sultan Ilutmish in 1234-35, by his successor Balban in 1250, and by the Khalji Sultan Jalāluddin in 1292. The Muslims finally triumphed in 1305, when Ala'uddin Khalji overran Mālā, destroying, among other places, the sacred city of Ujjaini and Bhoja's capital Dhārā. The Siddhānta had to take refuge in the Tamil country to survive.\textsuperscript{45}

The Tantras of the Paścimānīyā composed during this period are intensely aware of the harmful consequences of these developments. According to the Manthānabhairavatantra, the demon Rāvana incarnated in this Age of Darkness (Kaliyuga) and descended onto the bank of the Indus, thus initiating the tyranny of the heathens' rule that extended its sway throughout the world.\textsuperscript{46} Another Tantra of the Kūbjīkā school describes the dreadful state which prevails in the Age of Darkness as one in which the lower classes are oppressed by the proud Hindu aristocracy even though it has been defeated in battle and so must, presumably, accept foreign domination.\textsuperscript{47} Just as the Siddhānta found refuge in the South, the cult of Kūbjīkā was similarly protected by the patronage of the Nepalese who eagerly adopted it as their own. Thus, it has survived to this day along with the huge royal libraries and many private collections large and small where virtually all that remains of the early Āgamic sources in North India is preserved.

It was not until the late thirteenth century that Kashmir finally succumbed to the Muslim invader and so we find, as we have already noted, that the Āgamas existed intact in the twelfth century when Jayaratha wrote his commentary on Abhinava's Tantrāloka. However, in Kashmir, which must have been one of the most flourishing centres of Āgamic Saivism in India, the powerful internal forces within the monistic Āgamic traditions that led to the further development of monistic Saivism in the hands of Kashmiri Saiva theologians and exegetes, also helped to render obsolete the Āgamas, which were their original sources and foundation. The Kauśī rituals which were controversial gradually ceased to be performed, giving way to tamer and milder cults, such as that of Svācchandabhairava, while the deeper philosophical, psychological and mystical insights behind the symbolic actions of the Kauśī ritual were transferred entirely into the realms of philosophy and a mysticism of graded inner experiences. Thus the original scriptures, which were concerned with ritual, ceased to serve a purpose and all that remained was their philosophical and mystical exegesis. In Nepal on the other hand, where these sorts of developments did not take place, the Nepalese abandoned themselves to the opposite extreme—a formal ritualism which, though charged with meaning, had lost all significance for them beyond the ritual act itself. Thus the Nepalese, unlike the Kashmiris, did preserve the original Tantras they made use of in their rituals, but largely failed to see anything beyond their immediate content.

But apart from these extrinsic factors, a highly significant intrinsic factor contributed to the loss of these scriptures, namely, the internal development of the Śaiva-gāma itself. The Śaiva-gāmas, even those most Śaiva-oriented, accommodated within themselves the concept of Śakti.\textsuperscript{48} This trend developed within some of the Śaiva-gāmas towards such a female-oriented view that at a certain stage, they simply ceased to be Śaiva. The Śāktatantras took over and, permeated with the earlier Kauśī doctrine and ritual forms, preserved, along with those Tantras which continued to consider themselves to be Kauśī (though not directly connected to their predecessors), the presence of this antinomic element within Hinduism. The old was transformed into something new, which replaced what had gone before so completely that all that remained was a dim memory of a glorious past in the form of the names of the ancient Āgamas now given to new works.\textsuperscript{49} The most hardy survivor of these far-reaching changes was the mild Kauśī cult of Śrīvidyā. The Paścimānīyā is another Kauśī cult that has managed to survive almost to the present day, although only within the narrow confines of Nepal.

\textbf{Śaiva-gāma—Its Major and Secondary Divisions}

At the outset of our exposition of the extent and divisions of the Śaiva-gāmic canon, with a view to ultimately determining the place of the Paścimānīyā within it, it is important to note that although each Āgama does identify itself as a member of a cognate group, it is, ideally, complete in itself.\textsuperscript{50} Indeed, the standard pattern in many large Āgamas of every type is the exposition of the essentials for a complete cult. These include the rites of initiation along with other occasional and obligatory rituals as well as the rules of conduct to be observed together with some theoretical considerations about the nature of reality and other matters. Many of the large temple complexes in South India, both Śaiva and Vaiśnava, affiliate themselves to one or other Vaṣṇavasamhitā or Śaiva-gāma on the basis of which (in theory at least) they were built and worship in them is conducted. Abhinavagupta frequently refers to a Tantra as a teaching (śāsana) in its own right. Again, although he accepted all Śaiva scripture as authoritative to a degree, the Siddhayogasvarimata, (A)nāmakatantra and Mālīni-
The Śaiva Āgamas were singled out as the ultimate authorities for the Trika Tantricism he sponsored. He also sustained the Siddhayogeśvarimata’s claim to being the most important of all the scriptures.

The primary textual tradition orders itself into canonical corpuses of sacred literature, which reflect upon themselves as belonging to a single group and so strive to concretely supplement and extend each other within the parameters chosen for themselves. We can observe this happening more commonly with primary texts belonging to the early formative period of Tantra. This tendency is more noticeable the more restricted the group becomes. Thus the scriptures of the Pāścināmāya, which constitute a subdivision of a much larger category of scriptures, form a relatively coherent group. The rituals of the individual Tantras of the Pāscimānāya do, in fact, share many common details. The basic Mantric system, for example, is fairly uniform in the majority of the Pāscima Tantras, and matters which one Tantra deals with cursorily are taken up and elaborated in another.

In this way the huge body of primary texts consists of a manifold in which each member is independent although connected, more or less directly, through the mediation of common affiliations variously established, to others. It is not surprising, therefore, if we come across a certain amount of incoherence (not to say, at times, outright contradiction) even between texts belonging to the same group. Indeed, one of the functions of the Tantric master in the ordering and development of the Tantric tradition is to sort out these textual problems. Thus Abhinavagupta explains in his Tantrāloka that the Tantric master who teaches his disciples the meaning of the scriptures must, if necessary, proceed through them as a frog does, leaping from place to place within them. He must have an eye for every detail and observe it in its broader context, viewing the text as a whole, as does the lion strolling through the jungle who looks in all directions as he walks. Paraphrasing the Devyāyāmala, Abhinava says:

The master should explain the statements [of the Tantra, demonstrating and] corroborating their consistency by means of their interconnection and apply this principle to the various sections of the text, its chapters, sentences, words and root meaning (stūra). He should ensure that the preceding and subsequent sections of the scripture do not appear to contradict each other and so apply, as required, the principles [that one must move from one section to the next] as a frog leaps [omitting what is irrelevant], or as the lion who looks around [in all directions as he walks]. In this way he should coalesce the meaning of the scripture into a single coherent expression unconfounded with other teachings. Knowing well the meaning of each phrase as he expounds it, he avails himself of sound associations (tantra), repetition (āvartana), exclusion (bāda), extensive application (prasaṅga) and reason (tarka), etc., taking care to distinguish one topic from another.51

The manner in which Śaivism developed in these early primary texts is analogous to the development of Hinduism as a whole: subsequent developments are viewed as being culminations of what has gone before in such a way that what is new appears not only as superior, but also incorporates all that has happened in the past. In this manner new scriptures can maintain their canonicity within (in this case, an amazingly rapidly) expanding corpus that encompasses what is old in a new system of classification in which the newcomers can reckon themselves to be amongst the members of the highest class.

We can observe this process happening in the sections of the Āgamas dealing with the Āgamic canon. These sections are an important part of the text because it is by means of them that the text can validate its own canonicity while at the same time present itself as belonging to a well-defined category of scripture. As new developments take place, these categories are extended, and subdivisions added or redefined. A particular Tantra may assert itself as a major member of a group and so institute new categories to make a place for itself or elevate old ones to a new, higher status. In other words, a text that records the structure of the canon is free to interfere with it. At times, this leads to a major change in the form of the canon. More often however, these changes are minor, indeed, sometimes none need be made if the text can accommodate itself amongst the others as a member of an already established group. Even so, the picture we get of the canon is, at times, perplexingly mutable. Moreover, matters are further complicated by the fact that more than one system of classification usually operates at one time. Thus a given text may fall into a number of classifications operating at different times. A text may understand itself, and the extent and nature of the group to which it belongs, in different terms than it is understood by another text—particularly if the latter is of a different class. Another factor which adds to the confusion is that some terms of reference to groups are broader than others. If all this were not enough, we also find that seemingly identical paradigms of classification are applied to different groups.

In order to understand the overall scheme of the Śaivāgama, we shall now briefly consider what different texts have had to say about their own location in it, and from that try to form a picture of its extent and parts. We shall begin by seeing what the Śaivasiddhānta has had to say.

According to the Kāṇikāgama52, spiritual knowledge was originally of two types, superior (parā) and inferior (aparā), according to the level of
intelligence of those fit to comprehend it. Śivajñāna, which illuminates the nature of Śiva, is superior while inferior is that knowledge which, starting from the Veda, illuminates the nature of the fettered soul (paśu) and that which binds him (paśa). These two degrees of knowledge are as different from one another as the night vision of a cat and that of a man. Śaiva scripture encompasses both the superior and inferior degrees of knowledge insofar as Śiva is considered to be the ultimate source of both. The higher knowledge is divided into four groups. These are, in descending order of importance: Śiva, Pāṣupata, Lākula and Somasiddhānta. Each is again divided into three: Right (daksīna), Left (vāma) and Siddhānta in such a way that the highest is Śaivasiddhānta. According to a similar classification found in the Siddhānta manuals of South India, there are two basic categories: Śiva and Śaiva. These are subdivided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śiva</th>
<th>Vāmaśiva</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dakṣiṇaśiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miśraśiva or Yāmalaśiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siddhāntaśiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somasiddhānta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lākula</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Clearly, the basic scheme consisting of four components, namely, Śaiva, Pāṇḍava, Lākula and Somasiddhānta, has not changed. All that has happened is that the first of these four has been further analysed. Indeed, this basic scheme recurs frequently in the Siddhānta-gāmas where it is generally integrated (as happens in the Kārikāgama) into the larger scheme we shall discuss later. It appears to be one of the most basic classifications of the Śaiva-gamic schools and so, possibly, one of the oldest. Let us therefore examine it a little more closely.

Important sources for us are the commentaries on Brahmasūra 2/2/37 which states: “For the Lord there can be no creatoryship for that leads to incongruity.” Commenting on this aphorism, Śaṅkara simply refers to the Māheśvaras as those who worship Śiva as the supreme God. Vācaspati Miśra (c. 850 A.D.) divides the Māheśvaras into four: Śiva, Pāṇḍava, Kāṇḍalinika and Kāruṇikakānta. Śaṅkara (c. 1050 A.D.), in his Agamapramāṇya, lists the same basic four as Śiva, Pāṇḍava, Kāṇḍalinika and Kālamukha. Most later commentators follow this classification. Rāmānuja in his commentary on the Brahmasūra lists the same four declaring, mistakenly, that they are Pāṇḍava sects because their followers agree that Paṇḍavata is the instrumental cause of the universe. Kesava Kāśmirīn agrees with this view, while Śrikantha correctly explains that they are all believers in the Śaivas as revealed by Śiva, rather than just Pāṇḍavata.

We find the same set of four in the Purāṇas and other independent sources. Lorenzen has collected a number of references to these groups and lists them in his book. Although Lorenzen’s chart is somewhat lengthy, the material it contains is sufficiently relevant to our present discussion for us to quote most of it here. See Table 1.

Table 1. Śaiva Sects Mentioned in the Purāṇas and Other Sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kūrma Purāṇa</th>
<th>Kapāla</th>
<th>Pāṇḍava</th>
<th>Also Vāma, Bhairava, Pūrvapāścima and Pāṇcarātra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soma</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Also Vāma and Bhairava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lākura or Lāṇgana or Vākula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soma</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Also Vāma and Bhairava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāṇgana (Lāṅgula)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāradiya P.</td>
<td>Kapāla</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Siddhānta-mārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viya-samhitā</td>
<td>Mahāva-ratadharā</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Siddhānta-mārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šiva P. Vāya</td>
<td>Kapāla</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Siddhānta-mārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viya-samhitā</td>
<td>Mahāva-ratadharā</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Siddhānta-mārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skanda P.</td>
<td>Kaṅkāla</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kālamukha</td>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>Mahāva-ratadharā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skanda P.</td>
<td>Kapāla</td>
<td>Pāṇḍava</td>
<td>Also Soma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūta-samhitā</td>
<td>Lākula</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can draw the following conclusions from these lists. Firstly, despite the variant names and entries, they effectively establish the uniformity of this system of classification. Secondly, we can identify the groups generically called ‘Saiva’ with the Saivasiddhanta in a restricted sense (as the Naradiya and Siva Puranas seem to do) and, more generally, with the Saiva-gama as a whole considered independently of the Pausupatas etc. This conclusion is supported by the distinction made between the ‘Siva’ and ‘Saiva’ groups in the South Indian Siddhanta manual we have referred to previously. Moreover, the absence of this entry in the lists drawn from the Yogavastisha, Kruma and Linga Puranas apparently coincides with the addition of the Bhairava and Vamatantras, which are major components of the Saivagamic canon. Thirdly, the entry "Kapalika" (variants: Kapala, Soma, Saumya and Kankala) appears regularly in almost all the lists and so must be considered to be an independent group. This is true also of the Pausupata and the "Lakula" (variants: Naka, Vakula, Lajana, Lagauda and Langlela). Finally, we notice that "Kalacakras" (variants: Kalacakras, Kalanana and Kalasya) sometimes appears to take the place of the Lakulisha Pausupata entry. The Kalacakras studied Lakulisha's religion (Lakulasamaya) and doctrines (Lakulasiddhanta). Kalacakra teachers are regularly praised in inscriptions by identifying them with Lakulisha. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Kalacakras were Lakulisha Pausupatas. Even so, not all Lakulisha Pausupatas were Kalacakras; it would therefore be wrong to simply identify the two.

Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of these groups individually. We shall deal first with the Pausupata sects, then discuss the Kapalikas, and then finally turn to the Saivagamas and their major divisions.

**The Pausupatas and Lakulisha**

The Mahabharata refers to the Pausupata as one of four doctrinal systems (jaina) along with the Veda, Sthakya-Yoga and Pancharatra. Although the Puranas not infrequently condemn the Vaisnavas Pancharatra as advocating principles contrary to those of the Veda, it is the Pausupatas who are generally considered to be the most subversive. In a myth often retold in the Epics and Puranas, it is Siva, not Vigna, who destroys Daksha's sacrifice in a fit of rage because he was not invited to it along with the other gods. In the Epic, one of the many variants of this important myth portrays this event as symbolic not only of the growing importance of Saivism which seemed, as it developed, to be ousting the older Vedic religion but, more specifically, as an occasion to assert the growing power of the Pausupatas. Thus, when Siva in his terrible form of Rudra has destroyed Daksha's sacrifice, he declares:

I, Rudra, for the first time created the mysterious religion of the Pausupata, beneficent to all, facing in all directions, one that can take years or only ten days to master, one which although cenowered by the foolish because it is in places opposed to the order of the rules of caste and stages of life (varnasramadharmas), is nevertheless appreciated by those of perfected wisdom (gautania) and is in fact superior to it.
It is not impossible that the reference in the Mahābhārata to the four doctrinal systems we have noted above was written at a time when the Śaiva Āgamas had not yet begun to be compiled and their cults had not yet developed, that is, when the major representatives of sectarian Śaivism were the Pāśupatas. It seems likely that these Pāśupatas, who considered themselves to be independent of the Vedic-Smāra tradition were, as such, the immediate precursors of Āgamic Śaivites. Consequently, the latter reserved a place for them amongst their own numerous groups and incorporated the Pāśupata into their own canonical categories.

We know very little about the oldest Pāśupata groups. According to the Mahābhārata, Śrīkaṇṭha, the Lord of the Elements (bhūtāpati) and Umā's husband (umāpati), started the Pāśupati cult. Pathak has tried to establish that Śrīkaṇṭha is a historical figure, his views however have been hotly contested and largely rejected. A more commonly accepted opinion is that Lakuliśa was the original founder of Pāśupata Śaivism. Although scholars generally agree that Lakuliśa really existed, not everyone shares the opinion of some scholars that he lived in, or before, the second century. There can be no doubt, however, that Lakuliśa must have lived before the sixth century because it is from this time onwards that images of his features bearing standard iconicographic features began to be produced.

Anyhow, however early Lakuliśa's date may be, it is far from certain that Pāśupata Śaivism starts with him. Indeed, it is far from certain that we can identify the Śivabhagavats mentioned by Patañjali as pre-Lakuliśa Pāśupatas, as Banerjee does. Nor can we affirm without doubt that they are amongst the ascetic sects mentioned in Pall and other early sources. Even so there are good reasons to distinguish between the Lakuliśa Pāśupata and other Pāśupata sects that have nothing to do with Lakuliśa. We have seen that the Pāśupatas and Lakuliśas are invariably distinguished in the Purāṇas, Āgamas and other sources. Lakuliśa had four disciples: Kuśika, Gārgya, Kuṇa and Maitreya. Each of these founded subsects. The sectics of these orders considered themselves to be Lakuliśa Pāśupatas belonging to one or other of four lineages (gōra). They were not just Pāśupatas. We know also that other Pāśupata groups did exist, such as the Vaimalas and Kārukas. Although it is not possible to say whether they predate Lakuliśa, there are concrete indications that he did have predecessors. Thus a number of Purāṇas declare that Śiva had twenty-eight incarnations, which they list and portray as a lineage of Yoga masters ending with Lakuliśa. Dhivedi, who has collated these lists, believes that this tradition records, however imperfectly, the names of early Pāśupatas.

Although we have no means at present of assessing how much, if any, historical basis there is for these names, there appears at least to have been a tradition which admits the existence of Pāśupata teachers prior to Lakuliśa. But, whether Lakuliśa was the first Pāśupata or not, he is without doubt an important founder figure whose contribution was so substantial that he came to represent Pāśupata Śaivism as a whole. Presumably this is why Abhinavagupta divides Śaivism (Śaivalaśanaśa) into two main currents (pravāha): one associated with Lakuliśa and the other with Śrīkaṇṭha, whose teachings (śāsana) consist of the five major streams (svrūtas) of the Śaivagamas we shall discuss later.

Unfortunately, no original Pāśupata scriptures have been recovered. Moreover we are hard pressed to find evidence to prove that such scriptures ever existed. We do come across expressions like "Pāśupataśāstra" and even hear of its fabulous size but we have managed to trace only one concrete reference to a possible Pāśupata scripture. This occurs in Bhājotpala's tenth century commentary on Varāhamihira's Brhat-samhiṭa where he says that the Pāśupatas worship Śiva according to the procedures enjoined by the Vaiṣṇavatātra. All of the few works so far recovered belong to Lakuliśa's school. The oldest is the Pāśupataśāstra attributed to Lakuliśa himself. We also have a commentary called "pāśūr̥avatābhāṣya" by Kaunḍinya, whose date, although far from certain, is generally thought to be sometime between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. Although we cannot be sure that the śūras are, as the commentator says, by Lakuliśa himself, they do, in fact, appear to be quite old and bear many archaic traits. These are apparent particularly in the figure of Pāśupati himself who is identified with Prajapati and associated with the Vedic Rudra with whom he shares a number of Vedic names such as Aghora, Ghorā, Sarva and Sarva. Apart from the Pāśupataśāstra the only other extant Lakuliśa Pāśupata work is the Gaṇakārīka by Haradattaśāstra and a tenth century commentary, the Rātaṇāṭikā, by Bhasavajjana. These works, along with summaries of Lakuliśa Pāśupata philosophical found in medieval treatises on the political systems, are the sole sources we possess. It is possible that Lakuliśa's disciple, Musalekha, wrote a work called the Hṛdayapramāṇa and there are numerous quotes from lost works both in the Rātaṇāṭikā and Kaunḍinya. Unfortunately, the sources are never named, and it is hard to say whether they are original Āgamas or not, or if they are specifically Pāśupata scripture or secondary works.

The spiritual discipline these works prescribe does not involve complex rites or require extensive intellectual development. It is, however, largely intended for the renunciate, rather than the householder. Thus lay worshipers have only to recite obeisance to Śiva (nāmaś śīvāya) with folded hands while the celibate ascetic is given much more to do. He can be
either fully naked or wear a single strip of cloth to cover his privities. He should practice austerities, such as the penance of sitting amidst five fires. After his morning ablutions he smear his body with ashes and does the same at noon and in the evening. After his bath he goes to the temple where he sits to meditate on Śiva. As he does so, he should sometimes laugh loudly, sing and dance. Before leaving and saluting the deity, he repeats the seed-syllable "hūṇḍak" three times and recites his mantra. When he bathes alone, he should pay homage to the lineage of Pāsūpatā teachers (tirthēka) headed by Lakulīśa. After his bath he should select a clean place for meditation and stay there to practice it through the day. In the evening the site is again cleared and purified with ashes. When he feels sleepy, he again spreads ashes on the ground and lies down to sleep.

When the Pāsūpatā yogi has developed a degree of spiritual insight (jñāna), his teacher permits him to practice antinomian behaviour. At this stage of his spiritual discipline, he should act like a madman ignorant of right and wrong. Pretending to sleep, he snores loudly or rolls on the ground and talks nonsense. When he sees a beautiful woman, he should make lewd gestures at her. In this way he courts abuse in the belief that his disgrace will gain for him the double benefit of purifying him of his sins and gaining the merit of those who abuse him.

The Lakulīśa ascetic is, however, basically a disciplined, continent man. Moreover, although he is told to behave in a manner contrary to accepted norms, his conduct falls short of the total abandon of extremist Tantrics allow themselves. He can laugh and sing in the temple but he is not allowed to offer Śiva anything else if it is not prescribed. In fact, his behaviour is regulated by injunctions (vidhi) down to the smallest detail. For instance, he must offer garlands to Śiva, but they must not be made of fresh unconsecrated flowers. He cannot simply abandon himself on his own initiative: he must wait for his teacher's permission to do so. His lewd gestures are just play-acting: in reality he must avoid woman's company whenever he can. He is specifically prohibited from even talking to women and must be strictly celibate. Women are a particularly dangerous source of temptation; they are not beings of the goddess and as such potential Tantric consorts through whom communion with Śiva could be attained. As Kaundinya says:

She whom people regard as woman is [in reality deadly] poison [which consumes a man's life like] fire [and is as dangerous as] a sword or an arrow. She is horror and illusion (māyā) incarnate. Fools, not the wise, revel in the body full of impurities and worms. Foul smelling and unclean, it is the ephemeral abode of urine and excreta. It is the sight of a woman, not wine, that maddens a man. Shun therefore woman whose mere sight, even at a distance, deludes. The world is bitten by the snake whose form is woman's sexual organ who, with mouth cast downwards, moves between [her] thighs, beyond all control [even that] of the scriptures.

If the Lakulīśa Pāsūpatā works that have been preserved reflect Lakulīśa's own views, it appears that his path is a peculiar combination of the orthodox and extreme heterodox. As outlined in these works, it is, despite the antinomian elements, as closely linked to the orthodox 'Vedic' patterns as it is to the Tantric. If Lakulīśa was, in fact, a reformer who revived Pāsūpatā Śaivism, as some scholars believe, possibly this reform consisted in a restatement of Pāsūpatā ideals and the rationale behind the Pāsūpatā's behaviour in such a way as to make them more acceptable to the Brahmans. Alternatively, it is possible that Lakulīśa brought about a revival of an older, essentially Vedic, form of Śaivism that evolved out of the proto-sectarian ascetical orders of the Vedic world. These groups were sustained in their ideals by the peculiar figure of Rudra, a Vedic god whose appearance and character could serve as the focus of an alternative set of values sustained by the Brahmans. Be that as it may, Lakulīśa himself is consistently portrayed, both in the Purūṇas and the Pāsūpatā texts, as a brahmin. The Kāraṇavamāndātmya says that he was an incarnation of Śiva born to a brahmin couple in Ulkāpu and later went to Kāyāvarohaṇa where he began to preach. Kaundinya says that he was an incarnation of Śiva who, taking the form of a brahmin, was born in Kāyāvarohaṇa. This place, also called Kāyāvarohaṇa, Kārohaṇa or Kāyārohaṇa, is identified with the village of Kārvāṇ situated some twenty miles north of Baroda. Ulkāpu is modern Avākhāl in the same region. According to the Śivapurāṇa, Śiva entered and revived the corpse of a brahmin lying in a cremation ground near Kāyāvarohaṇa. He did so for the benefit of all brahmans. According to the Kṛma Purāṇa he, "the Lord of the gods," resides in the sanctuary of Kāyāvarohaṇa. He was the last of Śiva's incarnations, all of whom come into the world for the welfare of brahmans and to establish the Veda. Kaundinya repeatedly stresses that the followers of Lakulīśa must be brahmans. This is because Lakulīśa was himself a brahmin and taught his religion to brahmin pupils. The Pāsūpatasūtra itself declares that: "no brahmin returns to the world." Kaundinya comments: "no brahmin, be he a householder, student, hermit or ascetic who reads one, two, three or four Vedas or even (merely recites) the Gāyatrī and who approaches close to Rudra by his conduct, returns to the cycle of rebirth." The Pāsūpatasūtra prescribes that the aspirant should not even talk to a member of the lowest (śudra) caste. If he happens inadvertently to do
so or—worse—to touch one, he must purify himself by practicing breath control and repeating a Vedic mantra (here called Gāyatrī) addressed to Rudra. In this way, his mind is freed from impurity (kalusa). Several teachers of the Kālamukhas who, as we have noted, were Lākulīśa Pāśupatas, are referred to in inscriptions as brahmans. Their monastic centres were places where these celibate ascetics could study every branch of orthodox Sanskrit learning, including the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedas with their auxiliaries. The Pāśupatas of the Pāśupatasūra were also close to their Vedic roots. The importance given to the recitation of “OM” (a practice normally forbidden to the lower castes) and the recitation of Vedic Mantras in honour of Pāśupati clearly indicates the Brahminical character of this cult.

However, not all Pāśupatas had to be brahmans. Dvivedi observes that some of the names of Pāśupata teachers listed as preceding Lākulīśa correspond to a list of members of the Kṣatriya aristocracy found in the Mahābhārata. The Vāmanapurāṇa confirms that Kṣatriyas also followed the Pāśupata’s path. Possibly these references are evidence that Lākulīśa did, in fact, introduce changes in this respect into the earlier Pāśupata religion. Perhaps also, we can understand the specific injunction in the Śūras not to look at urine and excreta as a reaction against the more extreme practices of the earlier Pāśupatas that required the handling and even consumption of these and other obnoxious substances.

In fact, we must clearly distinguish between two basic types of Pāśupata traditions, namely, one that bases itself on the Vedic tradition (or better its classical smāra form as it appears in the Purāṇas, etc.) and one that, in the eyes of the former, runs counter to that tradition. We find extensive references to the former everywhere in the Purāṇas, particularly in the Kārma, which can be said to be the most important Purāṇa for smāra Pāśupatas. In this Purāṇa the consort of the Great Goddess is Pāśupati and she enjoins that men should follow the ordinances of the Vedas and smṛtis concerning caste and the stages of life (varṇāśrama). She loves those who do. Pāśupati is invoked by reciting the Śatarudriya section of the Yajurveda and other Vedic hymns along with the Atharvasirasupanīsād. Indeed, Śiva is the embodiment of the Veda and can be known solely through the Veda, while the Veda’s sole object of knowledge is Śiva. Pythu’s grandson, King Suśila, went to the Himalayas and there praised Śiva with Vedic hymns. There appeared before him the sage Śvetāsvatara, a great Pāśupata. He imparted to the king a Vedic mantra and thus initiated him into the Pāśupata path. The king thus entered the last stage of life (sannyāsa) and, covering himself with ashes, dedicated himself to the study of the Vedas. Everywhere in this Purāṇa, Śiva extols the importance of the Pāśupata vow:

Tranquil, with the mind under one’s control, the body covered with ashes, devoted to celibacy and naked, one should observe the Pāśupata vow. In former days I created the supreme Pāśupata vow, more secret than secret, subtle and the essence of the Veda, [for man’s] liberation. The sage, devoted to the practice of the Vedas, wearing nothing but a loincloth or single piece of clothing, should meditate upon Śiva, the Lord of Beasts (Pāśupati).

But even though Śiva enjoins the observance of the Pāśupata vow, he goes on to say that scriptures of the followers of Lākulīśa and the Pāśupatas are amongst those that he has created which run counter to the ordinances of the Vedas and so should not be followed. We seem to be faced with a contradiction. The Lākulīśa Pāśupata path, as outlined in the Pāśupatasūtra and other extant works of this school, basically falls in line with the Pāśupata path described in the Kārmapurāṇa. Yet both the Pāśupatas and the Lākulīśa Pāśupatas are repeatedly censured in this Purāṇa as heretics and outside the Vedic fold (vedabāhya). Similarly, the Devibhagavata states that knowledge of the Veda bears fruit only by applying ashes to the body as a sign of devotion to Śiva. It warns, however, that the ashes must not be prepared in the manner described in the Tantras nor should they be accepted from the hands of a Sudra, Kāpālikā or other heretics including, presumably, non-Vedic Pāśupatas.

The Śīvarṣaṇa distinguishes between two types of Śaivāgama, namely, Vedic ( śravat) and non-Vedic (aśravat). The former consists of the essential purport of the Vedas, and is that in which the supreme Pāśupata vow is explained. The latter is independent and consists of the twenty-eight Siddhāṇtāgamas. Why then does the Kārma reject some Pāśupatas and not others? Again, what should we make of Abhinava’s analysis of the Śaiva teachings (Śaivasāsana) into two currents—one associated with Lākulīśa and the other with Śrīkaṃṭha? Does he mean that Lākulīśa’s current flows through the Purāṇas and Smṛtis? Probably not, otherwise he would not distinguish between the “Śaiva teachings” and those of the Vedic tradition, which he says is its very opposite. The Śaivāgamas do, in fact, frequently refer with approval to the Pāśupatas and make room for them in their world view.

Thus the Svachchandatantra, as Dvivedi indicates in his article, has homologized the places associated with Śiva’s incarnations prior to Lākulīśa with the worlds located in the metaphysical principles (ātmika) which constitute the cosmic order. The Āgamas in general, as we have already noted, accept both the Pāśupata and Lākulīśa Pāśupata as branches of the Śaiva teachings. Moreover, Abhinava associates them particularly with the monistic Tantric traditions which have contributed to the formation of Kashmiri Śaivism and sees them as being intimately...
related to the Kaula and Bhairava Tantras. This association is apparently confirmed by the Purāṇas which treat the Pāṣupatas and followers of the Vāma and Bhairava Tantras as groups of equally heretical Śaivites. We must therefore distinguish not only between two types of Pāṣupatas in general but also, more specifically, between two types of Lāmalli Pāṣupatas as well. How these Śmārtas and Agamic Śaivites are related to one another is a subject of further research.

The Kāpālikas

The Kāpālikas, so-called because they vowed to carry a human skull (kapāla), are as well known to the common Indian as they are obscure to them. Infamous for their extreme antinomian behaviour and for their supposed practice of human sacrifice, they caught the imagination of Sanskrit poets in the past just as they continue to fascinate the Indian mind to this day. Sometimes hardly more than an object of ridicule for his superficial hedonism and peculiar beliefs and way of life, the Kāpālika is more often portrayed as a villain dedicated to the exercise of his magic powers, which he acquires through his penance, Mantras and awesome, often violent, rites. Kṛṣṇa Miśra (c. 1050-1100) creates a Kāpālika in his play, the Prabhodhacandrodaya, who proudly proclaims the essentials of his creed as he describes his way of life:

“My charming ornaments are made from garlands of human skulls,” says the Kāpālika, “I dwell in the cremation ground and eat my food from a human skull. I view the world alternately as separate from God (śiva) and one with Him, through the eyes that are made clear with the ointment of yoga... We (Kāpālikas) offer oblations of human flesh mixed with brains, entrails and marrow. We break our fast by drinking liquor (sura) from the skull of a Brahmin. At that time the god Mahābhairava should be worshipped with offerings of awe-inspiring human sacrifices from whose severed throats blood flows in currents.”

One of the earliest references to a Kāpālika is found in Hāla’s Prakrit poem, the Gītādhāpataśati (third to fifth century A.D.) in a verse in which the poet describes a young female Kāpālika who besmears herself with ashes from the funeral pyre of her lover. Varāhamihira (c. 500-575 A.D.) refers more than once to the Kāpālikas, thus clearly establishing their existence in the sixth century. Indeed, from this time onwards references to Kāpālika ascetics become fairly commonplace in Sanskrit literature. However, only half a dozen or so inscriptions which unambiguously refer to the Kāpālikas and their ascetic organisations have so far been recovered. This is possibly because, unlike the Kālāmukhas, Siddhāntins and other Śaiva groups, the Kāpālikas maintained a more strictly itinerant way of life and did not found durable monastic institutions of any size.

The Kāpālikas are regularly referred to as “Somasiddhāntins,” implying that they had formulated their own set of beliefs on a rational basis (siddhānta). However, they do not appear to have had any scriptures which were peculiarly their own, nor written independent works. The Kāpālikas seem to have been ascetics who took the vow to live the Kāpālika’s way of life; they were a distinct sect in this sense alone. Hindu Kāpālikas were invariably Śaivites who imitated in their own way the peculiar behaviour of Śiva, their mythical exemplar. It was possible for members of differing Śaiva sects to adopt the Kāpālika’s vow. Even Buddhist ascetics could take similar vows in the context of their own Tantric practice. Thus Kanhapāda (Skt. Kṛṣṇapāda) who lived in the eleventh century and is well known as one of the Bengali Siddhas of the Buddhist Tantric Sahajīya school calls himself a Kapalin. He is such, he says, because he has entered into the higher path of Yoga and is sporting in the city of his body in non-dual form. His anklets and bells (ghanta) are the two breaths which represent the opposites. His earrings (kundala) are the sun and moon. The ashes he smears on his body are the ashes of passion, aversion and error. His pearl necklace is the highest liberation. These are the same insignia that distinguish the Śaivite Kāpālika as well, namely, the necklace (kunhiča), neck ornament (ruci), earrings (kunda), crest jewel (śikhamanī), ashes (bhasma) and sacred thread (yajnopavita). Most important of all is the skull the Kāpālika carries, which distinguishes him from other ascetics and symbolizes his antinomian way of life.

The Aghori is the Kāpālika’s modern counterpart. Committed to a spiritual discipline which aims at freeing himself directly from every contrast between the opposites of prescribed and forbidden conduct, his disregard for the conventional norms of behaviour has earned him, as it did the Kāpālika, an ambiguous reputation. On the one hand, the conventions of the world do not touch him and so in India, where the subjective sense of personal freedom is considered to be a measure of spiritual development, the Aghori is a saint. At the same time, as one would expect, he is considered (especially by the higher castes) to be unclean and vulgar. Nonetheless, he is respected and even feared for the powers (siddhi) he acquires by the strangeness of his way of life. A modern observer who has spent time with these ascetics in Manikarnikā, the main cremation ground
accepted by Gorakhanāthī to be Matsyendranātha’s teacher who was Gorakhanātha’s preceptor. 

The Kapālikas worshipped Bhairava, the wrathful form of Śiva who, because he decapitated Brahmā, was expected to carry a skull as penance. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa, it was because Śiva was a Kapālin that Dakṣa did not invite him to the sacrifice he had prepared for the gods. In this version of the myth, the orthodox tradition represented by Dakṣa does not appear to be concerned to exclude Śiva from the pantheon as much as Bhairava—the Skull Bearer and the god of many Śaiva Agamic cults, including those of the Kapālikas.

The Kapālikas who, as we have already noted, do not appear to have had scriptures of their own, looked to the Bhairavagamasy as their authority. Mādhava in his Saṅkaradigvijaya describes a meeting between Saṅkara and Krakaca “the foremost of Kapālin teachers.” Krakaca mocks Saṅkara for being a half-hearted Śaivite who smears his body with ashes but even so prefers to carry an ‘impure’ clay bowl rather than a human skull:

“Why,” he then asks, “do you not worship Kapālin? If he does not receive your worship as Bhairava with liquor (madhu) and the blood-smereed lotuses which are human heads, how can he be blissful when embraced by Umā, his equal?”

In this way Krakaca is said to “prattle the essence of the Bhairavagamasy.” A battle then ensues between Krakaca’s Kapāлина followers and Saṅkara’s disciples. Seeing his army routed, Krakaca approaches Saṅkara and says:

“O devotee of evil doctrines, behold my power. Now you will reap the fruits of this action!” Closing his eyes (Krakaca) placed a skull in the palm of his hand and briefly meditated. After that master of the Bhairavagamas had thus meditated, the skull was immediately filled with liquor (surī). After drinking half of it, he held (the remaining half) and thought of Bhairava.

Bhairava then appears as Mahākapālin, the Bhairava of Universal
Destruction (Samhārabhairava). But instead of killing Saṅkara, as Krakaca orders him to do, Saṅkara convinces him to kill Krakaca instead.

Krakaca and his disciples are expressly said to be Kāpalikas and distinguished from the followers of the Bhairavatāntras that Mādhava says Saṅkara vanquished before he met Krakaca. Even so, Krakaca evidently derives his power from the Bhairavatāntras in which he is well versed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the adepts of the Bhairavatāntras and other Tantras like them, such as the Vāma and Kaula groups, are similar to the Kāpalikas in many respects. Thus Bāga, the seventh century poet, describes a Bhairavācāryā in his Harsacarita who, as Lorenzen remarks, “performed a Tantric ritual appropriate for a Kāpālika.” His lip hung low “as if overweighted by the whole Śaivite canon (Śaivasamhita) resting on the tip of his tongue.” He worships Mahākālabhairava, the god for whom Tantric rites are performed. The Bhairavācārya is engaged in magically subduing a Vērāla by offering black sesame into a fire burning in the mouth of a corpse upon which he sits in the dense darkness of a moonless night. But, however striking the resemblance may be, he is not a Kāpālika.

The Bhairavāgamas do, in fact, outline many rituals and patterns of behaviour that can serve as the basis for the Kāpālika’s practices. We have already noted the form of the initiation prescribed in the BY. (See pp. 128-133 for abbreviations.) In the same Tantra (which belongs to the Bhairava group) a lengthy section is devoted to a ritual known as the “Sacrifice of the Skull” (turavāga) in which the deity is invoked and worshipped in a human skull. According to Abhinavagupta, this ritual can take the place of the more conventional worship of Śiva’s Linga, which, although more extensively treated in the Siddhāntagamas, is also prescribed in the Bhairavatāntras. This ritual, which involves ritual sex and the offering of wine and meat (even beef and human flesh), is clearly based on the power the skull possesses to invoke the awesome presence of Bhairava and the other gods and goddesses worshipped in it. We are reminded here of Krakaca’s skull and the magical powers (śiddhīs) he possesses by virtue of his penance, that is, the vow he makes to carry a skull (Kapālavata).

Although the Sacrifice of the Skull and the Kāpālika’s vow are independent of each other, they belong to the same world: the culture of the cremation ground where death and decay are not just reminders of the transitoriness of life but awesome sources of yogic power and, for those who seek it, liberation. Carrying the skull of a brahmin, thus imitating Bhairava’s penance for having severed Brahmā’s head, the votary of the Vow of the Skull gains the god’s cosmic power. This vow is one of a number, including that of the Pāśupata, that the initiates of the Pāśupata Kālāmukha teachers who are praised in the

Bhairavāgamas can undertake. Even so, the Āgamas distinguish between the Kāpalikas, as Votaries of the Skull (Kapālavatī), and other Śaivite yogis, ranking them separately in a group of their own along with the Pāśupata. This group is called the Higher Path (atimārga). According to the Svachchandatantra, the Higher Path is so called because it is beyond all intellectual notions and the knowledge of it transcends the world. The worldly are the fettered who travel the path of creation and destruction, whereas the ones who adhere to the Vow of the Skull and the Pāśupata are established on the Higher Path beyond it and so are no longer subject to further rebirth. Another reason why this group is called the “Higher Path” can be understood if we examine how the Āgamas in general, and the Siddhānta in particular, conceive of the relationship between themselves and other technical and sacred literature (śāstra). According to the Kānikāgama, all existing śāstras are divided into five groups which, although ultimately uttered by one of Sadāśiva’s five faces, are created through the mediation of a Karanēśvari who is one of five deities collectively called the Five Brahmas (pañcabrahma). See Table 2.

**Table 2. The Treatises and Scriptures Spoken by Sadāśiva’s Faces.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Kāraṇēśvari</th>
<th>Śāstra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Sadyojāta</td>
<td>Brahmā</td>
<td>Laukika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Vāmadeva</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Vaidika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Aghora</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>Ādīyāmikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Tātpuruṣa</td>
<td>Iśvara</td>
<td>Atrimārga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Iśāna</td>
<td>Sadāśiva</td>
<td>Mantratāntra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Laukikāśāstras are the secular arts and sciences, including politics, medicine, dramaurgy, and hermeneutics. The adhyātmikāśāstras are the Śaṅkhya and Yoga while, according to Kṣemarāja, the knowledge taught on the Higher Path is “beyond the well-known path of the Veda, Śaṅkhya and Yoga, etc. It refers here to the means [to liberation and the acquisition of power] explained throughout the Supreme Lord’s scripture in general, namely, the many rituals, mandalas and gestures (mudrā). It is not independent of the [other] four.” It is quite clear that what Kṣemarāja is saying here is that the Śaiva groups that belong to the Higher Path draw from the sacred texts and treatises belonging to the other categories and do not possess a corpus of scripture of their own. We are reminded here of the Pāśupata Kālāmukha teachers who are praised in
South Indian inscriptions as erudite scholars in all the major branches of Sanskrit learning and who, by their knowledge of the Supreme Soul's scripture (paramātmāgama), the Lāṭukṣṭaṇīgama, contributed to the Lāṭukṣṭaṇī Pāñcapāta system.\(^{163}\)

Essentially, therefore, the Śaivāgamas are the Mantratrantraśāstra manifested by Sādāśiva through Isāna, his upper face. Insofar as each face is supposed to possess all five faces, the Mantratrantra group is also divided into five. See Table 3.

### Table 3. Divisions of the Mantratrantra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Class of Āgama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Sadyojāta</td>
<td>Bhūta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Vāmadeva</td>
<td>Vāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Aghora</td>
<td>Bhaśitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Tātputruṣa</td>
<td>Gāruda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Isāna</td>
<td>Siddhānta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This system of classification is common to the Śiddhāntāgamas as a whole\(^{164}\) and appears to have originated with them. Moreover, Jayaratha tells us that all Āgamic Śaivites generally accept that the Śaiva teachings are divided into these five major currents of scripture.\(^{165}\) The Śiddhāntāgamas stick closely to this basic scheme while many major Āgamas of other types modify it in various ways and sometimes also integrate it with other systems of classification for their own purposes. A good example of how these modifications take place can be observed in the way Trīkātantras prevalent in Kashmir present the Śaiva canon from their own perspective. Thus the Śīkṣaṇaḥ asamhitā, which Abhinava treats as his major authority in these matters, divides the scriptures into three groups belonging to Śiva, Rudra and Bhairava respectively. The first two constitute the Śiddhāntāgamas and the third is related to the Bhairavatantras. This division into three groups suits the ŚKS purpose which is to establish that the three aspects of Trika are the source and essence of the scriptures. But although the currents of scripture are reduced in number, they are still said to originate from Sādāśiva’s five faces which produce them by combining in various ways.\(^{166}\) Consequently, Abhinava still considered the original five-fold division of the scriptures to be the most basic and fundamentally linked to the very structure of reality as a manifestation of the five powers of universal consciousness. Abhinava writes:

The phenomenal aspect [of reality] born of consciousness shines radiantly and spontaneously through the Five Brahmas in the five individualized powers of its own nature, the forms of which are consciousness, pulsation, will, knowledge and action. (Thus) assuming the nature of scripture, it unfolds five-fold.\(^{167}\)

The Śiddhānta, which universally categorizes itself as the “upper current” and hence as the highest class,\(^{168}\) consists of twenty-eight principal Āgamas, of which ten are Śivāgamas and eighteen Rudrāgamas. The list of these twenty-eight Āgamas is well known and recurs regularly, not only in the Āgamas of the Śiddhānta but also in those belonging to other groups,\(^{169}\) thereby indicating the Śiddhānta canon’s stability and the authority it managed to establish for itself at a relatively early date. The Śiddhānta canon is, in this respect at least, reminiscent of the Purānic canon. Once the number of Purāṇas had been fixed at eighteen, they remained eighteen and every major Purāṇa thought of itself as one of them. The Āgamic texts were not, however, generally subject to the manifold additions, subtractions and other changes that occurred regularly in Purānic texts. The Āgamas simply increased in number. In the case of the Śiddhānta, where the number remained fixed, addition took place by the accretion of subsidiary Āgamas (called upāgamas) which attached themselves to the principal Āgamas. However, other Āgamic groups—particularly the Bhairavatantras—continued to undergo major developments in their structure through the addition not just of Āgamas that submissively tacked themselves on to others, but of scriptures that asserted themselves as primary, root texts. Thus the way these Āgamas classified the scriptures had to keep changing in order to accommodate these additions and the altered understanding of their own identity that was entailed.

In order to understand what changes have taken place in the Śaiva canon and how they have occurred, let us see first of all what we can make out of the basic division of scripture into five currents. Below is a list of these Tantras. The Śiddhāntāgamas are sufficiently well known to be excluded from our present discussion. Originally in the Praishtalakṣaṇasārasamuccaya, Dvivedi has, in his Luptāgamasangraha, reproduced this list in alphabetical order.\(^{170}\) Here the original order in which these Āgamas are listed has been restored because, as we shall see, it tells us a great deal.

See Table 4.
This list is important for several reasons. Firstly, we know that the author of the PLSS, Vairocana, was the son of the Bengali Pāla king Dharmapāla who reigned from 794 to 814 A.D.\textsuperscript{171} Thus this list furnishes an \textit{ante quem} for these works which can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy. Moreover, it is the only list we know of at present in which the \textit{Daksīṇatantras} are related to those of the Siddhānta in the basic five-fold scheme and in which all the Āgamas are clearly enumerated. Thirdly, it appears that this was an early standard list (or one of them) and that it does present a faithful picture of these currents of scripture (\textit{srotas}) at an early stage of their development, as the following discussion will hopefully establish.

In the \textit{Mrgeṇḍrāgama} we find that the Śaivāgama is divided into five major currents and eight secondary ones. Unfortunately, the reference is very concise; even so it supplies us with a number of facts. Here it is:

The currents [are as follows]: the Upper [current consists of the Āgamas] starting with \textit{Kāmikā}. [The Āgamas] starting with \textit{Asitāṅga}
belong to the South, those starting with Sammohana are in the North.
To the West is the extensive [group] starting with Tretāla. Eastern are
those starting with Caṇḍāsidhāra of Caṇḍānātha.172

Here, as usual, the Upper Current is that of the Siddhāntāgamas.
Although the Kāmikā normally heads the list of these Ágamas, its explicit
mention is particularly relevant here because the Mṛgendra is closely
related to it.173 The Daksinārotas—the current of the Southern Face—is
characterised by the Asitāngāgama which, although admittedly not at the
head of the PLSS list, does figure as a member of this group. Moreover,
the Kāmikā considers Asitānga to be one of the forms of Siva that spoke
these Tantras.174 According to the Mṛgendra, the Sammohana atāntra
heads the next group, namely, the Vāmatantras belonging to the North.
The Sammohana probably corresponds to Mohanam, the fourth Tantra in
the PLSS list. The Kāmikā confirms that there are twenty-four Tantras
belonging to this group. Moreover, it considers the Nayāsaṭra to be the
first of the Vāmatantras which tallies with Nayatantra, that heads PLSS’s
list.175 We know from the Brahmayāmala that the Sammohana and
Nayottara along with the Śrāvaṇīdāla belong to the Vāmatantras.176 This is
supported by the Jayadrathayāmala (also known as the Śrāvaṇīdāla)
which says:177

Belonging to the Current of the Left are the perfect [Ágamas
including] the frightening Śrāvaṇīdāla. The three: Nayottara,
Mahārauda and Mahāsāmōmana have, O goddess, emerged in the
Current of the Left.

A further important piece of evidence that these Ágamas belong
together is furnished by a Cambodian inscription dated Sāka era 974
(1052 A.D.). It refers to the introduction of these Ágamas into Cambodia
during the reign of Jayavarman II, who came to re-occupy the throne in
Cambodia in 802 A.D. after a period of exile in Java. His priest was a
brahmin called Hiranyadāma who, with the king’s consent, revealed to
Śivakaivalya, a fellow priest, the Four Faces of Tumburu, namely, the
Śrāvaṇīdāla, Vīnaśīkhā, Sammohana and Nayottara.178 The king also
invited Hiranyadāma to perform a ceremony meant to bring about the
independence of Cambodia from Java and establish himself as emperor.
The ceremony was performed according to the Vīnaśīkhā. During the
ritual Hiranyadāma recited all four Tantras so that Śivakaivalya could
write them down and learn them.

According to the Netratantra, Tumburu is the form of Śiva that
presides over the Vānasrotas179 although, like Sadāśiva, he has five
instead of four faces.180 Even so, most other independent sources do
describe him as having four faces.181 In the NT, as in other sources,
Tumburu is accompanied by four goddesses. These goddesses are
commonly found together in a group in both Pūrṇic and Tantric texts and
need not necessarily be associated with Tumburu, although they are
usually his chief companions when he is represented along with his
attendants.182 The names of these goddesses are significant for us, as they
correspond (in the feminine) to four Vāmatantras in the PLSS list, namely,
Jayā (Jayam), Vījāyā (Vījaya), Ajitā (Ajitam) and Aparajitā
(Aparajitam). These four Tantras appear together directly below the
Vāmatantra and thus could well be the Vīnaśīkhā mentioned in the
Cambodian inscription.

A manuscript of the Vīnaśīkhatantra is preserved in Nepal and has
been edited by Goudriaan.183 As one would expect, Tumburu is the chief
deity of this Tantra and is portrayed along with the four goddesses.184 It is,
however, surprisingly short and the rituals it describes are relatively
simple. Even so, there can be no doubt that this VST is closely associated
with the Śrāvaṇīdāla, Sammohana and Nayottara to which the goddess
refers at the beginning of the Tantra while expressing the desire to know
more.185 The Nayottara is mentioned as a source of basic rituals the votary
of the VST should perform.186 Similarly other rituals were drawn from the
Sarvatobhadra and Mahāsāmōmana Tantras.187

The Ágamas regularly characterise the Vāmatantras as being
concerned with the acquisition of power: Siddhi.188 According to the
Cambodian inscription, Hiranyadāma, “an expert in the science of
siddhis,”189 revealed a unique siddhi to King Jayavarman and taught it to
Śivakaivalya,190 along with the means to acquire it. In fact, the VST, which
Śiva proclaims bestows siddhi,191 is primarily concerned with this. Even
the worst sinner, one who has killed a brahmin, can attain this siddhi by
performing the rituals of the VST.192 Here “siddhi” does not mean success
in Yoga or yogic powers, but rather the successful completion of magic
rites and the powers acquired thereby. These rites are of two types, either
cruel (raudra) or pure (suci). Amongst the former are those meant to
subjugate others, defeat and kill one’s enemies or create discord between
friends. The latter include those performed for peace and the pacification
of malevolent spirits. Even when the Tantra deals with higher esoteric
practices that can potentially lead to communion with Śiva,193 it prefers to
devote itself to magic and the acquisition of power. For example,
according to this Tantra, when Śiva, in the form of the vital breath, moves
along the path of the nerve Pīngalā, his nature is fiery and bestows the
powers to perform the cruel acts (raudrakarmā). When Śiva moves along
It may possibly correspond to the Ānandam listed as no. 17 of the Vāmanatranas in the PLSS. Abhinava expressly states that the Ānandatantra teaches the “doctrine of the left” (vāmaśāsana).204 It is also one of the Tantras Abhinava cites when he describes Vāmācāra ritual,205 one of the characteristics of which is the offering of a drop of libation with the left hand to mātrikā in the sacrificial vessel.206 According to the Gama-
tantra, the fourth finger and thumb are to be joined when making this offering because these two fingers represent power and the possessor of power which, as Jayanti and Tumbru, unite together.207 Elsewhere the deity of this Tantra is referred to as Vāma.208

Of course, although the Gamañāntra prescribes ritual procedures for those who practice Vāmācāra, this does not necessarily mean that it was a Vāmanatran. The Left-hand Practice, Vāmācāra, is a pattern of spiritual discipline and the Tantras of the Left a category of scripture: they need not have anything to do with each other. Even so, the Ānandatantra, which was probably a Vāmanatran, does discuss Vāmācāra, while the references to Jayanti and Tumbru in the Gamañāntra may indicate that it was, at least in this ritual context, influenced by the scriptures of the Left.

The Gāruḍa and Bhūta Tantras

No Gāruḍa or Bhūta Tantras have been found; the list of these Tantras recorded in the PLSS can, however, be established to be authentic by references from several sources. The Śrīkanṭhīyasamhitā states that the number of Gāruḍatantras was traditionally said to be twenty-eight which agrees with the number in our list.209 The Kāmikā confirms that the number of Bhūtatantras was twenty.210 Again the passage from the Mṛgendratantra quoted above states that the Gāruḍa group in the East is headed by the Totaññāntra.211 The Totalām and Totalotīraru are, in fact, at one end of our list, although not at the beginning. Again, these Tantras are found listed together as a pair in a list of sixty-four Tantras found in the Nityāsūduḍiṣṭikārana.212

While the Vāmanatranas are traditionally said to be concerned with the acquisition of Šiddhi, the Gāruḍatantras are supposed to deal with magical remedies for snakebite and poisons, and the Bhūtatantras with the exorcism of ghosts and malevolent spirits.213 Unfortunately, we have not recovered any of these Tantras; even so it is possible to get an idea of the sort of rites they described from other sources. In the case of the Gāruḍatantras, in particular, our scant knowledge can be supplemented by the

Other Tantras of the Vāmasrotas

A number of manuscripts of a Tantra called the Jayadraghayāmala, which identifies itself as the Śrīśāchada, are preserved in Nepal. Possibly the same Śrīśāchada to which the Cambodian inscription refers, it is a long and complex text. According to the Jayadragha's colophons, it belongs to the Bhairavasrotas. However, it affiliates itself to a Middle Current of scriptures between those of the Right and the Left while affirming that it belongs equally to both. Although the JY's association with the Right Current is well established, there are numerous links that connect it to the Vāmanatranas of the Left. One is the sage Śukra who, the JY says, received this Tantra (from Bhairava?) and transmitted it to men. The VST affirms that one of the rituals it described was taught by this sage, who extracted it from the Sarvatobhadra and Nayottara Tantras, while according to the JY, Ānanda, along with Angiras, received the Nayottara and brought it into the world. Apparently the JY's syncretic and complex affiliations with both the Right and Left currents made it possible for it to be linked with both as well as either of the two.

The JY probably postdates the Nayottara and other major Tantras of the Left. This seems likely not only because it refers to them but also because its system of classifying the Tantras displays a degree of sophistication that presupposes previous extensive developments (see below). There can be no doubt, however, that the JY precedes Abhinavagupta (c. 975-1050 A.D.) who refers to it as a major authority. Known to the Kashmiris as the Tantrarajabhaṭṭāraka, the JY was an important source for the ritual worship of Kālī. There can be no doubt about the identity of these works because we know that the Mādhavavakula was an important section of the Tantrarajabhaṭṭāraka and it is indeed a major section of the JY.

The Ānandatantra is a lengthy Tantra known in Kashmir as the Ānandaśāsana, Ānandādhiśhikārasāsana, Ānandesvara and Ānandaśāstra.
Garudapurāṇa. The Garuḍa, like the Agnipurāṇa, appears to have drawn its Tantric material from comparatively early sources. It is not at all improbable that Garuḍatantras were amongst them. Thus, chapter 19 of this Purāṇa deals with a system of Mantric formulas belonging to Garuḍa technically called the “Vidyā of the Lord of the Vital Breath” (prāṇesvaravāidyā), which is expressly said to have been taught by Śiva. Could this teaching have been imparted in a Garuḍatantra? In fact, the Garudapurāṇa contains many incantations and magical rites designed to counter snakebite and the effects of poison, all of which are connected with Garuḍa. Worth noting in passing is that some of these rites are Vaiṣṇava, in which case Garuḍa is represented as a form of Viṣṇu, while others are Śaiva with Garuḍa portrayed as an aspect of Śiva.234 It is Viṣṇu who originally granted Garuḍa the power to overcome snakes and, because of his sincere devotion, took him as his vehicle.235 Thus Garuḍa’s Vaiṣṇava associations are obvious. Even so, the Śaiva Garuḍa Mantras and rites are, as a whole, more extensively treated in the Garudapurāṇa than are the Vaiṣṇava ones. Could this be because these matters were of greater concern to the Śaiva Āgamas than to the Vaiṣṇava Samhitās?236

The way in which Garuḍa Mantras are applied is basically the same in both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava forms. The body of the ailing person is first transformed into a cosmic body of Mantric energies by the projection of Mantras and seed-syllables onto it. The sick man must then think that he is one with Garuḍa and so be cured. Abhinava Gupta declares that a man who identifies with Garuḍa is freed from the effects of poison,237 thus confirming that these, or similar, techniques were known to Āgamic Śaivites.

Sometimes this process of identification involves long and elaborate visualizations. An interesting example is a practice Garuḍa himself is said to have taught to Kaśyapa. It is outlined in chapter 197 of the Garudapurāṇa. The adept first visualizes the five elements in the form of symbolic figures (manḍala) of various shapes and colours. They are then imagined to be located in separate parts of the body. Letters and syllables are then projected into these figures, which thus become charged with their Mantric powers. Finally, the divine beings they embody are worshipped and the adept’s body is fully transformed into a microcosm in the centre of which is the Lotus of the Heart wherein resides the Self (ātman), the adept’s authentic nature. This he must identify with Garuḍa in the following way:

Contemplate your own nature that creates and destroys [all things], beautiful and of the form of passion, as pervading [literally ‘floodling’] the entire universe and encircled with garlands of flames burning radiantly from [the abode of] Brahmā up to this world. To be successful in all undertakings, remember [that you are] Bhairava who is Garuḍa,218 [Contemplate yourself as Bhairava] who has ten arms and four faces. His eyes are a tawny-brown and he carries a lance. His terrible teeth are exposed in a fearful grimace. Extremely terrible, he has three eyes and bears the [crescent] moon on his head. To destroy snakes contemplate [yourself as] Garuḍa, awesome and frightening. At his feet lie the hells, the quarters are his wings, he bears on his chest the seven heavens and the universe (brahmaādha) on his throat while his head contains all space. Garuḍa, the Lord of the World, is Śiva himself who bears Sadāśiva with [his] three powers in his topknot. In all your undertakings think of Garuḍa brilliant like the Fire of Time, his body Mantra, his face frightening, devouring, three-eyed and his form terrible, the destroyer of snakes and poison. Having performed the projection in this way, whatever one thinks becomes [easily] attainable and man becomes in truth Garuḍa. Seeing him, ghosts, spirits, yaksas, snakes, gandharvas, rakṣasas and all the fevers are destroyed.219

As we can see from this example, rites designed to counter the effects of poison can also be effective against malevolent spirits. It is not surprising, therefore, if the Garuḍa and Bhūta Tantras, which specialized in these matters, had, like the Vāma and Daksīṇa Tantras, much in common. This supposition is supported by the only known extant Tantra which associates itself with these two groups, namely, the Kriyākāla-gūṇottara, manuscripts of which are deposited in the National Archives in Nepal. Kṣemarāja quotes this work extensively in the course of his commentary on chapter 19 of the Netratantra,220 which deals with the various types of possession by ghosts and spirits including Pīḷakās, Mār, Dāityas, Yaksas and Rakṣasas. It is clear from the introductory verses of this work quoted in the Nepalese catalogue that this Tantra subsumes under a single category of concerns the matters treated in both the Garuḍa and Bhūta Tantras and deals with them all equally.221 That there was much common content in the Tantras of these two groups is further confirmed by the citations from the Totulāgama Kṣemarāja quotes, along with the Kriyākālagūṇottara, in his commentary on the Netratantra.222 Although the Totalōtāntra is listed in the PLSS in the Garuḍa group, these passages refer to possession (bhūtāsēva and yaksagraha), rather than magical antidotes for poison.

The Totala and Totalottara are the only Garuḍatantras, and the Candāśidhāra the only Bhūtatantra, to which we find references.223 It seems, therefore, that most of these Tantras were lost at quite an early date. The reason for this is possibly because the matters they dealt with could be accommodated into the wider perspective of other less specialised Tantras. Thus the Netratantra, as we have seen, contains a long chapter
mantra of Śiva, the Conqueror of Death (Mṛtyuṇjaya), as one by which the gods of each Current (srotas) can be worshipped and so finds occasion to deal briefly with these divisions.\textsuperscript{228} Here the presiding deity of the Left is Tumburu; of the Right, Bhairava; and of the Siddhānta,\textsuperscript{229} Sadāśiva. They are presented as aspects of Śiva, the Lord of Ambrosia (Amṛtiśa), in chapters 9, 10 and 11 respectively. A similar division into three currents is found in the Brahmayāmala. Although it is not the first Tantra to make use of this system of classification,\textsuperscript{230} it is not as well defined here as it is in the NT, indicating that it probably preceded it. According to the BY, each of these three currents is presided over by one of the three powers (saktirāya) that together pervade the “three worlds.”\textsuperscript{231} The Right Current is considered pure (siddhā), the Left mixed (mītra), while the Middle one is said to be affected by every form of impurity.\textsuperscript{232} The Middle Current is like rice in its husk, the Left Current is like rice when the husk has been removed, while the Right Current is like rice when it has been washed and made ready for cooking. These three together constitute the Stream of Knowledge (jñānaugha).\textsuperscript{233} The Right Current is then expressly identified with Bhairava, while the Vivatantras are said to belong to the Left Current and the Siddhāntāgamas to the Middle. The latter are of two types, namely, Śivāgamas and Rudragamas, both of which are said to originate from the Upper Face (ūrdvāvaktra) just as they do according to the Siddhānta. The BY identifies a category of scripture belonging to the Right Current which it calls “the division into eight times eight” (astāstaka-viṃśikā), also known as the “Eight times Eight Bhairavatantras” (bhairavāṅga-staṇaka). Moreover, there is a fourth, the Lower Current (adhaṁ srotas) to which belong the Tantras that deal with the worship of Nāgas and Narasimha as well as those of the Pāñcarātra together with the Gūruda and Bhāta Tantras and the Tantras dealing with alchemy (rasaṇa). In this way the BY eliminates the Eastern and Western currents of scripture to which the Gūruda and Bhāta Tantras belong. They thus lose much of their identity, barely surviving in the Lower Current to which are relegated odd classes of scripture that cannot be accommodated elsewhere.

The account of these divisions in the BY tells us a great deal about the development of the Śivāgama, particularly if we compare it with that of the Śrīkanṭhaśiṣṭa and our original list of Tantras belonging to the four currents. The ŚKS's system of classification basically agrees with that of the BY, although there are important differences also. Thus, the ŚKS also divides the scriptures into three groups but these are said to be the ten Śiva, eighteen Rudra and sixty-four Bhairava Ágamas. This division into three allows the ŚKS to establish that these groups correspond to three levels of doctrine, namely, dualism (bheda), unity-in-diversity
(bdhādbheda) and monism (abhedā), which are represented as the three powers of universal consciousness constituting Trika and worshipped as the three goddesses: Aparā, Parāparā and Parā. In this way the Viṣṇuṇatantras have been eliminated as a major current of scripture. We notice, however, that some of these Tantras are found amongst the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras, particularly in a group of eight called Śikṣābheda.

It appears that the ŚKS's categories are more compact units than those of the BY, possibly because the ŚKS postdates the BY. Moreover, the ŚKS lists the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras in full whereas the BY does no more than barely refer to their existence collectively as a group. Again, according to the BY the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras are just a part of the Viṣṇuṇātha, which is itself only a part of the Right Current of scripture. The ŚKS removes the Siddhānta from the older division into five currents and relegates the remaining four currents to a secondary level equivalent, broadly speaking, to the BY's Lower Current. In the process, the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras have become an isolated group which assumes a new and particularly important status.

The sixty-four Bhairavanatantras are also treated as an important group in the JY's system of classification (see appendix C), where it assumes such a markedly independent character that it is not attached to any particular current of scripture. Thus, although described in detail, it is not fully integrated into the JY's system of classification, but appears there as an addition or an afterthought. The names of the eight groups correspond exactly in the JY and the ŚKS, and they are enumerated in the same order. However, in the ŚKS there is a discrepancy between the order of these groups when stated in brief, at the beginning of its detailed exposition of their members, and the order in which they are listed when the Tantras of each group are named individually. As the order of enumeration tallies with that in the JY in the first instance, there can be no doubt that the order in which these groups are presented has been altered when the ŚKS deals with them in detail. Moreover this fact proves that this is a well-established and standardized system of classification. Finally, a detailed comparison of these lists (see below p. 121-3) reveals that more than half of the names of these Tantras correspond. It is quite clear, therefore, that this group came to be considered a fully formed corpus in its own right with its own subdivisions which was independent of the original classification into currents of scripture. Even so, it remained closely related to it as a whole and directly connected to the current of the Right in which it originated and developed.

In order to understand a little better how the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras are related to the original thirty-two Dakṣiṇatantras, we will now compare some lists of these Tantras. What interests us here particularly are the first eight Bhairavanatantras of the Right Current. According to the ŚKS each group of eight is associated with eight Bhairavas. These eight Bhairavas occur again in almost the same order as the names of the Tantras of the first group of eight, namely, the Bhairavāṣṭaka. The Tantras belonging to this group are listed below along with another group of eight Bhairavanatantras found in the BY and the first eight Tantras of the Right as recorded in the PLSS. See Table 5.

Table 5. The Bhairavāṣṭaka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLSS</th>
<th>Bhairavāṣṭaka (ŚKS)</th>
<th>Bhairavāṣṭaka (JY)</th>
<th>Eight Bhairava Tantras (BY)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Svacyṣhābhairava</td>
<td>Svacyṣhā</td>
<td>Svacyṣhā</td>
<td>Svacyṣhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Caṇḍa</td>
<td>Caṇḍa</td>
<td>Caṇḍa</td>
<td>Caṇḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Krodha</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unmattā</td>
<td>Unmattā</td>
<td>Unmattā</td>
<td>Unmattā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Asitāṅga</td>
<td>Asitāṅga</td>
<td>Asitāṅga</td>
<td>Asitāṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ruru</td>
<td>Ruru</td>
<td>Ruru</td>
<td>Ruru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kapālīśa</td>
<td>Mahacchuṣa</td>
<td>Mahacchuṣa</td>
<td>Mahacchuṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Samuccayam</td>
<td>Kapālīśa</td>
<td>Kapālīśa</td>
<td>Kapālīśa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Listed below are the names of the eight groups of the sixty-four Bhairavanatantras according to the ŚKS (see Table 6). In the first column (A1) are listed the names of each group of eight Tantras in the order in which they are enumerated in the ŚKS prior to their detailed exposition. Their corresponding Bhairavas are listed in the second column (B1). In the third column (A2) these same groups are listed in the order in which they appear when the Tantras of each group are named individually in the ŚKS. Their corresponding Bhairavas make up the fourth column (B2).

Table 6. The Eight Groups of Bhairavanatantras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>B1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>B2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Order of the Groups Enumerated in the ŚKS</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>Order of Detailed Presentation</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bhairava</td>
<td>Svacyṣhā</td>
<td>Svacyṣhārūpya</td>
<td>Bahurūpya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yāmala</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>Yāmala</td>
<td>Yāmala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mata</td>
<td>Caṇḍa</td>
<td>Mata</td>
<td>Caṇḍa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What we want to establish is that the eight Bhairavas who are said to preside over the eight groups of Tantras are in fact the eight Tantras that belong to the first of these groups, namely, the Bhairavāṣṭaka. Once we have done this, we can go on to compare this group with the eight Tantras that head the list of Dakṣinatantras in the PLSS. First of all, we can assume that the order of these groups is as we have it in column A1. This is a reasonable assumption insofar as this order coincides exactly with the one we find in the JY. Now if we compare these lists, we find that entries 3) A1+B1 and 3) A2+B2 as well as 4) A1+B1 and 4) A2+B2 correspond exactly. To 8) A1+B1 corresponds 7) A2+B2. It is clear that Kapāliṣa has been displaced from his position as no. 8. Again, the empty space created by the absence of a Bhairava for the Yāmala group seems to have moved Čanda and Unmatta of list B1 down one place. If this is so, the order of the first five Bhairavatantras in the Bhairavāṣṭaka of the ŚKS and JY corresponds exactly to those of the Dakṣinatantras according to the PLSS. Again 6) and 7) B2 are Ruru and Kapāliṣa who follow one another as no. 6 and 7 in the list of the Dakṣinatantras. The original order given in the ŚKS (column B1) places Kapāliṣa in the eighth place with Mahocchuṣṭa in the seventh. It seems, however, that the seventh and eighth were originally Ruru and Kapāliṣa respectively because their corresponding divisions, Bahurūpa and Vāgīṣa, are the seventh and eighth in list A1. If this is so, then Mahocchuṣṭa is dislodged from its position as no. 7 in column B1 and moved up to the place of no. 6. In this way this Tantra preserves its place next to Asitāṅga. The resultant order then is: Svacchanda, Čanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Asitāṅga, Mahocchuṣṭa, Ruru and Kapāliṣa. If this order is correct, then all that needs to be done to the list of Dakṣinatantras is to eliminate Samuccayam—which is not the name of a Bhairava—and Mahocchuṣṭa can then be accommodated in the gap left in position 6. It is clear, therefore, that the Bhairavāṣṭaka and the first eight Tantras of the Dakṣinatantras were originally the same. In other words, what came to be known as the Bhairavāṣṭaka was a standard group in the Bhairavatantras of the Dakṣinatantras which, possibly because it headed the list of these Tantras, came to be considered as the basis of the sixty-four Bhairavatantras. The Kāṇḍikāgama says: “The Bhairavatantra originated two-fold from the Southern Mouth.”

Can it be that the two types mentioned here were the first eight Bhairavatantras as one group and the remaining Dakṣinatantras as the other? That the Bhairavāṣṭaka existed as a group in its own right is confirmed by the Nityāsodāśikāravya which refers to it as constituting eight of the sixty-four Tantras that it enumerates (see below). The list of eight Bhairavatantras in the BY is further proof that this is so. Thus, if we identify Ugra with Čanda and restore him to his place as no. 2 in the list, then the first four correspond exactly, while of the three not found in the Bhairavāṣṭaka only one is not found in the list of Tantras belonging to the Dakṣinatantras. Finally, it is worth noting that, apart from these eight, not a single Tantra in the ŚKS’s list corresponds to any of the Dakṣinatantras noted in the PLSS. The reason for this seems to be that the first eight Tantras of the Dakṣinatantras have been extracted from it to serve as the basic model for the āṣṭaṇgaṇabhedā, which although originally just a part of the Dakṣinatantras assumed an independent status in a different sphere from the original Dakṣinatantras. This appears to be clearly the case when we consider that the ŚKS retains the older classification as subsidiary to its own Trika-based exegesis of the Śaivaśaṃcic corpus in which the Dakṣinatantras now figures as consisting of twenty-four Tantras and not thirty-two. Is this not because the Bhairavāṣṭaka has been removed from it?

The Bhairavāṣṭaka is not the only group which has acquired an identity of its own. Another important group is that of the Yāmala. In the Ādikāgama, the Yāmala (without specifying their number) also figure as a separate category which was not even specifically connected with the Śaivaśaṃcic although the possibility that Śaivas could practice according to them was allowed for. In the BY they form a group of eight along with the eight Bhairavatantras and other Tantras in the Vidyāpīṭha to which the BY itself belongs. The Yāmala are represented as forming a group of their own also in the JY; so too in the NSA which is probably older than the BY. There can be no doubt, however, that there were a good deal more than eight, and judging from the original Yāmala still preserved, many were probably of considerable length. Finally, Bahurūpa and Mata are two divisions of eight found both in the ŚKS and the NSA indicating that they were also considered to be groups in their own right.

Let us consider next the sixty-four Tantras as a whole. A comparison of the lists of sixty-four Tantras found in the NSA and in the ŚKS proves to be highly instructive from many points of view, both because of their similarities as well as differences. Firstly, it is a striking fact that there are hardly two titles common to both lists. This could perhaps be justified by saying that the ŚKS lists the sixty-four Bhairavatantras while the NSA lists what it calls the sixty-four Maṭṭatantras. In this case, however, the
expression “mārgam” should not be understood in a technical sense, because the Tantras listed are far from forming a uniform group. Despite the wide divergence between these two lists of Tantras, there are also striking similarities between them. Thus, four groups of eight—as groups—coincide, although the members of these groups, as far as we can tell, are not the same. Indeed it seems that the layout of the NSA is a crude form of that found in the SKS. It is as if a neat scheme of eight by eight is what it is tending towards, having got barely half way with its three āšaka-s named as such and the Māta Tantras which, although they do in fact constitute another group of eight, are listed individually. Moreover, it seems that the SKS’s list is more contrived, less natural than that of the NSA which does seem, on the contrary, to be just a list of important Tantras prevalent at the time and place of its compilation, although the number sixty-four is certainly a symbolic figure. Thus in the SKS, titles are apparently added in places merely to fill out the eight by eight scheme; for example, the whole of the Cakrasāhasa does not appear to be a genuine record of Cakratantras. The names recorded are: 1) Mantra, 2) Varna, 3) Sakti, 4) Kāla, 5) Bindu, 6) Nāda, 7) Guhyā and 8) Khaćakra. One could very reasonably argue that we have here not a group of Tantras, but a mystical ascent of consciousness in ordered stages (krama) expressed in the typical symbolic language of these texts.

It seems, therefore, that the NSA list is the older of the two, which is certainly possible, as the NSA is older than the BY. That the system of classification in the BY is cruder than that of the SKS also suggests that the BY precedes it. Moreover, one could argue that the scheme of eight by eight Tantras rather than just sixty-four had not yet been formulated at the time of the compilation of the NSA but because the cult of Śrīvidyā continued to be sustained by a living scriptural tradition, the NSA furnished the model for the subsequent enumeration of the Tantras into sixty-four rather than eight by eight.

If the NSA is indeed as old as the evidence seems to suggest, then we must assign a relatively early date to the Paścimāmāya insofar as the Kubjikāmata figures in the NSA’s list of Tantras. This means that the Paścimāmāya existed at the time of the redaction of the NSA, which is in all probability the first Tantra dealing with Śrīvidyā and the sixteen Nityās. This is not at all impossible because the Kaula scriptural tradition is certainly quite old—the Siddhāntagamas are well aware of it (see below) as are the Tantras of other groups. The NSA itself lists three Tantras which can be said to be Kulatantuvas, namely, the Kulasaṁāra, Kuloḍāṇa and Kulacuddāmaṇi. It is difficult to assign dates to these texts. However, if we accept that they do succeed each other chronologically in this way, it is not improbable that the Paścimāmāya originated at least two centuries before Abhinavagupta, that is, in the eighth or ninth century and is probably older. This is the most we can say at present.

Before we proceed to the next section of our exposition, a few remarks remain to be made about some other Tantras listed by the PLSs as belonging to the Daksyapurotis. There are three Tantras we notice here in this list that we know to be Trikatantras, namely, the Trīṣiram (called “Trīṣirbhhavāra” or “Trīṣirromata” in Kashmir), the Nīśaṁcāra and the Siddhayogesvarām (or Siddhayogesvarīmata). Their presence in this list establishes that these Tantras are old members of the Śaiva-gamas. If we accept these are amongst the Daksyapatantras which existed at the time of the compilation of the Siddhāntagamas, there are good grounds to argue that they are older than some of them, at least. Thus, it transpires that Tantras teaching Trika doctrine and ritual already existed at the time of the formation of the Siddhānta as a coherent group of Śaiva-gamas. Moreover, it may also be argued, in broader terms, that the Siddhānta’s notion of itself as a group presupposes the existence of an older classification into four divisions to which it has added itself as an upper fifth. This is a standard pattern of development of the canon as we shall have occasion to observe again when we come to deal with the ṛṇāya division of the Kulatantras and the place of the Paścimāmāya in it.

The Pitha System of Classification

The word “pitha,” in a non-technical sense, means a stool, seat or bench and, by extension, the pedestal upon which an idol is installed. In the Tantras it commonly means a sacred place. In this present context, however, it means a “collection,” or “aggregate” (samāhata) with reference to a group of scriptures and so denotes a class of Āgasmas. It also signifies a range of matters that, taken collectively, concern a single Tantric topic. The two usages of the word are closely related: sometimes one applies, sometimes the other and, occasionally, both. In order to understand how the pitha system of classification works, we should first distinguish these two uses of the word. In order to do so, before we attempt to outline the contents of the pithas understood as categories of scriptures, let us see what pitha means as a Tantric topic.

There are four pithas, namely, Vidyā, Mantra, Mudrā and Mandala-pitha. According to the BY, Tantras that concern themselves with one or other of these topics belong to the corresponding pitha. Abhinava adds that, insofar as the essential contents of the Tantras are basically the same,
the ascription of a particular Tantra to one or other of the *pithas* indicates the most dominant feature of its contents. In this sense, therefore, one can say that each *pitha* contains all the others. Thus the *mandalapitha* is a topic considered separately in its own right in the SYM, and *mudrā-pithādhikāra* is the name of chapter 52 of the BY, although both Tantras belong to the *Vidyāpitha*. Similarly, in the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinava deals with the basic Mantras, Maṇḍalas and Mudrās of Trika Śaivism individually in chapters 30, 31 and 32 respectively.

In this way the *pitha* division can serve as a device by which a Tantra, although formally affiliated to one or other *pitha*, could say that it contains in itself the essential doctrines of all the other Tantras because it deals with all these matters. So we find that some Tantras, like the *Śvaccanda*, claim that they consist of all four *pithas* and bestow the fruits of them all. We notice this same claim being made in the *Pācimatantras*. We are told that another name for the goddess Kubjikā is “Samayā” the feminine form of the word “samaya” which means rule. As such, she is the Rule that is observed equally in both the Tantras of the Left and Right as well as in all four *pithas*. As *Kuṇḍalinī*, she is the essence of the Kaula tradition and so the same “rule” which prevails in all the *pithas*. We do, in fact, come across references to matter drawn from various *pithas* in the *Pācimatantras*. Thus, for example, the *Kularatnodaya* contains Mantras described as belonging to the *Mantrapiṭha*. Again, the KMT explains that the *Mudrāpiṭha* is characterized by the joining of the two hands flat together. The left hand symbolizes creation (sṛṣṭi) and the right, destruction (saṃhāra). The union of the two is the “Kuṇḍalinī of the Self” which is the Supreme Power, the primal mindful power “Beyond Mind” (manomati). It is the Supreme Gesture (mudrā) that brings about universal pervasion, and he who knows it, knows the entire universe. When the hands are joined, the emission of potentiality (vishāla-sakti) rises up out of the genital region and comes to reside in the foundation of this Gesture by uniting creation and destruction.

The *pitha* classification served an important function in the formation of the Śaivāgamic canon. Affiliated through this system of classification, Tantras not otherwise related could belong together in a group which expressed the coherence of the basic principles they taught. Affiliation to a *piṭha* was a sign of an alignment not of schools or traditions, but of practice and application of method. Thus Rūpaśiva in his commentary called “Vidyā” on the *Manthanaḥkairavantra* which is the root collection (mūlasaṃgraha) of the doctrines of the Kubjikā school, associates the antimoni behavior prescribed in *Kulācāra* with the *Mudrāpiṭha*. Parts of the Kaula ritual (kulapraṇāya) described by Abhinavagupta in chapter 29 of the *Tantrāloka* are ascribed to two traditions (saṃpradāya), one linked to the *Mantra* and *Mudrā pithas* and the other to the *Vidyā* and *Maṇḍala pithas*. The rituals relating to all four *pithas* are described here because, Jayaratha tells us, the scripture in this context is of these four types. Presumably what Jayaratha means here is that the *pitha* classification includes all the Śaivāgamas although it refers in a special way to that part of it which is Kaula-oriented. Accordingly, in a short tract dealing with Kaula yoga called “Yogapitha,” of which there are early manuscripts in Nepal, the Lord of Kula is adored at the beginning as the consort of the goddess who is the presiding deity of the four *pithas*. It appears, therefore, that in some important aspects the *pitha* classification became the focus of a new and higher understanding that an important part of the Śaivāgama had of itself as Kaula-oriented. At the same time it allowed for the existence within this broad system of categorization for the existence of scriptures which did not expressly consider themselves to be Kaula as such and so served to link the two.

### The Tantras of the Four Pithas

We turn now to the second aspect of the *pitha* classification, namely, “pitha” understood as a category of scripture. The BY makes use of this system of classification, integrating it somewhat awkwardly with a division of the scriptures into Left, Right and Middle currents. The BY’s account of the *pithas* is sketchy and unsystematic—a sign that this system of classification is still at an early stage in its development. In the JY, on the other hand, the *pitha* classification is well worked out and the contents of each *pitha* clearly defined. Indeed, it has developed to such a degree that it has superseded the division into *srotas*, which is relegated to the level of a secondary, subsidiary classification. A detailed account of the JY’s description of the contents of each *pitha* is found in appendix C, to which the reader is referred. Here we shall deal with the basic structure of these *pithas* and how they are related to each other and to other systems of classification.

It appears that the *Vidyāpitha* was the most extensive and important of the four *pithas*. Abhinava considered this *pitha* to be the highest, after which comes the *Mantrapiṭha* sustained by it. Again, the *Mudrā* division follows the path of *Mantra* and is said to be its reproduced image (pratikāra), while the *Mandalapitha* is the lowest. This is also the order in which they are graded in the BY. The JY deals with the *Mantrapiṭha* first although the contents of the *Vidyāpitha* are more extensive.
The piṭhas are also generally linked together in pairs. The BY treats the Vidyā and Mantra piṭhas together and similarly considers the Mūḍrā and Maṇḍala piṭha to be a pair.\textsuperscript{271} This agrees with Abhinava's exposition of the division of the piṭhas found in the Ānantaśāstra which states:

‘Piṭha’ [is a term referring] to a class [of Tantras]. It is of two types: right and left, called Mantra and Vidyā respectively, from which are derived the two associated with Mūḍrā and Maṇḍala.\textsuperscript{272}

Accordingly, we can represent the four piṭhas schematically as follows. See Figure 1.

**Figure 1. The Four Piṭhas.**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North</th>
<th>Vidyāpiṭha</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mantrapiṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maṇḍalapiṭha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Mūḍrāpiṭha</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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The Mūḍrā and Maṇḍala piṭhas seem to have been the least well defined of the four piṭhas. The BY enumerates the Tantras of the Vidyā— and Mantra—piṭhas as belonging to the current of the Right but then simply states that the other two piṭhas include all the Mūḍrās and Maṇḍalas of the Tantras in all the currents of scripture.\textsuperscript{273} Similarly, the JY refers to only one root Tantra in the Maṇḍalapiṭha and then simply states that this piṭha is part of the contents of all the piṭhas. The Mūḍrāpiṭha contains only three root Tantras of which one is the Kubjikāmata.\textsuperscript{274} The Mantra and Vidyā piṭhas are thus generally considered to be the most important pair and we shall therefore limit our discussion to them.

**The Mantrapiṭha**

We start with the Mantrapiṭha because it is less extensive than the Vidyāpiṭha and is a more compact category. The BY lists seven Tantras belonging to this piṭha: Vīra, (Ugra?) Bhairava, Candrabhairava, Gudaka, Bhairavi (?), Mahāvīra and Bhairava.\textsuperscript{275} The BY appears to be uncertain of the contents of this piṭha. It lists two titles that are virtually the same (i.e., Vīra and Mahāvīra), and two entries—Bhairava and Bhairavi—seem to be incomplete. That the Candrabhairavatantra is listed here is significant because this Tantra usually belongs to the standard group of eight Bhairavatantras, namely, the Bhairavatāraka we have already discussed. In fact, it is this group that in the JY comes to constitute the Mantrapiṭha. According to the Sarvaviratantra, four of these Tantras belong to the Mantrapiṭha, namely the Svacchanda, Canda, Krodha and Unmatta.\textsuperscript{276} Ksemarāja thinks that the Svacchandatantra belongs to this piṭha and quotes the Sarvavira as an authority to support this view.\textsuperscript{277} The Svacchanda itself, incidentally, nowhere aligns itself specifically with any piṭha although it knows this system of classification.\textsuperscript{278} The JY quotes the Sarvavira\textsuperscript{279} and appears to take the lead from this Tantra in its exposition of this piṭha. Thus the JY takes the four Tantras mentioned above as the main Tantras of this piṭha and links them systematically with the remaining four Tantras in the group of eight Bhairavatantras thus:

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Svacchanda — Asitānga
Canda — Ruru
Krodha — Jhankara
Unmatta — Kapāliṣa
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If we place the right-hand column below the left, we have the eight Bhairavatantras in the order in which the JY enumerates them. It seems, therefore, that we can trace a line of development here from the BY through the Sarvavira to the JY. These Tantras must, therefore, also succeed each other chronologically.

**The Vidyāpiṭha**

The Vidyāpiṭha, as the JY presents it, virtually contains the three
The Śaiva Āgamas

currents of scripture, viz., Left, Right and Middle. The JY has, however, rearranged their contents. The Siddhāntāgamas have been entirely excluded from the piṭha classification. Therefore, the Middle Current is now vacant and a new category is created to take its place, namely, the Śaktitantras. However, this is just a new name for old familiar Tantras amongst which are the Siddhāhayogeśvarimata, the Sarvāvīra and the JY itself. It is worth noting that the SYM is regularly assigned to this piṭha. The BY does so and Abhinava tells us that it is this piṭha which dominates in this, the root Trika Tantra, and hence also in the Mālāvinījaya, which presents the essentials of the former. In fact, the SYM itself tells us that it belongs to the Vidyāpiṭha.

The BY locates the Vidyā and Mantra piṭha in the current of the Right while the JY extends the Vidyāpiṭha to include the Tantras of the Left amongst which are the Mahāsamanhāna and Nāyottara. Although the Vināśikā is not amongst the major Tantras, it may be the Śikhiṭantra listed as one of the secondary Tantras associated with the Sammohana. The Right Current of the Vidyāpiṭha consists of the Yāmulas amongst which the BY is considered to be the most important. The BY thus allots a major category to the Yāmulas and they are, as we have already had occasion to remark, treated at times as a category on their own. The Tamil poem, the Takkayagaparant by Oṭṭakuttār written in the twelfth century, frequently refers to the “Yāmalāśāstra.” According to this work there are ninety-one secondary Yāmulas and Tantras associated with the main Yāmulas of which one of the most important is the BY. It is indeed an extensive and interesting work which deserves to be edited and carefully studied.

The Mantra and Vidyā piṭhas are closely related, so much so that Jayaratha says that they stand for Śiva and Śakti. Similarly, the JY states that the Mantrapiṭha is associated with masculine words and the Vidyāpiṭha with feminine ones. Perhaps we can understand this to mean that the Tantras in the former group are more Śiva-oriented than those belonging to the latter. The Svacchandatantra, which is said to belong to the Mantrapiṭha, is indeed markedly more Śaiva than the Siddhāhayogeśvarimata of the Vidyāpiṭha which is more Śākti. Moreover, Abhinava’s statement that the Vidyāpiṭha sustains and strengthens the Mantrapiṭha is exemplified in the context of the Trika exegesis of Śaiva scripture by the secondary and yet vitally important place given to the Svacchandatantra which supplies, amongst other things, along with the Mālāvinījaya, the cosmology of the Trika.

In Kashmiri circles the Vidyāpiṭha was considered to be the most important of the piṭhas. Abhinava quotes the Kularatnamālātantra to say that Trika, as a Kaula school which embodies the essence of the doctrines of the Tantras of the Left and the Right currents, is superior to them all. He does this immediately after he has extolled the superiority of the Vidyāpiṭha, implying perhaps in this way that Trika as a whole belongs to this piṭha. Thus Abhinava exalts the Vidyāpiṭha as the ultimate essence of the other piṭhas by stating, on the authority of the Anandaśāstra, that all the piṭhas ultimately derive from the Vidyāpiṭha in such a way that, as Jayaratha puts it: “there is only one piṭha which is of the nature of them all.”

The Vidyāpiṭha is also important in Nepal. Most of the Tantras preserved there, which affiliate themselves to a piṭha, belong to this one. Amongst them are two texts which represent themselves as elucidating the essentials of the doctrines of this piṭha. One is called “Vidyāpiṭha” and is quite short while the other, the Śrīvidyāpiṭhamatasāra, claims to be 12,000 verses long. The Vidyāpiṭha and its importance in Nepal is particularly relevant to our present study because major Tantras of the Kubjikā cult affiliate themselves to it. The Manthānabhāravatatantra, which amongst the most important Tantras of this school, belongs to this piṭha and tells us that the goddess of this tradition resides in it. Certain manuscripts of the KMT bear long colophons that are very similar in form and content to those of the MBT and include a reference to the affiliation of the KMT to the Vidyāpiṭha. As these colophons are not uniform in all the manuscripts, it is hard to say on the basis of this evidence alone whether the KMT did, in fact, originally affiliate itself to this piṭha. Although, as we have noted above, the KMT does consider its doctrines to be the essential teachings of all these piṭhas, it does not expressly say that it belongs to any piṭha. Possibly the JY is right to assign it to the Mudrāpiṭha. If this is so, it appears that later tradition shifted the KMT’s affiliation to the Vidyāpiṭha. Anyhow, many later Tantras of the Kubjikā cult most certainly do belong to this piṭha. Thus the Śrīmatottaratantra which is considered to be a direct successor of the KMT (which is also called Śrīmat) is a Vidyāpiṭhatantra, and so is a Tantra closely associated with it, namely, the Kūḍīkheṭa of the Gorakṣasāṃghīḍha. To conclude the first part of this monograph, let us recall what K. C. Pandey wrote more than three decades ago concerning Śaivalgamic studies: “How can any correct conclusion be possible unless all of (the Āgamas) or at least a respectable number of them be carefully read?” Indeed, we cannot say much about the structure, history and form of the Śaiva canon without having access to, and carefully studying, the extant material in manuscripts which, although a tiny fraction of this vast corpus of sacred literature, is vast in itself. This is a major area of Indology which has, sadly, not even gone past the stage of preliminary assessment.
PART TWO

The Kaula Tantras
The Kulāgama

The Kaulatantras belong to such an extensive and important category of Āgamic scripture that they can be considered to constitute a corpus in their own right which we can conveniently label “Kulāgama”. But although, as we shall see in the following pages, the Kulāgama can be treated as an independent unit with its own subdivisions and internal distinctions, its link with the greater Āgamic corpus is very close and consistently maintained. Thus, the Kaulatantras consider themselves to be essentially Śaiva and venerate Bhairava as the highest God.1 Moreover, many Kaulatantras are not only affiliated to their own Kaula groups but also have a specific place of their own in the greater Śaiva canon, usually as members of the Bhairavasrotas. Even so, one of the most striking features of these Tantras is their markedly Śākta character. Indeed, Kaula traditions are sometimes distinguished from one another, and their Tantras classified, according to the goddess who is at the focus of their complex Tantric system of Mantras, rituals and yogic practice.

Kaula rites are generally private and, ideally, performed in secluded places such as lonely forests, mountains, deserts, cremation grounds or sacred centres where adepts, male and female (siddhis and yogins), traditionally assemble. The deity worshipped is often (but not always) fearsome and adored with offerings of meat (including at times beef and human flesh) and wine as well as the male and female sexual fluids (kundagolaka) produced during ritual intercourse. The deity may be invoked to take possession of the worshipper so that he can gain its awesome power through which he perceives the deity’s pervasive presence (vyaṭi) in all things. Many practices such as this one are designed to be fearful (bhayāvaha); others, and these were particularly important for the refined Kashmiri Trika Kaula, are meant to delight the senses and mind (sukhāvaha). The sacrificial offerings and ritual, in this case, induce the emergence of the innate bliss of consciousness (ānanda). This inner, spiritual joy is cultivated as the adept’s consciousness unfolds until he lays
hold of his own innate nature (svasvabhāva), when consciousness reaches its most fully expanded state (pūrnavikāsa). This process, therefore, entails a change in the modality of the adept’s consciousness which takes place by the actualization of the latent inner spiritual power technically called “Kundalini.” When Kundalini awakens, it rises in the form of the Upward Moving Breath (udānaprāna), penetrating, as it does so, through successive levels of the cosmic order homologized to the microcosm of the adept’s body. Finally, it merges, in the form of the vitality of the vital breath (prāṇaśakti) and Mantra (mantravīrya), into the universal breath (prāṇa) and divine resonance of consciousness in the highest state of bliss, to then permeate all the lower levels it traversed in its ascent. In this way the delight of the senses becomes a means to liberation: one who is on the Kaula path drinks wine, eats meat and performs ritual intercourse in order to make the innate bliss of his own nature manifest—not out of greed or lust.

The bliss the Kaula experiences is entirely spiritual and not at all worldly. The Kaula savours the objects of the senses not just for his pleasure but to use this pleasure to make consciousness more fully manifest and in so doing unite it with its object. When Kundalini rises, the fettered soul is elevated out of his state of bondage (paśutva) in which the experience of sensory objects deprives him of his authentic subjectivity and so becomes, like a sacrificial beast (paśu), a helpless victim of the forces of his own contracted consciousness. Accordingly, some Kaula traditions advocated symbolic substitutes for the meat, wine and sex, declaring that the essential point of Kaula practice is the arousal of Kundalini and the expansion of consciousness. The followers of these Kaula schools were, however, condemned by others such as the Kashmiri Trika Kaulas who, possibly closer to the original spirit of Kaula doctrine, insisted that these were essential and hence irreplaceable elements of Kaula ritual.

The flow of Kundalini up through the lower levels, reabsorbing them as it goes into their ultimate source—the Nameless (anāmaka) absolute Beyond Mind (ummaṇa), and its return back down, recreating as it does so all the lower levels now experienced as one with consciousness, constitute the sequence of absorption and emanation (samartha- and srṣṭikrama) which are the two aspects of the dynamic power of consciousness, here called Kula. At the same time, as the pure consciousness which is the innate nature of all things and their universal cause, it is the source of this flow and the abode of rest where it reposes. As such, it is said to be the Supreme Bliss of one’s own essential nature. This authentic Being is Akula—the male principle, while his cosmic outpouring (visarṣa) is Kula, his divine power—Sakti, the female principle. These two are worshipped as Kuleśvari and Kuleśvara. The union of these two principles—Kula and

Akula—is called the Supreme Kula (param kaulam) which is both at rest in itself (sānta) as well as rising out of itself (udita) in the form of its cosmic manifestation. Both these, Kula and Akula, are combined in Kaula doctrine. The philosophical standpoint of the Kaulatantras and that of their exegeses is essentially monist. Ultimate reality is Kula—the fusion of opposites in which subject and object are united in the unfolding of consciousness which expands out into itself to assume the form of its universal manifestation. This reality can be realized by the performance of Kaula ritual without succumbing to doubt (saṅkāti), that is to say, in a state of consciousness free of thought-constructs (nirvikalpa) in which the opposites, particularly the dichotomy of pure and impure, prohibition and injunction, are transcended.

Kaula doctrine and practice is not confined exclusively to those Tantras which explicitly consider themselves to be Kaula: it is an important element of other Tantras as well—particularly those of the Vāma and Dakṣināśtrīs with which the Kaulatantras are closely related. Kula doctrine originates in these two currents of scripture and so is said to flow from them and extend them at their furthest limit. At the same time, it is present in all the Śaiva scriptures, pervading them as their finest and most subtle element, like the perfume in flowers, taste in water or the life in the body. In fact, the expression “Kula” can be used to refer to a typology of practice outlined in the Tantras as a whole, as well as to an identifiable part of them which is sometimes even specifically said to be such by the Tantras themselves. Thus the Netrayāma describes the worship of Sadāśiva, Tumburu and Bhairava in three separate chapters as representative of the three Śaivaśrītias, while the Kulāmnāya is treated separately in a chapter on its own. This chapter, according to Kṣemarāja, deals with Kulāmnāyaśrītia which he says is the “undivided essence of the upper, left and right currents.” Although the NT deals with Kaula ritual separately in a category of its own, this does not mean that the Kaula tradition is a newcomer whose Tantras need to be somehow accommodated into an older, already well-defined corpus, for we come across references to Kaula schools already in the Śiddhāntāgamas as distinct groups alongside the Śāivāga. The Kaula traditions were, in a sense, set apart from other Agamic schools due to their strictly esoteric character. As a Śaivite one could be initiated into Kaula practice, although this was to be kept as secret as was one’s own Kaula identity. In fact, Kulaśāstra seems to have been developing alongside the Tantric schools of the Śāivāga from an early period, influencing them while being influenced by them. It made sense, therefore, in view of this close symbiosis, that Kaula rites should find a place in Tantras which did not consider themselves to be specifically Kaula. We observe this phenomenon
particularly in the Vāma and Bhairavatantras, while the Siddhānta, on the contrary, is virtually free of this Kaula element. An instance of the application and integration of this important dimension of the Vāma, and more particularly of the Bhairavatantras, led to the development of Kashmiri Trika which, even though it originated in the Dakṣināsrotas, came to think of itself as Kaula.

Kula schools seem to have proliferated to an astonishing degree. The number of Kulas were so many that they are referred to in juxtaposition with the Tantras of the Śaivaśāmas as if the Kulas were as numerous as the Tantras themselves. In this context, “Kula” meant a line of transmission (sanātī) from master to disciple or a tradition (sampradāya) that was handed down in small monastic centres (majhikā) and so was also called “majhikā.” The Tantrāloka records one of the basic patterns of classification of these Kula traditions, namely, the Siddhakrama (or Siddhasanta) originally established by four Kaula masters, each said to have been incarnated in one of the four Ages (yuga). They are, in due order: Khagendranātha, Kūrmanātha, Meṣanātha and Matsyendranātha. Each of these teachers had consorts while the last couple gave birth to (or initiated) twelve ‘princes’ of whom six were fit to impart Kaula doctrine and founded six distinct Kaula traditions.

Following another system of classification, Jayaratha distinguishes between four basic types: Mahākaua, Kaua, Akula and Kula. A more common distinction is that made between Kula and Kaua, which the Niśisahāra and Bhairavakulatantra consider to be of ascending order of importance, with Trika as superior to both. The Pāśicāmāṇya also recognizes the distinction between Kula and Kaua and thinks of itself as separate from both. At the same time, it considers itself to be a Śaiva (śāmībha) tradition which combines both Kula and Kaua. In this tradition, both the male and female principle are worshipped, and so it is Kaula and leads to the blissful experience of both Śiva and Śakti. What this means, apparently, is that the Pāśicāmāṇya is closely associated with the Śaivaśāmas although its roots are in the Kula tradition, emerging as it does as both Kula and Kaua. Thus this tradition can say, without contradiction, that it is equally Kula as well as Kaua.

This Kula/Kaua school is said to be of six kinds. These six are listed in the Kularatrododyota as follows: ānanda, avali, prabhu, yaugika, attia and pāda, which correspond to the Kula traditions established by the six princes generated from Matsyendranātha. The grouping together of these traditions (sanātī) is one of the many features the Pāśicāmāṇya shares in common with the Trika (see below). The Kula schools generally set themselves apart from one another but the Pāśicāmāṇya, like the

Trika, prides itself in being higher than other Kaula schools because it includes them all within itself and does not make unnecessary distinctions between them, although, of course, it maintains its own independent existence as a śāstra to be followed without resorting to others.

The Mouth of the Yogi

A characteristic feature of all Kaula traditions is that they consider themselves to be originally oral transmissions imparted in secret, and the Pāśicāmāṇya is no exception. The master imparted the teaching to the disciple who proved his worth, for it was felt that only in this way could the tradition be preserved and protected from the insincere. It is certainly true, as Abhinavagupta says, that there is a limit to what can be written and learned in books; the master is not, however, merely a source of extra information that cannot be found in the scriptures or simply a man who knows how to decipher their codes or interpret their subtle meanings. He is above all the vehicle through which the hidden power of their teachings is transmitted. He is the one who imparts the initiation which marks his disciple’s entry into a new existential condition in which he is on the path to liberation, training himself through the grace of the deity (embodied in the master) to attain the enlightened state his master reached before him and thus perpetuate the transmission of the teachings. His constant companions and supports along his journey are the Mantras he was taught when, during his initiation, he made this transition. Full of the vital, living power of consciousness, Mantras can only be effective if imparted directly, properly intoned by one who has activated their hidden energy in his own consciousness. Written Mantras are powerless; they are as ineffective as lines drawn on water. Equally useless is any other spiritual practice learned from the dead letter of the written word. Thus the Pāśicāmāṇya lays particular stress on the importance of the master. He is the sole essential element of this, the “Tradition of the Master” (guvūrāṇya), also known as that of the “Mouth of the Master.” It is here that spiritual knowledge and Mantra reside, by virtue of which he is the Lord of the Pāśicāmāṇya.

In the Pāśicāmāṇya, as in all Kaula traditions in general, women are thought to have a special role to play as the transmitters of Kaula doctrine for, as the saying goes, “one should place wisdom in the mouth of a woman and take it again from her lips.” She is the master’s Tantric consort (drīti) who, like the master, instructs the disciple and so is to be respected as his
equal in every way. She can also be the unattached yogini encountered by the adept (siddha) who, in search of yogic accomplishment, wanders on pilgrimage to the sacred places of the Kaulas where meetings take place. It is from her that the wisdom of the tradition is learned and how the rituals should be performed. The Manthana bhairava of the Paścimānmāya insists that there is no difference between the teacher and the yogini. The secret of all the scripture, the supreme essence of the oral tradition, is on the lips of the yogini. Thus she is venerated as the Supreme Power which bestows the bliss of the innate nature of all things (sahajātmā) and is the embodiment of Bhairava’s will. The yogini is the womb from which the enlightened yogi is born and her mouth, from which issues the tradition, is the sacred matrix (yoni), the triangle consisting of the powers of consciousness to will, know and act. As the womb (yoni) of creation, it is the Lower Mouth (adhipattra) which is the essence of Kaula doctrine. This lower face is that of the yogini equated in the Trika with the Primary Wheel (pañcha kāra), namely, that of consciousness into which all the Secondary Wheels (panca kāra) of consciousness—those of the senses, both physical and mental—dissolve away and from which they emerge. It is the Circle of Bliss (ānandakāra) from which the energy of emission (vishravakti) flows forth as Kundalini, that is, as Kaulikāśakti, who in the Paścimānmāya is represented as Kubjikā, the presiding goddess. The ‘Lower Mouth’, which is the Mouth of the Yogi, is generally considered by the Kaula tradition as a whole to be the source of Kaula doctrine. From it flows the sixth current below the five currents of the Śāivaguṇa. The Lower Current is hidden there, below the faces of Sādāśiva, symbolizing its esoteric character. By virtue of the monism of her doctrines, it is said to rise through, and permeate, the other Śaiva traditions, leading them ultimately to the undivided bliss of consciousness which is the experience of Śiva in His highest state (paraśiva). The Paścimānmāya, like other Kaula traditions, calls this face ‘Picuwastrī, i.e., the face of the yogini called Picu. It is the Face of the Nether Region (punahāvākana) from which creation streams forth. According to a system of classification outlined in the Śaivaśāstrasamhitā of the Paścimānmāya, the Āgamas are divided into seven groups corresponding to the seven psychic centres in the body (cakra). The lowest centre is the Wheel of the Foundation (ādīrāvākana), which is that of the Nether Region, followed by the five currents of the Śāivaguṇa spoken by the five faces of Sādāśiva. Above these is the Wheel of the Uncreated (ajākākān). Schoterman explains that in the first—the highest—mouth resides Śiva as Ādideva together with the Ādīśakti, while in the seventh—the lowest—mouth resides the goddess as Guhyāśakti: the union of these two mouths is the goal. One of the points, it seems, that is being made here is that the Paścimānmāya is the highest of the Āgamic schools and contains them all by combining within itself both the highest Kaula and the highest Śaiva doctrines.

The tradition which emerges from the yogini’s mouth is called in the Paścimānmāya, a Śaivasrotas. The Śiddhāntágamas also consider the Kaula tradition to be represented by two of eight subsidiary currents (anuśrotas) associated with the five principal currents of the Śaivaguṇa. These two are called Yoginikaula and Śidhakaula. The Yoginikaula is so called because the yoginis heard it from Śiva’s mouth and kept it within their own line of transmission. The Śidhakaula is similarly originally derived from Śaiva doctrine but is transmitted by Śiddhas, the male counterparts of the yoginis. These two categories are well known in the Kaulatantras and are vitally connected with each other. In the Kaulaśāstras, Matsyendranātha figures as the founder of the Yoginikula tradition which is especially associated with the fabulous land of Kāmarupa, although he himself seems to have belonged to the Śidhakaula, or Śiddhāntākula. That Kaulatantras did, in fact, reflect on themselves as belonging to one or other of these two broad categories transpires from the characterization of the Śūmaindīkā as belonging to the Śiddhasantāna as transmitted through one of its branches. The Yoginikula is mentioned in a work quoted by Jayarātha. The typifying characterization of these two classes by the KMT of the Paścimānmāya is essentially the same as that found in the Śiddhāntāgama referred to above. The Paścimānmāya, consistent with its characterization of Kula doctrine as the tradition which expounds the essence of the teachings of the Yogi, considered itself to be the tradition of the yoginis (yoginikramā) and the secret of their oral transmission. Even so, Paścimā doctrine is considered to be that of Śiddhas of the Paścimānmāya and is not to be revealed to those who do not belong to the Śidhakaula school. There are places, however, where the Yoginikula is made to appear to be a part of the Paścimānmāya. Again, Kubjikā, the presiding deity, is Kūtaliṇī, which is the essential teaching of the Yoginikula. Thus amongst the Kaula traditions originating from the sacred places (pījhas), the Paścimānmāya presents the most vital doctrine of all the Kaula tradition—including the Yoginikula. At its highest level, however, the Paścimānmāya agrees with the Yoginikula that the ultimate object of devotion is Śiva (here called Śambhu). He is the abode of the Śāmbhavavat and as such the Supreme Place that, although beyond all characterization, bestows infinite qualities. It is where all practice ceases and all things appear immediately present directly before the yogi.
The Āmnāya Classification

"Srotas" is the term generally used to refer to the major groupings of the scriptures of the Śaivism as when fitted into a pattern of directional contrasts. Similarly, the term "āmnāya" is used to denote distinct groups of scriptures within the Kulāgama, each consisting of Tantras that share a common affiliation to a single tradition and said to have originated from a fixed direction. Our best example is the Pāścimāmnāya itself—the 'Western Tradition'. The āmnāya system of classification did not include all the Kaulatantras. We are told in the texts of the existence of many Kula āmnāyas in the sense of 'traditions' or 'schools' without this implying that they belong to any systematic classification. It is in this broad, generic sense that we occasionally come across this term in the Siddhāntāgama.47 Indeed "Kulāmnāya" is a common way of referring to the Kaulatantras as a whole; it is synonymous, in other words, with "Kulaśāstra" or "Kulāśāsana" in general.75

The āmnāya system of classification is nowhere discussed by Abhinavagupta. This fact, at first sight, indicates that the classification of Kaulatantras (or at least of a part of them) as groups belonging to fixed directions (on the analogy of the Siddhānta classification) was a late development. Thus Tantras such as the Bhairavakula or Nīśanācāra which thought of themselves as being Trika,76 divided the Śaivism into three main groups: Siddhānta, Vāma and Dakṣīṇa while distinguishing these from Kula and Kaula of which Trika was considered to be the culmination. They do not refer to the āmnāya classification and so, presumably following their lead, neither does Abhinavagupta. Perhaps, therefore, we should not immediately assume that the āmnāya classification postdates Abhinavagupta. Indeed, there is positive evidence which leads one to suppose that it did not. The KMT, which is generally considered to be the oldest recovered work of the Pāścimāmnāya,77 postdates the Siddhayogēśvarimata to which it refers specifically as the Tantra where the goddess Siddhayogēśvari is exalted.78 Even so, as one of the sixty-four Tantras listed in the NSA, it can certainly be claimed to be prior to the ninth century (see above p. 48). Moreover, as noted above, Abhinavagupta himself refers to the KMT79 while it specifically considers itself to be the "Path of the Pāścimāmnāya"80 and also knows of the Uttara- and Dakṣīṇa-āmnāyas which it respects as teaching valid doctrines.81 It seems also, in one place at least, to refer to the Purvāmnāya.82 Nor is it justifiable to suppose that this classification is peculiar to the Tantras of the Kubjikā school as we shall see in the following exposition of the āmnāyas.

The Āmnāyas of the Kaulatantras

The division into āmnāyas seems to have been originally into four, with each āmnāya symbolically set in one of the four directions. We have seen that the KMT knows only of four. The Yogakhandha of the MBT also refers to only four āmnāyas where they have a more tangible identity.83 They are represented as corresponding to the four Ages (yuga), with the Pāścimāmnāya as that which is most fit for the present Kali Age.84 In the SaLS the āmnāyas are said in various places to be either five, six or even seven. The five-āmnāya division is equated with the five vital breaths in such a way that the Pāścimāmnāya corresponds to the Pervasive Breath (vyāna), the experience of which is the universal pervasion of consciousness to which the teaching leads.85 The division into five āmnāyas (formed by adding an upper one to the original four) is at times represented as spoken by the five faces of Sadāśiva, following the basic Siddhānta pattern. The six-fold scheme can be formed by adding a sixth upper current "beyond the upper" (ūrdhvordhva), although a division into six is also possible by adding a lower current, an example of which we have already noted in relation to the five-fold Siddhānta pattern with Kula as the sixth.86 The former alternative is found in Trikātantras like the Bhagavatikā where Trika is located above the Upper Face which is that of Isāna.87

The four-fold division appears to be the oldest. This supposition is confirmed by the Kulāmnāvatantra which characterizes the secret of the "secrets more secret than secret", (rahasyāśāralaṣa) of its own Kaula doctrines as an upper-āmnāya88 situated above the four āmnāyas to which the many Kula traditions belong that are "known to many."89 These five are here said to be spoken by Śiva. The Samketaṭapaddhati, an early Kula text,90 refers to just four āmnāyas.91 A four-fold division which, as in the Samketaṭapaddhati, is equated with four metaphysical moments in the dynamics of ultimate reality, represented as aspects of the power Speech (bhūratīkā) which issues from the four faces of the "beginningless Mother"—Mahāvidyā, is found in Amṛtananda's Saubhāgyasudhodaya which he quotes in his commentary on the Yoginīdhyāya.92

An account of the spirituality and history of the four āmnāyas, from the Pāścimāmnāya point of view, is recorded in a short but interesting work called the Cīcinmaṭatārasamusucaya. All the manuscripts of this text located up to now are found in Nepal.93 The CMSS claims that it belongs to the Divyaṅga and is a compendium or essence of the Supreme Kaula doctrine of the Siddha tradition.94 It also implicitly identifies itself with a type of Tantric work common in the earlier period (i.e., prior to the
eleventh century), namely, a Sāraśāstra, by referring to a number of other Tantras of this type in its introductory section,95 while affirming that it presents the essence (śāra) of the Kubikāmata. The four āmnāyas (here variously called veśman grha or ghara)96 are presented as originating from the Paścimāmnāya which is the “Source Tradition” (jannāmnāya) that possesses them all.97 Similarly, the MBT also says of it that it clearly manifests the four āmnāyas, the knowledge of which gives rise to the Divine Tradition (dvyanāmnāya) and so is the highest of them.98 The Paścimāmnāya is where all the sequences of inner mystical states of the other three āmnāyas, once abandoned and transcended, ultimately merge.99 As such, it is equated with the pure thought-free consciousness of the Śambhava state—Śiva’s inner experience of himself which pervades all the Kaula traditions. Thus, because it is also essentially Śaiva,100 it is their ultimate goal, embracing as it does both Kula and Akula—Śakti and Śiva.101 So, pure in all respects, and free of both virtue and vice (dharma and adharma), the Paścimāmnāya is above all the other āmnāyas.102

Let us see then what the CMSS has to say about the Pārva, Dakṣiṇa and Uttara āmnāya, after which we shall present our analysis of its views, to conclude with a short account of the Paścimāmnāya.

The Āmnāya Classification and the Four Āmnāyas
According to the Ciñcinimatasārasamuccaya

Pūrvāmnāya

This āmnāya is described as the Yoginimatasārā present in both Kula and Kaula. The goddess manifests here in the form of the bliss of one’s own consciousness. This tradition teaches the best Kulaśāra, namely, the manner in which Kula emerges in the womb of Kula. Thus, the goddess of this āmnāya is Kuleśvari who “devours the Kumārikula.” This tradition transmits the consciousness which pervades the Sky of transcendental reality and through it Trika was brought into this world. Trika doctrine is here embodied as Trika the goddess of three-fold form who is the Mistress of the Three Worlds (Trikāvanesvari). Trikamāthikā is divided into three lines of transmission, each associated with a Kulāguru to which is added a fourth—Khagendranātha—who belongs to Vyomārdhamaṭhikā. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. The Transmission of Trikamāthikā According to the CMSS.

Khagendranātha
(Vyomārdrdhamaṭhikā)

Kuleśvari
(Trikā Devi)

Candini
Bhāskari
Tejotkaṭa
(Moon)
(Sun)
(Fire)

Minanātha
Meṣapāda
Kūrmanātha

The goddess emerges from the centre of reality along with Paramānandabhairava. The whole universe is instructed by this power which is the paramount knowledge of the Divine Transmission (dvyauga). This maṭhikā is that of the line of Siddhas known as the Tradition of the Elders (vrddhavallī). It is in this tradition that Siddhanātha incarnated in this world during each of the four Ages (yuga) as a Kaula master, as follows:

First Yuga
Disciples
Khagendranātha and Vijāhuti
Vimala, Suśobha

Second Yuga
Disciples
Kūrmanātha and Maṅgalājyotī
Ajita, Vijīta

Third Yuga
Disciples
Meṣanātha and Kāmāṅgā
Khakulanātha
More than sixty-four Kulas

Fourth Yuga

To this Fourth Yuga belongs the Tradition of Om (Omvalī) founded by Minanātha, also called Pīnalanātha, who obtained the knowledge of the Kulaśāstra which was thrown into the ocean by Kārttikeya. His
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prince</th>
<th>Master</th>
<th>Grove</th>
<th>Piṭha</th>
<th>Ovalī</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (Amarā)</td>
<td>Śrīsūlaśekarā</td>
<td>Tripūrti</td>
<td>Ďoḥāla</td>
<td>Śrīśāka</td>
<td>Tripūrtiūriṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Varadā</td>
<td>Viśvākara</td>
<td>Kamada</td>
<td>Kūṭi</td>
<td>Purī</td>
<td>Ďoḥāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Citra-nātha</td>
<td>Kauśāya</td>
<td>Asthākā</td>
<td>Dandarātā</td>
<td>Ḍevikotā</td>
<td>Bālāhāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Olihaṭha</td>
<td>Śrīgāmūla-Ānanda</td>
<td>Devīkotā</td>
<td>Daśānātha</td>
<td>Ḍaśānātha</td>
<td>Pūjā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vriddha-nātha</td>
<td>Śrīdāya-muni</td>
<td>Śrīdāya-muni</td>
<td>Kauśāya</td>
<td>Gaudīkā</td>
<td>Kauśāya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Olihaṭha travelled to Kampaṭi, to the south of which was a place called Trikhaṭadini. There he performed austerities according to the instructions of Candrāhaṭadini.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Vows</th>
<th>in relation to Śrīśāka</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Duration of Vows</th>
<th>in relation to Śrīśāka</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Duration of Vows</th>
<th>in relation to Śrīśāka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Kambili</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Paṅgarāśa</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>25 years</td>
<td>Khaṅgarāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>Nārīkela-phala</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consort was the princess Kūṃkūmā from whom were born twelve princes; six of these were: Bhadrā, Amaraṇa, Mahendra, Kāgrams, Mahādhara and Gupḍādā. These princes were said to have no authority to teach, while the six others, listed below, did teach and were the founders of six traditions (ovālī). They are each associated with a piṭha, a town and a forest where they practiced austerities for a varying number of years according to the instructions of a master. This data is listed schematically opposite page.

### Daksināmnāya

Kāṃṣāvari descends into this āmnāya. She arises from the three piṭhas and resides in their centre, pleasing to behold as the early morning sun and yet brilliant like a hundred million lightning flashes. She is the Passionate One, full of the passion (Kāma) which devours Kumārikula desirous of herself. Kāṃṣāvari descends into the world in the form of a young virgin (kumārl). She melts the Circle of Birth of her own nature by her energy, and by the intent of her own vitality fills it. She is Kulayogini of divine form, peaceful and pure as translucent crystal. She has two arms, one face and three eyes and her waist is thin. She resides on the northern side of the Mālīnī Mountain behind which is a bower (gahara) called the Place of the Nightingale. It is filled with wild ganders, ducks and other birds of all sorts. Khecarī, Bhūcarī, Siddha and Śākini reside there absorbed in meditation.

There, in the Divine Circle of the Triangle, is located the cave called the Face of the Moon in which resides the goddess, the virgin who is the flow of vitality (śukravāhini). Siddhas, munis (including Kur̄damuni) and ascetics practiced austerities there for thousands of years, until they became aged and emaciated. Their gaze was averted upwards, to the Inner Face until they saw the goddess Śukrā and thus attained the state of divine inebriation (ghṛṛmyāvasthā) by virtue of her divine splendour. Once the goddess had transmitted this divine knowledge to them, Kāṃṣādeva appeared before her in divine form and 'melted' by the power of Kāṃṣāvari. Thus the two became one and gave rise to the Rudra Couple. The son born of this union was Kauleśa who taught this divine knowledge.

In this āmnāya, Kāṃṣāvari is described as the twelve-lettered Viṣṭaya, surrounded by twelve goddesses. Then come Vāgāṣvāri, Tripūra, Vāgaḥāwa and Bhagamālī who are Kāṃṣāvari's powers (prabhava). The Daksināmnāya is where all the Nityās come from.
Uttarāmāyā

The energy which devours Kālikaulika manifests in this āmāya. She is Kāleśvarī and practices Kauldevīrā, contains Kaula (kaulagarbhā), is the arising of Kaula and is Trikaula. She resides in the Centre of Birth (jannaḥdhāra). This is the Supreme Tradition (paramāmāya), Divyauga transmitted “from ear to ear.” It is Kālikākulumāra and is twelve-fold taught by Kroḍharāja and called Actionless Knowledge (niṣkriyājñāna). From the centre of the sun (sūrya) emerges another Sun (ravi) which is the inner light that illuminates the entire universe. It is surrounded by the rays of the Sun-goddess, Bhānāvikaulini, also known as Kaulēśvarī and Kulāgahvarī. She is the rays of the Sun which shines in the centre of the sacrificial hearth of the Great Sky of the Ocean of Śiva. The Great Mantra consisting of the sixty-four Bhairava womb (yoni) arises and dissolves here. In the centre of the Hearth of the Sun (bhānāvikuṇḍa) is the Wheel of Dissolution which is one’s own true nature (svavabhāva). Destroying both Being and Non-being, it is the Fire of Consciousness personified as the goddess Kulaṭhodari. All this is the Supreme Brahman which is one’s own nature (svavabhāva).

We are then told that Niṣkriyānanda “made manifest in the world this nectar of Kula spoken by the yogini” and so revealed the Mahākālikrama. The text goes on to describe its transmission to Vidyānanda. Vidyānanda practised yoga in the guise of a Siddhāstābara. His residence was a cremation ground where he practised yoga at night and delighted in Kaula practice in the company of Siddhas and Viras. He worshipped the deity in a cave to the north of the Śīvapīṭha known as Śrīlāla, wishing to attain Actionless Knowledge (niṣkriyājñāna). His devotion was so intense that Niṣkriyānandanātha finally transmitted to him by word of mouth the secret of the Kālikākrama. This is called the Knowledge of the Left (vamaṇājñāna) and the Sequence of Sixty-five Stages. It is the dawning of the Twelve-fold Kāli of Light (Prabhākāli) in the Sky of Consciousness which arises there in the Sequence which Annihilates Destruction (samhārasamhārakrama), so called because the goddess devours all things. This, the Kālikrama, is the flux of Kula and yet is beyond it. It is the Divine Upper Mandala that, fully risen, transcends the mind as the emergence of consciousness that penetrates beyond every level of consciousness and the cosmic flux which melts away with its rays. Thus the yogi drinks the incomparable nectar of immortality in the Supreme Sky of consciousness which unfolds spontaneously within him. This is the Supreme Exuberance (parollāsa), the expansion (vikāsa) of consciousness which unfolds as Kaulini, the Kāli of twelve aspects.

Analysis

This is the expansion of the Wheel of Kāli (Kāleakara), which is the Sun of Kula and its Twelve Rays. This, the Sequence of the Sun (bhānāvikrama), is the life of every living being and illumines the mind as it rises in the Sky beyond the Sky, intensely aflame and burning up the Three Worlds. As this tradition teaches in this way the secret of both immanent Kula and transcendent Akula, it is called Kulākulumāya. The twelve-fold goddess of this tradition is identified with the powers symbolized by the twelve vowels and is called Mālini of the Sequence of Exertion (udvyogakramamālīni). The yogi who is truly established in his own nature contemplates this Great Supreme (mahākrama), the Kālikrama taught by Niṣkriyānandanātha.

The names of the Twelve Suns which dawn as aspects of the Kāli of Light (Prabhākāli) are said to be the secret of the Kaulikāgama. They are: the Kāli of Creation (Srṣṭikāli), the Kāli of Persistence (Srhitikāli), the Kāli of Destruction (Snāhārakāli), the Kāli of Passion (Raktakaḷī), the Good Kāli (Sukāli), the Kāli of Control (Yamakāli), the Kāli of Death (Mṛtyukāli), the Auspicious Kāli (Bhadraṇa), the Kāli of the Supreme Sun (Paramārakāli), the Kāli of the Great Sun (Mahāmārtandakāli), the Terrible Kāli (Rudraṇa) and the Great Kāli (Mahākāli). Kumāri is worshipped in the centre of the circle of these twelve powers.

Analysis

This account of the āmāyas is striking both for the richness of its expression and the heights of the yogic experiences it conveys through the imposing visionary symbolism of the Kaula traditions it presents. The CMSS is later than the KMT and differs from its doctrinal position in many respects due largely to the development of Paścima doctrine (see below). Even so, this account is of value to the historian of Kaula Tantra and the Paścimāṇāya because of what it tells us about the character of these traditions and their relationship to the Paścimāṇāya. Particularly interesting from the latter point of view is the assignment of Trīka to the Pārvāṇāya because of the close relationship that the Trīka has with the Paścimāṇāya—a point we shall deal with later when discussing how Paścima doctrine is built up and its historical antecedents. We shall therefore refer to it last after discussing the Daksīṇa-and Uttara āmāyas.

Daksīṇāmāyā

It is clear from this account that the CMSS identifies the Śrīvidyā
tradition with the \textit{Dakṣiṇāmūrya}. The presiding goddess of this \textit{āmnāya} is Kāmeśvari who, initially alone, unites with Kāmadeva. This broadly corresponds to the union of Kāmeśvari and Kāmeśvara in the centre of \textit{Śrīcakra} locked in the sexual embrace of Kāmakalā. Kāmadeva is the god of the seed-syllable known as ‘Kāmarāja’ in the Śrīvidyā school. Amṛtānanda, a major early exponent of Śrīvidyā doctrine, clearly links this seed-syllable with the \textit{Dakṣiṇāmūrya} in just the same way as does the CMSS. In his \textit{Saubhāgyasudhodaya}, he characterizes the four \textit{āmnāyas}, along with their attendant features, as symbolic aspects of one of the most important Mantras of this school, namely, the \textit{Mantrarāja}. Each \textit{āmnāya} contributes to the construction of this Mantra by supplying one of its seed-syllables. The seed-syllable ‘Kāmarāja’ belongs to the \textit{Dakṣiṇāmūrya} and is in the form of Rudra in union with his power, Rudrāni. Together they form a couple (yāmala). This seed-syllable is also linked to the \textit{Paścimāmūrya} as its protector.\footnote{The CMSS also refers to the other three seed-syllables along with Tripurā, as energies of the goddess Kāmeśvari. In the Śrīvidyā tradition they are indeed found together in the innermost triangle of \textit{Śrīcakra} with Tripurā in the centre and Vāgeśvari, Vāgbhāva and Bhagamālini in the corners around her.} The Goddess Tripurā is young and comely. Her eyes slightly red with wine—the perfect archetype of the Kāla female partner.\footnote{Tripurā is considered to be the greatest of the goddesses that preside over the phases of the cosmic cycles of time. These are the Nityās which the CMSS says originated in the \textit{Dakṣiṇāmūrya}. As Nityā, Tripurā is Kula, the Supreme deity’s sovereign power.} The NSA and YHr, the original Tantras of this school, never refer to the \textit{āmnāya} system of classification. They do, however, talk about their own tradition as divided into four currents which issue from four sacred centres (mahāpītha), namely, Kāmarāja, Jālandhara, Pārṇagiri and Oḍiyanā.\footnote{However, the commentators, supported by early sources, equate these with the four \textit{āmnāyas}.\footnote{They also associate the four \textit{Yugaṇṭhas} with the \textit{āmnāyas} in a manner reminiscent of the \textit{Paścima} characterization of the \textit{āmnāyas} as each belonging to one of the four Ages. This connection also brings into the Śrīvidyā tradition an essential element of all Kaula ritual, namely, the worship of the \textit{Yugaṇṭhas}. Thus, Śrīvidyā is said by Vidyānanda in his commentary on the NSA to be common to all the \textit{āmnāyas}. He also says that it is particularly important in the \textit{Dakṣiṇāmūrya},\footnote{thus confirming that the allocation of Śrīvidyā to this quarter is not peculiar to the CMSS. In fact, the presence of Śrīvidyā is apparent in the \textit{Kubjikātantras}. Thus, of Kubjika’s three forms as a child, young and old woman, her young form is appropriately identified with the young and beautiful Tripurasundari.} and thus confirming that the allocation of Śrīvidyā to this quarter is not peculiar to the CMSS. In fact, the presence of Śrīvidyā is apparent in the \textit{Kubjikātantras}. Thus, of Kubjika’s three forms as a child, young and old woman, her young form is appropriately identified with the young and beautiful Tripurasundari.\footnote{The focal point of the spirituality of the \textit{Uttarāmūrya} is here presented as the experience of the Arising of the Sequence of Kālls (\textit{kālikramodaya}).\footnote{The manner of their arising, as well as the order and names of the Kālls in this account, is virtually the same as we find in the Āgamic passages quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on Abhinava’s exposition of the sequence of Kālls (\textit{kālikrama}) in \textit{Anādityacakrā}.\footnote{Abhinava considered this to be the central teaching of the Krama system, which he sacralizes with the \textit{Anuttararikakulakrama} (generally simply called ‘\textit{Trikā}’) of his \textit{Tantrāloka} is a comprehensive manual dealing with the liturgy of this Kaula-cum-Tantric school.\footnote{Modern scholars of non-dualist Kashmiri Śaivism generally distinguish between Kula and Krama as if they were two separate schools or, to use the current expression ‘systems’. In the light of the evidence both from the recently recovered Āgamic sources, as well as that afforded by the Kashmiri authors themselves and their references from the original scriptures, this distinction can be said to be clearly false. The Krama system is a Kaula tradition in every respect. The evidence is enormous in support of this view. We will only refer to a small part of it here, just enough to prove our point.}}}} The way in which this \textit{āmnāya} is described in the CMSS is of interest not only to the historian of Kaula Tantra but also to the student of Kashmiri Śaivism, particularly of that part of it which modern scholars call the Krama system, otherwise known as the \textit{Kramaśāsana}, \textit{Kramadarśana} or \textit{Kramanaya} in Kashmiri sources as well as in the original Tantras themselves.\footnote{The focal point of the spirituality of the \textit{Uttarāmūrya} is here presented as the experience of the Arising of the Sequence of Kālls (\textit{kālikramodaya}).\footnote{The manner of their arising, as well as the order and names of the Kālls in this account, is virtually the same as we find in the Āgamic passages quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on Abhinava’s exposition of the sequence of Kālls (\textit{kālikrama}) in \textit{Anādityacakrā}.\footnote{Abhinava considered this to be the central teaching of the Krama system, which he sacralizes with the \textit{Anuttararikakulakrama} (generally simply called ‘\textit{Trikā}’) of his \textit{Tantrāloka} is a comprehensive manual dealing with the liturgy of this Kaula-cum-Tantric school.\footnote{Modern scholars of non-dualist Kashmiri Śaivism generally distinguish between Kula and Krama as if they were two separate schools or, to use the current expression ‘systems’. 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cycle of manifestation, which is nothing but the expression of her own nature.121 Thus the two, Kula and Akula, constituting the Supreme Kaula reality (paramakaula), encompass all of manifestation as an inscrutable identity of immanence leading to transcendence and transcendence to immanence. This is pure Kaula doctrine.

Similarly Krama ritual, like Krama doctrine, is Kaula. That Krama ritual at times required the offering and consumption of meat and wine as well as ritual sex is well known to scholars of Kashmiri Saivism.122 In Abhinava’s exposition of Kaula ritual in chapter 29 of the Tantrāloka, he refers to a number of Krama works,123 as does his commentator Jayaratna. These include the Kramapūjana,124 Kramarāhaya,125 Devipaścaśati,126 Kālikula,127 Madhavakula,128 Śrikulakramodaya129 and Tantrarāja-bhaṣjaśāra.130 The Madhavakula, which is a part of the Tantrarāja-bhaṣjaśāra that Kashmiris considered to be a major authority on Krama, refers to the type of ritual it expounds as Kulapūjana.131 Abhinava refers to the Kramapūjana132 as an authoritative Tantra in which the Supreme Lord explains the secret essentials of Kula ritual, namely, the worship of the Yoganāthas and their consorts, which is a standard necessary preliminary of all Kaula ritual. Thus Abhinava refers to a Krama text as his authority right at the beginning of his exposition of Kaula ritual. Similarly, in the CMSS the Yoganāthas and their consorts are worshipped in the Pūrvaṃmāya which in the course of practice comes first, located as it is in the East.133 Jñānanetranātha (alias Śivānanda) is venerated by Kashmiri Krama authors as the founder of the Krama tradition of which they are direct descendants.134 He “brought down to earth” a Krama work called the Yonigalvaratana135 in which he lists the names of the Yoganāthas and their associates, proclaiming that they taught the secret of the Kula path (kulamārga).136 It is not surprising, therefore, that Krama is also known as the Kālikula137 or Kramakula138 in the Āśāmic sources to which Kashmiri authors refer. In short, it appears that although Krama is an independent school (with many subdivisions of its own) it cannot be distinguished from Kula but is, in fact, one of its branches.139

We turn now to the next point, namely, the Kālikula’s identity as Uttarāṃmāya. In Maheśvarananda’s time (thirteenth century) the Krama system adhered to and in which he traces back to Śivānanda (so aligning himself unequivocally to the Kashmiri Krama tradition) was considered to belong to Uttarāṃmāya. Maheśvarananda refers to it as “Auttarāṃmāya” twice and as the “non-dual principle of Uttarā,”140 which was originally taught by Bhairava to Bhairava141 and ultimately transmitted to him as the Krama doctrine he expounds in his Mahārāmaṇji,142 By extension he also calls this doctrine that of the “anuttarāṃmāya”143 as “the philosophy of absolute (anuttara) non-dual consciousness”144 which leads to liberation in this life in which freedom and enjoyment (mokṣa and bhoga) are united. Although, as we have already had occasion to remark, neither Abhinava nor the Kashmiri authors before him refer to the Krama system as Uttarāṃmāya, there is evidence to suggest that it was known as such to some, at least, of the earlier Tantras, although this may not have been its original identity in the earliest sources.145 Thus the colophons of the Yonigalvaratana by Jñānanetranātha state that this Tantra belongs to the Oṅkārapīṭha of the Uttarāṃmāya146 and says of itself in the body of the text that it is “the tradition of the Great Teaching,” and “the essence of the Northern Kula.”147 Similarly, the colophons of the Devipaścaśati declare that this Tantra, which deals with the Kālikakrama, belongs to the Northern Tradition.148

It transpires from this evidence that, although we can talk of a “Kula system” as a doctrinal standpoint in the context of Kashmiri Saivism as well as Hindu Tantricism in general, the generic meaning of the term “Kula,” when it is used to refer to the entire Kaula tradition with its many schools, is not to be confused with the former sense. Similarly, it appears that the term “Krama,” like “Kula,” also conveys a broad generic meaning. It refers, in one sense, to the sequence of actions in Kula ritual, the order of recitation of Mantras, deposition (nyāsa) of letters or the seed-syllables of Mantras on the body or on a maṇḍala, image or other representation of the deity and its surrounding entourage such as a pitcher or the sacrificial firepit.149 “Krama” can also mean the liturgy or ritual itself and so is virtually synonymous with the term “prakriyā.”150 Again the term “Krama,” variously qualified, can serve as the appellation of a Kaula school. Thus the Kashmiri Krama system as a whole is at times called “Kālikakrama” although the term also refers to the order of the sequence of Kāls worshipped in the course of certain rituals or as a series of states of consciousness. Similarly, the Kubjikā school or Pāścimāṃmāya is also sometimes called “Śrīkrama.”151 “Krama” and “Kula” are in this sense, to all intents and purposes, virtual synonyms: the expressions “Kālikakrama” and “Kālikakrama” are interchangeable, as are the terms “Śrīkrama” and “Śrīkula.” The term “Krama” lays emphasis on the typical ritual form a particular Kaula school exhibits, while the term “Kula” stresses its doctrinal affinities and individual identity as a specific Kaula tradition. Thus the combination of the two terms, as in the expressions “Kālikakrama” or “Śrīkulakrama,” although hardly different from “Kālikula” or “Kālikakrama,” etc., focus primarily on the character of these schools as possessing distinct liturgies of their own. Again, there appears to be a distinction between Kaula schools which were “Kramakulas” (or equally one could say “Kulakramas”) and those that were not, in the sense that the Tantras of these schools do not align themselves with any Krama. This is
Analysis

Vidyānanda (consort Raktā) — Śaktyānanda (consort Mahānandā) — Śivānanda (consort Samayā). We are told by Jayaratha that these teachers and consorts are worshipped as a standard part of the preliminaries to Kaulapīṭāja in works such as the Devīprakāsaśāstra and the Kālikula.160 The Yonigahvēra refers to this line of teachers directly after the standard group of Yuganāthas and entourage,161 and so integrates the two groups as those of Kaula masters who are all equally worthy of veneration.162 There seems to be little reason to doubt that the Niśkriyānanda and the Vidyānanda of the CMSS are the same as the teachers mentioned in these sources. However, although the fact that Niśkriyānanda figures in the CMSS as the revealer of an original transmission is significant, this is not in itself enough evidence to prove that he was the founder of the Krama system as a whole. Perhaps we may attribute to him the distinction of having been the first to have realized this particular sequence of Kāls.163 But before saying anything definite about this, we must first examine the earlier Āgamic sources to understand the historical antecedents of the Krama system as a distinct school.

The Pūrvāmnāya

The CMSS clearly identifies Trika with the Pūrvāmnāya through which the original Kaula teachings were transmitted by the Yuganāthas. Thus the masters which every Kaula, whatever school he may belong to, should venerate as the founders of Kaulism as a whole are here all made to belong to the Trikamathikā. We do not possess enough of the early sources to be able to compare directly what the original Āgamic Trika tradition has had to say about this. Fortunately, however, Abhinava-gupta explains in his Tantrālokā how Kaula ritual should be performed by Kashmiri Trika Śaivites. The way in which Abhinava conceives the relationship between the Yuganāthas and the Trika principle (and hence, by implication, their relationship with Trika Śaivism) agrees well enough with the CMSS for us to be reasonably sure that Abhinava must have based his account on Āgamic sources. Moreover, although he deals with several Kaula rites described in different Tantras, he is not solely concerned with them alone but seeks, in broader terms, to explain the method (prakriyā) that underlies all Kaula ritual. In other words, what he has to say is, from his point of view, universally applicable by all Kaula Śaivites. This is particularly true of the worship of the Yuganāthas, which he describes at the beginning of his account, to which we now turn.

As a prelude to the rite proper, the officiant must first purify himself.
He does so in this case by projecting the *Parā* and *Mālīni* Mantras onto his body in the prescribed manner and, once filled with their cosmic power, then identifying himself with Bhairava. He now offers libations to Bhairava and the circles of his energies that surround him, which are identified with the officiant’s own sensory and mental powers. This is done by drinking a mixture of male and female sexual fluid (*kundagolaka*) from a sacrificial jar previously filled for this purpose. According to Abhinava, the officiant attains in this way a vision of the fullness of his universal nature which has been rendered brilliantly manifest by the energy of the sacrificial offering. He has, therefore, no need to do anything else unless he wishes to see this same fullness manifest also in the outer world through the outpouring of his sensory energies, in which case he proceeds to perform the outer ritual. This begins, as usual, with the worship of the Kaula teachers in a sacred circle (*mandala*) drawn on the ground with coloured powders. The form of this *mandala*, called “*siddhacakra*”, is basically as we have illustrated it here. See Figure 3. The *Yuganāthas* with their consorts and disciples are worshipped in the inner square. Their names are as shown in Table 7.

### Table 7. The Yuganāthas, their Consorts and Disciples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Yukanātha</th>
<th>Consort</th>
<th>Disciple</th>
<th>Consort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Khagendra-nātha</td>
<td>Vijjamba</td>
<td>Vikatsi</td>
<td>Ilāiambā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vimala</td>
<td>Anantamekhalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Kūrmanātha</td>
<td>Maṅgalā</td>
<td>Jaitra</td>
<td>Ilāiambā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Avijita</td>
<td>Ānandamekhalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Meṣanātha</td>
<td>Kāmamangalā</td>
<td>Vindhya</td>
<td>Kullāiambā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ajīta</td>
<td>Ajaramekhalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Macchanda-</td>
<td>Kuṅkumāmbā</td>
<td>(Six Princes)</td>
<td>(Consort)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nātha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amaranātha</td>
<td>Sūlā</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Varadevanātha</td>
<td>Eruṇā</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Citranātha</td>
<td>Kumāri</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alinātha</td>
<td>Bodhāi</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vindhyanātha</td>
<td>Mahālacchī</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guḍikānātha</td>
<td>Aparamekhalā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names of these teachers as well as those of their consorts and disciples are substantially the same as those recorded in the CMSS. Moreover the names of the *ovallis* and *piṭhas* associated with the Six Princes, according to the CMSS, agree exactly with Abhinava’s account and the *Kulakridāvatāra*, which Jayaratha quotes in his commentary. Note, incidentally, that the names of the *ovallis* in these accounts do not quite agree with the KRU (see above p. 62). Abhinava does not record the town (*nagara*) associated with the Six Princes but lists instead their *ghara* (literally “house”) and *palli* (literally “village”).

More interesting than the coincidence of these details is the formation and identity of the triangle in the centre of the *mandala*. Abhinava explains the form of this triangle and the way in which it is worshipped in his *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa*. The triangle represents the divine matrix
(yoni), in the centre of which resides Kuleśvāri, in her aroused state, in union with Parānandabhairava from whom flows Kula, the blissful power of emission (visargaśakti), through which the cosmic order is generated. The triangle (whose microcosmic equivalent is the female sexual organ) is worshipped by contemplating this creative flow of bliss in the unity of universal consciousness. This can be done either directly in elevated states of consciousness and/or through the ecstatic experience of physical orgasm.

It seems that the CMSS refers to this distinctly Trīka practice when it remarks that the goddess emerges from the centre of its energies along with Paramānandabhairava (see above p. 69). In this way "Kula emerges in the womb of Kula" (ibid.) and the worship of the Yuganāthas bears fruit. The _mandala_ in which the Yuganāthas are worshipped is divided into five sections, namely:

1) the Mantras of the Trīka goddess,
2) the Kula masters,
3) the sphere of the flux of the Wheel of Mālini which corresponds to the vital breath,
4) the sphere of the Wheel of Mātrkā corresponding to the activity of consciousness, and
5) the outer square representing the senses.

These together constitute Kula, the micro- and macro-cosmic Totality. In the centre resides Kuleśvāri who can be worshipped in the form of any of the three Trīka goddesses, either alone or with Kuleśvara, her consort. We can conclude, therefore, that the CMSS records, in broad terms, the manner in which the Yuganāthas are worshipped in the Trīkakula. Associated with the _Pārvānmāya_, they are the first to be worshipped in the order of the āmnāyas and so accorded a peculiarly high status, which at the same time sets them apart from the _Paścimānmāya_ and its own line of transmission, while integrating them into it.

We move on now to our next object of enquiry, namely, the relationship between these āmnāyas and Trīka. The Kularatnadāya repeatedly associates the _Pārvānmāya_ with the _Paścimānmāya_. The Trīka tradition with which this Tantra is associated develops, it says, in these two forms. Thus the KRU at times combines both together. For example, the fire ritual, _mandala_ and initiation is said to be explained in accord with the ritual procedures of both traditions. At the same time, however, the two traditions are also distinguished. Thus it is clearly stated in places that the rituals and doctrines of this Tantra are basically those of the _Paścimānmāya_, which has incorporated elements of the _Pārvānmāya_. For example, in a sequence of sixty-four energies divided in the usual pattern of eight times eight (which in this case are eight energies associated with eight sacred places), the eight powers (mātr) belonging to Prayāga are said to originate from the _Pārvā_ tradition. But even though the KRU admits that it has borrowed from the _Pārvānmāya_, it maintains that the _Pārvānmāya_ as a whole is derived from the _Paścimānmāya_ and that this is why they are essentially similar. The _Pārvānmāya_ is a direct offshoot of the Kubjikā tradition and is similar to it in every respect, just as a reflection is a reproduction of the reflected object.

The KRU’s account of the origin of the _Pārvānmāya_ associates it with Mitranātha, a well-known Paścima master. Mitranātha was a direct disciple of Vṛṣṇanātha who, as an incarnation of the goddess Kubjikā, brought the Paścima teachings down into the world during this era. Accordingly, insofar as the _Pārvānmāya_ is derived from _Paścimānmāya_ in this way, the goddess enquires how the _Pārvānmāya_ arose from it. The account of its origin which follows is basically a variant of many similar myths which explain how Matsyendraṇātha received the Kula teachings. Here the story goes that Pārvati taught the _Pārvānmāya_ to her son, Skanda, secretly from a book. For some unexplained reason Skanda became angry and in a fit of rage threw the book into the sea where it was swallowed by a fish (mināka). In the belly of this fish resided a great Siddha who read the book and practiced the yoga it taught and so grew powerful and full of splendour. From the belly of this fish emerged Ādinātha in the form of Matsyendraṇātha.

A connection is here clearly being made between the first Kula teacher of this era, Matsyendraṇātha, and the _Pārvānmāya_, as it is in the CMSS. However, the KRU does not equate the _Pārvānmāya_ with Trīka, although it knows of the _Trīkatantra_ as an independent group which it mentions along with the Siddhānta, Vāma, Bhūta and Gāruda Tantras as well as the Kāpālika Somasiddhānta, amongst others. In a long list of Tantras at the beginning of this work, the _Siddhāvemāmantri_ is mentioned which is clearly none other than the Siddhāyogesvarimata. We have already noted that both CMSS and KMT refer to this, the root _Trīkatantra_.

Indeed, there can be little doubt that Trīka is an important element of the _Paścimānmāya_. Thus the worship of the three goddesses, Parā, Parāparā and Aparā, which is a distinguishing characteristic of Trīka, is an important feature of the Kubjikā cult as well. Their Mantras are the same as those of the Trīka, as are those of the male consorts associated with them, namely, Bhairavasabdhāva, Ratisekha and Navātmā. Triads in general are a prominent feature of the _Paścimānmāya_; we often
The goddess Kubjikā herself is three-fold in the form of a young girl, maiden and old woman. Moreover, she is explicitly said to be three-fold as the union of the goddesses Parā, Paṛṣadārī and Āparā. An important triad is here, just as it is for the Kashmiri Trika, that of Śāmbhava, Śākta and Ājapa, which are three basic ritual patterns at one level, and at the inner level of consciousness correspond—as in the Trika—to will, knowledge and action. Cosmic counterparts are attributed to them in the form of the Three Worlds into which the universe is divided. The whole of the teaching is similarly divided into these three types, which is why there are three types of initiation (devīdikṣā) through which the Śrīkrama becomes manifest. Even more vital and fundamental than these similarities are the basic forms of the Mantric codes adopted by the Kubjikā cult, namely, those of Śabdaraśī and Mālinī. They are the very backbone of the entire Mantric system of this tradition, just as they are of that of Trika, so much so that the gods tell the goddess in the KRU that:

The Trikatantra will be constructed by the conjunction of the parts primary and secondary, of the three Vidyās along with Mālinī and Śabdaraśī.

Although the use of the future here implies that the god is going to make Trikatantra after the revelation of the Kubjikā cult, there can be little doubt that Trika precedes the Kubjikātantra and it is the latter which has borrowed from the former, not the other way around. Indeed, in places these Tantras themselves inform us that they have drawn elements from Trikatantras. Moreover, the oldest known Paścimatantra, the Kubjikāmata, must be later than the first Trikatantra, the Siddha-yogēśvarimata, because it refers to it. Again, the MBT and KRU both know Trika as Trika. This means that they were redacted when Agamic Trika had reached an advanced stage of development because the earliest Tantras that taught Trika doctrine and ritual, such as the SYM, did not consider themselves to be Trikatantras as such. Thus the KMT, which is earlier than MBT and KRU, does not refer to Trika as a school, possibly because it precedes this phase of Trika’s development. Whether this is the case or not, it is a significant fact that the later Paścimatantras know of Trika’s existence especially because reference to Trika is rare in the primary sources. Moreover, that the CMSS knows the Trikasāra, an extensive Trikatantra frequently referred to by the Kashmiris, shows that the followers of the Kubjikā cult continued to consult Trika sources throughout its development. It is significant, from this point of view, that it is in Nepal, where the Kubjikā cult flourished, that the Siddha-yogēśvarimata has been recovered. This is probably because it was felt to be related to the Kubjikā cult and so was copied and preserved.

The Kulatantras and Śāivāgama

Before we move on to discuss the Paścimānādyā, we take this opportunity to sum up what we have said up to now about the development of these Kula traditions. Firstly, we should emphasize that the essential features of Kula doctrine and ritual are by no means exclusive to Tantric works which call themselves Kula. Practically all that is generally considered to be the ritual, yogic practice and life style of a Kula (whether itinerant ascetic or householder) can be found prescribed in the Bhairavatantras. The JY, SYM, BY and Bhairavatantras of this sort all seem at first sight highly Kula in character. They themselves, however, do not consider themselves to be such, even though they do sometimes describe rituals that they specifically state are Kula. Indeed, this fact only serves to make the contrast between them and the Kulatantras even more striking, despite much that they seemingly share in common. How then are we to distinguish a Kulatantra from other Tantric works? The reply to this question lies essentially in what a given Tantra says about itself and its relationship to other Tantras and Tantric traditions. A Kulatantra will itself tell us that its dominant concern is with Kula doctrine which it labels as such in its own terms. This is a simple principle of general application in trying to assess to what type a Tantra belongs.

As we have already noted, the earliest Tantras which Kashmiri Śaivites refer to as original sources of Trika doctrine are not, in this sense, Kula. It makes sense, therefore, that according to Abhinavagupta the Mālinīvijayottaratantra which he considers, along with the SYM, to be the most important Trikatantra, refutes Kula doctrine. Although he says that it goes beyond Kula doctrine, in fact it belongs to the strata of Trikatantra which had not yet become Kula (or a ’higher’ Kula) in the way that it is for example, in the Bhairavakulatantra or Kularatnamalā. The same is true of the Kālikrama. The Tantraraṇjīhataśāra (alias Śrāṣṭhendra or Jayadrathāyāmala), to which the Kashmiris refer as an authority for certain points of Krama doctrine, is a sophisticated Tantra which typologically can be said to be highly Kula in character; it does not, however, define itself as such even though it does deal with Kula ritual in places. Therefore, we cannot say that this Tantra belongs to the Kālikrama in the specific sense of the term, although it is certainly concerned in parts with the worship of Kāli in many forms and is full of
typically Kālikrama notions. Other, probably later, Tantras of the Kāli
cult were, however, Kaula and conscious of themselves as Kālikrama
Tantras. One could say that the Kālikrama, like Trika, acquired a specific
independent identity as a Tantric tradition when it became conscious of
itself as Kaula. Moreover, at this stage of its development we can begin to
identify figures in the line of the Āgamic Kāli cults who brought Tantras
‘down to earth’ or transmitted the oral tradition of the Kālikrama which
finally emerged in Kashmir, fashioned at the hands of the Kashmiri
authors, as a fully fledged system, not just a mass of ritual details or
scattered visions in chaotic scriptural sources.

We can trace a continuity from the virtually total anonymity of the
earliest scriptural sources of the proto-Krama and proto-Trika, namely, the
Bhairava and Vāma Tantras, to the more distinctly sectarian Kaula-
tantras of the Trika and Krama, right up to the extra-canonical exegetical
works of monist Kashmiri Śaiva authors. In this way, by the middle of
the ninth century, they emerged out of the world of the Śaiva Āgamas into that
of the śāstras. For at least two centuries these two worlds of discourse
remained vitally linked through the Tantric adepts who belonged to the
line of transmission of the Āgamic teachings and served as living sources of
their hidden meaning. Although we have taken a leap outside the ambit of
Śaiva scripture into a different dimension of discourse, the line of
transmission is linked to that of the canonical works themselves. In other
words, the Trika and Krama schools matured to this level following the
pace of a progressively more refined hermeneutics of the Tantras’ esoteric
meaning, which developed in the oral traditions. It was Śambhunātha—
Abhinavagupta’s Trika master—who gave him the basic exegetical Trika-
based model upon which the culminating work of the Trika tradition—the
Tantraloka—is based. Again it appears that it was largely due to him that
Trika was taken to be the apogee of monist Kashmiri Śaivism, for there
can be no doubt that Trika is far from the central focus of monist Kashmiri
Śaivism before Abhinavagupta.

To get back to the point: when the Krama emerged as a self-conscious
Kaula cult, it seems that it also became conscious of itself as one of a group of
āmnāyas. Whether these two events are concomitant or not, that is,
whether the Kālikrama as an independent Kaula tradition knew itself right
from its inception as the Uttarāmnāya or not, it certainly did so at some
stage of its development. The Trikakula on the other hand, it seems, never
thought of itself as belonging to an āmnāya even though the CMSS refers to
Trika as the pūrvāmnāya. This is probably why the Kashmiri Śaiva
authors ignored the āmnāya system and preferred to relate the Trika—as a ‘higher’ Kaula tradition—to the Śaivāgama as a whole, just as the
Āgamic Trika itself did.

The Tantras of the Kubjikā cult were, however, it seems, Kaula right
from the start and thought of themselves as belonging specifically to the
Paścimāmnāya. We know that the KMT is older than the JY—a proto-
Krama Tantra—which refers to it (see appendix C) and that it is also older
than the NSA. The JY is well aware of an independent current of Kaula
scripture although it does not say specifically that the KMT belongs to it.
Are we therefore to assume that the Kālikula already existed at the time
and that it represented an Uttarāmnāya in relation to the Kubjikātantras?
Or is the KMT the oldest extant type of āmnāya-oriented Tantra? We have
already noted that it nowhere clearly defines the āmnāyas of the other
directions, although it refers to them. Could this be because they were
simply empty categories? In other words, did they have no more than an
ideal existence as mere logical complements to an ex tant Paścimā-
māya? If we accept this hypothesis, we are led to consider the possibility
that the Kālikrama accommodated itself later to this pattern, as did the
Śrīvidyā tradition in a less certain manner. Perhaps, on the other hand, it
would be better to think of them as developing together with their roots
firmly embedded in the Śaivāgama, drawing life from it and growing out of
it, as well as alongside it.

The Paścimāmnāya—The Cult of Kubjikā

Some scholars have assumed that the cult of Kubjikā is of Nepalese
origin largely because virtually all the manuscripts of the Tantras of this
school are Nepalese. This assumption is not, however, supported by the
texts themselves. They do say that this school originated in a mountainous
region, probably the Himalayas (see below), and make the point that it
spread throughout India. Even so, Nepal is hardly mentioned as a place
sacred to the goddess, while the Nine Nāthas who are said to have
propagated the doctrine of Kubjikā in our times, although all of North
Indian origin, are not Nepalese. However, wherever it may have
originated, the cult of Kubjikā was known in Nepal by the first half of the
twelfth century A.D.—the date of the oldest manuscript of the KMT. The
great abundance of manuscripts of Tantras and related works
belonging to this school copied from this time up to the seventeenth
century testify to its popularity there during this period. Judging from the
number of manuscripts copied from this period onwards, the Kubjikā cult
seems to have waned in importance although it must have continued to
command a small following up to quite recent times because a few
manuscripts did continue to be copied right up to the present century.


was informed during a recent visit to Nepal that Kubjikā is still worshipped on certain occasions in the Kathmandu valley although her cult is now hardly known to anybody.

Scholars have pointed out that references to Kubjikā and her school are rare, nor are images of her common whether drawn or sculptured. This is true of another goddess associated with her worship and whose cult has similarly been popular in Nepal since the inception of the cult of Kubjikā, namely, Guhyakāli. The reason for this seems to be that such cults either disappeared along with countless others or else managed to survive only at the regional level. A prime example of this phenomena is Tria Keśviṣuism which, but for its following in Kashmir and the genius of those who applied themselves to it, would probably be unknown. It is not quite right, therefore, to think of the Kubjikā cult as a school which "remained very independent and stood aloof from other Tantrik schools." In fact, one of the aims of future research into this school could be to identify, as far as the available sources permit, the various elements of other Tantrik traditions which have contributed to its formation and to distinguish them from its own original contributions.

Kubjikā, the ‘Crooked One’

"Kubjikā" is the feminine form of the Sanskrit word "Kubja" which literally means "humped-back" or "crooked." Even so, although the Tantras of the Kubjikā school describe many forms in which the goddess can be visualized, she is not commonly represented as bent over. It has been suggested, in order to account for this fact, that "Kubja" is a word of Mundā origin that does not originally mean "crooked." The Tantras do not, however, support this contention. Thus we find that Kubjikā is also called "Vakrēśvarti," Vakrikā or Vakrā because, as the Tantras explain, her limbs are crooked (vakra). Of her three principal forms as a girl (Bīdā), young woman (Kumārī) and old woman (Vṛddhā), it is the last which, as one would expect, is associated with her crooked form. Perhaps this image of her as old and deformed is the reason why she is also called "Khaṇjani!" which means literally "she who walks with a limp." A myth recorded in the KRU that explains why she is bent over does not, however, relate this to her age. The story goes that Kubjikā once sat with devotion to worship the union of the god with the goddess. The god then appeared to her and took hold of her hand as a prelude to union but she, overcome with apprehension and bashfulness, contracted her body, and so became 'Kubjikā'. As such, she is equated with Kuṇḍalini who, when awakened,
The centre of this triangle is as a tamarind tree: Ciñcini. Thus it refers to the doctrine of the Kubjikātantras as Ciñciniśāstra.218 The abode of this doctrine is the Circle of the Divine Transmission (dvīvaughamāndala), higher than that of the Transmission of the Perfected Ones and of Men (Siddha and Mānavouga).219 It is under this Tamarind Tree that Ciñcināthin (alias Vṛkṣanāthin) attained, by divine command, the highest state.220 This tree is the tree of the light of consciousness (cīnicīt-prakāśa) brought into this world by Siddhanāthin221 who planted it on the Island of the Moon (candra-vipa) which is in the Great Ocean of Kula. The roots of this Tree and its branches are extensive and it bears the fruits of the Divine Transmission. It is Kula rooted in Kula and flourishes in Śiva’s Circle. The juice of this tree is one’s own nature (svavabhāva); its young sprouts are the Vedas and Vedāngas; its flowers are the senses, and the divine fount which waters it is the delight of consciousness, its inner glory.222 To lie in its shade is to experience the highest state of rest (viśrānti) in which one is free of the opposites of pleasure and pain.

The Origins of the Kubjikā Cult

The founder of the Kubjikā cult is said to be Śiva who is venerated as Ādīnāthin,223 the primordial teacher. It is Ādīnāthin who imparts the doctrine to the goddess Kubjikā in the KRU. He, the first Master, is, according to one myth, the source of the goddess224 even though he declares that both he and his consort are beginningless and with no end. It is he, not the goddess, who is the essence of the Pasčima tradition which draws its life from him, because he is the authentic identity of those who worship him and the goddess.225 His body is the source of the sacraments offered to him and the goddess with whom he unites to emit the 'sequences' (krama) of the liturgy and the sacred circles (manḍala) in which he is worshipped with the sacrificial formulas he himself has taught.226 Ādīnāthin is also called Śrīnāthin227 who is identified with Mahābhairava, the Lord of Kula and Kubjikā’s consort, Kubjeśvara.228 He receives the doctrine from the goddess but at the same time is praised by her as the source of all Kula doctrine.229 Śrīnāthin is also identified with Śrīkaṇṭha, said to be the original propagator of the Saivaśāstra,230 who is worshipped at times even before Śaṅkara.231 Although Śrīnāthin is extolled as the highest God, there are reasons to believe that he was an historical person. He is listed as the last of eighteen teachers in the line of the Divine Tradition (dvīvaṁyāvumākrama) and was said to be the only teacher in the town of Candra-praṇa who belonged to the Western Tradition. He was

helped at the beginning of the present Age of Darkness to propagate the doctrine by Oḍiṣānāthin, Śrīśaṅkhanāthin and Śrīcarṇendranāthin who lived in the land of Konkana where where Candra-praṇa was situated.232 As the founder of a line of teachers, he is called “Oliṇāthin.”233 A Siddhanāthin is also referred to as the original propagator of this tradition but he may be none other than Śrīnāthin if we take “Siddhanāthin” to be a way of referring to an accomplished adept rather than a proper name.234

As we have noted above, Siddhanāthin was said to have brought the teachings to earth on the Island of the Moon (candra-vipa), also called the “City of the Moon” (candra-praṇa), the “City of the Island of the Moon,”235 or the “City of the Sacred Place of the Moon” (candra-praptahāra).236 It symbolizes the Innate Nature (svavabhāva) of all things where the divine body of the goddess Kubjikā resides in the form of Kundalinī. It is probable that Candra-praṇa did exist although the Tantras overlay it, as they did other places sacred to the goddess, with a symbolism which interiorized it into an inner sacred geography, thus making it difficult for us to locate the site of this town. The land of Konkana, where Candra-praṇa was situated, is said to have been in the Himalayas. Schoterman, however, does not believe that this is likely but thinks instead that: “Konkana denotes the whole strip of land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea.”237 It seems more likely, however, that Candra-praṇa was located somewhere in the Himalayan region in view of the many associations that the goddess and her place of origin has with mountains. Thus in the KMT the Mountain of the Moon (candra-praptahāra) is said to lie to the west of Mount Čeru near Gandhāmālā238 which is where the Island of the Moon is located according to the Saivaśāstra.239 Indeed, this is probably one of the reasons (if not the main one) why the cult of Kubjikā is associated with the western quarter.

Between the three peaks of Himavat is the site of the Land or Town of the Tradition (santānabhuviṣṭa/plura) which is equated with the Western Tradition, also called (as is common practice in these Tantras), the Abode of the Moon (candra-praṇa).240 According to the mystical physiology of these Tantras, Himavat symbolizes the mind (manas) found at the end of the Twelve-finger Space above the head (dvādaśaṁta) where Kundalinī abides in her most risen state.241 Thus Kubjikā is said to descend onto the peak of the Snow Mountain (himagiri) in the land of India. This peak is located at the end of the stream of divine sound (nādi)242 which resounds throughout the micro/macrococosm until it merges into the Silence of the Transcendent at the highest level of being at the End of Sound (nāḍānta) in the Twelve-finger Space. The goddess is therefore said to reside on the peak of Mount Kailāsa and, as such, is the Goddess of the Peak (śikhādevi) and the Mistress of the Wheels of Energy which revolve in the cosmic
body. Her body is pure consciousness and bestows the bliss of the ‘churning’ or arousal of the power of enlightened consciousness. As the power of consciousness, she is also Speech and as such is adorned with the fifty letters of the alphabet and resides in this form within the divine triangle of the Three Peaks once she descends into it along the Path of Meru. The MBT, according to the colophons, has also emerged along the Path of Meru in the Primordial Sacred Abode (adyapitha). The KRU explains that the Path of Meru means, according to Kula doctrine, the Tradition (santāna). The Lord of the Tradition is the Great Meru, the Supreme Sky of Consciousness which knows its own nature completely. It is from here that the beginningless sequence of the progressive unfolding of consciousness and the transmission of the doctrine originates and so is called the Primordial Abode (ādiṣṭhā) located in the Centre between Kailāsa and Malaya. The Lord resides here with his power that pervades all things.

Although it is not possible on the basis of the evidence so far available to say anything definite about where the Kubjikā cult originated, if we assume that the Tantras of these schools invest with symbolic meaning the environment and localities in which the Kubjikā cult originally developed, it seems likely that we would be right to seek its origins somewhere in the western Himalayas. That this cult was known in the mountains of the North of India during the earliest period of its development seems to find support by a reference in the KMT to birch bark as the material on which a Mantra is to be written. The MBT also refers to it as a writing material and the GS prescribes that a sacred diagram be drawn on it with sexual fluids mixed with poison.

The study of the cult of Kubjikā and the Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition is barely in its infancy. We hope that some of the more important of these texts will be edited and studied in the near future. There can be no doubt that this is an early Kaula tradition which is of great interest not only for the richness of its doctrines and the beauty of its symbolism but also because it can tell us something important about a part, at least, of the history of Hindu Tantra.
APPENDIX A

A History of the Study of the Kubjikā Cult

Scholars first heard of the existence of the literature of the Kubjikā school at the turn of the century when Haraprasāda Śāstrī and C. Bendall published their catalogue of manuscripts belonging to the Darbar Library in Kathmandu. In 1934, P. C. Bagchi published an edition of the Kaulajñānanirnaya along with a number of short tracts attributed to Matsyendranātha. In his introduction he quoted extensively from the Kubjikānityāhnikatilaka, which was correctly identified by Śāstrī in the Nepal catalogue as belonging to the Paścimāmnāya. Bagchi however failed to grasp the distinctive character of the Paścimāmnāya and so simply identified it wholesale with the Kaula school.

The next brief reference to the existence of this corpus of literature appeared in an article by Chintaharan Chakravarti published in 1937 in the Yearbook of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This brief article dealt with the Nepalese manuscripts of the works of this school deposited in the library of the Society. One manuscript of the KMT, which was thought at that time to have been written in late Gupta script (but has since been proved to be an early form of Śāradā*), aroused particular interest due to its presumed antiquity. Chakravarti also wrote short notices of these manuscripts in his catalogue of Tantra manuscripts belonging to the Society which came out in two volumes in 1939 and 1940 respectively.

In 1947 a series of articles written by the Nepalese major-general Dhana Śamśēr Jaṅgabhādu Rāja came out in the Hindi magazine Čandī. They were published every two months and each gave a brief account of the annāyas amongst which was the Paścimāmnāya. In 1963 De Mallmann published a book on the iconography of the Agnipurāṇa in which she briefly discussed the form of Kubjikā described there.

This was the state of affairs up to the beginning of the 1970s when a group of scholars at the University of Utrecht in Holland decided to edit the KMT which resulted in 1972 in a preliminary article by Dr. K. R. Van Kooij on the problems involved. In 1976, an edition of the Gorakṣa-
**APPENDIX B**

The *Manthānabhairavatantra*

The *Manthānabhairava* is a lengthy Tantra belonging to the *Paścināmnāya*. It also calls itself *caturvimśatisahasra*, that is, a “book of 24,000 verses” and is in fact not much short of this size. The oldest dated manuscript traced so far was copied during the reign of Somesvara and is dated N.S. 300, i.e., 1180 A.D. The most recent was copied during the reign of Vīravikrama Sāha and is dated Sam. 1897, i.e., A.D. 1841. Forty-one manuscripts, many of which are more than 150 folios long, are listed in Appendix C. One manuscript of a part of this Tantra is preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is in Bengali script and was copied from a manuscript belonging to a monk in Bodhgaya dated N.S. 761, i.e., 1641 A.D. It contains chapters 74-89 and is written on 199 folios of foolscap paper. Apart from this one, no manuscript of this Tantra has so far been found that is not Nepalese.

The MBT is divided into four sections, three of which are called “khaṇḍa.” Although a colophon of one of these sections states that this Tantra is divided into three parts, in actual fact it appears, on the basis of the descriptions in the catalogues, that they are not three but four. These are listed below along with their approximate length:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yogakhaṇḍa</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumārikākhaṇḍa</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhakhaṇḍa</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navanityāgādhikāra</td>
<td>4,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the *Parātantra*, the MBT is referred to as the “mahāmanthāna-sātkaka” which may be translated to mean the “Great Manthāna (bhairavatantra) consisting of a group of six [thousand verses]” or also as...
“consisting of groups of six thousand verses.” If the first meaning is intended, then perhaps the Parātagata is referring to just a part of it. Perhaps, however, the work is conceived to be divided into four parts of six thousand verses, as is the Jayārāhatyāmala. This is perhaps not the case because, as we have already noted, only three out of the four sections refer to themselves as a “khandā,” while the MBT describes itself (in the Kumārikākhaṇḍa at least) as divided into three parts. Does this mean then that the Nāvapatiyāmikādhikāra is a later addition? Or is it, in fact, a part of one of the three original sections? This is just one of the many preliminary problems that need to be solved. Indeed, without carefully examining all the MSs it is not possible even to make out which parts of the MBT they contain. Certainly there is no single MS that contains all. Moreover, the order of the sections also needs to be assessed. From the notices we have of these MSs there appears to be a commentary on this Tantra called “Vidhāna” written by a certain Rūpaśīva. Again, without examining the MSs it is impossible to say whether the commentary extends to cover the entire Tantra or just a part and if so, which part.

The MBT is also called Khaṇḍinimata indicating its close connection to the KMT, for, as the reader will recall, Khaṇḍinī is another name for Kubjikā. It was brought down to earth by Kalāṅkanātha (see below) while the Kulāṭiṣṭhātā of 3,500 verses, i.e., the KMT, which the MBT also calls the “Ratnasūtra,” was brought down to earth by Tumbura. The reference here to the KMT of 3,500 verses proves that the MBT is a later work. This is further confirmed by another passage where the presiding god of this school is described as sitting in the maṇḍala of the Vidyāpītha holding in one hand the Śrīmatā, i.e., the KMT. That the MBT is probably not the original Tantra of the Kubjikā school is also indirectly confirmed by the higher regard that the Tantras of this school have for the KMT, rather than the MBT, and that it is the former, not the latter, which figures as one of the sixty-four Tantras listed in the NSA. The Kumārikākhaṇḍa of this Tantra is particularly interesting from this point of view as it seems to be closely related to the KMT. Perhaps, indeed, it is an expanded version of it, like the Śatāsahasrasanāthī referred to above. Nor can it be the ŚatSS because this Tantra is divided into fifty chapters whereas the Kumārikākhaṇḍa is in sixty-six chapters.

It is not possible at present to date the MBT with any degree of accuracy. It cannot be earlier than the seventh century Buddhist logician, Dharmakīrti, to whom it refers. Probably, however, Dharmakīrti much precedes the reduction of this portion of this Tantra. A reference to an invasion by foreigners who conquered the entire country after crossing the Indus is apparently a reference to the full-scale invasion of India by Muslims in the early eleventh century. It appears, therefore, that the MBT cannot be older than this nor is it younger than 1180 A.D. which is the date of the oldest Nepalese manuscript.

To conclude, we shall say a few words about the traditional accounts of the revelation of the MBT. Up to now, I have managed to trace two. One is found in the Yogakhaṇḍa of the MBT, and the other in the concluding portion of the Kumārikākhaṇḍa. According to the latter account, the original form of this Tantra (here called “Pārameśvaramata”) was a fabulous million, million verses long (lakṣaṇakṣaṇa). The essence of the doctrine of this Tantra was transmitted in another seventy million verses from which another version was supposed to have been derived consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight thousand verses. The most essential doctrines of this Tantra were then recorded in a twenty-four thousand verse version which is the present MBT. This was transmitted by Kuśa to Mitranātha in three sections.

The Yogakhaṇḍa’s account is more complex than that of the Kumbhakhaṇḍa and differs from it in certain details. Here the Divine Transmission of the Khaṇḍinimata is said to have passed originally from Ādīnātha to Mitranātha, who then transmitted it to Śaṭṭinātha, who gave one half to Cāryānātha. Cāryānātha in turn passed on half of what he had learned. Unfortunately, a break occurs in the text here so we do not know whom Cāryānātha taught; possibly this was Oḍiyaṇānātha who is usually associated with the three other teachers. Whoever this teacher was, he transmitted half to Bhātānātha, who gave one half to Gāṇeśa. The remaining portion of the Khaṇḍinimata was transmitted by Akulānātha. The text now goes on to explain that the version consisting of one hundred twenty-five thousand verses was brought to earth by Cīfeṣna(nātha) and that all the rest of the teaching was transmitted by the community of Siddhas on the Island Free of Thought-Constructs (nirvikalpa-avipa) from whence it spread to India. We are also told that the Tantra of twenty-four thousand verses was brought to earth by Kalāṅkanātha. These two accounts are illustrated graphically in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. The Transmission of the Manthānabhairavatānta.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Pārameśvaramata of 1 million, million verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Version of 70 million verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Version of 125,000 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBT revealed to Mitranātha in three khaṇḍas together consisting of 24,000 verses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) Ādinātha
Mitrānātha
Śaṣṭiṃātha - Cāryānātha - ? - Bhṛhatkaṇṭha -
Gaṅāveka - Akūlanātha
Cīcānātha (also called Cīcācinātha) revealed
the 125,000 verse version.
Kalānkanātha revealed the 24,000 verse version.

APPENDIX C

The Canon of the Jayadrathayāmala

After completing this monograph, it was my good fortune to have
been given a copy of a manuscript of the first sākha of the Jayadrathaya-
āmala by Mr. G. S. Sanderson who is at present lecturer in Sanskrit at
Oxford University. Several chapters of this text are dedicated to the Śaiva
 canon.1 P. C. Bagchi examined this section of this Tantra in the 1930s2 but
did not publish an extensive report of its contents, although he did point
out its importance. It does, in fact, contain a great deal of interesting
information relevant to the study of the Śaiva canon and its history. We
have, therefore, thought it best to present it as a single unit largely as it
stands in the original. The numbers in the margin refer to the folio
numbers of the manuscript.

Bhairava, prompted by the goddess, sets out to give an account of the
sāstras. He starts by explaining that a sāstra is so-called because it teaches
(kāsanā) those who are frightened, suffering or wicked the way to
salvation (irūpa) from their sins and worldly troubles.3 All sāstras belong
to four basic categories:4

Common (sāmānyā)
Common-cum-particular (sādhanāraṇavīśea)
Particular (vīśea)
Specially particular (vīśatara)

Once Bhairava has enumerated these categories, he tells the goddess
that this progressive development from less to more specialized knowledge
through these four stages is inevitable because it is impossible to teach
everything at once. Even so, however broad or focialized the terms of
reference may be, all human and divinely revealed knowledge refers to the
same reality. Bhairava also implies here that there is a temporal as well as
a logical progression between these categories and, indeed, the last three
do follow each other in roughly chronological order. Thus these are:
Common (sāmānya). The śāstras belonging to this category enjoy extensive popular support and are not criticized as improper by anyone. Thus, because everyone is fit to study and hear them and because their scope is very extensive, they are said to be ‘common’ as well as ‘worldly’ (laukika). They include the Purāṇas, literary works (kavya) and those dealing with history (itiḥāsa), mathematics (gaṇita), dramaturgy (nāṭaka), metrics (chandas) and grammar (śabdā).

Common-cum-particular (sādāḥāragaṁviśeṣa). Only Brahmins are competent to study these texts and so they are said to be ‘particular’; while because those who study them do not need to affiliate themselves to any cult, they are also said to be common. To this category belongs the Śruti, here reckoned to be the three Vedas, namely, Rg, Śāma and Yajus—not the Atharvaveda. They are the most important in this group. Then comes Smṛti, the Upaniṣads, Mantrasūtra, the Kalpasūtra and logic (anvikṣa).

Particular (viśeṣa). The texts belonging to this category are said to be ‘particular’ because they belong to specific traditions (samaya). These include the Saura, Śiiva, Pāñcarātra, Pramāṇa, Vaimala, Ātharva, Śaṃskhya, Yoga, Bauddha and Ārṣata.

“Śaiva” here means specifically the Śaivasiddhānta scriptures which are of two types according to whether they belong to the Śiva or Rudra group.

Specially Particular (viśeṣatara). These texts are more ‘particular’ than those belonging to the previous group because they are meant for the followers of specific cults within the various traditions. Amongst them are the scriptures of the Vajrayāna, including the Gūhyasamājatantra. To this category also belong the Bhairava, Bhūta and Gāruda Tantras.

The exposition of the canon which follows is concerned with this last category and more particularly with the Tantras of the Bhairava cult which encompass, from the JY’s point of view, virtually the entire Śaiva canon apart from the Siddhānta. Thus this category of ‘specially particular’ texts is said to be divided variously into three, four and five currents (srotas) as well as into four piṭhas.

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Before going into the details of these divisions extensively, the discussion digresses to deal with the origin of the Śaiva scriptures in general. The goddess wants to know how the scriptures originated. She wants to know about the nature of the relationship (sambandha) between those who transmitted and received the scriptures because unless this relationship is established, the scriptures cannot serve as a source of insight (pratipatī).

Bhairava explains that Maheśvara is the sole cause of liberation in this beginningless, confined world of transmigratory existence. It is Maheśvara’s nature to seek to grace mankind, while the latter is the object of his grace because every man is a victim of his own faults. Moreover, in his omniscience, Śiva knows how to grace humanity and liberate man from his state of bondage. The most direct means to this end is scripture which, like a powerful medicine, heals man’s suffering and, through the revelation of its meaning, extinguishes the lamp of pain. It is through scripture that Śiva’s divine vitality (vīrya) is made to fall into the wombs of liberation, fertilizing them to issue forth into the new life of the liberated state. Scripture is ultimately the instrumental cause (nimitta) of liberation and immediately that through which the relationship (sambandha) to the teachers of its purport is established and hence with its original source which is Śiva himself.

The Lord’s body is pure consciousness; thus when he wishes to generate this relationship through the production of scripture, a movement (pravṛti) arises within him that issues out of his transcendental, unmanifest state. Kundalini, the power of consciousness and speech latent within him, is aroused by the fullness of the growing intensity of this movement and so straightens to become a manifest resonance (svara) within consciousness. Śiva is in this way filled with the energy of speech and so assumes the form of the aggregate of all words (śabdarṣi), here identified with Sadāśiva who, eternal, (sadā) and endowed with Śiva’s nature, is ever at the upper level (ūrddvavasthāna). Sadāśiva reflects upon the manifest universe as consisting essentially of two categories, namely, the ‘listener’ and ‘speaker’. This is the one relationship (sambandha) through which the meaning of scripture is communicated. Therefore, although these are two aspects of a single reality and the relationship between them is undivided, it is of various types according to the level of its manifestation, namely:

Great (mahā): that between consciousness and its power.
Subsequent (ānanta): that between Sadāśiva and the Viras.
Intermediate (avāntara): that between he who awakens and he who is awakened.
Divine (divya): The relationship between Sadāśiva as he who awakens and divine beings below him up to the level of Māyā.
Mixed (miśra): that between divine beings and sages.
Other than divine (adiśiva): that between sages and ordinary men.

Sadāśiva as the source of Śaiva scripture is in his supreme (para) form. At the intermediate (parāparā) level he is said to be the vitality of yoga and his body consists of the five Mantras associated with his five faces.
which are the sources of the five currents (srotas) of Śaiva scripture.9 In his lower (apara) form, Sadāśiva is the lord of the Mantrapitīha and is here said to have four faces. Now, although the JY itself belongs to the Vidyāpītha, it also considers the Mantrapitīha to be very important and deals with this class extensively. Accordingly, the Mantrapitīha is said to be the divine pītha (divyapītha) of the Mudrā- and Mandala- pīhas of which Sadāśiva is also the Lord. From Sadāśiva’s five faces issues the pure knowledge (stūdhavijnāna) through which the divine Sound (nāda) and Drop (bindu) emerge. When these combine with the metres, they generate through their rhythm all the śāstras. The gods first revealed reality (artha) through the Vedic metres (chandas); even so all the scriptures are forms in which Sadāśiva embodies himself. Consciousness has no form in itself but is said in this way to possess a body made of Mantras. As such, Sadāśiva is full of divine powers and has a form (vigraha). Through the four instruments (karana) of mind, ego, intellect and speech, he assumes the identity of the teacher who instructs; while when the fourth instrument—speech—is substituted by the power of hearing, he becomes the disciple who listens. He who knows the four instruments is said to be a “Mahā-kāruṇika”.10 Within these grosser bodies is the subtle body (ātitvāhikalinga) governed by the vital breath which moves through the right and left currents of vitality. In this way the right and left currents of scripture descend into the world along with a ‘mixed’ current formed by their conjunction to which the Yāmala belongs.

1. The Pīṭha Division

The JY deals with Āgamic Śaivism from two points of view. Firstly it enumerates the Tantras which belong to the pīṭhas; then it enumerates the lines of transmission of the scriptures from master to disciple (samanā) and the schools (maṭhikā) belonging to the currents (srotas) of the scriptures.11 Thus the JY seeks to present a picture of Āgamic Śaivism and its many different branches from the point of view of both systems of classification. It reserves, however, pride of place for the pīṭha system as the most fundamental classification of scripture while the srotas system is, in a sense, devoted to a classification of groups of Śaiva traditions and lines of transmission of doctrines, each peculiar to its own parent current. The ideal Śaiva master (here the term “guru” is generally used rather than “ācārya”) is one who is conversant with the teaching of all the currents.12

The relationship between the pīṭha and srotas classifications is peculiar and somewhat strained. It appears, as we have already had occasion to remark, that it is a system which developed after the classification into five currents, at a time when they were reduced to three (see above p. 42 ff), namely into ‘right’, ‘left’ and ‘mixed’ currents and takes over from it as a system of classification of scriptures as a whole (and as a set of groups to which the Tantras affiliated themselves), cutting across the distinctions made within it. We have already noted that this is happening in the BY’s account of the Śaiva canon while the following remark in the JY seems to echo the view of the BY which, as we shall see, is considered by the JY to be a particularly important Tantra: “The four pīṭhas are together said to reside in the right, left and mixed currents as if they were the principal branch in a subsidiary branch (of the teachings).”13

Before dealing with the pīṭhas extensively, Bhairava talks about them in general and deals with their contents summarily. Bhairava starts by listing a number of synonyms for the word “pīṭha”, all of which mean a “group” or “collection”.14 The Mantrapitīha is associated with masculine words while the Vidyāpītha is associated with feminine ones. Perhaps by this is implied that the Tantras of the Mantrapitīha deal more extensively with male deities while those of the Vidyāpītha with female ones, as the Svacchanda-bhairavantra and the SYM, which belong to these two pīṭhas respectively, exemplify. The Mudrāpītha is of three forms related to mind, speech and body. It is called “terrible” (ghora). The Mandala-pīṭha is where all three unite and is said to be undivided. This does not mean that the Tantras of this pīṭha are monastic but rather that it has, according to the JY’s account, no subdivisions. Again, the preference the JY has for the Mantrapitīha is evidenced by the way it characterizes it as the repository of the supreme brilliance (paramaṃ tejās) which symbolizes the state of the enjoying subject (bhoktri), while the Vidyāpītha is the object of his enjoyment (bhoga). Mudrā includes both of these while Mandala is present in them all.15

To the Mantrapitīha (“beyond which there is nothing”) are said to belong twelve thousand Mantras. It consists essentially of eight Bhairavantras, namely, the Svachchanda, Unmatta, Asitāriga, Ruru, Canḍa, Krodha, Jhānakāra and Kapālika16 with which secondary Tantras are associated. The JY appears to quote a verse from the Sarvaviratastra recorded by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the SVT which states that the Tantras of this pīṭha are four, namely, the Svachchanda, Canḍa, Krodha and Unmattabhairavantras.17 The apparent contradiction is reconciled if we understand that what is meant here is that these are the four major Tantras of the Mantrapitīha, each of which is linked with one of the four remaining Bhairavantras. Consequently the Mantrapitīha is said to be two-fold.18

The Vidyāpītha is also extensive.19 The major Tantras listed as
2. **Mantrapīṭha**

This is basically divided into the Tantras associated with four root Tantras or mālaśūtras, namely, Svācchanda-, Caṇḍa-, Krodha-, and Unmattā-bhairavāsūtras.

**Svācchandabhairavāsūtra.** This is divided into two branches, namely, those of Svācchanda and Asitāṅga. The Svācchanda branch was made manifest at the command of Svācchandabhairava. It consists of eight sections, each taught by a Bhairava starting with Kānkālabhairava and ending with Sitabhairava. The first to hear these teachings was Ananta who received it through the power of yoga (yogasakti) operating on the Pure Path. They were then adopted by Śrikanṭha and Lakulīśa. Lakulapāṇi expounded the teachings extensively to sages like Gautama who knew the Veda. His best disciple was Musalendra to whom he transmitted the essence of the teachings.\(^\text{21}\)

**Asitāṅga,** the second branch, was revealed by eight Bhairavas including Asitāṅga and Kapāla to the Anantavirās manifested through them. The teaching was then transmitted through the ages in various Tantras considered to be schools or branches (śākhā) of the Asitāṅgāṃmatāsūtra. These include Asitāṅga, Mahāmāda, Ekapāda, Mahodaya, Bindukapāla, Nāṇendu, Śekhara, Cāryāmītra, Kālājīla, Kālakūta, Mahāmātra, Mahāgaṅghātra, Bhairavaghaṅghātra, Mahāniṃpāṇayogā, Vicitrābhairava, Bhīma, Mahābīja and Parampada.\(^\text{22}\)

**Caṇḍabhairavāsūtra.** This sūtra is also divided into two sections, namely those belonging to Caṇḍa- and Ruru-Bhairavas. The Caṇḍabhairavāsūtra, which has twelve Kalpas, was originally revealed to Vikarāla, Sīnghakṣaṇa and to one other(?) along with eight Viras by Caṇḍanātha. These sages founded several schools. This Great Knowledge (maḥājaññā) was then transmitted by Caṇḍanātha’s will along the following line of teachers.

From Sīnghakesara to Manohara — Viṣṇu — Kāsiṅka — Śrīvatsa — Śrīvināsa — Śrīgārha — Viśvavaiśāra — Saura — Mīhāśwamī — Subhadrā — Muñjaśeṣa — Adhokṣaja — Medhasu. It was also given to Agastya’s circle of masters by Vīgrahēsa and, by the will of Śrīkaṇṭhaśūris, was transmitted by Bhairava who gave it to the gods. It was then transmitted to Śāktaṭaya — Pippalāda — Uddālaka — son of Nāciketas who brought it into this world with its many branches (śākhā).

The Tantras belonging to this sūtra are twenty-one in number, namely Daṇḍatāntra, Vīraatāntra, Mahāpīṭha, Sūpīṭha, Caṇḍapiṭha, Suśrūvan, Purākāla, Candogra, Candamandala, Candāśidhāra, Bhūtogra (?).
Kroधhaḥbhairavaśāstra. This sūtra is divided into two main groups—the superior (para) and inferior (apara), taught by Kroधhabhairava and Jhānakāra respectively. The Kroधhabhairava group has eight branches. The Tantras of these branches were taught by eight Bhairavas, including Kāntibhairava, Šikhāśekhara and Rodhina (?). The branch associated with Sāmpťāhabhairava is also divided into eight branches taught by eight Bhairavas starting with Sāsānāśekhara up to Vīruśākṣa. All these branches again have many subdivisions so that the Kroধhaḥaṇaṇaśaṁhitā group is said to have been transmitted along innumerable lines. Kāntabhairava spoke it to Rudroňāka and Maheśa while the Kroধhoggaraśaṁhitā belonging to this Tantra was taught by Kroধhabhairava himself to Kamaš vítara who transmitted it to Bhima who gave it to Jhānakāra and Amśumati. Again Vimalabhairava gave the Vimalaṇaṇa to Candrapidā, while Kroধheśa gave it to Sūrāpiḍā and Tārāpiḍā. (Śikha)? śekhara-bhairava gave the Kroধhāmbūtāsaṁhitā (said to describe many mudrās) to Amaleśa, while Mahāvīraśikha transmitted it to his disciples on the lower level. The Kro�hānaṇaśaṁhitā of one hundred seventy-five thousand verses was taught by Māyāpiḍa and Amaleśa; the hundred thousand verse recension was taught by Bhairava, while Nandī taught the version of twenty million verses. At his command Bhairava and the goddess taught it to the Bālakshiyas. The one thousand eight hundred version was taught by Nandīnātha, that of seventeen (hundred?) verses by Krodhin (?) and that of eight (hundred?) by Dattatreyā, while the third group of eight Vīras gave it to Sītāśūkha. The Nānājaṇkāra-mālāśaṁhitā was received by Viśāla from Jhānakāra while Kṛūrābhairava taught a section of this Tantra called Kroধhakaḥaṇaṇaśaṁhitā to Kandarpa. The Binduvijayaṭantra was imparted to Śaśibhūga. Binduvijayatrantrā (?) was taught by Kalikālaḍadeva. Śāmana received the Yogāśirāmasya from Karkaka and Śaśikānti gave the Kroধhāra-samvartākā to Maḥāsāmantadeva. Tāra received the Mahānādatantra while the Viśamakṣodhāmālātantra (?) belongs to Mahātāṭapati. The Kroধhaṭantra was transmitted from Tārāpati—Sūtarāvavana—Dhāmalīla—Jītaśāvanyaka—Hājakanātha and was finally received by Kālānātha.

Bhairava concludes this section by defining the term "krodha" (meaning literally "anger"): "Anger is said to be that by virtue of which one becomes genuinely one-pointedly intent on removing whatever obstacle there may be to liberation."24

Unmattasūtra. Bhairava starts by saying that this root Tantra and its ramifications are but a drop from the infinite ocean of Sādāśiva. The Unmattapaddhati is divided into two lines, each of which is of eight divisions corresponding to eight Bhairavas. Unmattabhairava taught the Unmattatantra to which belong twenty-one Saṁhitās, while Kapāliśa presides over the second line of which there are eight principal Saṁhitās, namely: Anantabhairava, Anantavijaya, Bhairava, Para, Vināśikha, Acalodīśa, Mārṇḍanaśaṁhitā and Čandrodbhairava. These Saṁhitās were brought to earth by eight sages amongst which only Viśālalocana, Tārāpati and Sutāra are named, the latter being the revealer of the Mārṇḍanaśaṁhitā. These Saṁhitās are linked to each other and to other Tantras as follows:

Śikha—Arta, Ānanda, Pramoda, Anantavijaya
Anācala and Amṛtānanda—Ānanda, Gambhirā, Jāvānanda, Śirotāra, Sunanda.
Mārtāṇḍa—Mantharā, Vīṣṇuṇanda, Surānanda
Candrāgra—Sadānanda, Aśītānanda, Maṅgālānanda, Marigalā. (Bhairava)—Lelihāṅa, Mahāįvāla, Candrāmālini, Karankini, Karalā, Karoṃmāla, Kālevarā, Mahāpherkārabījā

Each of the Tantras associated with the Unmattabhaisravasaṁhitā have other Tantras associated with them. These are:

Leleḥāṅa—Nītyāntīyā, Anītyā, Nītyā.
Mahājvala—Unāśa, Nīlakṣaṇa, Yogandra
Candrāmālini—Pūjodhāra, Kuraṇaṅkaṣi, Padākṣi, Citrakandhara.
Karanānī—Two extensive Saṁhitās—not named.
Karotā—Nīrgha, Dhvastavighnā
Karpāmāla—Viṅgāṅa, Sudiptabhāva.
Kalevarā—Saṃyā, Kṣudrā.
Pherkāra—Vimalā, Śīvā.

The Unmattatantra of the first line was transmitted by Unmatta-bhairava (?) to the gods starting with the five Sīvas (Śīvaṇeka). From Śuddhavīdayā it was transmitted in a version of three hundred and fifty (chapters?) to Dhyānāhāra who taught it to Prapaṇa, then to Kuṇḍabhdra and Śikheśa who gave it to Bhira (?)

Bhairava then explains that he assumed the form of Unmattabhairava when he became mad with passion at the sight of Dākṣaṇapīkāli. A seed-syllable issued from him in this state from which Bhairava was generated in his terrible (ghora) form. The goddess, his consort (jāyā), saw him then and after coupling with him asked him for the knowledge whose awesome
power assumes the ‘extremely terrible’ (mahāghora) form of Unmatta-
bhairava. Pleased with her, Bhairava spoke the Jāyātantra of twelve
thousand verses. This Tantra has five versions (kalpa) of six thousand,
three thousand, one thousand eight hundred, eight hundred and seventy-
five, and five (or five hundred?) verses.

Before concluding this section on the Mantrapiṭha with the
affirmation that it is very extensive, Bhairava states that the Bhairava-
tantra was brought down to earth by the eight sages: Durvāsas, Sanaka,
Jīśuṣu, Kapila, Kāśyapa, Kuru, Saṃvara and Saṅkhapaśa.

3. The Vidyāpiṭha

The Vidyāpiṭha is said to be closely connected to the Mantrapiṭha.
The account of its contents is basically divided into three sections. Firstly,
a brief outline of these sections and their contents:

The Śaktitantras belonging to the Middle Current. These are the
Sarvavīra, Tṛiśūla (i.e., the SYM), Śrīcakra, Vīśvādyā, Yoginījāla-
sambhava, Vidyābhedha and Śīroghṛta (i.e., Śīraxcheda).28

The Tantras belonging to the Left Current. Nayottara, Mahārauda,
Mahāsammohana.29

The Tantras belonging to the Right Current. These are basically the
Yāmala of which five are the root texts. Of these, four are in a group of
their own, namely Raudra, Auma-, Vaiśnava- and Skanda-yāmala.

The fifth is the Brahmayāmala which is said to expound “the conduct
which involves the use of rotten flesh” (kravācāra) whereas the others do
not. It is also called “Pircumata,” “Dvayākṣara” or just “Mata.” Seven
other root Tantras (sūtra) are associated with it, namely Ucchusma,
Nirācāra, Mahācāra, Sarvabhadra,28 Dvika, Sarvākṣika and
Mahādakṣiṇa. The last Tantra is divided into two sections. Thus there
are eight Tantras altogether and as these are all Matatintras they are
called the “Eight Matas” (matāṭakā).

After concluding that there are fifteen root Tantras (mūlasūtra) in
the Vidyāpiṭha, the JY moves on to a more detailed treatment of each
section.

The Sarvavīratantra. This Tantra was revealed by Mahādeva and
transmitted along the following line: Dakṣina → Mahāvīra → Praçāṇa →
Kānkala → Nilakantha → Bhairava → consort → Garumāt → Daśa-
khaṇḍara → Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa → Pataṅga → Bhavapāpin who then

transmitted it to men.

The basic form of this Tantra (mūlasūtra) is said to be of three
hundred and fifty (chapters?), its concise (saṃgraha) version is called
“sāhasra” which presumably means that it is one thousand verses long.
Other versions consist of sixteen thousand, twelve thousand and twenty-
four thousand verses. Altogether this Tantra is said to be over one
hundred thousand verses long and has been heard, spoken and transmitted
many times.

The Siddhayogeśvarinivarta. This Tantra has three (sections/versions?)
174b taught by three different teachers, namely: Para by Mahendra, Parāpara
by Bhūṣma and Apara by Siddhayogin.

A number of Tantras, all of which are said to be two hundred and fifty
(chapters?) long, are associated with the SYM and transmitted by various
teachers. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Tantra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mālādhara</td>
<td>Mālātī (? )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karālin</td>
<td>— (? )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajākarna</td>
<td>Khecariwijaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṅkhadhārin</td>
<td>Mahāṣaṅkhaṭantra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marnapheula</td>
<td>Pheiķaiķisara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyākāhari</td>
<td>Vidyālaķaṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyloka</td>
<td>Vidyāpriasāti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghora</td>
<td>Siṭāghora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghoreśvara</td>
<td>Raktāghoreśvari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyā</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīṭacākṣu</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇaghoreśvari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairava’s will</td>
<td>Ptaghori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padmamudrā</td>
<td>Mahāmāyā (? )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niraṇāna</td>
<td>Bhādra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ichā</td>
<td>Kāli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jnāṭi</td>
<td>Karakānki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Siddhayogeśvarinivarta was transmitted along the following line:
Śrīkaṇṭha → Kṣudra → Amṛtabindu (=Binduparāpiṭ) → Vipra →
Bhairava → consort → Kṛṣṇa → Umāpati → Vedaśiras → Aṅgiras →
Utathya → Urđhvaretas who taught it to men.

The Śrīcakratantra. Eight Cakrasamhītās are associated with this Tantra,
namely: Svāracakra, Varnacakra, Nāṭikacakra, Guhyacakra, Kālacakra,
Srūacakra, Vāhinīacakra and Somajacakra.26 Śiva’s ‘resounds’ (svarat) 175a
and is manifest in the Svaracakratantra while Varnacakra deals with
Mantra. Nātīcakra (also called Cūtabhā) and the Guhyačakra deal with the
nature of Śaktī. There are two Kālacakratantras; both are said to deal with the
duration of man’s life (āyus). One of the two is Saura and said to be auspicious (śubha); the other is Buddhist and is considered to be
inauspicious (āsūtha). Vāhneyacakra is said to be “enflamed” (dipta) by
Mantra while the teachings of Somajacakra (also called “Caṇḍatatantra”) destroy death.

The Pañcāṃśatantra. The only information supplied about this root
Tantra is the line of its transmission which is: Śakti — yoginis, gaṇas, gods
and snakes — Prahlāda — Āusanasena — Bhāgava — Devala —
Kṛṇātreyā (“who knew the Vedas”) — Kuśadhvaja — Sitoda — Patadra (?) —
Dantya.

The Viśvādhyatana. This Tantra is named “Viśvādhy” because it teaches
the nature of the group of yoginis (yoginījāla) starting with the one named
Viśvā. The line of transmission is as follows: Sadāśiva — Viśātman —
Vimaladṛśa — Kāntiçhātra — Šaupāṅ — Bhairava — Śakti who hid it. A
few of the Mantras of this Tantra were known to Kīlahēi who learned them
from Śakti and transmitted them to the world of men.

Yoginījālasambhara. There are twelve Tantras associated with this root
Tantra: Mahāsāmamartatka, Bhūma, Tilaka, Nākha, Bimba, Candralekha,
Caṇḍāslatka, Śīlāda, Bhagamalī, Bhogini, Suśeṣṭi and Sūdhāma.30

Associated with these Tantras are twenty Upasamhitās: Tāraka,
Akiśa, Pāśaghni, Nandini, Gāminī, Bṛghuṇa, Satyā, Dāksyāṇi, Umā,
Māyā, Mahākāli, Caṇḍāli, Arcaśā, Bhadrākāli, Sumeśhā, Tārā,
Arkamāṇi, Tārakābharaṇa, Raudri and Jvalamālantika.

The line of transmission of the Yoginījālasambhara is as follows:
Mahāsāmamartatka — Bhūma — Tailaka — Dīrganakhin — Bimba —
Caṇḍāvṛddha — Caṇḍāslatka — Śīlāda — Bhagamalī — Bhagini —
Vira — Suśeṣṭi — Sūdhāma — Jvalamukhāntika — Bhairava — Śakti —
Urdhvatapas — Ananta.

The Yoginījālasambharatantra is said to the glory of the Anantasrotas.

The Vidyābhedatantra. Seven Šaṃhitās are associated with this Tantra
taught by as many teachers; these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Tantra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vidyesāha</td>
<td>Śiddhārīhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pralamba</td>
<td>Vidyālayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padadru</td>
<td>Vidyāraśī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karāla</td>
<td>Vidyāmāṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajātman</td>
<td>Vidyārāśi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Śatrughnatantra was transmitted by Śatrumardana — Ēkāka —
Kāla and Mina who divided it into two sections (skandha). Bhairava
received it in the form of the Kālabhedatantra (also called Kāla-
samkarṣaṇa). He taught it to his consort and to Yādudhānadhīpa
and Vṛnadārakumāni. It was transmitted through his divine power in
countless sections (skandha).

The Saṃmohanatapra. Once when the Lord of the Demons, in alliance
with the Heroes and the Circle of Mothers, was fighting the gods, he drank
the sacred nectar and became drunk. In this state he started to dance while
the Mothers, headed by Cakrakāralī, began to devour the circle of the
gods along with Bhairava who presides over it. Śiva, aware of the danger,
emitted into the ocean of wine a Lotus of Power of four petals on which sat
the goddesses Jayā, Vijyā, Jīṭā and Aparājītī with their brother,
Tumburu, seated in the centre. They played upon their vīṇās and the
terrible circle of Mothers, attracted by the music, desisted from their
intent.31 It was the same Tumburu, skilled both in playing the vīṇā and
vocal music, who, along with his four sisters, brought the Mahā-
saṃmohanatapra to earth.

The line of transmission of this Tantra is as follows: Tumburu — 177b
Maheśāna — Sammohana — Ananta — Trīmūrti — Dundubhi — Nilakaṭṭha. Nlarudra was another teacher of this Tantra. He had a large number of disciples who were also conversant with the sixty-four Bhairavaatantas.33 These all belonged to the Bhārgava branch of the line of transmission.

Associated Tantras. Māyābhijottara, Sammohanāṁśa, Jayāṁśa, Vicītra, Tārāṁśa, Mahāmṛta, Guṇaṁśa, Kalāśāra, Parāṁśa, Tṛṇalā, Bindusāra, Māyāśāra, Mahodaya, Vidyājāla, Mahājāla, Madana, Madanodaya, Mantradaya, Pramodaka, Raksarakṣa, Sarasā, Traiguna, Bhūṭādāma, Trailoṣvajīya, Vijaya, Nilaketu, (Vasudhārā), Ankrapraśna, Priyodaya, Mahābala, Vipraṅgha, Jambhava, Mohana, Prabhā, Śīkha, Cudāmāni, Kānta, Karkoja, Karapūṁa, Sammohatilaka, Bimbatilaka, Tilaka, Prayojana, Durvāśīṁa, Sundara, Kandarpavijaya, Līla, Lallīṣa, Ratimadhana, Bhoginīya, Viśāla, Bhṛūṭānta.34

The Nayottaratantara. The sages Śukra and Aṅgiras received this Tantra and brought it down into the world, transmitting it to Candraśekhara. A number of related Tantras are listed: Trailokyamohana, Bimba, Dānāvarvitemohana, Tārākābhyudaya, Samgrāmavijaya, Nayasaśa, Tilaka, Kōlaḥāla, Ambarūśi, Cāpaṇāli, Mrigadvaja, Nārāyaṇa and Vaṣṭākāra.

The Mahāraudrantanta. The deity of this Tantra is called Mahārauddha or Ruru (bhairava). He taught this Tantra to Śarva — Rudra — Śamvarta — Cāp ṣa and Sauḍīna — Ardhanarīśa who taught a short version to Bhṛūga.

The Yāmalas. The term yāmaḻa which literally means “a couple in union” and commonly refers to the coupling of the god with his consort, is here given a special meaning as the union of Mantra and Vidyā. The implication here is that these works deal with both the ritual formulae corresponding to and embodying the gods (as Mantras) as well as the goddesses (as Vidyās).35 Again these operate in the domain of another couple, namely, knowledge (jñāna), which is both insight into ultimate principles and an understanding of the methods described in the Tantras, together with action (kriya) which is the application of this knowledge. They depend on one another.36 The goal of spiritual endeavour is achieved by following the teachings of the Yāmalas, dealing as they do with these four topics.

The Brahmāyāmalas. The root of all the Yāmalas is considered to be the Brahmāyāmaḻa. It has three principal divisions called Raurava, Andhaka and Kanaka. The Viṣṇu, Skanda and Rudraṇāmalas belong to these three respectively. The four Vedas are said to originate from them along with the Umāyāmaḻa.37 The Brahmāyāmaḻa has many other secondary divisions and many Tantras are associated with it. It is said to partake of the character of all five srotaṇas and is also called “Pūcamata.” The word “Pūca” is said to consist of two units, namely, “Pi” which means “body” (pīṇḍa) and “cu” which means “seed” (bijā): a true yogin is one who unites these two elements, that is, his body with the seed of consciousness. Again, “Pi” denotes menstrual flow (kāminipūspa) and “cu” the male seed (reitas). The repeated union of these two in conjunction with the performance of the appropriate ritual (kriya) and recitation of Mantra is considered to be Pūca. “Pi” is also said to denote the female organ (yoni) while “cu” is the male seed. This seed—called “vidhu”—is the omniscient knower—vid. It is the supreme seed of consciousness.

The BY is the main Maītātantra and has eight Maītātantras associated with it. These, along with the teachers who brought them to earth and anutantras associated with them, are as follows: 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Maītātantra</th>
<th>Anutantra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bindusāra</td>
<td>Raktā</td>
<td>Utpala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapālin</td>
<td>Pecikā</td>
<td>Karālinimata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hetyūṇa (?)</td>
<td>Mrgālinimata (Vṛkādaya)</td>
<td>Aitreya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>Śāmbara</td>
<td>Sārasvata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilakeśin</td>
<td>Uṭphulaka</td>
<td>Kaḷāsāra + Mukuṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārūḍi</td>
<td>Bhārūḍa</td>
<td>Kāḷākhyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauśiki</td>
<td>Piṅgalā</td>
<td>Picasāra + Nayodaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Associated with the eight anutantras are eight pariśīṣṭatantras. How these are linked is not always made clear. They are Paṇḍālikā (linked with the Utpalatantra), Mānava (associated with the Viṣṇāvatantranta), Karālinimata and its ‘sāraśaṅgrahā’, Lakṣmi (associated with the Kāḷākhyya), Viṃala (associated with the Lampātatantra), Kacchapi (associated with the Kṛmakāhaṭātantra) and Garbhapūrakaranā (associated with the Nayodayatantra).

From the pariśīṣṭatantras originate the upāstitas. These are Aśvaputra, Śraṅgā, Gōjika (?), Bhedavipluta, Vaibhāṅga, Mātāṅga, Kuṃmāli and Savirata.

All these Tantras are the root ancillaries (mālapariśīṣṭa) of the BY. Along with them are seven mālapūrākṛtas which are said to belong to all five currents of scripture. These are Muśṭi, Kuṣa, Lava, Kālasāra, Ambikā, Tilaka and Avadhūta.
Bhairava now goes on to discuss an interesting matter which concerns both the exegesis of these Tantric texts and how they are conceived to be related to one another. Bhairava explains that there are five types of basic Tantras (śūtra) which disclose the different levels of meaning of the teachings.40 These are as follows:

Mūlasūtra: This is the root Tantra. There are different root Tantras for each pītha.41 Each one is supposed to deal extensively with the teachings of a given tradition as a whole. It is the text which indicates (śācaka) the entire extent of the doctrines and ritual procedures of its tradition.

Gūhyasūtra: The Tantras of this type discuss the hidden esoteric meaning of the teachings.

Nāyikasūtra: These Tantras deal with how the adept is likely to fall from the path and lose the attainments he has already acquired (siddhi) and how he can get them back.

Uttarasūtra: This discusses and clarifies the intended sense of the teachings as determined by these sūtras.

The Uttarottarasūtra: This elucidates and supplements what remains to be understood or has, inadvertently, not been dealt with fully in the previous four sūtras. It is said to teach the ultimate purpose of these scriptures just as it is inherently in itself and beyond all thought-constructs (nirvikalpa).

It is the teacher’s responsibility to expound the meaning of the scriptures clearly. He does this by connecting their sense into a coherent whole through a number of correlates (sambandha) he establishes between their contents. He deals with the root Tantras individually at first in order to bring out the underlying coherence between them and their associated Tantras, and to then ideally establish it between all the sūtras and their teachings. According to the JY, there are five correlates which, by implication, it juxtaposes with the five types of sūtras. These are:

Indication (śācana): The teacher summarizes what has been taught before and on the basis of that indicates what is going to be taught further.

Preliminary Exposition (abhidhāna)

Validation (gamaka): The teacher now gradually unfolds the meaning of the sūtra. In order to make it clear, he makes use of examples and refutes possible objections.

Clarification (prakāśaka): This follows from the previous correlate.

Ordering the Disordered (sānkīrtaṇa): In order to explain the meaning of a Tantra, the teacher must distinguish between the sections of it which deal with particular matters. As he proceeds from one chapter to the next of the Tantra, he points out where one topic begins and another ends. He deals first with each section individually and then indicates how they are related to the others.

Other Āgamas also deal with these correlations in their own way. Abhinava devotes a section of his Tantrāloka to an explanation of how the teacher should transmit the meaning of the scriptures to his disciples (vyākhyāvīdhā).42 Abhinava bases himself mostly on the Devyāyāmala which Jayaratha accordingly quotes extensively in his commentary. Paraphrasing this Tantra, Abhinava starts by saying that there are five kinds of teachers:

Those who know just one Kalpa, that is, a version of a given root Tantra or a Tantra associated with it.

Those who know the entire range of Kalpas associated with a given Tantra.

Those who know all scriptures belonging to a given class (śāstra).

Those who know the meaning of all the Śaṃhitās.

Those who know all the classes of scriptures.43

The best teacher is, of course, one that belongs to the fifth group. However, if a student cannot find a teacher who knows the scriptures in their entirety, he should seek a teacher who is well conversant with the particular Tantra he wishes to learn and whose teachings he seeks to put into practice.

The Devyāyāmala, like the JY, says that there are five correlates through which the teacher can explain the meaning of a Tantra with reasoned argument in order to preserve the doctrines of his own tradition (svāmnāya). These are:

The Sections (pāda): Theoretically a Tantra of the Śaṃhitā type is divided into four sections, called pāda. The teacher must first explain the overall sense of the Tantra. He does this by dealing with each one of these sections, explaining their contents in general terms in the order in which they appear in the beginning, middle and end of each section.

The Coherence of Each Section (pādagata): The teacher should explain how each part of each section fits with every other in a coherent manner
and without contradictions.

The Chapters (padārtha): The teacher can now explain the contents of the Tantra chapter by chapter and in so doing connect one to the other.

The Meaning of the Words (padārtha): The teacher now explains each statement in the Tantra individually.

The Meaning of the Sûtras: The teacher can now deal with the entire root Tantra. He reflects on its overall content, distinguishing it from other sûtras, in order to elucidate its unique character in relation to other sûtras.

Although the divisions into grades of sûtras is more theoretical than real, it is interesting to observe how the Agamas attempted to find through it coherence in their extensive and diverse literature. Certainly some Tantras were more closely linked to each other than were others; even so we can't help feeling that we have here an ideal scheme. We can compare this scheme with the Buddhist Tantras which do, in fact, tend to develop in this way, at least in part. Perhaps we might hazard to suggest that the Śaiva Tantras took over this scheme as a theoretical possibility which did, in a partial way reflect an aspect of the relationship between the Tantras and their traditions.

The Rudrayâmala. Eleven Saṃhitās are associated with the Rudrayâmala: Arhasāra, Suradharma, Daityagkni, Virārīhinā, Virāsāra, Raudrī, Mumrāntamālinī, Kālottārā, Kālaghini, Mahāmrtunjaya and Candrabhairava.

180a The Viṣṇuγāmala. The line of transmission of this Yāmala is as follows: Sadāśīva → Kapāliṣṭā → Svachanda → Krodha → Ucchusma → Ruru → Candjabhairava → Unmatta → Virabhairava → Ananta → Bhāskara → Manthana → Nilakantha → Bhima → Vāmaka → Mahākāla → Viṣṇu → Munindra → Śāndilya.

Associated with this Yāmala are the following Saṃhitās: Trinundinti, Bahurūpā, Ucchusma, Candā, Pronmatta, Virabhairava, Anantamāta, Anantabhāskara, Trṇaka (?) and Anantavijaya. A group of four Saṃhitās collectively called "rūpā" are said to be derived from the Anantavijaya. These are Bhimā, Vāmā, Mahākāla and Gṛdhrapāṭi. Along with these scriptures is the Kālavadaśasamhitā of twenty-one thousand verses and the Viśṇupasamhitā of six thousand verses. The Durḍarāsvanasaṃhitā (also called Sutasrana) of three thousand five hundred verses was brought to earth by Śāndilya.

181b Skandayāmala. This Tantra, also called the "Senāpatiyāmala", was transmitted along the following lineage: Tejodhāna → Prthuśiras → Samaṅḍra → Viśvabhuk → Viṣvalayagola → Bhairava → Consort → Viśākha → Kuṭijāramukha → Sambhādra → Virabhāda → Ugracandra → Mahendra → Candrabhairavāyumuni → Manugana.

The Saṃhitās associated with this Yāmala are Gauḥāśabandha, Analakāntīha, Viṣṇuchadā, Śālāvā, Mayūraśikhā, Ramanodbhava, Varadā and Līlotaṇapatālikā.

Umāyāmala. The line of transmission of this Yāmala is as follows (Bhagarudra) Bhairava → Asitādṛśa (Kṛṣṇāṣa) → Yāmāntaka → Pingala → Huṃkāra → Śanukarṇa → Piṅgala → Mṛtyuḥjaya.

There are eight Saṃhitās associated with this Yāmala and they are said to belong to all four pīthas. These are Umā, Rauravī, Bhīma, Gambhirā, Lāṅgalā, Mātyānanda, Surānanda and Bhairovananda.

The Umāyāmala is supposed to have originated from the Soma-yāmala while countless other yāmalas are supposed to be derived from the other ones. These include four Devatiyāmalas, four Dūṭibhavāyāmalas, four Kīkiniyāmalas, six Yoginiyāmalas, eighteen Bhīmayāmalas, ten Dākiniyāmalas and a number of Mātyāmalas.

4. The Mudrāpīṭha

The Mudrāpīṭha is also called the Kriyāśāstra, probably because Mudrā is a manifestation of the power of action (Kriyāsakti) just as Mantra is a manifestation of the power of knowledge. The revealer of the Tantras of this pīṭha is Bhairava who also created the sixty-four Bhairovanatras. The Mudrā which the Tantras of this pīṭha are said to disclose is the Gesture or Seal of Emptiness (vyomamayā mudrā). It is one's own authentic nature (svasvabhāva) that is self-established and delights in eternal bliss. This seal is 'stamped' onto all the relationships between the categories of existence and melts away all bodily bondage. When it descends onto the level of the empirical world where meditation and its object are distinct, it is variously conceived and so assumes countless forms. Three root Tantras belong to this pīṭha:

Hṛdbheda. All the JY tells us about this Tantra is the line of its transmission which is as follows: Phetkārāhāraiva → Kāntichātra → ? → Prapalambha → Niraṅjana → Vyāpin → Vigrāheśvara → Bhairava → goddess who revealed a short version to mankind.

Mātriheda. Bhairava explains that this Tantra is so-called because it 183b exalts the mother (mātrī) in whom and by whom all the universe is
measured (māpita) and saved (irānīta) and of whom there are many diverse forms (bheda). There are five Śaṁhitās associated with the Mārţiḥa, namely Aparaţi, Vāstuvidyā, Sarvaṁbhrā, Karaoti, Siddhaśārārtha, Citrārtha ( ).

The Kubjikāmatā. The KMT is said to have originated in the mountains. It is considered to be the most important Tantra of the Mūdraṇītha although it is linked with all the piṭhas. This is the Tantra of the goddess Kubjikā. She is the power Beyond Mind (martenmāni) who, in the bliss of loving union (samplava), withdraws her limbs to form the divine triangle of the Seed (bijā), Drop (bindu) and Sound (ndáda) through which the universe is created. The KMT is said to deal with the Seal of Speech (vācikā mudrā). This is of countless forms although it consists essentially of the fifty letters of the alphabet. It denotes the meaning of countless words and indicates the true nature of things leading thus to its realization. The sections (or associated texts) of this Tantra are Ekākśa, Dyākśa, Padamālā, Śabdamālā, Sabdamalārtha, Mālinī, Vākyamālā and Vidyāmālā.

5. Maṇḍalapīṭha

This piṭha is said to be equally present (sāṃnaya) in the other three piṭhas. Although it has only one mūlasūtra, which is not named here, it is divided in many parts (kalpa). The line of transmission is as follows: Paṇcaśekhara who brought it to earth transmitted it to Ratiśekhara – Śaṁhārabhairava – Doḍī – Daṇḍēvara – Ghoreya – Gomati – Trīkālā – Śrikaṇṭha – Bhairava – Brhamā who heard it in each piṭha.

6. The ‘Eight Times Eight’ Bhairavatantras

After the goddess has been told about the contents of the four piṭhas associated with Bhairava, she then wants to know about the sixty-four Bhairavatantras said to constitute the Wheel governed by Sadāśiva. These Tantras are listed below along with the names of their teachers who are considered to be incarnations of Bhairava. The ordering of the eight groups is just as we find it in the ŚKS (see above p. 45 ff.). Moreover, more than half of the Tantras listed in the ŚKS are the same as those listed here. We have therefore recorded their names in a separate column as shown in Table 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Tantra</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Corresponding Tantras in the ŚKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durvāsa</td>
<td>Svacchanda</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>Svacchanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanaka</td>
<td>Čanḍa</td>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>Čanḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visṇu</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
<td>Krodha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapila</td>
<td>Unmatī</td>
<td>Unmatī</td>
<td>Unmatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaśyapa</td>
<td>Asita</td>
<td>Astāṅga</td>
<td>Astāṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuru</td>
<td>Ruru</td>
<td>Kapāliśa</td>
<td>Kapāliśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvartta</td>
<td>Jhankāra</td>
<td>Mahocchusma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṅkhapāla</td>
<td>Kapāliśa</td>
<td>Γāmala</td>
<td>Γāmala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhṛgu</td>
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### Table 9. The Sixty-Four Bhairavatantras (continued).

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### 7. The Srotas Division

The JY knows and accepts the standard classification of the Śaivāgama into five currents and even explicitly states that this is the original basic form of the canon. However, it also refers to a sixth Upper Current which we shall discuss later. Each of these six Currents is here analysed in terms of the transmission of the teachings of the Tantras belonging to them. They are, in other words, distinguished from one another on the basis of the teachers (guru) and traditions (santai, santane) associated with them. Each of Sādāśiva’s five faces (with the sixth Current above them) is accordingly linked with a family of lineages technically called “gotra” to which belong various lines of transmission (santai). The members of each Current (or gotra) undertake vows (vṛata) and practice their own particular disciplines (caryā) which the JY enumerates for each in serial order. Again, each Current has its own monastic centres called maṭhikās.

It is not essential to list all these names here; we shall limit ourselves instead to making a few observations. Firstly, it is worth noting that the Āgamas understand themselves as transmitted doctrine not just as scripture. It is the living tradition that matters and hence also the teacher who preserves and passes it on to his disciples. Although each Current has its teachers, the ideal teacher according to the Bhairavāgamas is one who knows all six Currents. He alone can explain the teachings of each Current along with their esoteric meaning. The personal imparting of the teaching to a small group of disciples entails the existence of numerous monastic centres, each of which is headed by its own teacher who can bequeath it to his successor. Some of these monastic centres came to prominence and acquired an importance in their own right. The Kashmiri tradition, for example, associates the dualist, monist and qualified monistic schools of Śaivism with three maṭhikās named after Tryambaka, Ānandara and Śrīnāthā respectively. The word “maṭhikā” thus comes ultimately to denote a particular school of thought associated...
with the founder of the monastic centre from which it was propagated.

The JY, as we have said, accepts the basic Five Current division of the Śaiva gāmas. However, although it does classify them in these terms, it does not concern itself to do so in detail. The Śiva and Rudra division of the Siddhāntāgamas are said, as usual, to consist of ten and eighteen Āgamas respectively. The Left Current consists of the Tantras which ‘delude’ which is clearly an allusion to the Sāṃmohatanātra that is regularly considered to characterize the scriptures of this Current. The Current of the Right contains, amongst others, the sixty-four Bhairavatantras and the Yāmolas. To this Current also belong the SVT and the entire Mantra and Mudrāpītha. The Gāruda and Bṛhataṅttras are characterized in the usual way as concerned with remedies for poison and with exorcism respectively. They are ascribed, as usual, to the Eastern and Western Currents. The Tantras of the Left Current are said to deal with the acquisition of the eight yogic powers (siddhi) and power to control others, while the Right Current is the eternal non-dual abode of all the pleasures of this world and every type of liberation.

The Sixth Current is above the others. It belongs particularly to Śiva’s power through which all the traditions and their teachings are revealed in this world. Śiva is the root source of all the Āgamas; infinite and full of the knowledge of consciousness he is both omniform and tranquil like a waveless sea. His power is his vitality (vīrya) whose field is the delight of the abode of consciousness and is beautiful with its blissful pulsation generated through the diversity of its immanently manifest and transcendentally unmanifest forms. This vitality is Speech at all levels and pours out of universal consciousness in countless extensions (prasara) of its power of which the six Currents of scripture are the main streams. Full of this divine power at its very source the Sixth Current leads to realization in an instant with great force (haṭhā) and so the form of Śiva that governs it is Haṭhakēśvara. He is said to know the mysteries of Kula and Kaula and so all the secret teachings originate from here. Consequently this Current is present in those of the Left and Right. Moreover, although it flows in the upper regions (ārdhāgra) it is also connected with the lower ones as well, that is, with those frequently assigned, as we have seen, to the Kula gāma. Thus Haṭhakēśvara’s domain is said to be “the abode of the fire of time” which burns in the hells below the world-order. The SVT confirms that Haṭaḷaka is the name of the Lord of Sauvarīpa which is the eighth and lowest hell while the JY tells us that all the lords of the hells (pāḍalāṇāyaka) are born from Haṭhakēśvara’s mouth. According to a passage quoted by Abhinavagupta from the Kaurāgama, when Śrīkaṭṭha resides in the hell worlds he assumes the form of Haṭaḷaka because he bestows yogic powers suddenly and with great force (haṭhataḥ) while the JY expressly states that the Upper Current “bestows all yogic powers.” The Anandādikāratantra declares that Haṭaḷaka is the lord of the hell where souls burn in the “fire of time.” This place is destined for those initiates who have broken their pledges and, more especially, for those who, although votaries of the Left-hand Path, censor it. Here, according to this Tantra, go those who have been taught higher doctrine but have, nonetheless, resorted to lower teachings or Mantras of a lower order such as those practised by the devotees of Garuḍa. They can, however, free themselves of their suffering by offering themselves to Lord Haṭaḷaka and so reach the higher divine principles and then, from there, ultimately merge into Śiva.

8. Conclusion

Accounts such as these not only teach us a great deal about the extent of the Āgamic corpus but also about its history and, consequently, about the history of the development of Āgamic Śaivism. We should, however, treat these accounts with caution. As we have seen, all the major Āgamas have their own peculiar view of the Śaiva canon and, although their accounts are in many ways compatible and even supplement each other, none of them are either complete or unbiased. Moreover, they give rise to many questions which still remain unsettled. Thus, we cannot help asking ourselves whether all these Tantras did, in fact, exist. For example, although the eight Bhairava Tantras are generally considered to form a standard group, it is by no means certain whether they all existed. Certainly the Svacchandatantra, at least, does and possibly a number of others but it is hard to believe that all the Tantras said here to have been associated with them did as well. Bhairavas are commonly worshipped in groups of eight while the group which has given its name to these Tantras is particularly well known. It is hard not to suspect that these lists are not entirely genuine when we notice that groups of eight are such recurrent features in them. May it not be the case that some of these titles are purely fictitious additions to fill out ideal schemes? We can only be sure that a Tantra existed when we find additional evidence to corroborate the statements made in accounts such as these. We must, for example, find direct quotations from it, or reference to it in independent sources such as inscriptions. Best of all, of course, would be to find the text itself or fragments of it.

Again, how genuine are the names listed in the lines of transmission of these Tantras? Certainly the gods, divine beings and Upaniṣadic sages who figure in these accounts cannot be considered to be historical figures...
connected with them. Even so, it is not impossible that the last few members of these lines did, in fact, live at some time and propagated these Tantras; perhaps, indeed, they even wrote them. It is worth noting, however, that the account of the line of transmission given here of the SYM and its own account as presented by Abhinavagupta in the Tantraloka do not agree. This fact should put us on our guard to deal cautiously with what these account tell us because our knowledge of the extent and content of even the extant Tantras is still very superficial. Even so, there can be little doubt that future research will reveal a vast field of inquiry and that these accounts of the Śaivāgamic canon will serve as important guidelines by which we may orient ourselves in the course of work to help us to locate ourselves in this vast body of literature.

APPENDIX D

Manuscripts of the Kubjkātantras

For almost twenty years German scholars have been directing a project to photograph manuscripts in Nepal. Amongst the many thousands of manuscripts that have been photographed so far, there are many of Tantras and related literature belonging to the Kubjkā school. Unfortunately, no descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts the project has photographed has as yet been prepared and, due to the amount of material collected, it will probably take a great deal of time to produce. In the meantime, in order to make part of this new material more readily accessible, we have listed below some manuscripts relevant to the study of the Kubjkā cult. This list is by no means exhaustive. For one thing, I have had the opportunity to consult only the index cards of the microfilms made of manuscripts belonging to the National Archives in Kathmandu. I have not had the time to see index cards of the numerous manuscripts in private collections the project has photographed and so they could not be listed here. Nor have short tracts with generic titles such as "Kubjkāpāta" been included, both because they are very many and also because it is impossible to assess their content or value without seeing them. For the same reason I have had to list many manuscripts of sections of the MBT as "unidentified."

I have also not listed manuscripts of the KMT (also called Kulālikāmāṇya) because it has already been edited by Goudriaan and Schoterman. A few entries, such as the important Saṣāhasra, are listed without reel numbers. This is because it appears that the project has failed to photograph these manuscripts although they are listed in the catalogues.

Scholars who are interested in acquiring further information should contact the Nepal Research Centre, New Baneshwar, P.O. Box 180, Kathmandu, Nepal or the Staatsbibliothek PK-Orientabteilung, Postfach 1407, 1000 Berlin 30, West Germany.
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71) Tikā

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72) NAVANITYĀDHIKĀRA

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73) YOGAKHANDA

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76) ŚAKTISŪTRA

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77) ŚRIMATASŪRA

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78) ŚRIMATOTTARATANTRA

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79) ŚAṢāHASRĀ

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80) SAMVARTAMANḍALASŪTRAVYĀKYĀYA

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81) SAMVARTĀTAPRAKĀṢĀ

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82) SIDDHAPARICĀŚIKĀ

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# Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>ASB</td>
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<td>MS</td>
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<td>MBT</td>
<td>Manthānabhairavatantra</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS

MBT(Y) Manthānabhairavatantra (yogakhanda)
Mbh Mahābhārata
MP Mahānayapракāśa
MM Mahārthamañjarī
cMat. P. Matangaprāmeśvarāgama
MV Mālinivijayatantra
MVV Mālinivijayavārtika
Mr. T. Mrgendratantra
Mr. vṛ. Mrgendratantravṛtti
YHṛ Yoginihṛdaya
RASB Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
RASB Tantra Cat. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Tantra Catalogue
RT Rajataraṅgini
LAS Luptāgamasamgraha
VMT Vāmadevaśvarimatatantra
VST Vinaśikhatantra
Ś.R.S. Sataratnasamgraha
Ś.Dr. Śivadrṣṭi
Ś.Sū.Śi. Śivasūtramrasini
ŚKS Śrikanṭhīyaśamhitā
ŚātSS Śaṭṭhasikhasamhitā
SYM Siddhayogesvarimata
SSP Somasiṃhupaddhati
Śp. Pra. Spandapradipikā
ŚvT Śvacchandabhairavatantra
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

NOTES

PART ONE

5. Mahābhāṣya under sūtra 5/2/76.
10. Ibid.
11. KMT fl. 7a, Asiatic Society of Bengal (Government collection) MS. no. 4733.
15. Ibid. p. 108, 126.
16. The manuscript is palm leaf and the script is Malyalam no. C 2319C.
17. TĀ., 37/38.
18. We shall discuss what we mean by the term 'Kulaśāstra' in the second part.
of this monograph.

19. TÅ, 29/60.
20. YHr, 3/37.
21. vārāṇasyaṁ śmaśānāntu etat sarvam samālikhet | | |
23. That the Paścimānāya was known in Kashmir is established by a number of references. Thus Abhinavagupta quotes from the Kubjikāmatā in PTy, p. 184. Unfortunately, this reference has not been traced in the 3500 verse recension edited, but as yet unpublished, by T. Goudriaan and J. A. Schoorman. Jayaratha quotes an unknown Āgama which refers to the Thohakāsamata of the Paścimānāya:

madyarikātāsu ye devi na te siddhyanti paścime
thohakāsamate nityaṁ kulabhrasṭāṁ svayambluvaḥ ||


In the following verse, quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on the Vāmakāśvarimata from an older commentary by the Kashmiri Allṇa, Kubjikā, the goddess of the Paścimānāya, is mentioned:

ūmririti bhoginītyapi kubjeti kuleśvaritī jagaduryām
śīkālaḥkarṣanītyapi kuṇḍalīnītyapi ca naumi tāṁ devim ||

(VMT, p. 28).

Another reference is found in the following passage which Jayaratha quotes without naming his source: “The triangle is called the female organ (bhaga), the secret circle in the Sky. Its corners are will, knowledge and action and in its centre is the sequence (krama) of Ciścini.” (TÅ, vol. II, p. 104).

The worship of the absolute viewed as the source of cosmic manifestation symbolized by the female organ from whence arises the power of Kuṇḍalini is an important feature of the Tantras of the Paścimānāya. Kubjikā, the Supreme Goddess, is frequently called Ciścini (see below p. 90). In a hymn to Bhaga in the Ciściniyatārāśreṣṭumucaya we find the same verse. Thus, the first line of Jayaratha’s quote reads:

trīkoṇam bhagam ityuktāṁ viyastham guptamaṇḍalam |

In the CMSS (fl. 10b, line 1):

bhagam trīkoṇāviṣhayāṁ dhiyastham guptamaṇḍalam |

The second line is identical.

We cannot be sure that Jayaratha quoted this verse from the CMSS, but there can be little doubt that he drew it from a Tantras of the same school.

Also, in the KNT a śidlā named Śrāsehia, whose initiatory name was Rāmānandānātha, is listed as being a follower of the Paścimānāya who lived in Kashmir. Bagchi KJN, p. 69.

24. Although the SvT is a Bhairavatantra and not a Siddhāntāgama, the initiations and other ritual procedures it describes are similar to those of the Siddhānta. Consequently, Somaśambhu (eleventh century) incorporates a great deal of material from the SvT in his compendium of Siddhānta ritual, the Kramakāṇḍaśākramāvalī, better known as the Somaśambhapaddhati. Composed in South India, this manual is the oldest one still extant. Although no longer in use, Aghoraśivārya’s Kṛṣṇakramadvyottā (written in 1158 A.D.), which is still popular in South India, follows the SŚP very closely. Brunner in her notes on the SŚP frequently refers to the SvT without thereby contravening her principle not to quote from Āgamas whose rituals differ radically from these of the SŚP. The SvT, which she describes as a revealed text of Kashmirī Śāivism (SŚP, vol. III, intro. p. liv), evidently inspired Somaśambhu. Brunner notes that a number of cosmological concepts and forms of yoga the Siddhānta does not know about have passed from the Northern to the Southern Āgamic schools through this text (ibid.). But even though the SvT adds something new to Siddhānta ritual, it is clearly compatible with it and shares much in common with it, even in matters of detail. Indeed, old South Indian authorities on Siddhānta ritual refer to it frequently as does, for example, Nirmalāmaṇi in his commentary on Aghoraśivārya’s manual. Visvanātha in his Siddhāntārāśreṣṭa and Śārayavagurudeva in his pādhaṅgi go so far as to prefer, at times, to follow the SvT in matters of detail concerning ritual and cosmography rather than the Siddhāntāgamas (SŚP, vol. III, p. 185).

25. Jayaratha more than once refers his reader to a teacher for information about matters he feels that he cannot elaborate, particularly the secret details of Kaula ritual. Thus when dealing with how the sacrificial vessel should be filled in the course of a Kaula rite he says:

yaśa atra etat pūrṇe sampradāyaḥ sa rahasayatvāt samayabhaṅga- 

bhayaḥ ca na iha asmābhīḥ pradarśita iti | etad gurumukhād eva 
boddhavāyam ||


Such passages indicate that differences of opinion prevailed about practice in his day (see also TÅ, vol. XIb, pp. 40-1), clearly proving that these rituals were actively performed in Kashmir at that time. There is ample evidence that Kashmir was a society where Kaula ritual was an active concern of an appreciable, although probably small, part of the populace. This, as one would expect, charmed and pleased sincere Śāivites of Abhinavagupta’s stamp who wrote enthusiastically about Kaula ritual in Kashmir. Thus, in a poetic vein, he praises the wine Kaulas drink:

[This is] the wine which imparts boldness to the words of lovers and frees them from fear while making love; the wine in which all the deities [of consciousness] who reside in the shade of the tree of the Kali age and practice mystic union (cakravrtya) gladly abide; the wine which here [in Kashmir] bestows first pleasure then liberation. (TÅ, 37/44).

But not all thought so highly of these practices. We know that bans were
imposed and practising Kaulas ostracized. Some, such as the satirist Kṣemendra, who lived in Kashmir at the time, considered Kaula ritual and practice to be merely a source of moral corruption and an excuse for licence. See my *Doctrine of Vibration*, vol. I SUNY Press, Albany, 1987, chapter 1.


27. Renou remarks that the later Tantric texts Woodroffe studied that “describe the worship of the great Goddess” are called “Tantras” rather than “Āgamas” (preface to SSP, vol. I, p. 1). Brunner notes, however, that in the early Śiddhāntikāgama context the terms “Āgama” and “Tantra” are synonymous (ibid., intro. p. iv.). Thus we find the following definition of Tantra, which has been repeated frequently throughout the centuries in a wide variety of Tantric scriptures, in the *Kānīkāgama* also. This must be one of the earliest citations of this definition:

> tanoti vipulān arthāṇaḥ tattvamantrasamāśrīnām | trāṇaḥ ca kurute yasmat tantram ityabhidhiyate ||

(P.Kā., 1/29).

28. Thus, Abhinavagupta, in the course of discussing one of the basic principles of Kaula doctrine, namely, that purity or impurity is not an inherent quality of things but a mental projection which must be overcome along with all other thought-constructs to achieve the pure conscious state of liberation says: “such was also (the insight of) the ancient sages (muni) by virtue of their state free of thought-constructs but who, in order not to disrupt the order of the world, concealed it.” (TA, 4/243b-4a).

29. R. C. Hazra writes: “At the time the chapters on vows, worship etc., first began to be included in the Purāṇas, the Tantric elements were eliminated as far as possible.” *Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Motilal Banarsidass 2nd edition, Delhi, 1975, p. 260. According to Hazra the additions made to the Purāṇas prior to the ninth century were largely free of Tantric influence. From about the beginning of the ninth century the authority of the Tantras came to be gradually recognized by the Purāṇas and so Tantric rituals were increasingly incorporated into them (ibid., pp. 260-2).

30. See, for example, Hazra p. 119.

31. Schoterman has published a study of these chapters in an article entitled: *A Link between Purāṇa and Tantra: Agnipuruśa 143-147* in ZDMG Supplement IV, Wiesbaden, 1980.

32. TA, 28/407a.

33. Bhairava addresses the goddess in this way in the *Nīśavatārakatātantra*. Copies of this text are indeed rare; I know only of one MS, namely, NA, no. 1/1606 incomplete.

34. TA, 37/10-12a.

35. We see in the following quotation from *Kārmapuruṣa* (1/11/272-3) that the Yāmala and Vāmatantras which belonged to this lost corpus are as objectionable as Baudha scripture:

> yānī āśtrāṇi ḍṛṣṭyaṁ lokeśmin vīvidhāṁ tu | śṛtismṛtivivuddhāṁ niṣṭhā teṣāṁ hi tāmāṁ || kāpālaṁ pālcarattraṇa ca yāmalaṁ vāmam ārhatam | evam vīdhiṁ cānjanī maharātrīṁ tāṁ tu ||

36. “There is no other scripture apart from the Veda which explains Dharma. Brahmins should not converse with those who find delight elsewhere (in other scriptures).” (Ibid. 1/11/271; also Ibid. 1/50/23-4).


38. Varāha 71/58.

39. Ibid. 70/41; Kūrma 1/5/104.


42. RT, 6/108.

43. Translation by E. C. Sachau in *Alberuni’s Indica* I, 22.

44. *Daśāvatāracarita* quoted by Hazra p. 89. Translation mine.

45. Rohana A. Dunuwila *Śiva Śiddhānta Theology*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, p. 44.

46. For this reference see Appendix B, fn. 21.

47. SaṭSS, 3/79b.

48. Thus the Rśis in the *Kānīkāgama* were “intent on Śiva and Śakti desirous of understanding the Supreme Knowledge.” They praise Śiva saying of Him:

> [You] are of the nature of the flow of innate bliss whose characteristic is one’s own consciousness, [You Who are] united with the Supreme Power whose nature is supreme consciousness.

(P.Kā., 1/7a-8b).

49. There are a number of later Tantras whose names are the same as Tantras of the older group; examples of these are the *Kulacūḍāmaṇḍi, Kulārāṇa, Tantrarāja, Gupṭatamra, Jayadrathāyāmala, Saṃmohatantra* and a medieval work not at all associated with the *Purāṇa* called *Kubjiṅkūranta*. Schrader writes: “That occasionally the same name has been given to two or even more different works is nothing unusual in Āgamic literature. For instance, among the Śakti Tantras there are . . . three Prapacitra tantras, two Harigauri tantras, three Kubjikā tantras, two Yogini tantras and two Mrdani (?) tantras.” *Introduction to the Pānḍācaratra and Aṅkubuddhaya Sāṃhitā* by F. Otto Schrader, Adyar Library Series, Adyar, 2nd edition 1973, pp. 14-5.

In the later period Sākṭatantras are distinguished from ŚaivaTantras and called “Nigama” and “Āgama” respectively. The characterizing distinction between them is stated to be that the former are spoken by the goddess and the latter by the god. Originally the Tantras were generally spoken by the male
partner to his companion, however much they may have been concerned with female divinities and their rituals. Thus the NSA, which belongs to the early period but was in the later period considered (quite justifiably in terms of its content) to be an exemplary Śāktatantra, is taught by Ḥiva to the goddess. The goddess herself remarks that the god had taught all the preceding Tantras including those which the goddess defines as the “Tantras of the Mothers” although the ones that are listed are of many types including Siddhāntagamas. The passage reads:

bhagavan sarvamanastraśa bhavata me prakāśitāh ||
catuṣastaśa tantraśa mātṛṇām uttamānī tu ||

(NSA, 1/13).

evam etāni śāstrāni tathāhānyapi kośāḥ ||
bhavatoktāni me deva sarvajñānamayāni tu ||

(ibid., 1/21b-22a).

The mātṛṣṭantra figure as a separate group along with the Yāmalas in the Siddhāntagamas (see P. Kā., 1/122) while a reference from an unknown source in Jayaratha’s commentary on the TĀ shows that a distinction was made between the Śāṅkaratantra and the Devilantra (see TĀ, vol. 11b, p. 12). Even so, we do not find that a clearcut distinction exists between Śākta and Śaiva Tantra in the early sources, even in the Kulaśāstrīs which were in practice Śākta in most respects. By the middle of the ninth century, when Somānanda wrote the Śīvadīpti, the Śāktas figure as a distinct group (see ibid., chapter 3) but in this case they could arguably be said to be connected to the tradition only indirectly as its commentators and exegetes. The Siddhāntins during this period also applied this distinction. Nārāyaṇaḥabhaṭṭa does so in his commentary on the Mrgendrāgama, although it is not found in the Āgama itself. Thus he says:

śāvānam eva deśikādānām iha lakṣaṇam ||
śāktaśāstrayastu te anādṛśa
evety viṇjāpitaṁ saivapadopādānam ||

(M. T. [vargāpāda], 1/2).

50. yena tantrena kāraṇaḥ kāraṇaśāntiṣṭhakam
tena sarvam prakāśatvaṁ na kuryād anyatanatraṁ ||

(P. Kā., vol. 1/106).

Also:

tantrasaṃkaraśeṣaṇaṁ rājā raśtraṁ ca naśayati ||

(ibid., 1/114).

51. TĀ, 28/400-2.
52. P. Kā., 1/14-16.
53. Ibid.
54. tātrāpi śaivasiddhāntas sarvebhāvy uttamomahum

(U. Kā., 24/81b).

56. Brunner has discussed this point in her article: Differentes conceptions du term ‘Śaiva’ dans la litterature āgamicque du Sud de l’Inde presented at the 30th Congress on Human Sciences in Asia and Africa, Mexico 1976. See also the Pūrvaśāstra, 26/38b-9a.


59. Śīrṣābhāṣya on Br.Śū.2/2/37. Monistic Kashmiri Śaivites knew of this view and emphatically rejected it. Bhagavatopala quotes a verse from the Āgamaśāstra which says: “There are those who teach that even God is [merely] an instrumental cause [of creation] although they offer sesame seed and water with folded hands to the Lord. Yet what can they say about the Lord’s [miserable] state [once] He has come under [another’s] control by approaching other aspects [of reality in order to create].” Sp.Pra., p. 100; also quoted in SvT, vol. II, p. 4.


61. Ibid.
63. Kūrma, 1/15/113.
65. Kūrma, 2/37/146.
67. Śīvapūrana, Vaiśnavyasāṅghita edited by Mallikārjunaśāstri, 2/24/177.
68. Arunasākalamāhāmya, 10/65 edited by Karmakar, p. 220.
69. Yajñāvalīśivavakhaṇḍa, 22/3.
70. Quoted in śivaśāstraśadvapadhati, vol. III, Kriyāpāda, chap. 1, cited by V. S. Pathak, History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India from Inscriptions, p. 3.
72. Ibid., 67/10-12.
73. In a verse attributed to these two Purāṇas by the Tantraśikārāṇiṇīya cited by C. Chakrabarti in Tantras: Studies on their Religion and Literature, p. 51.
74. Šāṅkaraśivajya, cited by Pathak, p. 4.
75. Śadākānaśasamuccaya, cited by Pathak, p. 21.
76. Śāktaśāstraśanātmanavāla, edited by B. Bhattacharya, 1/5/92-3.
78. Cited by Pathak, p. 3.
79. See above p. 16.
80. Lorenzen, p. 102.
81. Ibid., p. 104, 105.
82. Ibid., p. 107.
83. MhB, 12/350/64. Quoted in The Great Epic of India by E. W. Hopkins
The Vāyavāyanāsāṃhitā of the Śivapurāṇa (7/1/32/13) declares that the scriptures which describe the Pāṣupata vow are "hundreds of millions" of verses long.


97. For references to editors of these texts, other translations and studies on Pāṣupata Śaivism in general, see Lorenzen, p. 173 ff.


100. See commentary on Pāṣu., Sū.1/9.

101. Ibid.


105. Lorenzen, p. 176.


107. See Bühler E1 1, 274.

108. Śivapurāṇa, Śaurūdrasāṃhitā, 5/45-8.


110. Ibid., 1/51/28.

111. Chakraborti, p. 19.


113. Ibid., 1/13.

114. Ibid., 1/17.


116. Ibid., p. 103-4.


118. Dwivedi, p. 4 fn. 3 with reference to MhB ādīparvama, 1/225-238.

119. Vāmana, 6/86-91. This passage states that Bharadvaja who was a Mahāpāṣupata taṅkaṅk Somakāśikara through whose influence the sect gained strength. The Kālāddamana (i.e., Kāśmukha) sect is there said to have been founded by Śrī Āpāstamba whose disciple was Krāṭhēśvara, the ruler of Vidarbha, then known as the Krāṭhē-Kāśi country. See V. S. Agrawal Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study, Prithivi Prakashana, Varanasi 1983, p. 6, 30.

120. Pāṣu.Sū., 1/12. Abhinava refers to such practices in his Tantrāloka. According to him, consciousness is the one reality and so can never be contaminated. The distinction made between 'pure' and 'impure' is no more than a thought-construct generated by an inner, personal conflict which, like all other conflicts, is binding and so must be overcome. This is why the Vṛīvālītantra declares that "the ancient rṣis ate both beef and human flesh" (TĀ, III, p. 268). Again (the same) Tantra enjoins that "Tantric adepts of a higher order (vīra) should eat only that which the common man detests and, being revolting, is censorable and prohibited by the scriptures" (ibid., p. 269). This is done so that the yogi can see whether his mind is
indeed steady or not (ibid.). The *Timrodghātītantra* says: “O goddess, by eating the body of the beloved, a close friend, relative or benefactor raise up the Maiden of the Sky [and so elevate consciousness].” (quoted in S. S., v), p. 33). Kesiṣṭaṇa explains that this is an injunction to assimilate embodied subjectivity into universal consciousness (ibid.).

121. Kṛṣṇa, 7/11/257.
122. Ibid., 7/11/265.
123. Ibid., 7/11/275.
124. Ibid., 7/13/30; 1/19/61; 2/37/104-5.
125. Ibid., 7/1/50; 2/37/147.
126. Ibid., 7/1/48-9.
127. Ibid., 2/37/140-2.
131. See above, p. 21.
133. See note 92.
134. Abhinava links the various Pāñjapata sects and the groups collectively called ‘ānimārga’ (see below) with the Kaula traditions. He says: “Once they attain liberation there is no difference at all between those men who have been properly initiated into the Atimārga Krama, Kula, Trika or other currents (srotas) in the Supreme Lord’s scripture.” MVV, 1/192b-193. See also T A on T A, 7/3/505.
136. Ibid., p. 13.
137. See, for example, the *Bhāvanā-vyākhyā* by Haradatta’s *Uddhava* commentary. Edited by Mahādeva Sāvatrī and K. Rāgaçārya, Mysore Government Press, 1898. Haradatta, commenting on sūtra 1/29/1 refers to the *Kāpālikatātantra*. The context, however, indicates that by the word “tātra” we should understand “school” or “teaching” rather than a sacred text. I know of no other possible reference to a specific early Kāpālikā scripture.
139. Ibid., p. 58 ff.
140. These insignia—technically called “Mūdra”—are equated in the Buddhist *Sāḍhānānamālā* (p. 489) with the six perfections (pāramīs) of the Bodhisattva. In the *Hevajratantra* (1/3/14) the insignia are five, corresponding to the five Buddhas. Yāmūnādāciya describes the six Śiva Kāpālikā insignia in his *Āgungapārāśara* (p. 93) and is followed by Ramāṇaṇa in the *Śiṣṭhāya* on Br So 2/1/23-5. See A Review of Rare Budhhist Texts, vol. 1, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Benares 1986, p. 103. It is worth noting in passing that the modern Nātha Yogi wears a sacred thread (*janeo*) made of brown wool. The thread indicates that the wearer is an initiate, but not necessarily a brahmin.
143. See also ibid., pp. 120-22 for Goudriaan’s discussion of the Sāخارatanaṇḍras which he classifies amongst the Tantras dealing with magic. For lists of the eighty-four Siddhas and nine Nāthas see S. B. Dasgupta, pp. 202-10.
146. Vāmanā, 2/17, 4/1.
147. *Sankaradīghivāja*, 15/12-14. The compound sa + umā + soma, implies the Kāpālikā’s creed, i.e., Somasidhānta, which affirms that the liberated condition is analogous to the bliss (ānanda) experienced in sexual union which reflects that of the union of Śiva with his consort Umā. The word “soma” also means moon and so the Kāpālikās have accordingly been associated with the moon. See Bhāṭṭotpala’s commentary on Varāhāmiha’s *Bṛhaṭkāta* 15/1.
149. Ibid., 15/1-7. See also above p. 29.
150. Lorenzen, p. 20.
152. Ibid., p. 21.
153. Ibid., p. 34.
155. See above p. 6.
156. See S. N. Ghosal Sastri’s *Elements of Indian Aesthetics*, vol. II, part IV, Chaukamba Oriental Series, Benares 1983, p. 19 ff. Sastri here briefly outlines some phases in this ritual as it is found in the BY, fragments of which he has studied in manuscript along with the *Pṛṇalekhaṇa*.
157. Lorenzen, p. 74 ff. demonstrates that the Kāpālikā’s vow corresponds to the penance prescribed in Hindu law for killing a brahmin. He makes a mistake, however, when he distinguishes a “brahmahan” from a “bhrūṇghaṇ” as one who has killed an ordinary brahmin rather than a learned brahmin. “Bhrūṇghaṇ”
actually means "one who has killed a fetus" that is, a person who has induced or consented to an abortion. (See Panigj’s Āṣṭādhāvī, 3/2/87).

158. The Jayadrathayāmālā (NA, MS no. 5/4560, fl. 1866a) says:

suddham samsāuddhā(m) buddhaśe tathā pāśupatvavatam |
nagavatāta muddadharaṇaḥ parivājvratam uttamam ||

159. U.K.A., 24/90 says:

XXX purusā jātā tvatmērgam praśītavān |
paścātārīmā lākulaṃ cānaya tathā pāśupatam matam ||


163. One such Kālumukha teacher was Somaśāvara who is praised in several inscriptions. Thus, for example, in an inscription found at Belgāve dated 1103 A.D., Somaśāvara is eulogized as: "he who is gracious to learned men, he who is a very sun to (open) the great cluster of water-illes (blooming in the daytime) that is the Nyāyaśāstra, and who is a very autumn moon to bring to full tide the ocean of Vaiśeṣika; he who is the very ruby ornament of those who are versed in the Śaṅkhyāyāna, and who is a very bee on the water-illes that are the feet of his teacher; he who is a very spring to the groove of mango trees that is the Saḥādāstra and who gave new life to the Lākulasādāstra by the development of his wisdom." (Ed. and trans. by Fiee El V, 220 quoted by Lorenzen, p. 113). Such terms as "Lākulaśāstra" or "Lākulasādāstra" recur frequently in Kālumukha epigraphs (ibid., p. 110). I believe, as does Lorenzen, that these names, or even the expression "Paramānātma" refer equally, according to the context, both to the doctrines of the Lākulasūta Pāśupata and the Śaiva-gham general.

164. Thus Nārayana-bhaṭṭa says:

tathā hi sargadāv prameśvaraḥ udvṛtvapādākkhyottarapuṣčima- 

srotāḥ paścakabhaddhinnam jānām |

(Mr. Vr. Vidvāpyāda, p. 7).

165. Jayaratha says: "śivāṣaśane iti paścakrototuṣe prameśvardinārāśane ityātāhāḥ |
dad hi sarvatraivāśeṣeṇaṇaṃ |" (TĀ, vol. I, p. 73).

166. For a detailed account of how the five faces of Sādāśīva combine to produce the scripture according to the ŚKŚ quoted in TĀ, 1/18 see Luce della Sere Scrittura by R. Gnoli, Classici Uet, Torino 1972, p. 70, fn. 17.

167. MVV, 1/170-171a.

168. XXXX idām jānām siddhantam paramam subham |
udvṛtvapādābhavām asāṁśiśaitāntratākām ||
(Mukāṭāyāna, 1/22b-2a.).

As the 'upper current' of scripture, the Śaivaśādāstra considers itself to be the crown of all Śaiva doctrines. See Pārvatārāyānta, 26/19; Suprāhvēda, 1/56/16, 1/24/4, 2/11/12 and Kāmikā, 1/1/113 and 1/1/119. See SS, vol. I, p. 11.

169. For a list of the twenty-eight Āgamas and their Upāgamas see intro-


170. Pṛtaśhālaśaṁśasaramuṣayevāya in two parts edited by Bābu Kṣaṇa 

171. See PLSS, intro., vol. II, pp. ka-cha for an extensive discussion about 
the authorship and date of the PLSS.

172. Mr. T. (caryā), 1/35-6a.

173. The Kāmikā is usually said to possess three Upāgamas, namely the 
Vākara, Bhāratvottara and Narasimha. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa in his commentary of the 
Mrugendra identifies it with the Narasimha: "śiṁtakāniśākhyam cāsmai 
paramesvāv upadīsa | yatiṣṭhastraṃ nṛsrīharpiṇaḥ samupadesām idam 
unāpātiṇā tato mṛgendrasāva srotāvāṃ mṛgendrasāmāyāyā prathitām ||" (Mr. Vr. 
(vidvāpyāda), p. 7). The Mrugendra itself characterizes itself as an abridgement 
of the Kāmikā, ibid., 1/25-27.

174. divvidham tantrām udhūṭham bhairavam daksīṇāyatvāḥ |
asīśāṃ śānāḥ bhūmāv kathitam tad anekādāhā ||

(P.KA, 1/27).

175. nayastātādibhdhena vāmāṃ vāṃdh vinirgataṃ |
caturvīṃśatāmśaṃśayāṃ avatīrṇaṃ śājīyāya ||

(P.KA, 1/255b-6a).


177. Ibid.

178. Ibid., p. 1 fn. 2. See also Goudriaan, p. 25.

179. NT, 9/11a reads: 
śivaḥ sadasīvavaccaiva bhairavas tumbaras tathā |

Kṣemāraśa comments:

sarey sarotasā ujjvalo bhārjamānaḥ śiva bhāvavedhenaśaya- 

vīdasīsteadyā sadasīvavādyataḥ dhyātāḥ siddhāntuvāmādakṣīnā- 

dīśastakaṃ phalaṃ pradādāt ||


180. For the dhārya of Tumburu see NT, 11/2-7.

181. See The Viśākhatantra: A Śaiva Tantra of the Left Current, edited 
with an introduction and translation by Teun Goudriaan, Motilal Banarsidas, 
Delhi, 1985. Goudriaan has made a chart of the forms of Tumburu, his attendants 
and Mantras found in a variety of Purānic and Tantric sources on pp. 47-50 of this 
book to which the reader is referred. Tumburu is well known in lexicons and 
Buddhist works as a Gandhara and musician. (Bagchi, p. 12) He is often 
associated with Nārada as an attendant of the gods (Goudriaan, p. 18). He also 
figures as an authority on music in the Sāmītrīaloka and the tumbula may well 
have got its name from him (Bagchi, p. 13). The god Tumburu described in the 
Viśākhatantra has nothing to do with music, nor is he associated with the 
vīṇā despite the title of the Tantra. He is also devoid of these associations in the
sources Goudriaan has consulted. However, a description of Tumburu, white in
colour with two arms and one face, wearing a tiger’s skin sitting on a bull playing
the vīṇā is recorded in the PLSS. (See line drawing on p. 39 in vol. I). A more
extensive description of Tumburu is found in the fifth chapter of the first satka of
the JY (NA, no. 5/4650, fl. 22a ff.). Here Tumburu’s association with music is clearly
evident.

According to the JY, Tumburu is the Lord Himself (prabhu) and is called
the Great Fierce One (mahāvyāda), the crest jewel (śīrṣatana) of all the gods as their
Topknot (śikha)—a term used in these Tantras to refer to Kūndali. He has two
aspects, one without form (asakala) and the other with form (sakala); it is the latter
which is described here. He has four energies (kāla) which reside in the Cave of
the Heart of His universal consciousness. These are: Śāntikāla, Vidyākāla, Nirvijā-
kāla and Pratīṣṭhakāla. They correspond to the goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Ajjā and
Aparajitā who generate the phenomenal universe (kārya) while He Himself is the
fifth and highest energy—Śāntyatākāla—which transcends all manifestation.
Thus He resides in the Abode of Tranquility (saumya-dhāma) which is full of
the savour of countless Mantras. His entire body is illuminated by the circle of His
light and the rays of the jewels of His many Vidyās. He smells sweetly with the
scent of many garlands and His body is stained with blood. He makes the gesture
of the Śaktipītha and His maṇḍala is that of Condradurānta. He has four hands
in which he holds a noose, hook, trident and makes the gesture of bestowing boons.
He has four faces which are white, red, yellow and dark blue (kṛṣṇa). His body
is like a blazing light shining brilliantly like mount Meru. His principal face is like
that of a human being whose lotus-like eyes are blooming and is most beautiful.
He wears an earring and its rays cover His face in a network of lights. His neck is
like a precious gem and His hand is adorned with a ruby ring set in emerald. He
wears emeralds and rubies and His broad hips are covered with Kāśmiri cloth.
From His mouth comes a deep sound like the rumble of a storm cloud. Of His
remaining faces one is that of a crocodile while the two others are those of swans
singing sweetly. The pollen of His lotus feet bestows bliss to the Vītras. The hook
He holds is the goal of the universe. His noose is the abode of all the fetters (pāta)
which bind beings as they rise to higher levels or descend. The trident He playfully
carries has for its three prongs persistence, arising and destruction. He bestows all
that men desire with His wish-bestowing gesture.

Tumburu resides in the circle of the fourteen powers of the Great Fetters
(mahāpatī) and is surrounded by a host of female attendants (dīlā) and servants.
His hosts laugh and shout terribly and their forms are disfigured while He
is the Great Hero who can destroy the entire universe by the mere twang of
His bow. At the same time He is the source of all phenomenal existence (bhava)
and its saviour. He is the cosmic breath (hāṃsa), the Great Lord of Time and the
Fire of Time.

He stands (or sits?) on a lotus of four petals. On the eastern petal is seated
Jayā, on the southern Jayēvarī, on the northern Jīt, while Pārājātī is in the west.
They are the sisters of Tumburu and all play vīṇā. Tumburu’s association with
music—particularly the vīṇā—is also brought out by a number of goddesses
amongst the many that surround Him who are said to be skilled in playing this
instrument. See below also p. 39.

182. See Goudriaan, p. 48.
183. See footnote 181 above.
184. VŚT, v. 100-8.
185. Ibid., v. 4.
186. Ibid., v. 305.
187. Ibid., v. 317.
188. X XXXX siddhyartham utkam tat avatārakaih |
nayasātmā añādhibheda vāma vāma vinirgatam ||

The Ratnamālā quoted in TĀ, 37/27 says:

XXXXXXXX vāma vāma siddhisamākulaṁ |

190. Ibid., p. 25.
191. VŚT, v. 10.
192. Ibid., v. 223, cf. v. 309, 326 and 333.
193. Ibid., v. 362.
194. Ibid., v. 147-9, 254-7.
195. Ibid., v. 116.
196. Ibid., v. 396.
197. See below, p. 198n., 27.
198. See below, p. 113.
199. See below, p. 113.
200. VŚT, v. 317.
201. See below, p. 113.
203. dvādaśāstāhare śrimadānandakavare TĀ, vol. IX, p. 139.
204. TĀ, 37/10-11.
205. The others are the Bhūgaśīkā, Gamaśāstra, Śaṃkaraśīhīyanamala,
Navaṇṭāvaḥśāna, Bhūtalokobha and Nandilikā. These Tantras are certainly
not all Vīṇatāntaras.

207. vāmāpauṇāya jayātyāsa tumbaroścāpi melake |
dātavyaṃ viṣṇuṣālātram uparyupari kalpitam ||

(TĀ, vol. IX, p. 139).

209. aṣṭāṁśatābhirhedaśu gāruḍaṃ hṛdayaṃ puraḥ ||

(Quoted in TĀ, vol. I, p. 44).

210. The printed edition reads: kaulādviṃśatsamkhyaṭam bhūtātantram
sadyutab | P. Kā., 1/26b. The reading “Kaula” is probably incorrect, as “Kaula”
is a term of reference for a group of scriptures not a single text. This is so even in
the Kānākā itself. Perhaps the reading is better emended to “halaḥ” which would
agree with “Halaḥalam,” the first Tantra in our list of Bhūtantras.

211. XXXXXX prācyāṃ trolādā sausthātaṁ |

(Mr. T., ca.1/35).
212. The reading in Dvivedi’s edition is *Trisalam* and *Tratalottaram*. MS B.Sak. records the variants *Tottalam* and *Tatalottaram*.


214. G.P., 3/8 expressly says that “Garuḍa is Viṣṇu” (garuḍaḥ sa ṣaḥ). For Garuḍa’s sincere devotion, Viṣṇu grants him the boon that he will become Viṣṇu (ibid., 2/55a) and the mere sight or recollection of him will destroy serpents (ibid., 3/7b). In other places he is said to be Śiva Himself, e.g., ibid., 197/51.


216. Ibid., 2/51-57. The *Kālyapaṃsānīhīṇā* of the Pāñcarātra (ed. by Śrī Yathirāja Sampathkumāramuni, Madras 1933) is concerned entirely with the exposition of the Garuḍaṇātara. It is a text on snake bites and cures. It is, however, a unique work in the Pāñcarātra corpus so much so that this has led to the suspicion that it is not canonical even though the worship of Garuḍa as a cure for snake bites is counselled in certainly genuine Pāñcarātra texts (e.g., *Bṛhadbrahmāpanīhīṇā* II, 3, 36-37). See The Smith Agama Collection: Sanskrit Books and Manuscripts Relating to Pāñcarātra Studies by David H. Smith, Syracuse 1978, pp. 21-23.

217. TA, 37/12b-13.

218. This preliminary identification with Bhairava is interesting. The purpose of it here seems to be to reinforce the efficacy of the adept’s identification with Garuḍa. Bhairava is also depicted as a powerful being who can counter the effect of hostile planets, protect fields, defeat ghosts and rūkṣasas as well as counter the effects of poison (G.P., 20/14).


220. MS no. 3/392, 5/4949; 5/4947; 5/4946 and 5/4948. The oldest MS appears to be 3/392 which is dated N.S. 304, i.e., 1184 A.D. NTu, vol. II, pp. 148; 151; 157-158; 196-199.

221. na śrotām gurudām kiṣcit saḍaṃ prayatvayārakam |  
| tam acaśka[tva suraśreṣṭha mama bhaktasa śaṃkara ||  
| laukṣaṇam nāgajātimān guruhotpattim aṣṭasāta ||  
| rūpakaṃ sarvanāgārnam vyantarānam ca jātakam ||  
| grahaṇyaśyapāsācānam sākinīnam ca laukṣaṇam ||  
| bālagrahaḥca ye krūraḥ pidyante niyantarīhṛ̤Yaḥ ||  

222. NT, vol. II pp. 150; 151-2; 199.

223. Possibly *Vimalam* which is no. 17 of the *Bhūtasāntara* group corresponds to the *upāgama* of that name belonging to the *Viṣṇugāma*. Again, if we accept the variant reading *Pakcānantaram* for *Pākchābhūtā*, which is no. 16 in the *Guruda* list, it may correspond to no. 48 in the NSA list, although it is more likely to be the same as the *Pākchānantaram*, which is no. 27 in the *Dakṣiṇāyanirnāstra*. There are a number of cases where we notice that a text travels from one group to another or, to put it another way, is appropriated by other groups.

224. “bhairavāgaṃṣaṃkīṣitaḥ samuttuṣṣaḥ svacchandaścaryatīrṭhīṃ bhāravādīṣu bheditam” [*NTu, vol. I, p. 225*]. These three Tantras are No. 1, 2 and 24 in the list of the *Dakṣiṇāntaratras*. Also SvṬ, vol. I, p. 8.

225. Abhinavagupta exalts the *Bhairavāntaras* which he considered to be the highest of the five currents of scripture:

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XXXXXXXX srotaḥ paścakaṃ yataḥ pāyalam |  
utkarṣaṃ bhāravābhikhyāṃ XXXXX
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(TĀ, 37/17).

226. At the Institut Français D’Indologie in Pondicherry, transcriptions have been made of all twenty-eight Siddhāntāgam. MSs of many of the two hundred odd *upāgamas* have also been collected.

227. So, for example, the *Netaratra* says:

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sarvasṛṣṭraṃ saṃgranārāḥ |  
vāmaḥaḥkhajīṣaṃ siddhāḥdāmaṃ |  
vāmaḥaḥkhajīṣaṅgāvīdevādī |  
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(NT, 9/2).

228. In certain MSs (e.g., *NA, I/1* 2/258) the colophons describe this tantra as:

```
sarvasṛṣṭraṃ saṃgranārāḥ |  
vāmaḥaḥkhajīṣaṃ siddhāḥdāmaṃ |  
vāmaḥaḥkhajīṣaṅgāvīdevādī |  
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(NT, 9/11).

230. Thus the goddess says:

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yad uktāṃ daksīṇaṃ srotāṃ vāmaḥ caiva tathaḥ param |  
madhyamāṣaḥ tathaḥ srotāṃ codātaḥ pūrvam eva hi ||  
```

(BY, MS no. NA 1/296, fl. 187b).

(Philological note: the word *srotaḥ* is a neuter noun ending in the consonant “s.” Here it is treated as if it were a neuter noun ending in “a.” Accordingly, the form of the nominative singular is *srotam* rather than *srotas*.)

231. These energies constitute a standard triad of will, knowledge and action. Their iconic forms in the BY are portraiture of the goddess in the three ages of life, namely, youth, maturity and old age. (See Ghoṣal Sastri, vol. II, part IV p. 13. Sastri bases his brief account of this triad on a MS of the BY deposited in the library of Visva Bharati University, no. fl. 16/3, fol. 6a). It seems that we have a prior parallel here for the Trika identification of the three currents with Parā, Parāpārā and Parā Sūtra where the three goddesses that are the focus of Trika ritual. This identification is made in the *Śrīkaṇṭhavīrasyaḥ* although there the three currents are differently defined.

232. “śeṣamalaśaṃdoharaṇājñānaḥ madhyamāṣārāyaḥ” [*BY, ibid., fl. 188a*]. 
Note: The rules of euphonic combination have not been observed here: *raunjaḥ* should be *raunīta*.

233. *Śivajīnaḥ* is here expressly identified with the Śiva and Rudrabhedha of the *Madhyamasrotas*; thus the *parajīnaḥ* of the Siddhānta becomes just a part of Ṣāmānaḥ.
234. It is certainly not at all clear whether we can, in fact, make such clear-cut distinctions, although generally speaking the Siddhāntāgamasa do tend to be dualistic, unlike the Bhairavatāramas which are predominantly monistic. Even so, it is certainly not possible to distinguish the Siddhāntāgamasa from the Brahmāgamasa on the basis that the former are dualist while the latter conceive reality to be a unity-in-difference.

235. Abhinavagupta goes further by making all the Śāiva-gamas ultimately a part of Trika. The god who utterly the scripture is not the five-headed Sādāśiva of the Siddhānta. The Supreme Lord who spoke the three types of scripture (the Left, Right and Siddhānta) is in fact three-headed. He is Trīśrībhairava, the Trika form of Śiva:

tad vibhayaviyatibhedābhirājatad sphyuta vākrd athoktam anantam | samgrahāṣu prameśvarāpāṇa vartuta triśrī eva nirāhūḥ ||

(MVV, I/397).

236. This state of affairs is peculiar to the Śrīkaṇṭha which does anyway, in a sense, retain the Vāmanatāras as a part of the same standard, older division into srotas although it is relegated to the lower level of a secondary, subsidiary classification. Other Trikatāras such as the Bhagavatākāya and Viśnusūtra sustain the continued existence of the Vāmanatāras although they integrate them into Trika. There was, however, certainly a tendency for the Vāmanatāras to lose their identity in the ambience of Kashmiri Śaiva Trika.

237. The Śākhāvānīya in the ŚK consists of the following eight Tantras: Bhairavi called Śākha, Vīrā, Viśvamati, Śaṃbhavanam, Dānakram, Atmarakam, Kāmaṭha and Śrīkṛṣṇa. In the Vāmanatāras list Vīrā is the seventh, Śaṃbhavanam may correspond to the fourth called Mohanā and Viśvamati to the fourteenth called Cintiṣṭhānimahādayam (although this identification is certainly more tenuous than the previous one). Also worth noting is that the Srīkṛṣṇa, which is the Jayadrathyāmala, finds itself in this, rather than in the Yāmala group, possibly indicating its closer affiliation to the Vāmanatāras.

238. That there was some problem here is confirmed by the fact that the correspondent member in the Bhairavatākāya is called simply “Bhairava.”


240. Thus Hātākara is no. 31 and Sekhara no. 21.


242. Thus Śrīkṛṣṇa is the eighth in the list here are Rudra, Kanda, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Yama, Vaiṣṇava, Kūvera and Īndra.

243. The names of these Yāmalas are listed in the Rṣīvinarāni (p. 43):
which appears to belong to a later strata in the development of the Tantras. Another work of the same name which is more likely to be the same as the Tantra listed here is quoted by Kṣemarāja in Ś.Sū., vi., p. 29.

251. These are numbers 24, 12 and 26 in the list. The Trisūrotobhairavatāntra is one of the Tantras Abhinavagupta quotes the most. We know from Kṣemarāja that it was considered to be a Daksināvatīdakṣināvatra: “bhajavaṃgaṃaṃ daksināvraṃ samatthojaṃ svacchandacaṇḍatrisūrotobhāratuṃ bhudītām” (NTU, vol. I, p. 225).

There can be no doubt that this is also a Trikatantra because Abhinava refers to it at length in chapter 30 of his Tantraloka where he deals with the Mantras of the three goddesses Parā, etc., and their consorts, which is a characteristic feature of Tika. Indeed, the exposition is based essentially on the MVT and SYM, which are Trikatantras par excellence. Here the Trisūrotobhairava is referred to as presenting a number of variant forms of these Mantras. The Trisūrotobhairava is again referred to at length in TĀ, 31 where the drawing of the Trisūtāmāyadā is described, the knowledge of which, according to Abhinava, is the mark of the true Tika master (TĀ, 31/50b-52). We know that the Niśāsamārā, (also called Niśāśa and Niśāśāna) must have been a Trikatantra because it considered Tika to be the highest school (see quotations in TĀ, vol. I, p. 49 and PTV, p. 92). A single incomplete and very corrupt MS of a Niśāsamāra is deposited in the NA at Kathmandu (MS no. 1/1606). This is a palm leaf MS and the text is written in old Newari script probably belonging to the twelfth century A.D., if not earlier. The content and style is certain of the type one would expect of a Tantra of the older group. Even so, its esoteric exposition of the pithas does not agree with that found in references from the Niśāsamāra quoted in Kashmiri works, although the treatment is conceptually similar. Possibly the fragment in Kathmandu was the original Daksināvatīdakṣināvatra, although it does not affiliate itself to it or any other group anywhere in the text or the colophons. Three MSs of the SYM have been located, all of them incomplete. One is deposited in the NA—MS no. 5/2403 (23 fl.); the other two are in the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, viz. MS no. 3917D (2 fl.)/4565 (72 fl.). The first of these two Calcutta MSs contains only the first chapter called “Kāṃkṣitāpsara.” The second MS contains 31 chapters. Although the fragment preserved in the first MS is a part of this Tantra, it has not been traced in the second MS. Again, although a number of verses have been traced in the second MS which are quoted in Kashmiri works, it seems that this is a shorter recension than the one known in Kashmir. Perhaps this shorter recension was called “Bhairavavishvatāntra” which is the name given to this Tantra in the colophon of chapter 21. The SYM is known to the NSA (no. 51 in the list) and the BY, clearly indicating that this is an old and well-established scripture. It itself confirms that it is a Bhairavatāntra:

mahābhairavatāntraṃ svamīn siddhāhyogaveśvarānvarānaṃ | (f. 15a).

252. proktam bhagavata kila śarmāḥ pañiḥ etac ca | (TĀ, 37/18).

Notes to Part One

253. vidyāśriṣṭiṃ yāni syū vidyāpiṭhaṃ varaṇaṃ | mantrāśriṣṭiṃ yāni syū mantrapiṭhaṃ tatha caiva | maṇḍalaśriṣṭiṃ yāni syū maṇḍalapiṭhaṃ suvārte | maṇḍalapiṭhakānāṃ syū maṇḍalapiṭhaṃ ucyate ||

(BY, fl. 188).

(Philological note: I take the neuter plural forms “vidyāśriṣṭiṃ” etc. to agree with “mantrāśriṣṭiṃ,” which is clearly implied although not directly stated. “Maṇḍalaśriṣṭiṃ” here is normal “syū.” The gender of the word “piṭhaṃ” is neuter and so the nominative singular should be “piṭhaṃ” as it is in the first two lines. In the last two lines, however, it is treated as if it were a masculine noun.)

254. Abhinava says: “Mantra is that which thinks and saves. It is strengthened and nourished by knowledge (vidyā) which illumines that which is to be known. Maṇḍā is a reflected image of Maṇḍra and is nourished by Maṇḍala. The term ‘maṇḍā,’ implicit in ‘maṇḍala,’ refers to the essence itself, that is, Śiva. In this way, insofar as the four pithas penetrate each other mutually, everything is in reality present in its essence in every individual piṭha.” (TĀ, 37/19b-22a).

255. adhuna maṇḍalītaṃ piṭhāṃ kathayamanāṃ śrupsu priye | maṇḍalanām śatam praktaṃ siddhāntaṃ varaṇānaṃ ||


256. The final colophon of the BY clearly states that it belongs to the Vidyāpiṭha:

īt bhairavasrotas mahāntante vidyāpiṭhe brahmāyāmāle . . . . .

For the SYM see below, fn. 282.

257. catuspithāṃ mahāntantraṃ catuṣṭayaphalodayayaṃ | (SvT, 1/5a).

Kṣemarāja explains that these four pithas are the most important Vidyās, Maṇḍras and Maṇḍalas described in the SvT. The Sarvaviratāntāra similarly claims that it consists of all four pithas.

258. caṣeṣe samayā devi atrā sarvam pratiṣṭhitam | catupiṭheṣu samayā atrā sarvarvinayatā | vāmadakṣinaṭanteṣu sāmyāyā samayā parā | kubjikā nāma vihāyātī samayastā kuleśvari | yatra viśvaminī sarvam samayāyāṃ vinigatā | manramudraganāḥ by atrā vāmaśeṣu kuleśvari. ||

(KMT, fl. 30b-31a).

259. yasamā bharudaram ityevam sarvasvam yoginikāle | atha ca sarvapiṭheṣu mateyam samayantikā ||

(Ibid., 31b).

260. KRU, fl. 5a.

261. KMT, fl. 30a.

262. acāraṃ kulagaccham mudrapiṭhāṃ | (NA, MS No. 1/228, fl. 1a; BSP, vol. II, p. 67).
263. See Jayaratha’s commentary in Tā, vol. XIIb, p. 114. How these rituals, and the texts which are their sources, are associated to these pīthas is not explained. I am not too clear in my mind about this at present.

264. iha vidyāmantramudrāmāndalamātaya catuspitham tāvac cāstāram

(Tā, vol. XIIb, p. 114).

265. NA, MS no. 1/35 is dated N.S. 307, the equivalent of 1188 A.D.

266. namāmi catuṣṭhaṁ śādavevaḥ śādavevaḥ (Ibid., fl. 1a).

267. mantrākhyāmata śūryaṁ upadānamā śūryaṁ

(Tā, 37/19b-20a).

268. mantrākhyāmata śūryaṁ upadānamā śūryaṁ

(By, fl. 199b).

269. mantrāpārākhyāmata śūryaṁ (Ibid., fl. 1a).

270. The order in the Sarvaśrītantra is different:

mudrā maṇḍalamāṭaṁ tu mantrāpīṭhaṁ tathaiva ca
vidyāpīṭhaṁ tathāvahu catuṣṭhaṁ tu saṁhitā ||


271. BY, fl. 188a.

272. TĀ, 37/188b-9a.

273. BY, fl. 188a.

274. See appendix C.

275. BY, fl. 188a.

276. See footnote 270.


278. See above footnote 257.

279. See below p. 105.

280. We come across the term “mantrāpīṭha” in the Śiddhānta but here it refers to the seat of the deity (pitha) which is transformed in the course of the ritual into Mantra (see Mr.T., Kr. 8/196b-197). Vidyāpitha in the Śiddhānta refers to the Agama in general viewed as an object of veneration. The worship of the sacred scripture is a way of worshipping Śiva. The Agama the disciple studies is an object of his veneration; it is therefore, on occasion, worshipped with flowers and incense, etc., as is the teacher (see SSP, vol. I, p. 226, 290). During certain rites of atonement prescribed in the Tristhīvahāravātantra, a sacred thread (pavitra) is offered to all the places of worship on the site where the ritual is performed, including the Vidyāpitha which is presumably where the Agama is worshipped (TĀ, 28/156b). Paścimā ritual also provides for the worship of scripture. According to the MBT (Y), the Kulajāna is to be worshipped in a specially prepared mandala called Vidyāpitha (fl. 86a). Similarly, at the beginning of the GS the manner in which the master and then the Āgama are to be worshipped is described (p. 5), while the SatSS explains how the Tantra of the Kubjikā tradition is to be worshipped before the master teaches the disciple its meaning (SatSS, 3/98-102).

281. vidyāpīṭhaprādhanam ca śiddhāyogesvarimamat ||

tasyāpi paramānām sārām mālinivijayottaram ||

(TĀ, 37/24b-5a).

The MVT itself states its own close affiliation to the SYM. Thus the god says to the goddess:

śṛṇu devi pravakṣyati śiddhāyogesvarimimat ||
yan na kasyac adhyātyāt mālinivijayottaram ||

(MVT, 1/13).

282. In the SYM (fl. 72b) we read:

śiddhāyogesvarimam tantrām vidyāpīṭham yaśasvinī ||

283. The BY allocates the ‘eight times eight’ Bhairavatantras along with the Yāmalas to the Vidyāpitha, as well as the following Tantras: Yoginīśhāna, Yoganīśhāna, Siddhā, Mantramālā, Aghoreśi, Aghoreśi, Kṛṣṇākṣara, Viśnurāṇi, Lakṣmī, ? , Śarāra(?), Mahāmarī, Ugrāyōdā, Gana, Bāhurūpa (of two kinds) and Aghorāstrā.

284. See below p. 114.

285. Tantric Cult of South India by R. Nagaswamy, Āgam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1982, p.34.


287. See below p. 105.

288. See above footnote 267.


290. TĀ, vol. XII, p. 399; cf. muddrāmandalamāṭaṁ tu mudrāmāṭaṁ catuspitham cotarottaram |

(By, fl. 1a).

291. NA, MS no. 1/1693. This is a palm leaf MS only two folios long.

292. NA, MS no. 3/379 (161 folios) and NA, MS no. 1/53 (157 folios). The colophons of the latter MS read:

iti lakṣapadākhe mahāsahāmhitāyām dvādāṣṭāhupāramāṇasāre vīdyāpīṭhamataśa .


293. Part of the lengthy colophons of the Yogakhaṇḍa of the MBT reads:

iti vādāvatāre mahāmāṇaḥ nabhairavayānaya . . . . . . ādyāpīṭḥa-
294. The god asks the goddess:
leka-viṣṇu katham viṣṇu-thādevyā katham kathaṃ | (MBT (Y), fl. 22b.

295. See footnotes 258 and 259.

296. A typical colophon of the Śrīmatottara reads:
iti śrīmatottara śrīkaṭhāpanīhaṭvātīrī candradvīpanirgata viṣṇu-pīthā yogeṇa ghyey | (NA, MS no. 2/279; BSP, vol. II, p. 206).

297. The colophons of the Gorakṣasamhitā clearly state that it is affiliated to the Viṣṇu-pīṭha revealed by Śrīkaṭhāpanīhaṭa:
Śrīkaṭhāpanīhaṭvātīrī candradvīpanirgata viṣṇu-pīṭha yogeṇa ghyey | (GS, p. 418).


PART TWO

1. According to the NT (chapter 12), the presiding deity of the Kulāmnāya is Bhaiyāra. His form differs only in minor details from the Bhaiyāra who, according to chapter 11 of this same Tantra, presides over the Dakṣiṇaśrotas. The Gorakṣasamhitā, a Paścimāmnāya Tantra, opens with a hymn to Bhaiyāra (pp. 1-3) who is said to be “born of Kula and Akula, [although] free of the emergence of Kula” (ibid., p. 162). He is, in other words, both transcendent Śiva (Akula) and immanent Śaktī (Kula) and at the same time free of all cosmic manifestation (Kula). Maheśvarananda says of Kuleśvara, the deity every Kula school venerates as supreme, that “in the Kaulikītantras he is generally called Bhaiyāra” (MM p. 172).

2. evam etat kulāmnāgamupraviṣṭena sarvathā svatmānanda-vyaṇjakātātmāparatayā savyam na tu tad gardhena | (TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 67).

According to Jayaratha, the Kula’s wife is not the ideal Tantric consort for him because ritual intercourse with her is attended by the danger of his succumbing to lust. Abhinavagupta, however, does not consider this to be a problem and so, according to him, ritual union (mellāpa) can be of two kinds, depending on whether it takes place with one’s own wife or with any other woman initiated into Kula ritual.

3. Jayaratha quotes from an unnamed Tantra:

He who is dedicated to Kula practice (kulārā) but is not touched by wine should practice penance, be he a brahmin or a kṣatriya.

(TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 11).

4. layodāya citsvarūpaṇa tena tat kulaṃ ucayate | svabhuve bodham amalam kulaṃ sarvatra kāraṇām | (TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 4).

5. kulisyaiva sarvāvritām satam uktam | (quote in TĀ, vol. XII, p. 373).

6. “Kula is the Supreme Bliss . . . . . . . ” (TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 4).

It is from whence this [cosmic] picture arises and where the universe comes to rest” (TĀ, vol. XII, p. 373).

7. “For the emission of the Lord of the Absolute is the Mistress of Kula” (Ibid., p. 67).

“The absolute is the Supreme Abode and it is that which is called Kula. The emission of this Lord is said to be the power Kaulikā” (TĀ, 3/144).

“His inner intention is called Kaulikī, the Supreme” (TĀ, 3/137).

8. sāntātāṃ sati kāraṇām param kulaṃ | (TĀ, 29/117a ff).

9. “Therefore it is free of all obscuring coverings and so extroverted consciousness is awareness in the form of the means of knowledge while the object of knowledge is the object of awareness such as ‘blue’ or ‘pleasure’, at one with it. All this, be it subject or object, etc., is the essence of this expansion. The point is that there is nothing apart from that” (TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 7).

10. In the economy of the Trika of the Tantraloka, the Niśāsamrātantra is constantly referred to as the authority for this view. Doubt is the Kaula’s greatest obstacle; doubt constitutes the firm bars of the prison of sansāra and it is this doubt he must overcome (see TĀ, 12/18b-25).

11. ati eva hi naikatāyād vāmadakṣipatāśāstrayobh | dhārā prāntadhrāprāpte kaulikī pravījmabhete | (MVV, 1/394b-5a).

12. puspe gandhaśe tailaṇaṃ devo jīve jāte ṭrtam | yathā tathāvive śāstraṃ kālam antāb pratijñhitam ||

Abhinava quotes this verse from the Kālikula in TĀ, 35/34, after he has said that: “The supreme goal of all the scriptures is the Abode named ‘Trika’. That alone is said to be Kula because [only] that which is at one with all things [unconditioned by time and space] is perpetually manifest. Just as life is one and the same in every individual limb of the body, whether major or minor, similarly Trika is present in all things as scripture itself confirms.” Abhinava is here clearly equating Trika with Kula in order to establish that it is present in all the scriptures as Kula. Jayaratha similarly quotes this verse to suggest that Trika is Kula. Trika, Jayaratha says, is the sixth current of scripture that consists of the Siddhānta, Vīmaṇa and Bhaiyāra Tantras. The three goddesses, Parā, Pañaprā and Aparā, reside in Trika and so it contains all the scripture and “floods them with the nectar of Supreme Monism (paramādhyāya)” thus rendering them effective (TĀ, vol. I, p. 45). Maheśvarananda equates Kula
with the Krama absolute (mahārtha) and so quotes this verse (M.M., p. 170) to suggest that Mahārtha is the highest esoteric doctrine hidden, and everywhere present, in the scriptures. Mahesvarānanda is not, however, really much at odds with Abhinava because his Krama tradition is that of Anutara which is the absolute Abhinava’s Trika treats as Trīka, the supreme principle itself. Accordingly, Mahesvarānanda does not see much difference between Trika-darśana and Mahārtha (ibid., p. 92).

13. athāthaṃ sampravaṃkyāmi kulāṃvīyanidārṣanāṃ |
yagāṃ homāṃ japāṃ kāryaṃ yena sarvam avāpnyyaḥ ||

(NT, 12/1).

15. Ibid., p. 252.
16. Brunner, in an article on the NT, says in a footnote: “One could ask oneself why Kṣemarāja deems it necessary to explain the characteristics of this school insofar as he has said almost nothing about the others, and why he stresses the fact that it is essentially similar to them. Is it perhaps because it was not popular in his time? Or described? Or not yet integrated into the great Śaiva family? One defends oneself with difficulty from the impression that this integration is achieved at the cost of a certain amount of effort. One frequently comes across references in the Neṭra to the triad Vāma Daśaṭī Śiddhānṭa which seems to form a solid block: if in these cases reference is made to Kula, it is because it is not a constant fixed group; it is like an addition, in another movement of discourse.” Un Tantra du Nord: Le “Neṭra Tantra” in BEFEO, Tome LXI, Paris, 1974 pp. 154-5.

17. After the Udarakāmikā has described the five srotas we read:

paścimāṃ vāṃsāṃyatam taṃ vāṃsāṃyat uttamam ||
dakṣiṇāṃ kulaikāṃ śreṣṭhāṃ mahākulaṃ tatuḥ parāṃ ||
pūrvaśāṃvatam tatuḥ śreṣṭhām tasmāt śiddhāntam uttamam ||

(U.Kā, 24/92-93a).

In the Mrgendrāgama, the Siddha—and Yogini—Kaula which, as we shall see, are important divisions in the Kulāgama, are referred to as upasrotas of the five srotas. (Mr. caryḍāpāda, 1/37, 1/40-1).

18. antah kaulo bhah saivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ |

(quoted in TĀ, vol. III, p. 27).

antah kaulo bhah saivo lokācāre tu vaidikaḥ ||
sāram adāya tiṣṭhetā nārīkelaphalam yathā ||

(Ibid., p. 278).

19. ekaikaśoṭṭhābhinmaṃ kulaśāstraṃ suvistaram ||
cintamaṇipamaprahyāṃ vistaramaṃ kulabhairavam ||

(CMSS fl. 2b).

20. trṇḍhvavatadanyāni tantrāṇi ca kulāni ca |

(MVV 1/398; also TĀ, vol. I, p. 46).

Notes to Part Two

This is probably a quote from the Śīrkaṇṭhīyasamhitā.

21. “Sampradāya” is defined as follows:

sampradāyairi tat tac chāṣṭroka jñānayogarāpaḥ |

(NT, vol. II, p. 3).

22. tasya maṭhiketi kulaṃ iti cābhīdhānadāvayam |


In a different, more restricted sense, “Kula” was the name given to the particular group or ‘family’ to which a demon or malevolent spirit belonged. It was important to determine the spirit’s Kula in order to invoke the Lord of that Kula to free those who were possessed by it:

yasmin kule yādaṃsena mudrītaḥ kliṇāḥ kvauc | 
tat kulaiva ceṣṭena sarvadāsaṁ pramucyate ||

(NT, 19/80b-1a).

Yaksī, Yogini, Mātrkā, Śākini, Dākini and other potentially malevolent spirits belonged to these Kulas. Their exorcism and propitiation is a part of Kula practice, which in some of its phases included a number of exorcistic cults.

23. Matsyendranātha (variously “called Macchanda,” “Macchagnapāda,” “Minapāda,” “Minnanātha,” “Machendra” and “Macchagna”) is an important founder figure who is mentioned in various contexts in diverse Kaula works. The Kashmiri Trika Kaula considers him to be the originator of the Kula-gama. For an extensive treatment of the legends concerning this figure, the reader is referred to Bagchi’s introduction to the Kulaśāstra of Bhaṭṭācārya. Also O. Tucci, Animadversiones Indicae JASB, N.S., XXVI, 1930 p. 131 ff. Kṣemarāja tells us that the worship of the four Kaula masters, called “Yuganāthas,” namely, Khagendranātha, Kūrmānātha, Meṣānātha and Matsyendranātha who taught in the four Ages (yuca) is a necessary part of all Kaula ritual. Although the Paścimāṃḍaya, like every Kaula school, had its own masters, it advocated the worship of the Yogānātha (Schoterman p. 7). Here, however, Matsyendranātha and the others are associated, as we shall see, with the Pūrvaśānta with which the Paścimāṃḍaya had close affiliations. A number of works are attributed to Matsyendranātha although it seems highly unlikely that they are in fact his own. Almost all the MSs are in Nepal. Bagchi has edited a number of them and notes others in his KJN. Another work which he has not noticed is the Kulapūrāṇa of which there is only one MS, deposited in the NA in Kathmandu (no. 1/1076). The last colophon of this short tract on Kaula yoga reads:

iti kulaṃpanḍāsaṁkāyaṁ śīrmaṇḍapāvatāre paścamātaḥ paṭalaḥ samaptaḥ ||

Clearly “śīrmaṇḍapādaḥ” is a corruption of a homonym of Matsyendrapāda. This work is quoted twice by Kṣemarāja. (Ś.Su. vi. 54 and NTu 1.p. 191; fl. 4a and 3b in the MS). There is no indication in the text that it is by Matsyendra. Bagchi notes the existence of MSs of the Śīrkaṇṭhīya-gṛhasyaśādiḥ (also called
just “Guhyasiddhi”). A list of eight siddhamātrās found in this work constituting the “Kulāyama” also occurs in a number of texts belonging to the Paścimāṇḍīya. Indeed, Bagchi himself notes that he has come across it in the KNT, a Paścimāṇḍīya padāttī. It is possible, therefore, that it is in fact a work of the Paścimāṇḍīya, attributed to Matsyendranātha. That these and other works could wrongly be attributed to Matsyendranātha is not difficult to explain in view of the fact that many individuals were given this name as initials. For example, according to the KNT this name was given to a Bengali brāhmin initiated into the Paścimāṇḍīya. Quoted by Bagchi, p. 68: varanā vandade jena jātir brāhmaṇo visvaśarmanā nāma . . . markaṇḍanaṇuṇa yaṇā karṣita tadda śiraṇaṣ- syendranāthāḥ.

24. For a table of Rājaputras and Yuganāthas, etc., see Gnothi’s Luce delle Sacre Scritture Appendix X, pp. 876-880. Also below p. 69, 70, 80.

25. kulāni mahākula-kulakulakulikhyānī | (TĀ XIB p. 155).

26. Bhairovakulaśānta quoted in TĀ, vol. VIII, p. 182:

vāṃmārgūḥiṣkto’pi daliśka paraśattvavit | samśākṣūrya bhairove so’pi kule kule triki’pi sab ||
cf: vedā chaivaṃ tato vāṃm tato daś̃aṃ tato matam ||
tataḥ kulaṃ tataḥ kulaṃ trikaṃ sarvottamaṃ param || (quoted in commentary on TĀ, 13/300b-301 also in commentary on 13/347-8).

27. kujaṇāṃ lakṣāṇaṃ vākṣye kule kule tu paścime || (MBT(Y), fl. 8b).

Also: ye kecit devatās caṇye kule kule tu paścime | tiṣṭhanti kujaṇādhye tu bhairove bhairove saha || (Ibid., fl. 9a).

(The indeclinable “saha” meaning “with” normally governs the instrumental. “Bhairovā bhairove,” which are both nominative singulars, are therefore anomalous forms. If the two words are conjoined and the compound inflected to form “bhairovā bhairovā” the metre would be disturbed. For the same reason the forms “bhairovena bhairovā saha,” although grammatically correct, would not fit in this verse. Moreover, it appears that both words are here in the nominative to indicate that they carry equal weight. The gods can be either with Bhairova or Bhairove as well as with both together).

28. anyathā kula-kalā uṣmā śāmbhava na śrāṇvati te || (Ibid., fl. 29b).

Once the goddess has described the Wheel of Mahābhairava and its sixty-four energies she says in the same Tantra:

caṭuṭaśaṣṭhikāla prakāṭ bhairovāsa kuleivara ||
vidyārttapā śrāmā sarvāḥ kula-kalā tu siddhīdāh ||

(Ibid., fl. 8a).

Notes to Part Two

29. sampradāyam idam kulaṃ śāmbhusaktipadāṇugam ||

(GS, 8/164a).

30. śivaśīrāṃ (vi)niśkrāntaṃ śivaśīrsamaniṣavatitam ||
ubhayānandasadōhaṃ pāramparavyājritabhitaṃ ||
kulamānunyānām devi kulakaulamā vinirgatam ||

(CMSS, fl. 3a).

31. The Paścimāṇḍīya, in common with other Kaula schools, views itself and other traditions not just as doctrine, scripture or school but also as an essential expression of metaphysical principles. “Kula” and “Kaula” are in an context of interchangeable terms reflecting the close interaction between Kula and Kaula as divisions within the Kulāgama as well as expressions of Kula itself as the power of Speech (vāchakā) incarnate in doctrine. Accordingly, the MBT explains that the lower, grosser metaphysical principles merge progressively into the higher, subtler ones in such a way that the entire series ultimately disappears into the Nameless (anāmaka) absolute beyond all differentiation. The Nameless is Kula identified with Kuleivara who is the essence of Kula, the ocean of consciousness in which the god and his consort, the goddess, fuse (MBT(Y), fl. 26b). Thus Kula—the goddess—has become the god while he is the essence of both the god and goddess where both dissolve and disappear. In other words, Kula is Kula at the level of the mysterious Nameless, the supreme reality. At the same time, Kula is the source of creation and its power is Kulakali, the supreme goddess, the ‘Neuter’ (napumśaṅka in the femininel) who is the mother of all doctrines:

kulaṃ nāma mahādeva yena sṛṣṭi carācaraṃ ||
tasy(a) cchā nirgatā śakti ankurakārakaunilī ||

darānānāṃ c ma tā sā parā devi napumśaṅka ||

(MBT(Y), fl. 33b).

The Supreme Goddess (Parādevi) is Kubjikā, the goddess of the Paścimāṇḍīya which represents itself in this way as higher than Kaula doctrine. It is an independent system in its own right which both integrates and goes beyond these categories.

32. kulaṃ tu sādviḍhaṃ satva śākṭatapaṭṭaṃ dhrvaṃ ||
śaṣṭaṃśaṅja ca samudbhātāṃ prasarat pāścimāṇunyāṃ ||

(CMSS, fl. 3a).

(Read “śruvā” for “satva.” “Samjñāṭah” instead of “samjñā ca” would be grammatically correct. Note also that the word “asvaya” is masculine; here as often happens in these texts, it is treated as neuter).

33. pūrvaśīmabhedāṃ śaśādaśaṣṭa uṣmā ||
āṇandāvālbhedāṃ prabhu yogikena tu ||
atita-pādaśaṃjaḥ ca sāṭhprakāram idam kulaṃ ||

(Read “śīsā” for “śātā” and “avali” for “avali.” “Prabhu” should be in the instrumental, i.e., “prabhuṇa.” This is probably a scribal error as the present form cuts short the metre by one syllable. “Samjñā ca” should be “Samjñāya;”
in that case, however the seventh syllable would be short instead of long as the metre demands). In TĀ, 29/36 the order is 1) Bodhi, 2) Prabhu, 3) Pāda, 4) Ānanda, 5) Yogn, 6) Avali. The order in the KMT, (fl. 3a) is the same as the KRU; the latter, however, arranges these six into three groups of two: 4) + 6); 2) + 5) and 1) + 3), thus allowing the Paścināmnāya to be free, in a sense, to have its own line of teachers without losing its essential connection to the original Siddhārthāna. The KRU then links one group to the Pārvāmnāya and the other to the Paścināmnāya and so aligns them through their common Kaula heritage and stresses their intimate connection with each other. However, in the KMT, which is older than the KRU, no such distinction is made. The six Kaula traditions are collectively called the Siddhākrāma which has been transmitted along the Siddha path (siddhamārgakramādāta) (KMT, fl. 3a). The CMSS assigns the Kaula traditions to the Pārvāmnāya which it integrates into the Paścināmnāya (see below).

34. The Kaula schools display a marked tendency to exclusivity (as indeed do all Hindu sects and cults in general). The Ormkāla/tantra, for example, expressly prohibits contact with those who follow other scriptures (TĀ, 15/573b-4). A Kaula does not distinguish himself from other Kaulas on the basis of caste but according to the Kaula group to which he belongs. The Kaula tradition propagates a level of society as a whole and enjoins measures for overcoming caste. Voicing the Kaula view, Abhinava says: “In order to attain a state of identity (with Śiva and one another) one must follow one’s own spiritual tradition and neither worship nor enjoy the fruits of a Tantric gathering (cakra) along with those who belong to a different spiritual lineage.” (ibid., 4/268b-9a).

Even members of one or other of the six schools (ovall) affiliated to Matsyendranātha could not worship together and went as far as to devise a system of signs by which they could recognise members of their own group in order to avoid others (TĀ, 29/37). Once within a group, however, no distinction between its members was admitted. Caste and social status ceased to be operational in this society; once in the fold the members become one with Śiva and so indistinguishable from one another. He who viewed the others or talked of them in terms of former caste distinctions ran contrary to the Rule (samaya) (ibid., 15/576). In this respect, the Kaula traditions were perfectly in agreement with many other Tantric cults (see for example, SvT 4/414 and 4/545).

35. In an important passage in the Tantrāloka (4/221-270) Abhinava comments on part of chapter 18 of the MVT (18/74-81) which he presents as typifying the Kriya view and which he contrasts with that of the Śaivasiddhānta, on the one hand, and Kula on the other. Thus, whereas the former enjoins the performance of rituals and the observance of vows and rules governing outer conduct, the Kula position is seen to be one of denying their validity and rejection of these outer forms in favour of inner spiritual discipline. Kula doctrine is essentially based, from this part of view, on an exclusivist monism (advaya) intolerant of contrasts, thus which rejects all forms of spiritual discipline that are ‘external’, that is, ‘outside’ in the state of duality. The Trika view, however, excels this because it is a supreme monism (paramādvaya) in which nothing needs to be pursued or even abandoned. Even if ritual is performed, it does not break up the integrity of the absolute consciousness of the subject (TĀ, vol. III, p. 265 ff.). Nothing is here prohibited or enjoined insofar as whatever is pleasing is fit to lead to union with Śiva:

mukitaminasya no kiścin niṣīdham vihitam ca na ||
yad eva hyāram tad yogyayam śivasanvidhābha de ||

(TĀ, 15/291b-2a).

One could say that Trika is in this respect more intensely Kaula than the Kula schools and so, in the same spirit, rejects the view that the divisions between Kaula traditions are important. According to the Trikāsāna, there is an essential equality among all these traditions insofar as they are all ultimately Śaiva (ibid., 4/274a). Indeed, according to Abhinava, these distinctions are denied in the Trika scriptures starting with the ŚYAM because they break up the unity of ultimate reality (ibid., 4/269). Trika Mantras are applicable in all circumstances (ibid., 11/38) but, even so, one should take care not to be misled by following the teachings of other schools (TĀ, vol. III, p. 279 ff. TĀ 25/563).

36. The god says to the goddess at the beginning of the Yoginiḥdayatana of the Śrīvidyā school: “Listen, O goddess, to the great secret, the Supreme Heart of the Yogini; out of love for you I will tell you today that which is to be kept well concealed, that which has been taught from ear to ear and so reached the surface of the earth.” (VIII, 1/2b-3). Similarly in the Kula 것이다 the which was revealed, as tradition would have it, by Matsyendranātha: “O goddess, it is heard as residing in the ear (not in books) and has come down through the line of teachers; this, O goddess, is Kaulika [doctrine] transmitted from ear to ear” (KJN, 6/3b-9a).

37. After explaining in a veiled, cryptic manner how to construct a mantra, the KMT says: “This method is hard to acquire, it can be obtained only from the mouth of a master” (fl. 37a).

38. XXXXXXXX kāyal lekhyama hi pustake |

(TĀ, 6/33b).

39. kathātan gopitaṃ tebhyaḥ tasmāl lekhyaṃ na pustake |
guruvatāt tu labhyeta anyathā na kadācana ||

(TĀ, vol. III, p. 73; ibid., 26/20-4a; also ibid., 26/28).

40. “O mistress of the gods! [treasure] always in [your] heart [the teaching transmitted] from ear to ear. That which comes from the master’s mouth and enters the path of hearing abides [in your] own heart. A Mantra [extracted from a book] is like one written on water. The Vidya that bestows both enjoyment and liberation should never be written in a book.” (Parā, 8/27-8).

41. “Five are said to be [important] in the Siddhānta, four in the traditions of the East and the West, three is it said in the Right, in the tradition of the East two, in the Western liturgical tradition (paścināmnāya) of the Kula it is the master alone [who matters]” (MBT(Y), fl. 24a; also fl. 87b).

42. “Now I will therefore tell [you] the doctrine of the master knowing...
which the Tradition of the Master is transmitted” (Ibid., fl. 24b).

43. “This is the meditation, hard to obtain [even] by the gods, which belongs to the tradition of the Mouth of the Master; he who knows this, O Śambhu, is a Kaula master (ācārya)” (Ibid., fl. 96b).

44. XXXXXXXX śīrṇaṃ paścimeṇvar

45. strīmukhe niṣpiget prāṭīṣṭab strīmukhad grāhaṇya punaḥ

46. See TĀ, 29/40. Also: yoginya ca pravakṣyaṁ śiddhaḥ(b) kulāsāne

47. TĀ, vol. XIV, p. 19; TĀ, 29/40.

48. yogini dāśikendreṇa antaraṁ naiva vidyate

49. (In order to convey the intended meaning of this statement in a grammatically correct form, “yogini” should be in the genitive, i.e., “yoginīḥ” and “dāśikendreṇa” should not be an instrumental but an ablative, i.e., “dāśikendraḥ”).

50. yoginī paramaḥ śaktiḥ(b) sahajānandadāyini

51. TĀ, fl. 104.

52. TĀ, 28/147 states that there are four types of Śaivas, namely those who divide the knowable into: 1) Nara, Śakti and Śiva (i.e., the Trika); 2) The five faces of Śadāśiva with their five powers: Vāmēsvāri, Khecari, Gocari, Dikari and Bhūcarī (i.e., the Krama-influenced Trika of the Nārāyaṇavāṇavātra); 3) into the ten and eighteen divisions (i.e., the Śiddhāṅtika) and 4) six currents (śrotaḥ)—these are the Kaulas who add an extra lower current, that of the Kulaśāna, to Śiva’s five faces. See TĀ, 28/147 and Jayarathā’s commentary.

53. vaktraṁ hi nāma tān mukhyam cakrati uktam maheśināḥ |

54. See TĀ, fl. 196a and commentary.

55. TĀ, vol. IV, p. 140.

56. Monier-Williams notes in his Sanskrit-English dictionary that “Pīcu” is the name of a Yogini. Ghoshal Sastrī (vol. II, part IV, p. 40) notes other meanings of this word. These include “cotton,” “a type of soft grain,” “a weight,” “a lepēr,” “the neem tree” and “thorn apple.” It is also the name of the Bhairava who teaches in the BY and one of his eight faces.

57. pīcuvaktraṇaṇīparāpyaṁ yoginīvaktraṇa eva mukhyakram uktaṁ / pālākhyam adhovaktraṁ sṛṣṭyartham samprakṣiṭtam ||

58. quoted by Schoterman (pp. 86-7) from the ŚaṅSS, a Tantra belonging to the Kubjikā school. He also points out in his commentary to verse 2/37 of this Tantra that this mouth is called Pīcuṇa. Pīcuvakraṇa is also equated with Pālālahavakraṇa in TĀ, 15/206 and commentary. The BY (fl. 2014a) also confirms that those Tantras which deal with Kulaśāra are said to originate from the Lower Current along with others. In the context of describing the content of the Lower Current, the BY states that it is Bhairava who teaches here. The ŚKŚ’s canon is unusual insofar as it equates the Mouth of the Yogini with the Right Current from which arise the sixty-four Bhairavatantras: “The scripture called Bhai vape consisting of eight times eight [Tantras] entered all together into the independent Śaiva [tradition] that is, the [current of the] Right, that of the Emission of the Heart” (TĀ, vol. I, p. 41).

Jayarathā comments that “the Bhairava group consisting of sixty-four [Tantras] is predominantly monist and belongs to the Right Face which corresponds to the [single] non-dual inner nature of the union of Śiva and Śakti, also called the Mouth of the Yogini.” In other words, the Bhairavatantras are here understood to be vitally linked with the Kulaśātras through their common source. The BY is a good example of how its works. Its very name—Pīcunata (the Doctrine of Pīcuḥbhairava)—subtly implies its hidden connection with the Kulaśātras. Accordingly, Abhinava quotes it along with other Tantras belonging to the Bhai vapataras in the course of his exposition of Kaula ritual in the Tairālaka. One chapter (36) of this work is devoted to Kulaśāra while another (69) deals with the Pīcuvakraṇa. The overall Kaula character of this work is unmistakable, although it does not consider itself to be such. Certain passages, however, refer directly to the attainment of Kulaśāra and union with Kula (see quote in TĀ, vol. III, p. 64). The Kaula character of other Tantras belonging to the Dakṣinaparasa is also evident, particularly of those Tantras which teach Trika doctrine. Thus, according to the MVT, the SYM teaches the method by which Kulaśāra is to be worshipped (MVT, 19/48). Abhinava quotes Trīśrōbhairava, a Trika Tantra belonging to the Dakṣinaparasra, when defining the meaning of “Kauśa” as a metaphysical principle (TĀ, vol. XIV, p. 6). He also refers to it several times while describing Kaula ritual in the Tairālaka, including one passage which deals with the characteristics of the ideal Tantric consort (TĀ, vol. XIV, pp. 69-70). That not all Tantras of the Bhai vape group are so markedly Kaula-oriented becomes apparent when we consider the character of the Svachchandabhairavatantra whose ritual programme is in many respects similar to that of the Śiddhāṅtika in which Kaula rituals and practice are largely absent. It seems that the Vidyāpūṣṭa Tantras of the Śākāyana were, in this sense, extensively Kaula in character, and it is to this pīṭha that the TrikaTantras generally belong. Moreover, it is to this pīṭha that most of the Tantras of the Pāścimāṇya
affiliate themselves and so do many other Kaualatanras. Thus the god says in the Yoginikula: “The Secret Doctrine I have hidden which bestows immediate understanding. . . . resides in [those Tantras] associated with the Vidyāpītha. It bestows divine yogic accomplishments and [is attained] by those dedicated to Kulikāchāra” (see YHīr., 2/76-80).

58. See Schoterman, p. 87, who has drawn up a table of these correspondences according to SātīSS, chap. 42.
59. See Schoterman, p. 87.
60. yoginiyo lebhāre jñānaṃ sadyo yogāvahāsakam |
yena tad yoginikulaṃ nāttirōm tābhyo eva tat ||
(Mr. T. caryāpāda, 1/40b-1a).
śaivam māntreśvaram gānām dīvyam ārāṃ ca gauhyakam |
yoginīśuddhakaulum ca srotāmasyāṃ vidur budhāḥ ||
(Ibid., 1/36b-37a).
61. kāmarūpe idam śāstraṃ yoginīnaṃ grhe grhe |
(KJN, 22/10b).
The Kashmiri tradition also associates Matsyendranātha with Kāmarūpa; it was here that he learned the doctrine and practice of Kaula yoga which Bhairavi had heard from Bhaiyarva. See TĀ, vol. 1, pp. 24-6.
62. See Bāgchi KJN, intro. p. 35.
63. uktam ca siddhasantānāśrīmadūrmiśhakule |
śrīmadūrmiśhakulaśiddhasantārānpake ityena pādovalyāṃ |
pāramparaye pīamānāvatvam darśatam ||
(TĀ, 14/31a).
64. “In the Yoginikula, one should know the cremation ground to be the place of the Heart, the Wish-granting Tree to be Kuḍaḷatina and the centre between the eyebrows to be the meeting ground of the yogini.”
(TĀ, vol. XIb, p. 51) Here “Yoginikula” may not, however, refer to a Kaula group but to the inner mystical body of the Kulayogisa, as is the case in the following reference in MVT, 19/24b-26a:
“Or else the Wheel of Meditation, the nature of which is Kula, should be mentally made to rotate in the wheel of the navel following the sequence of universal Time after which in six months arises, without a doubt, the Yoginikula within the body which illumines one’s consciousness.” References are certainly rare to the Yoginikula as a Kaula group in Kashmiri works, despite the fact that the Kashmiri Trikakula tradition affirms itself to Matsyendranātha.
65. yoginiyuktarbhastha(b) kulavrāṭe sambhavah |
siddhāṅgasiśuddhasantāna(b) satpadārthān sa vindati ||
(KMT, fl. 61a).
(“Kulavrāṭe sambhavah” would be better as a single compound, i.e., “Kulavrāṭe sambhavah.” The fifth syllable will then be short as the metre demands.)

Notes to Part Two

66. yoginimatāsārantaḥ ānāmyaṃ kulasāsanam | (CMSS, fl. 15a).
67. MBT(Y), fl. 50a.
68. mukhāṅkya rāhasyaṃ tu yoginīsampradāyaṃ | (CMSS, fl. 14b).
69. pācīmānāmyaśiddhānāṁ sāntānām pācīmaṃ vada |
tad āham śrotum ichcāmī matanānāṃ matam uttamam || (GS, 4/9).
70. siddhākaullabhippanānam itarārūṃ na darśitam ||
(KMT, fl. 83a).
(The word “iṣṭā” is a pronoun; therefore “itarārūṃ” should be “iṭarārūṃ.”)
71. The Devi says in MBT(Y), fl. 30b that she will explain the mantras belonging to the Yoginikula indicating that it is being integrated into the main body of Kālījika doctrine.
72. yasmād bhāgaṃ pārāśvam yoginīkule |
āta ca sarvapīṭhayaḥ maṭeṣvam samayāṃśikā ||
(KMT, fl. 31b).
73. rūpātitaṃ tatas cermāṅkya nīṣāmigdham paramāḥ padām |
bahuṅktena kīṃ devi pūrṇam vyāvartṇitaṃ mayā ||
saṅgūroṣ ca prasādeṇa laṅhāyate paramāḥ padām |
(KMT, fl. 88a).
kim abhyāsāḥ punas tasya yasya sarvaṃ purussaram |
yasya saṁbhavātitaṃ sāṁbhuma anantaṅgupāyakam ||
yogātmā ca sa sarvatvaṃ pūjyate yoginīkule ||
(Ibid.)
74. In the following reference, from the Mat.P. of the Siddhānta, “svāmānya” simply means “one’s own tradition”—it does not refer to the ānāmya system of classification we are about to discuss:

samayāścārasadvādasthitih svāmānyaḥakaṣāṇaḥ | (Mat. P., 2/13).
75. For this generic usage of the term “Kulāmāṇya,” see, e.g., TĀ, 15/533; also ibid., 15/572.
76. The earliest Trikanatras, such as the Trīśīrobhairava and even the Siddhāyogavivarmita, do not know themselves to be Trika although they expound Trika doctrine and ritual. The same is true of the Mālānivijayottara to which Abhinava refers as the essence of the SYM which is, to all intents and purposes, the root Tantra of the Trika and indeed, probably, the first Tantra to expound the essentials of Trika, namely the worship of the three goddesses—Parā, Parāparā and Apara—and their Mantras.
77. The Paścīmānāmyaṅatras to which I have had access so far, which are but a fraction of those extant in Nepalese MSs, all refer to the KMT and so undoubtedly postdate it. Thus the CMSS refers to itself as the essence of the KMT which had been previously expounded extensively:
kathitaṁ devadevesi sāmkṣepaṁ na tu viśtaram |
śrīkujñāmatasaśraṁ viśtaram kathitaṁ maya ||

(CMSS, fl. 24a).

(The word "viśtaraṁ" is masculine so "viśtaram" should be "viśtaraṁ." Accordingly, "kathitaṁ" which agrees with it should be "kathitaṁ." The third quarter of the verse contains an extra syllable. This is probably due to the addition of the word "śri" made as a sign of respect for the KMT. "Viśtaram kathitaṁ maya" in the second line should read "viśtaraṁ kathitaṁ maya.")

The Yogakhaṇḍa of the MBT refers specifically to the KMT of 3500 verses which corresponds to the length of the recovered text of this Tantra. The Gorakṣaṇāmlīki, which postdates the MBT, to which it refers in one place (p. 278), also knows the KMT, to which it refers in several places as Śrīmata (p. 4, 24, 49, 116, 158, 208, 277, 375) and once as Kulālītantra (p. 152). It is closely affiliated to the Śrīmatatattvārtha (perhaps they may be the same work) as its name implies, follows after the KMT. The Kularatnādīyotsa is also a later work as it affilates itself to the Kuṭubikāmata. The colophons are generally of the type:

 śrīkularatnādīyotsa

Also the Kuṭubīkaraṇa by Muktaka, the KMT, certainly postdates the KMT as does the Kuṭubikāmata. Although all these texts are later than the KMT, there is still room to doubt the originality of this Tantra. Thus in one place in the KMT it seems that there is a reference to an earlier Tantra.

On fl. 49a the goddess says: "now explain clearly what you have alluded to in the previous Tantra but not clearly elucidated":

XXXXXX idāṇāṃ kathaya sphaṭāṃ |

ptūvatetre tvayā deva sthitam na prakāśitaṃ ||

This reference may, however, be construed to mean that the matters which are to be discussed are found in older Tantras which do not necessarily belong to the Paścimānāmyā. We have still to study the extant literature to see whether there is any more evidence to decide this issue one way or the other. It seems highly probable, however, that the KMT is not only the root Tantra of the Paścimānāmyā but also the first.

78. KMT, fl. 44b. This reference is part of a passage reproduced in the GS, 14/195-206a. Other Tantras referred to in this passage are the Saṃmohana and Svārodāya which is a Tantric astrological work. The Svācchandrahārava is referred to here as "the best of Tantras." Svācchanda Mantras are in fact integrated into the Paścimānāmyā (see, for example, the exposition of Svācchandrahārava in GS, p. 155 ff.). C. Chakravarti notices two after works referred to in the KMT, namely, the Labdhvītantra (emend to "Laghvītantra") and Aghoridīmarātantra (RASB Tantras, cat. II, p. 874).

79. PTV, p. 184. This reference has not been traced in the 3500 verse recension of the KMT preserved in numerous MSS in Nepal.

80. paścimāṇa sarvamārganāṃ tvam tāvatt annaśīlaya |

Notes to Part Two

paścimānāmyāmargo yaṁ Siddhānām akhilam dada ||

(KMT, fl. 6b).

(For "tāvatt annuśīlaya" read, "tāvad" and the second person singular imperative "annuśīlaya." For "akhilam dada" read "akhilāh pradaḥ" which agrees with "-margo yaṁ.""

81. tasya caivottare mārga daśaṁnāmāyapūrvakam |
vindate nikhilaṁ jñānam nirahamkārī dṛdhavrataḥ ||

(KMT, fl. 54b).

(The fifth syllable of the fourth quarter is long whereas it should be short. This syllable is shortened, however, if we form the compound "nirahamkārīdṛdhavrataḥ").

82. According to the following reference, the KMT presents the doctrines of the Paścimānāmyā free of contamination from the Pūrvañāmyā represented in later Tantras as a close associate of the Paścimānāmyā:

idam ca paścimāṇa deva pūrvabhāgaviṣāvajītam ||

(KMT, fl. 6b).

83. They are described as four possible ritual patterns included in the Paścimānāmyā in MBT(Y), fl. 36-38.

84. The correspondences are Pūrva-Kriṣṇa: Daksīna-Treta: Uttara-Dvāpara and Paścima as belonging to the kaḷīyauga (MBT, fl. 35b). These Tantras frequently extol the Paścimānāmyā as the best path in the Kaḷī Age, e.g.,

paścimam udite vēsmām kalikālam tu siddhayate ||

(Ibid., fl. 36a).

(The nominative singular of the word "vēsmā" is "vēsmā" not "vēsmam." Instead of "kalikālam" read "kalikāle" which agrees with "udite").

paścime tu kule siddhiḥ kalau XXXXXX ||

(Ibid. fl. 60a. See also Saṭṭhas 3/86).


86. In the seven-āṃśāya scheme mentioned earlier (fn. 58) a lower and 'upper above the upper' are added below and above the basic five āṃśāyas of which the speakers are the five faces of Sadāśiva. According to the Paṭākanātra also, the five āṃśāyas are spoken by Sadāśiva with a sixth, lower one that is assigned to the Baudhāṇas and so is not spoken by Śiva.

87. Abhinava quotes the Bhūragaśīhānītra as saying:

ūrdhvaśrotodhvaṁ jñānam idam tatr paramāpi prayāno |

paramadhanvinordhvaṁ samvidrūṭābhidhiyāna ||

(MVVV, 1/162).

Following presumably the same Tantra, Abhinava says that the Tantras
are in six groups of which the Trikaśāstras are the “pūrvāṅgha.” To understand what is meant here we must first draw the following diagram. See Figure 4.

Figure 4. The Spatial Deployment of the Tantras According to the Bhagavānīkā.

Above the Upper
Trikā
Upper Siddhānta
North Vāmaśāṅkha
East Gārudaśāṅkha — West Bhairavaśāṅkha
South Bhairavaśāṅkha

The “pūrvāṅgha” seems to refer not to the “half on the west side” but that “in front,” which is said to be “half of six” (ṣadāṅgha), that is, the three “in front” of Trika, i.e., the Siddhānta-Vāma- and Bhairavaśāṅkhas of which Trika is the essence.

88. KA, 3/5.
89. “The five Traditions have originated from My five faces. These five are said to be the paths to liberation, namely, [the Traditions of] the East, West, South and North along with the Upper. O Fair One, this is indeed true nor is there any need to question this. O Mistress of Kula, there are many traditions originating from subdivisions of the four Traditions I have previously explained to You in this Tantra. O Beloved, You Who are praised by the Viras, many are they who know the four Traditions but few those who know the nature of the Upper One” (KĀ, 3/7-10).
90. For an account of this text, see Dhvivedi, intro. to the NSA, pp. 46-7. Also intro. to LĀS, vol. II, p. 73 and Tā.Śā., p. 671.
91. They are equated with the cycle of manifestation thus: Pūrṇa-Srīśi, Dakṣiṇa-Siṣṭhi, Paścimā-Saṃśāra and Urtara-Anākhyā. Although we cannot make out much here of importance for the historian, these equations are interesting insofar as only four āmānąs are represented. Moreover, the Urtarāṁṇāya corresponds here to Anākhyā which is significant insofar as this is the highest principle of the Kālīkrama. The association of the Kālīkrama with the Urtarāṁṇāya is well established in other Tantras (see below).
92. The YHr, pp. 100-102. The equations made in this passage between the four āmāṇyās and moments in the cycle of manifestation are described in detail. Basically Paścima is equated with the precosmic seed (bijā) state consisting of the couple (yāmala), Rudra and His power of action. Pūrṇa is the moment of emanation (srīśi) which includes also persistence (sthitī) and withdrawal (saṃśāra) and so is three-fold. Dakṣiṇa is Kāmakalā consisting of the union of the red Śaktiśīlā with the white Śivaśīlā and corresponds to persistence (sthitī). The Urtarāṁṇāya corresponds to Anākhyā. Thus, these equations basically agree with those made in the Saṃsketapadāḥati. Of interest here is the equation made between the Dakṣiṇāṁṇāya and Kāmakalā, which implies that Śrīveṣṭa is associated with this āmāṇya, thus agreeing with the CMSS (see below).
93. Four MSs of this work are deposited in the NA at Kathmandu; there may be others listed in the private collections photographed by the NGMPP which I have not had the opportunity to see. The MSs in the NA are 1/767 (38 folios), 1/199 (69 folios), 1/1560 (34 folios) and 1/245 (36 folios). References are to MS no. 1/767.
94. CMSS, fl. 2a. Divyaugha is also referred to as Divyakaula (ibid.) or Divyaughkrāma (ibid., fl. 2b). It is associated with the Pīcavikrama (ibid., fl. 2a).
95. The Tantras referred to are the Tantrālasa, Kṛṣṇāla, Kaulasā, Trikātrasa and Yogālasa. The CMSS also refers to the Yognīhṛdaya, Kālacakrodaya and Yamala. Other scriptures and groups are the Bhairavāṣa and the Aṣṭāṅgaśāstra, the Parvavatśāstra, the Gāruda- and Bhairavaśāṅkhas. It then refers to a number of other groups (bheda) namely Mantra, Tantra, Cakra, Hṛdāntara, Sūra, Kāla and Nīkṣa-bheda as well as the Svacchanda which it considers to be the highest (fl. 1). Other works referred to in the body of the text are the Śiddhayogayogasūtram (fl. 14a), Rudraśāṃkha (fl. 18a) and KMT (fl. 26a).
96. The CMSS says that grha is the Inner Dwelling. It is the Wheel of Passion (rati) which is in the womb of the goddess, sanctified (bhūtita) by Kula and Kaula. Yogi resides there in that consciousness, mentally discerning that which is free of being and non-being and playing in the Kūlaṇāya, the imperishable abode of consciousness (fl. 14b). The Pāścimāṅgha is:

gādha(m) gambhīraghanañ tad ānandaghrasṛṣṭah ||

(Ibid., fl. 4b).

(No the word “gādha” normally means “shallow.” The word “āgādha”, which is formed from it by adding the negative prefix “a-”, means “deep.” Although “āgādha” is derived from “gādha,” it is more common in use, particularly in figurative expressions such as this one. The meaning of “gādha” has here, it seems, been mistaken for that of “āgādha.” “Ānandaghrasṛṣṭah” is not a valid compound. Moreover, “grha” is neuter so the correct form would be “ānanda-ghrasṛṣṭah.”)
97. janmāmānyaḥasyanty catu(t) gharāsamanvitāt ||

(CMSS, fl. 24a).
98. atāh paraśasram vāṣṭye caturāmānyaḥ asamphutam ||

yena vijñātāmarṣe devyāmānyaḥ pravartate ||

(MBI(Y), fl. 35a).
99. svasvabhatvaparaḥ kaścit pūrvacakrodayaḥ sthitāt ||

dakṣiṇottarataṁ bhedaṁ niyāmāṅkākrodayaṁ ||
Notes to Part Two

Also:

tvayā mahāyaṁ mayā tibhyam tvayā mahāyaṁ punar mayaṁ ||

kathitaṁ tava sūritoṇi tvat sāṅgāyaṁ mokṣaṁad am ||

(GS, 15/299b-300a).

In the KMT, which presents the doctrine at its origins, it is indeed Bhairava who speaks, even so, as the embodiment of the Word held within consciousness (śabdarāti). He is forced to acknowledge his dependence on the goddess who, as Mālini, is the power of his speech by virtue of which the Word can become manifest. Again, it is by virtue of the goddess travelling and manifesting herself in the sacred places throughout India that the doctrine is spread. She, and not he, is the chief protagonist as, indeed, is generally the case with the non-dualist Tantras, whether they consider themselves to be specifically Kaula or not.

101. śāmbhavaṁ yatra śāntu tvā yāpakaṁ sārvaṁ tukham ||

akulā ca kulāṁ jñānam vīvidhāṁ pācimāṁ ghrāmam ||

(MBT(Y), 0. 35b).

(Emend “akulā” to “akulam.”)

102. vīmālam pācimāṁ vesma sarvesaṁ uparishthitam ||

viśeṣaṁ tena viditaṁ dharmaṁ dharmaṁ varjitaṁ || (Ibid.).

(The word “viśeṣa” is a masculine noun; even so it is treated here as if it were an adjective governed by the word “vesaṁ.” The sixth syllable in the third quarter is not long as it should be.)

103. idam eva daksina-vāyavāryaṁ śrīśvarājā-madhyāye ||

raudrā-dakṣaṁ ca rudraṁ kriyāṁ tātricca asya rudraṁ ||

yugalaṁ idam tātricca bijan ārya-paliḥ yācitaṁ pācimāṁ ||

(quoted in YHr, p. 101).

See chapter 2 of the Saubhāgyasadhyāya published with the NSA, pp. 311-313.

104. For a schematic representation of their location see below, fn. 110.

105. “I praise the goddess Pāra Śiva whose imperishable form is the letter A which pours forth as the waves of Kula!” (NSA, 1/10).

106. “This Vidyā is the Great Vidyā of the Yoginis, the great arising, the Kulavidya, O great goddess, which accomplishes the goal of all that is to be done” (NSA, 1/103).

107. “You (O goddess) afflicted with pain the one who sets out to practice according to this doctrine not knowing Kulāca and without having worshipped the master’s sandals. Knowing this, O fair one, should always be intent on Kaśāca” (YHr, 3/196-7a). For other references which clearly demonstrate the Kula character of the Śrīvidya teachings, see also YHr, 1/25-27a; 2/15; 2/51; 2/68; 3/139-142; 3/146-153 and 3/170-1.

108. For the dhūrā of Śrīvidya Mahāśāripurusānduṁ see NSA, 1/130-149.

109. “Kula is Śakti while she is said to be Nityā.” Quoted from the Nitya-tantra in TĀ, vol. XIA, p. 51. All the presiding deities of the annayās are called “Nityā” in the Parātantra.
110. This is standard practice in many Kaula schools. The *Pācināmāṇyāya* also refers to itself as divided into lines (oli) originating from masters said to reside in these *pīthas*. In the KNt they are the three listed below along with their Lords:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pītha</th>
<th>Masters</th>
<th>Lords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oḍḍijāna:</td>
<td>Oḍḍijānātha -</td>
<td>Nandēśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrṇaṇa:</td>
<td>Śrīṣaṭānātha -</td>
<td>Kārttikēya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmarūpa:</td>
<td>Śrīcāryanānātha -</td>
<td>Gaṇēśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(See Schoterman, p. 36).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Divyakrama of the Śrīvīḍyā the four *pīthas* are arranged in a triangle, the corners and centre of which correspond to a seed-syllable (ṭīja) and teacher who appeared in one of the four Ages. See Figure 5 below.

**Figure 5. The Triangle of the Divyakrama.**

Kali Pūrṇaṇi Bhagamāṇi
Mitraśānathā

Uḍḍijāna
Kṛṣṇa
Caryanātha

Tretā
Kāmarūpa
Vāgbhāva

Dvāraka Jālandhara Vāgēśvari
Śaṭānātha

Although the names of the teachers in the various locations do not correspond, the fact that they are the same in these two schools is striking. According to the Śrīvīḍyā tradition, these four teachers belong to the *Divyagṛha* through which the earliest transmission of the teachings took place. The Tripuṛa and Kubjikā cults share these teachers in common, thus linking them vitally together. However, neither of the two traditions show overt signs of being conscious of this connection between them. As the KMT makes no reference to these teachers, it seems likely that this is a later development in the *Pācināmāṇyāya*. Rather than say that the Kubjikā tradition has simply borrowed this from that of Śrīvīḍyā, it may perhaps be more accurate to say that it happens to find common roots with it in an 'original' transmission of Kaula doctrine conceived to be the same for every Kaula tradition. Again, that the CMSS defines itself as a Tantra belonging to the *Divyagṛha* is a sign that major Kaula schools attempt to appropriate this 'original tradition' in order to appear to be the first, and hence, most genuine recipients of the Kaula teachings.

111. Mahēśvarānanda in his *Mahābhārataḥārjuri* takes over the same division into four lines of doctrine found in the NSA and calls them *srotas*. His purpose is to identify Mahārhīth, the Krama absolute worshipped as Kāli, with Tripuṛa. He does this by comparing the four *srotas* to oceans churned by Manthāna-bhairava who although associated, from his point of view, particularly with the Kālikrama is considered to be the Bhairava of all the *Kulataṇḍa* (MM, v. 68 pp. 170-2). Thus Mahēśvarānanda appears to be integrating the four-fold *pītha* division of the Śrīvīḍyā with the fou *ānāyās* of the *Kulataṇḍa*. In the process, he makes Manthānbhaihavara the Lord of them all, thus demonstrating that the highest tradition and the essence of all the scriptures (MM, p. 171) is the Mahārātha or Krama which, as he himself says, is the Kula *Uttarānāyā* (ibid., p. 6, 143, 186). Mahēśvarānanda thus knew and supported the division into four *ānāyās* which must therefore have persisted in this form up to his time (mid-thirteenth cent.) along with the original Kula Tantras that adhered to this classification.

112. iyam ca vidyā caturānāyāsadhārānyapi daśṣaṇapakṣapātāni (NSA, p. 41).

113. Schoterman p. 36. In the *Parātantra*, where the *ānāyās* are six, the goddesses presiding over the *ānāyās* are fearful in form except Kubjikā and Tripurasundari who are both seated on Sadaśiva’s lap and described as young and beautiful.

114. The term "Kramadārśana" is not common in the original Tantras. They generally refer to their doctrinal and ritual system as "Kramanimaya," "Atinaya," "Mahārātha," "Mahābhāratakrama," "Mahākrama," "Kālikula," "Kālikulakrama," "Kālikrama," "Kālinaya" or "Devinaya" (see Rastogi, pp. 16-30).

115. CMSS, fl. 23b.

116. Jayaratha refers to a number of authorities in his commentary on TĀ, 4/,148-170 where Abhinavagupta expounds the order of the twelve Kālis constituting Sambhāva. Amongst them are the Devitānta, Śrītānta, and the Kramasambhāva which have been edited from Nepalese MSs by Mr. G. S. Sanderson but, as yet, unfortunately not published. The Kramasambhāva enjoins the worship of seventeen Kālis in Anākhāyacakra whereas the other sources usually speak of thirteen (apart from the Kramasotra where they are twelve). In the Śrīrāmacarika (quoted in TĀ, vol. III, p. 161) the thirteen Kālis are listed in the following order:

1) Śṛṣṭi 2) Śhiti 3) Śambhāra 4) Raktu 5) Svākāl 6) Yamakāl 7) Mṛtyu 8) Rudra 9) Paramākāl 10) Mārtanda 11) Kālāgni 12) Mahākāl 13) Mahābhairavacāyacākara who is in the *centre*. The *Tantrarāja-bhaiṭāraka* (quoted in TĀ, vol. III, p. 189) also lists thirteen Kālis. The eighth Kāli is called Bhradakāli, as it is in the CMSS, while the name of the thirteenth Kāli, Mahābhairavakāli, is a variant of Mahābhairavacāyacākara which is the commonly accepted form of her name. The order of the Kālis in the Devitānta as quoted by Jayaratha is listed below:

1) Śṛṣṭi 2) Raktu 3) Śhiti 4) Yama 5) Saṃbhāra 6) Mṛtyu 7) Rudra
Therefore, the expression “Anuttaraśādāḥṛthakrama” is best not taken to be a copulative compound but read to mean “the liturgy (krama) of the Anuttaratrikakula school (arīha).” Jayaratha also takes the word “Krama” here to mean “liturgy” (prakrīyā) and not the Krama school (anuttaratrikārthaprakrīyālakṣaṇam) TĀ, vol. I, p. 33). The Anuttaratrikakula Kula is the highest form of Trika. It is also known as the “Anuttarārūpyakula” which Abhinava invokes in the first verse of his Tatrāloka and which Jayaratha says is the supreme principle that contains, and yet is beyond, the Triad (Trika) of Parā, Parāparā and Aparā (see commentary on TĀ, 1/1).


119. TĀ, 4/170. For the nature of Akula see TĀ, 3/67.

120. See TĀ, vol. III, p. 185.

121. We notice here how, as with other Kula schools, Śiva figures as the supreme transcendental principle. He is the ultimate end of all the sequences of states of consciousness, ritual acts and their macrocosmic counterparts, namely, the stages of manifestation and withdrawal. As in the Paścimāṇāya, Śiva is called Śambhu in the Kramasadbhāva where he is identified with Bhāsā—the principle of pure illumination, equivalent to the “expans of the glory of the light of consciousness” (prakāśāvibhavasphātham) referred to in the Kramastotra as Kālī’s supreme abode (TĀ, vol. III, p. 185). In the Kramasadbhāva, Anākhya is Śakti who follows after creation, persistence and destruction.

jātanām śrīṣṭā vijnāṇīyāt sthitir mantraṇa prakṛtītaḥ | saṁprayāma tu mahākālamāṇaṁ paramaṁ vidūḥ || anākhyaṁ śaktirūpaṁ tu bhāsākhyaṁ śambhūrūpakam | (quoted in MM, p. 94).

122. See K. C. Pandey’s Abhinavagupta. He refers to these practices on pp. 491-493, in a section entitled: “the problem of moral turpitude in Krama ritual.”

123. Goudriaan writes: “Of many texts, the adherence to the Kula standpoint appears from the fact that they have been referred to in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Tatrāloka which deals with secret (Kula) ritual.” Hindu Tantric and Śāktī Literature by Teun Goudriaan and Sanjukta Gupta. A History of Hindu Literature edited by J. Gonda, vol. II, fasc. 2, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 49.
131. See TĀ, 29/56.
132. Ibid., 29/2b-3.
133. It is standard practice to commence a ritual by worshipping the deities in the east which is the direction the worshipper is facing, and then to proceed clockwise round to worship the deities in the other quarters.
134. Jñānaratna received the original transmission from the goddess Mahālakṣī (also called Makārādevī) in the Uttarāpanīta, also called “Onkārapāthita” identified with Oḍişāyā in which the cremation ground called Kāravīra was located (MP, pp. 49-50, 107; also MM, p. 92). (For Śivānanda and his works see Rastogi. Pages numbers are listed extensively in the index on p. 287. Also Pandey, index p. 1004). Although Jñānaratna is referred to as the master who brought Krama doctrine to earth (avatārakāṇḍa, TĀ, vol. III, p. 195) he was not the original propagator of Krama doctrine but the founder of a branch of the Krama tradition which associated itself with the Uttarāpanīta.
135. A unique MS of this work is deposited in the ASB (MS no. 10000). It has been edited by Mr. G. S. Sanderson, although not published.
136. khagendraśāsidhindānām kathitā gurusantati |
   etc vai kulamārgēśya rahasyam śivanirmitam ||
   (quoted in RASB Tantra, cat., I, p. 108).
137. sa kālikulasambhūto bhāvanām bhāvyayet sphutam ||
138. kramakulasamājasyaśabdayādheyahedepadeśato nātaḥ ||
139. Goudriaan (Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature, p. 50) points out that “the exact position of the Krama system within the Kashmiri tradition and its relationship to Kula are, however, difficult to assess.” When Goudriaan discusses the Krama school he, quite rightly, regularly refers his reader to N. Rastogi’s excellent study, The Krama Tantricism of Kashmir, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979. He says however that “Rastogi seems to lay too much emphasis on the Krama system as a separate entity. We are inclined to think of a method of initiation or self-realisation which could be followed by adepts of the Kula view point.” The history of Āgamic Krama, its structure and relationship to other Tantric traditions, is another of the many subjects we can hope to understand only by carefully studying what remains of the original Āgamic sources.
140. In the opening benedictory verses of his commentary he says: “May that imperishable Auttara non-dual principle which is rooted in A [i.e., the absolute] unfolding, be victorious!” (MM, p. 1).
141. Ibid., p. 189.
142. In the concluding section of his book (p. 180 ff), Mahēśvarānanda tells us of the tradition, also recorded in Abhinava’s commentary on the Kramasūtra, that the Mahārāthika, i.e. Krama, doctrine was taught by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the Bhagavadgītā. Mahēśvarānanda goes on to say that this doctrine is that of the Auttara Krama. For other references see ibid., p. 6 and 176.
143. Ibid., p. 170, 176.
144. Ibid., p. 129. “Auttarānāmāya” could equally well refer to the Tripitaka tradition as formulated in Kashmir, particularly in the works of Abhinavagupta (see fn. 119 above). The implication, therefore, seems to be that Mahēśvarānanda (like Abhinava) sees Trika and Krama as intimately connected in a single doctrinal tradition. Accordingly, he says that he sees little difference between them (MM, p. 92).
145. The Parāśāstra says that the Uttarānāmāya originated from the Kālikulī (4.10). Perhaps the Uttarānāmāya is a part of the Kālikula, (or a development of it) which, as an independent tradition, precedes it. Apparently we are dealing here with a later development in the Kālikrama schools. It seems that Krama, like Trika, acquired an identity as a system only gradually.
146. ityuttarānāmāya śriomkārapāthihavingirgirite śriśandabhairaveśa śoṣāśāhasre udite yonigaharvarvam samāptam |
   (RASB Tantra, cat., I, p. 109).
147. mahāśānasampradāyam | . . . . . kaulottarāśārabhūtam |
   (Ibid., p. 108).
148. The Devipādtasatā, an important Krama work well-known to the Kashmiris (see fn. 116 above), was copied by a South Indian sannyasin called Vimalaprabodha and is preserved in Nepal. The colophon (NA, MS no. 1/255) reads as follows:

   iti śrīparshvasasya kule kālikakramapaścamāvijñātayadhikāśatadvāyam śrī uttarānāvagatiṣam samāptam |

149. KRU, I/399.
150. See fn. 117 above.
151. In the Tantras of the Kubijā school, the Paścimānāmāya is called a “Kulakrama.” We came across expressions such as the following: “he is a master belonging to the Paścimānāmāya [a master] in Kulakrama”.

XXX paścimānāmāyaḥ sa ācāryāḥ kulakrame |

(MBT(Y), fl. 26a).

Compare also the following expression found in the KMT and recorded in a quote from this Tantra in the BSP, vol. I, p. 60 from NA, MS no. 3/378:

XX kramakulasakalam maṇḍalalotthānapūrvaṃ |

The KRU does refer to the school to which it belongs as the Paścimānāmāya in a few places but generally prefers to identify itself as belonging to the Śrīkrama, Kramānāya or Kulakrama. In the KRU the terms Kula and Krama are freely interchanged. For example, in one place the Yuvalamā of Kubijā as a young maid (yuvarī) is said to be worshipped according to the “Kulapaddhati” (3/63) which a little further on is called “Kramapaddhati” (3/67). This is in accord with the Śrīkula kramamārga (3/85). We also come across cognate expressions such as “Divyakramapaddhati” (3/174) or “Śrīkula paddhati” (5.58a).

152. Abhinava’s Tantrāloka can be viewed as an extension of this same phenomenon. One essential difference is that this is a work of known authorship which makes no claim to being an original scripture. Even so, however, it is
venerated by Kashmiri Śāivites as a sacred text which transmits the doctrines of
the Tika taught by an enlightened master.

153. kālacakradayaṁ yatra tatra bhaktayate param
\[\text{evam kramaivaśe dvaitaścādvaitalakṣaṇam} \]
\[\text{(CMSS, fl. 7b).} \]

(The noun "udaya" is masculine, not neuter; so read "-odaya" in the place of
"-odayam")

154. This process of realization is described in CMSS, fl. 5b-6a.

155. KMT, fl. 43b-44a.

156. This appellation appears in a verse quoted from the KNT NA, MS no. 1/269 in BSP, vol. I, p. 58.

157. The Asiatic Society of Bengal preserves possibly unique manuscripts of
two works by Akulendranātha. We know nothing about the author except that
he was a follower of "Akalamahāhāraśana" which in the colophons to one of these
works is defined as a "bānadhāmānava" although both works are entirely Śaiva.
One text is called the "Pīyuśaratanamahodadhi" (ASB, MS no. 10724 B);
the title of the other has been lost but is labelled "śārasamgraha" (ASB, MS no.
1074 D). The latter work consists entirely of extracts from śāra Tantras
amongst which is the CMSS (eighth adhyāya, fl. 24b-6a). The text is written on
palm leaf in a form of Newari script, not younger than the thirteenth century,
which thus sets the upper limit for the CMSS's date. The date of the MBT is
discussed in appendix C.

158. kālamastakṣaṇī devī kubijikā paramāśvari
\[\text{(MBT(Y), fl. 73a).} \]

159. śrṣṭāsṛṣṭaṁ vinirmuktaṁ paścīmaṁ kramaśasanam
\[\text{(MBT(Y), fl. 34a).} \]

Following the same form of expression the Kāilikrama is called "uttakrama-
śasanām." Ibid., fl. 38a.


161. Yonigahvara, fl. 18a quoted in RASB Tantra, cat. I, p. 108. Two
verses quoted from the Deviprakāśaśakti (in TĀ, vol. Xib, p. 31) in which
these teachers are listed recur in the Yonigahvara. Although we might posit that
one source has borrowed from the other, it seems more probable that this
passage was a standard one.

162. This proves, incidentally, that Jñānanetra alias Śivānanda, the
reaver of the Yonigahvara and founder of the branch of Krama prevalent in
Kashmiri, i.e., that which originated from the Uttarapitha, is not to be identified
with the Śivānanda who is worshipped along with his consort Somaṭa in the
Deviprakāśaśakti as some modern scholars maintain (see, for example, Rastogi,
p. 91).

163. See also Rastogi, pp. 91-92.

164. TĀ, 29/18-27.

165. Ibid., 29-40.


167. PTv, pp. 222-3.

168. TĀ, 29/46b-8.

169. yad etat paramāṁ deva rūṣāsiddhaṁ kulanvayam ||
pūrvapakṣaṁ samjñātih(b) sarptidaṁ sudhārabham ||
\[\text{(KRU, 1/34b-35a).} \]

(The primary suffix "-ti" is added to roots to form nouns in the sense of verb-
action as, for example, "krīti," "sītiṁ" and "maith." In his case we have
"vijñāti" + "ti" = "jñāti"; by adding the prefix "sam-" we get the noun "samjñāti".
This word is feminine as are all nouns formed in this way. The remaining
words in this sentence agree with "samjñātiḥ" and so should be feminine.
Thus we have "sarpita" + "iyam" (not the neuter "idam") = "sarpiteyam"
(not "sarpitidaṁ"). Also read "-labha" for "-labhāṁ." Note also that the word
"-anyaya" is treated as if it were a neuter noun, whereas it is usually
masculine.

170. kathayāṁ yathā tathayāṁ śīrśādhiṣṭakramādiṁtam |
yogamaṇḍaladikṣaidpurvaścākṣānemirman payam ||
\[\text{(Ibid., 1/40b-41a).} \]


172. tvat satāṁ taṁ vatsa pūrvāṇāyati samjñāyā |
sacīmasya tu mārgasya pratītīmbham iva sthitam ||
\[\text{(Ibid., fl. 87a).} \]

173. KRU, fl. 77b.

174. kathāṁ pūrvāṇāy+ nātha pacaṁ māṭīkaṁ ṛṣikāvayāt |
upatīṣate dvitiyaṁ tu adiṁthā tatha vada ||
\[\text{(Ibid., fl. 86b).} \]

175. See Bagchi, KJN, intro. pp. 6-32 for an account of these variant
myths and stories related to Matsuendranātha.

176. KRU, 1/10 ff.

177. Ibid., 1/16. Other Tantras are: Haṁsabhadha, Nila, Tārā, Gaṇa,
Rimalot (7) Caṇḍikāhya, Rauvarākhyā, Ghorākhyā, Bhūtadānapa, Saṃcāra,
Saṃvāra, Maḥārauda, Yogiṇīmata, Haruka, Bhūdhara, Śākini, Jālasambha,
Cuciñkāhyāya, Hājakesa, Mamata, Caṇḍīyā, Dāhārni, Kaukikāmata,
Kollamata, Kalyogya, Nītīy-Nīrgaks(?) Kāmēśvarikula, Siddhāhīdevamahā-
tantra, Pīnunāmata, Līmāgāmatara, Viśvakarmamayā, Kīrana, Patharāja,
Raunava, Rūṣabhdeva, Caṇḍikākalpat, Kālacakra, Maḥārauda, Ananta,
Viṣaya, Sarvāvira, Maḥāyogya, Niśākhamadāhpatā, Tejas, Matula (or
Atula) Cāmoejāmata, Mātrādāya(?) uṣītā, Mātrākāhyāya, Paṭījāmata,
Brahmārājanāyāya, Kapālinimata, Raudrapratīṣṭha, Maḥārauda, Ananta, Kālacakra.

The Tantras marked with an asterisk are Śīrśādhiṣṭakas or their Upāgamas.
The Bhūtadānapa is no. 50 in the NSA list. Saṃvāra may be the Buddhist
Cakrasamādhavatana. The Harukatantra may also be the Buddhist Herukatantra.
Dhūranā may be the Dhūranāgama, an Upāgama of the Śiddhānta Vimalagama.
Kālacakra may be the Buddhist Tantra of this name.

178. At the beginning of the Kula-pradipa, a Paṣcimatantra preserved in
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(The last half of the third line reads: “śāmbhaṣvaśākṣam āpyam.” The copyist has written “dvākya” “twice by mistake. In the last line read “t-raye” for “t-raye.”)

184. See GS, 8/121, CMSS, fl. 8a-b, furnishes an example of how this works.
185. An account of these three initiations is found in the KRU, fl. 68b, ff.

For an extensive account of Śaṅkarā and Mālinī see A. Padoux’s standard work: Recherches sur La symbolique et L’Energie de la Parole dans certains Textes Tantriques, Paris 1963. For an account of how these operate as codes in the Tantras of the Kubitā school see, Schoterman, pp. 182-221.

187. śāntakaśīka mālinī yād yānīm tritayasya ca | sāngopār̥gaśaṁyuktā trikāntaraṇaṇ kriyāyata || (KRU, fl. 78b).

(For “śāntakaśīka” read “śāntakaśīkā.” For “śāṁyukta” read “śāṁyuktaṁ.”)

188. For example, the CMSS acknowledges that it has derived the pithaśaṅketa from the Śiddhaśyogavārīmaṇa:

śaṅketa eṣa vihāyātas siddhaśyogavārīmate || (fl. 14a).

According to this account, there are four pithas, namely, Oṅkāra, Jālandhara, Pūrṇa (gīt) and Kāmaṇī. The first is located in the mouth, which represents the circle of the Sky of Consciousness as the state of withdrawal and suspension of all extraterrestrial conscious activity. Jālandhara and Pūrṇa are in the right and left ears respectively while Kāmaṇī resides at the end of the flow of the vital breath (prāṇa).

189. The original Trikāntaraṇas, such as the SYM and Śrītānaḥdhrava, as we have already occasion to remark, were Bhairavatāranas. Moreover, none of the Trikāntaraṇas I have had access to, namely, the published Mālinī-vijयottara, a part of the SYM and Śrītānaḥdhrava (NA, MS no. 1/363) ever refer to Trika as a school. The last two simply affiliate themselves to the Viśuddha of the Bhairavavasūtras. Another unexpected feature of these Tantras is that they are not Kulaśaṅketa although their doctrines, metaphysical presuppositions and rituals are of a Kula type. Where Kula is referred to as a ritual system, doctrine or tradition, it figures as an element in the broader context of the Tantra as a whole. However, the later Trikāntaraṇas, which did think of themselves as belonging to a Trika tradition, such as the Nītisakāra, Kularatnamālā, Bhairavakula and Trikaśāstra, define Trika in Kula terms as the highest Kula school which is such as, in essence, beyond the Kula tradition. These facts along with the absorption of Krama doctrine in some form are fundamental features of the history of the development of Agamic Trika before Abhinavagupta.

190. The Paścimatantras, it seems, are so conscious of having absorbed many Trika elements that at times it becomes necessary for a Tantra in the course of its exposition of a topic to distinguish what it is going to say about it from what the Trika and others have said. Thus, for example, the MBT proclaims that it will explain the characteristics of the sacrificial hearth according to the Paścina Kula/Kula tradition (see above p. 62) as explained in the Mahāṣaṅketa.
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been of the Siddhānta and Purānic type which prescribed śaiva worship and consisted of cults such as that of Unāmādhavatvā described in works like the Śivadharma, Śivadharmottara and Śivopāniṣad. An early tenth century MS of these texts (NA, no. 4/531) is preserved in Nepal. Similarly early Nepalese MSs of the Kriyāgama and other Siddhāṅtāṅgas also exist. Although the earliest Śaiva cults in Nepal were not Kaula-oriented, a reference to Nepal as one of eight upaśīhas occurs in the MBT(Y), fl. 15b. Another reference has been traced in a MS of the Nīlakaṇṭāntanta (NA, MS no. 1/1606) which is written in early Newari characters probably not younger than the twelfth century. Here Paśupati is mentioned as residing in Nepal along with his consort Guhyēśvarī. These references suggest that Nepal did not become a centre of Kaula Tantricism much before the eleventh century.

194. See Schoterman, p. 6, 37.
196. Practically the only reference to Kūbjikā apart from her Tantras is a brief description of her worship in the Agnipurāṇa. See Schoterman’s article A link between Purāṇa and Tantra: Agnipurāṇa 143-147 in ZDMG suppl. IV Wiesbaden 1980. See also Les Enseignements iconographiques de L’Agnipurāṇa by M. de Mallman Paris 1963 pp. 159-60, 206-207.
197. See Schoterman, p. 10, fn. 4.
198. Dr. Kiśoranātha Jā in his Hindi introduction to the first part of the Guhyakāliḍhamda of the Mahākālasaṇbhūtā (p. 18, fn. 1) informs us that the late Parmēśvara Simha, who was a Maithili Tantric, had a statue of Guhyakālī in her ten-faced form made and installed in a temple in the village of Madhubani in the Bhauragadhī district of Bihar. This is the only example he knows of this form of the goddess in India. There is, however, an old image of Guhyakālī carved in black marble preserved in the Rājputāna Museum in Ajmer (No. 193, 268). See article by P. K. Majumdar, Śakti worship in Rajasthaun published in the Śakti Cult and Tārā, Calcutta 1957, p. 68.
199. Schoterman, p. 6.
201. Kūbjikā is also called “Kukārādevi” which is not only an abbreviated form of her name but also the seed-syllable corresponding to the Earth Principle. The word “ku” means “earth” and so “Kujā” which is one of Kūbjikā’s common names means “born of the earth” and “Kuśēvarī”—“the goddess born of the earth.”
202. tathā sa kūṭāla vakrā madhyamolāyā kuleśvara
   kūbjiṣṭā śaṭpākāri ca vaḍḍhāroṣṭeṇa devāt
   (MBT(Y), fl. 95a).
203. The KMT, fl. 69b says: “She in whose centre the universe resides and who resides in the centre of the universe is thus called Kūbjikā; she who is subtle and present in subtle things.” These names give rise in their turn to various names for the Kūbjikā school such as “Kuṭājīnīma,” “Kuṭājīnikula,” “Vaṭṛikāgama,” “Vaṭṛikāma,” as well as “Cīcinīśāstra” or “Cīcinīma” and “Kuṭālāyānā” (for Kūbjikā as Cīcinī see below, and as Kuṭālākā the potteress,
associated with sacred trees. One exorcist (ojha) I met in Benares told me that he had gained the power to propitiate the goddess sitālā (who causes smallpox and other skin diseases) when he had a vision of her sitting on her sacred neem tree.

221. CMSS, fl. 1a.
222. Ibid., fl. 1a-b, 1a-b.

Cīcīnī is also one of the ten forms of 'unstruck sound' which resound in the yogi's cosmic body, figuratively called "the belly of the machine of Māyā" (māyāyantarodara). These ten are in order: 1) Cīnī 2) Cīcīnī 3) The sound of a pleasing voice 4) Conch 5) Stringed instrument 6) Flute 7) Cymbals 8) Rumble of storm clouds 9) Sound of a running stream 10) Sound of a kettle drum.

KMT fl. 50. The same verses, in a slightly variant form, are quoted from the BY in TĀ, vol. III, p. 410.

223. ādāv eva mahādevi ādīnātha na nirmāna
pasītmanā krāmasantānaṁ svāyam yeṣṭam tataḥ priye

(KRU, 2/12).

(Read "yeṣṭam" for "yeṣṭam")

224. The derivative status of the goddess is variously expressed in the KRU; thus, for example, she is called "the one who is born of Akula" (ibid. 3/32).

225. KRU, 2/30-32.
226. Ibid., fl. 1a-b.
227. evam uktvā jagaddhātā śrīmatā ādīsaṁjñākaḥ

(KRU, fl. 94a).

228. MBT(Y), fl. 60a.
229. tvat prasañcena śrīmatā asesam kulanirnaya

(GS, 21/176).

230. See above p. 91.

231. Śrīkaṇṭha prathame pujayo śanākaraṁ ca dvītyaye

(KMT, MS 1/1229; BSP, vol. I, p. 58).

According to the KRU (fl. 73a ff.) three lines of teachers are established in Śvataśrī. The first of these starts with Śrīkaṇṭha who produced twenty-four propagators of the doctrine, the second starts with Ajeśa who produced sixteen, while the third begins with Mahākāla. According to the colophons of the GS, Śrīkaṇṭha brought down to earth the Kāḍibheda (i.e., the Kubjikā group) of the Kulakaulamata.

232. See Schoterman, pp. 36-38.
233. In, for example, MBT(Y), 8a "Oli" is a synonym of "Ovali" which term is defined in TĀ, vol. XIIb, p. 28 as "the current of doctrine" ("ovalyo jīnānapravahānta").

234. See ŚaSSS, 3/90.

235. svabhāve Kubjikākāra divaye dehaṁ kujāmikāṁ

(candradvipapure kujā śrīkaṇṭhāsyā anurgrahā)

(Ibid., fl. 94b).

(Read "-deha" for "-dehaṁ" and "kujāmikā" for "kujāmikāṁ". The last quarter is defective by one syllable; "tu" for example, may be added to complete the metre.
so we read “tvanugrahe” in the place of just “anugrahe”).

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236. candrapiṭṭhapare rāmīyeva cakāhandaṃdalam ||
(MBT(Y), fl. 77a).


238. meroṣaḥ paścināmaśamputāḥ ||
(KMT, fl. 3b).

239. SaṭṭSS, chapter 47 referred to by Schoterman, p. 35.

240. santanaṃ paścināmaśam atac candragrahaṃ smṛtam ||
(SaṭṭSS, 1/26a).

241. Schoterman, p. 35.

242. nādāntae trisaraṃtaṃ himagiririkkhare vhaṅjini satprakāraḥ ||
lālī tattvātāraṃ kalyugasamaye bhārata dvāparānade ||
(MBT(Y), 76a).

(This is the second half of a verse in sṛgḍharaḥ metre which has seven plus seven plus seven syllables per line.)

243. kalāśakharānantasthā śiṅkha devi maheśvarī ||
kukāra (san)ṣmṛta tat ta(c) cakreśi siddhanāyikā ||
(Ibid., fl. 80b).

244. mānthatanandādākhyātā śiṅkha taśya maheśvara ||
esā caitanyaṃürīs tu parāṅkhya vaśikṛta mahā ||
taśyā adhikārām ayātaṃ śrīm(ac) candrapure gṛhe ||
(Ibid., fl. 83b).

245. śrīgatrayakriyāntasthā śiṅkha devi maheśvarī ||
kukārājjā smṛta tatra cakreśi siddhanāyikā ||
sā ca merukramayoṣṭī pāncaśaṅkṣaraḥbhūtā ||
(Ibid., fl. 80b).

246. Part of a typical colophon of the MBT reads “iyādyavatāre mahā- 
mānthatanabhāravaravayajōrā́ anvaye saptakoṣṭipramāṇe 
merumārgavinirgato 
lakṣaṇādādhikhe ādyavatāvare ||.”


248. KMT, fl. 41a.

249. MBT(Y), fl. 62b.

250. GS 13/163. Birch bark is also referred to on p. 134, 143 and 292.

APPENDIX A

1. A Catalogue of Palmleaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to 
the Durbar Library, Nepal. By Haraprasāda Śāstrī with a historical introduction 
by C. Bendall, Calcutta, 1905. Volume II came out in 1915. See preface to 
volume I, p. LXXVII ff.

2. The Kauṭiyākāmarāṇyā, edited by P. C. Bagchi, Metropolitan Press, 
Calcutta 1934. p. 68.


Notes to Appendix B

4. See K. R. van Kooy, Die sogenannte Gupabhandschrift des Kubjikā- 

5. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government 
Collection under the care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII A 
and B, revised and edited from Haraprasāda Śāstrī’s notes. Chintāharaṇa 
Chakravarti, 1939 and 1940.

6. Candī, sixth year. Saṃvatsara 2044 (i.e., 1947 A.D.) ’32 sāla kā 
araṅhava’ by Major General Dhana Samdār Jāngabahādūr Rāṇā, Nepal p. 221-225, 276-284, 

7. Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l’Agni-Purāṇa by Mbh. de 

8. A Critical Edition of the Kubjikāmatantra in BSOAS vol. XXVI-3, 

9. Gorakṣasamhitā (part I) edited by Janārāda Pāṇḍeya Sarasvatī- 

10. Some Remarks on the Kubjikāmatantra by J. A. Schoterman in 

11. A link between Purāṇa and Tantra: Agraṇipūrāṇa 141-143 by J. A. 

12. The Satāmārasamhita, Chapters 1-5 edited, translated and annotated 

APPENDIX B

1. Caturvirmāṇasatāśahārikātānāraḥdīhanah is the name given to this 
Tantra on the title leaf of a manuscript deposited in the ASB (no. 10841).


4. See colophon of the Kumārikēkhaṇḍa of the MBT NA, no. 1/241; BSP, 

5. The Purāṇa, 1/7.

6. śrīmatakalamanākathena anitam avanitāle 
caturvirmāṇaśahāre duralabhaṃ khamjñinamatam ||
sārdhaḥsrtiḥ sahāsrayāni anāta tumbureṇa tu ||
niveditaṃ daśe mārga tantrāṃ śrīkulaśākṣamatam ||
ratnasāttītram iti prakṛte mārga tu daśe ṣāte patha ||
(MBT(Y), fl. 70a-b).

(Read “sāhastram” for “-sahasre” and “anitam” for “anītā.” The fourth 
line is too long by two syllables. If we read “kubjikāmatam” for “śrīkulaśākṣamatam” 
the metre is preserved).

7. śrīmāṇa cintayed rūpam kauśiṣṭā śrīkulaśvaram ||
āghanāṃ śrīmataṃ haste mahāyogadharanam śūlam ||
(Ibid., fl. 86a).
8. For Dharmakīrti's date and life see Warder, *Indian Buddhism* pp. 469-472. The reference in the MBT reads: "dharmakīrti(r) bhavet tarkaṃ prajñāpāramitākriyā ā" (MBT(Y), fl. 34b). This Tantra appears to be well aware of the existence of Buddhism and refers specifically to the Sāttāntika, Vaibhāṣyka, Yogācāra and Mādhyamika (Ibid.). It also knows that foreigners practise Buddhism:

krvādaya uditāḥ so hi mlecchā yatra upāsakaḥ

(Ibid.).

(The metre is defective by one syllable in the second half unless we take "mlecchā" to be "māleccā").

9. catthuhante tu yuge svānte dharmacchede samāgataḥ

mleccharājyekacchātre ca bhāṣyāte prthivimānaḥ

rāvacārvāvatāre tu śāntosūre tīre XXXX

(MBT(Y), fl. 91b).

There appears to be another possible reference to an invasion in the Śaṅkara. Here it is described as one of the many horrors of the Kali Age. It says:

kaṇṭhīyā abhāve bhagānā kariṣyang prabhuvatām

(3/796).

10. MBT(Y), fl. 70a.


**APPENDIX C**

1. The manuscript is NA, no. 5/1460 Śaṅkaraṇātra 431. It is 275 folios long and written in Devanāgarī script. The relevant section starts on folio 165b. It extends from chapter 35 to 45. The colophons all begin as follows: iti bhairavarat-srotasācāsa vidyāpīṭhā śīrāśa cheda śīrṣayadrathāyamāle mahātāntre catuvimśatī-
sāhase prathamāṣṭake śrīkaśaṃkāryāvāṃ . . . Then the name of the chapter (paṭala) and its number follows. These are chapter 35 (fl. 163b-68b) nityāhīmikācārya yōghā (?) samānśatābhāvarāhīkāvārasanam; chapter 36 (fl. 166b-170a) svaucchanda-
sūtraṁśrayāyaḥ; chapter 37 (fl. 170a-171a) bhairavāsūtraṁśrayāyaḥ; chapter 38 (fl. 171a-2a) krodhahairavāsūtraṁśrayāyaḥ; chapter 39 (fl. 172a-3b) mantrā-
piṅgavāraḥ; chapter 40 (fl. 173b-181a) brahmāyāmālināyaḥ; chapter 41 (fl. 181a-2a) vijnānāsvātraṁśrayāyaḥ; chapter 42 (fl. 182a-3a) aumāyānāmāśātraṁ-
śrayāyaḥ; chapter 43 (fl. 183b-4a) unnamed; chapter 44 (fl. 184a-5b) sādā-
śīvājatākāraṁśrayāyaḥ; chapter 45 (fl. 185b-197b) cumbakacaryāyām.


3. bhīṃvādaṁ sarujātānamāṁ duṣṭānaṁ cāpi śāsanatāṁ

bhāyaṁ añca parādṛṣṭaḥ chāstraṁ uktam hi sūriḥḥīṃ

(JY, fl. 165b).

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of. śāṣṭreṇā tasyāntaṁ tasmāc chāstram udāhṛṇaṁ

(quoted from the *Pīmaḷadāra* in Bagchi, p. 106).

4. See also Bagchi pp. 110-11 where this passage is quoted. The JY also accepts the standard division of the śāstras into four groups, viz., Laikład, Vaidika, Āthierikā, Atināra and Ājaya which stands for Mantratātra (see above p. 49). This division of the śāstras into four corresponds to five fruits they are supposed to yield (JY, fl. 166a).

5. The Vaimala along with the Lākula, Mansala and Kārūka is one of a standard group of four Pāṣupata sects mentioned in the Āgamas and elsewhere. See SvT, 11/69-74 and Kṣemarāja's commentary. Also Jayaratha on TĀ, 1/33. There are eight Pārāshātras according to SvT, 10/1134-35. They correspond to eight Rudras that have incarnated as Pāṣupata teachers who founded the following eight Pāṣupata schools: Paścārtha, Gūhya, Rudrākṣa, Ādavā, Lākṣāna, Vīhāra, Akāra and Ādāra. (Ibid.; 10/1134-5; cf. also TĀ, 8/328-9).

6. The text (fl. 166a) simply reads Gūhyādī which I have taken to be a reference to the Gūhyānamāvmātraṇa. It is interesting that the JY classifies the Vajrayāna śāstras as belonging to this group, thus distinguishing them from other Buddhist scriptures which are assigned to the previous one. We should not, however, understand this to mean that the Buddhist Tantras are aligned with the Bhairava and other similar Śaṅkaraṇātras on an equal footing.

7. This account largely agrees with the way the genetics of scripture is generally described in the Āgamas. According to the *Kulamālāvātra, out of Śiva, who is the supreme cause, tranquil and transcendent, emerges the power of will, followed by those of knowledge and action. Through them the worlds are created, as is speech in all its expressions (MM, p. 39). Similarly, according to the *Śvachchandabhārava* (quoted in YHr, p. 153) a pure and subtle resonance (dhwani) emerges out of Śiva, the cause of all things. This is Speech which is the power beyond mind (unmanadāsāti) that goes on to assume the form of the scripture and the spoken word.

8. The Āgamas regularly refer to the types of relationship that form between the teacher and his disciple through which the meaning of the scripture and the realization it conveys are transmitted. The basic pattern is the same although it may vary in individual cases. Abhinava records that according to the *Kulamālāvātra, there are five relationships*: great (mahāt), intermediate (avātāra), divine (divya), divine-cum-nondivine (divyāvīrāja) and mutual (itīrātāra) (TĀ, 1/273-4). Bhagavatopala also refers to five; these are supreme (para), great (mahāt), divine (divya), other than divine (divyāvātāra) and mutual (itīrātāra). (Sp.Pra, p. 84). Through these relationships formed between the teacher and disciple and taught at different levels, scripture and its meaning are transmitted from and through the divine consciousness which is its source and basis: "The Lord, Śadāśiva, establishing himself on the plane of master and disciple, brought the Tantras into the world through a series of questions and answers." (SvT quoted in VB, p. 7). There is, as Abhinava explains, an essential identity between the disciple who inquires and the teacher who instructs, as both are embodiments of the one consciousness. The disciple represents the aspect of consciousness which
questions (prastāramāt) and the teacher the aspect which responds (TĀ, 1/252-5).
Thus as Abhinava says "relationship (sambandha) is the identity (that is
established) between the two subjects who question and reply. Its supreme aspect
consists of the revelation of identity in all its fullness. The other relationships
mentioned in the scriptures must also be considered in the light of this principle
in order that the results one desires etc. may manifest in all their fullness"
(TĀ, 1/275-6).
9. Similarly the Svaccchandasangraha says "this is the Lord Anāśīvita who
has five faces each of which bears three eyes and who has one, two, four or ten
arms. He is Sādāśīvita, the God who wields the worldly and other scriptures.
[It is He who] has spoken the countless Āgamas divided into superior
and inferior" (quoted in Y.Hr., p. 271).
10. Mahākāraṇika is probably a Pāśupata sect. The four instruments
could also possibly be Purāṇa Knowledge, Sound, the Drop and the metres.
11. See chapter 45 of this section of the JY.
12. We are reminded of Sumati who was Abhinava's grand teacher of
Trika Saivism. He was reputed to have known all five currents of scripture
(see commentary on TĀ, 1/213).
13. "vāmādasakṣiṣṇīmaṇḍuṣa bhinnapīṭhatatt̐ṣṭ̐yaṁ|
vayapādyatya mukhyavac cchākā śāhāntare sḥitam ||
(JY, fl. 168a).
(The fifth syllable of the third quarter is long and the sixth short. In standard
auṣṭubha metre of the ‘śloka’ variety the fifth syllable in every quarter should be
short and the sixth long).
14. "mantravidyāsuhaṃśaṃ padhastomakahadeṇakam |
vratāyandam ca nikara(ḥ) samūhaṇa saṃśhiti(ḥ)valam |
vicchindo maṇḍalāṁ pīṭham paryāyair upaśabdām |
(JY, fl. 168b).
(Read "vicchinda" for "vicchindo") see above p. 49.
15. "yat tatra tu vidyānāṁ gubhamānam sampravajyate |
yat tad hi paramān tejo mantrapiṭham hi tat śr̐ṣṭam ||
tasya bhokṭravāpyaṣa vidyākhyam bhogay(m) iṣyate |
ubhyasaṣyāmi mudrakhyam maṇḍalāṁ tṛiṣṭiṣa śhitaṁ |
bhūyo bhedaḥ tripiṭhantu maṇḍalan ca rupabhedām ||
(Ibid., fl. 169a).
16. These Tantras have been discussed above on p. 45 ff. The reader can
consult the detailed index for cross references to Tantras in this monograph.
17. The Sarveśvara as quoted in SvY, vol. I, p. 10:
svaccchandabhairavaḥ caṇḍaḥ krodha unmatabhairavaḥ |
granṭhāntarāni catvāri mantrapiṭhe sḥhitāṁ ca ||
In JY, fl. 1689 the first line of this verse is the same as above; the second reads:
granṭhāntarāni catvāri mantrapiṭhe sḥhitāṁ ca |

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18. mantrapiṭham dvīdhārūpam XXXXXX | (Ibid., fl. 169b).
19. suṣunteram idam devi vidyāpīṭham svabhāvataḥ | (Ibid., fl. 169a).
20. Ibid., fl. 182b.
21. It is worth noting that the Lākṣūliāpāūpata, or at least the branch of it
associated with Musulendra, is linked with the Mantrapiṭha. Interesting also
is their association with the Śāri Gāumata because in the Purāṇas he is portrayed
as being indirectly responsible for the origin of the ‘unorthodox’ Tantras.
The story is told in the Kāmmapuruṣa (1/15/95 fl.) and the Vṛddha (chapters
70 and 71). Once, the story goes, a long drought devastated the country and
afflicted the inhabitants with severe famine. Amongst the victims was a group
of ascetics who, to save themselves, sought Gāumata’s hospitality in his
hermitage in Dārūvanā. Gāumata enjoyed their company and so after the famine
was over he insisted that they continue to stay with him. Although they did not wish
to do so, they felt obliged to accept the invitation and so stayed. Once, when
Gāumata happened to go away for a few days, they found their opportunity to
leave. They created a magic cow which they substituted for a real one in the
hermitage. When Gāumata returned, the illusory cow died and the ascetics
charged him with its death and so, on the pretext that he had committed a sin,
left. After the ascetics had gone, Gāumata realized that he had been tricked and
cursed them to be outside the Vedic fold (vedabhaṅga). The fallen sages, worried
by the consequences of the curse, invoked Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu with hymns in Sanskrit
(laukikakṣaṇa) entreating them to free them from their sins. Out of compassion,
the two gods revealed the heretical (pāṣamaṇa) and deluding scriptures (mohana-
śāstra) of the Kāpāla, Nākula, Vāma, Bhātrava, Pārvatālā, Bālīkārī and Pāṇāpata.
22. Astaṅga is fifth in the Daksīṇatantra list of the PLSS. It is also fifth
in the list of the sixty-four Bhairava-tantras in the ŚKS. Ekapāda is the twenty-
fifth Daksīṇatantra in the PLSS. An Ekapāda-puruṣa is listed as the sixth
upāgama of the Cintyāgama. Sēkha is the twenty-first in the Daksīṇatantra
list. A Śivāskha is the thirteenth upāgama of the Cintyāgama. Āmīra is
the name of the sixth upāgama of the Cintyāgama; this may be the Mahāmāta.
Bhima is the sixteenth Daksīṇatantra. The Bhājalka is the sixty-fourth Tantra amongst
the Vāṃśatantras may be the Bhajalka.
23. The Vīṭalatāra may be the fifth Rudrāgama or the eleventh upāgama
of the Vīṭalatāra. The Vīṭalatāra is the ninth Bhūtatantra. A Bhūtatana
is listed as the fifth upāgama of the Amṛtadāgama; this may be either the
Bhūtatana or Bhūtaniyagama. Viṣṇa is the name of the first Rudrāgama and
the eighth upāgama of the Viṣṇa. The ninth Vāṃśatantra in the PLSS list is called
Viṣṇa while the Viṣṇa is the twenty-ninth Tantra in the ŚKS list. Dāmaratana
are said to deal with magic and are generally regarded as a group on their own.
Dāmaru is the sixty-first Tantra listed in the ŚKS.
24. mokṣavārodhahakaṁ yad yat tasya tasya hi vastutaḥ |
nirgraḥaṁkaraṁ yena tena krodha udāhṛtām ||
(JY, fl. 172a).
The word "krodha" is a masculine noun; here it is treated as if it were neuter.

25. An Ananta tantra is listed as the first upāgama of the Vimalagāma. Anantavijaya is listed as the twenty-first Vāmanatāra. Pūraṇa is the name of the eighteenth Rudragāma while Aṃta is the sixth upāgama of the Cintyāgama. Ānanda is listed as the seventeenth Vāmanatāra; it is also the name of the sixth upāgama of the Dīptagāma.

26. For the Sarvavitra and SYM see index. A Viśvaśīyamaṇa is the twenty-fourth in the Bhairavatārana list of the ŚK. Viśvakṣaṇa is thirty-sixth in the Dakṣiṇatāra list while the Yoginījālālaṅkara is the twenty-ninth.

27. The JY says:

savyasrotasi siddhāni śīra(ś)chidrabhayatmakam ||
navottarān mahāraudraṇ mahāśāmśmohanam tathā ||
trikam etat mahādevi vāmrasroti nirgatam ||

We have translated this verse above (p. 36) as follows: “Belonging to the Current of the Left are the perfect [Āgamas including] the frightening Šrāteha. The three: Nayottara, Mahāraudra and Mahāśāmśmohana have, O goddess, emerged in the Current of the Left.” Although this is certainly a possible translation of these lines, the JY does not in fact reckon itself to be exclusively amongst the Vāmanatāras but prefers to classify itself amongst the Dakṣiṇatāras. It does, however, also say that it belongs to both Currents (see above p. 113), although in the detailed description of the contents of these Currents it is amongst those of the Middle Current and so we have listed it there accordingly.

28. The Ācchopatāra is the eighteenth in the Dakṣiṇatāra list, thirty-fourth in the NSA list and seventh in that of the ŚK. The Sarvabodhavatārana is mentioned in VST, v. 317 along with the Mahāśāmśmohana. It is therefore probably a Vāmanatāra.

29. These are listed further ahead as the eight Tantras which constitute the Cakrabhedha of the sixty-four Bhairavatāras.

30. A Bhūnāśaṁhitā is listed as the fifth upāgama of the Kāraṇāgama and as the sixteenth Dakṣiṇatāra. Tilaka may be the Tilakodāyānabhairava which is the thirty-second Dakṣiṇatāra.

31. Siddhārtha, the first Tantra in this list, may be the Siddhārtha which is the sixteenth Rudragāma; if so this confirms the JY’s statement that the six remaining Tantras are still ideal rather than actual.

32. These gods and goddesses are frequently portrayed as given to orgiastic revelry or other chaotic behaviour which threatens to disrupt the cosmic, ethical and divine order. Goudriana (Viśākhaśāna, introduction p. 19) refers us to another example found in the Yogavāsīṣṭha (the first half of the nirvāṇaprakāṣāna 16/4 ff.). Here Tumburu and Bhairava are described as enthroned together and surrounded by eight Mothers (mǎrākṣā) said to belong to the Left Current and to be associated with Tumburu. Their appearance and activity is intense. Their revelry and drunkenness breaks all limits of cultural behaviour but they are put in their place by Śiva.

33. nilāradrodbhavānāyāḥ sīyās te aṣṭaḥkaśārthāḥ

(JY, fl. 177b).

34. Trottola is the twenty-seventh Gāruda tantra in the PLSS list, and the forty-sixth in the NSA list. The Bindusara is the third in the Gāruda tantra list while the Bindusara is no. 37 in the ŚK’s list of Bhairavatantras. Possibly the Mahodāvatārana corresponds to the Cintāmanimahodaya which is the fourth Vāmanatāra in the PLSS list. The Bhūtākārana listed here may be the well-known Tantra concerned with magic of this name. For the Viśvaśīyamaṇa see fn. 23 above. Nilakesu may be the Nilatāra which is the third upāgama of the Kāraṇāgama or Nilavrūdha which is the eighth upāgama of the Cintyāgama. Mohana is the fourth Vāmanatāra in the PLSS’s list. The Śikhaśāna may be the Śikhaśāna, Śikhyoga or Śikhāśāra which are, respectively, the twelfth, tenth and eleventh in the PLSS’s list of Gāruda tantras. Karkoja may be the third Bhūtākārana. The Dauvāṣāmṛta may correspond to the Dauvāṣāmṛta listed as the twenty-third Vāmanatāra. Jalāra is the name of the twelfth Rudragāma and also that of its first upāgama. Bhogamya may be Bhog, the first upāgama of the Vimalagāma.

35. The JY defines “yāmala” as the worship which takes place through the union of husband and wife:

dampatīyogatāḥ pūjā yāmalaṁ nīgaṁya |

(Ibid., fl. 169a).

Abhinava refers to a ritual type in the TĀ which he says is found in a number of Tantras. This involves the projection of Viṣṇu liturgical formulas on the body of the Tantric consort and Mantric formulas on the body of the Tantric master as a prelude to ritual intercourse. In this way the female partner becomes the embodiment of the brilliant ‘Lunar’ energy of the sphere of objectivity and the male, the ‘Solar’ energy of the sphere of cognitive consciousness. These two represent the Viṣṇu and Mantra-śīhas respectively which fuse when the couple unite (TĀ, 29/166b-8a). In short “Mantra” can also denote the male Tantric partner and “Viṣṇu” the female, while “yāmala” is the ritual union of the two.

36. yāmālam yugaṁ nāma mantrasūryaikagocaraṁ |
jñānakriyātmanam tacc ca anvayāongaṁ sthitam ||

(JY, fl. 182b).

37. Ibid., fl. 174b.

38. These Matātantras are virtually those listed below amongst the sixty-four Bhairavatantras. Note that Lampasa which is listed here as an anuvatana of the Nilakēlamata is listed amongst the Matatanaṇas in the ŚK.

39. Upahullaka is a part of the Śāmbaranata.

40. arthāvibhāvāvadena pāñcasūtrasuddhavatāmapata matam |

(JY, fl. 179b).

41. puruṣabhedavibhānānau mūlāṅuras tam pratiṣṭhītam |

(Ibid., fl. 169a).

42. TĀ, 28/385b-407.

43. Ibid., 28/386b-7a.

44. See TĀ, vol. XI, pp. 171-2 where Jayaratha quotes a long passage
Notes to Appendix C


54. “sa munih mānasān siddhān tryambaka - ānandaka - sīnāthākhyān advaya - dvaya - dvayadvaya - matayakhyātā mahākṣu satsampradāyāmāṃ prachayitum nayuktā [.]. Quoted in Kashmir Shaivism by J. C. Chatterji reprinted by the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, 1962, p. 6 fn. I. “Tairambhā” and “Mahātairambhākā” are the names of two of the eight mahākṣa of the dakṣiparotas according to the JY, (fl. 186b).

55. “Sammoha” which normally means “delusion” has a special technical meaning in these Tantras. “Sammoha,” far from referring to a state of spiritual ignorance, denotes the knowledge of the liberated condition—kaivyāyānām sammatham XXXXXXXXXX [.]. (Ibid., fl. 190a).

60. “dakṣiṇam bhuktimuktinām padam eva sadātvaṃ [.]. (Ibid.)

61. śaktar ārdham samākhyātaṃ XX parahdamśvaram | sā śīkhā paramā praktaḥ | sāntānasyayaktisādhani | (Ibid.)

62. Ibid., fl. 191a.

63. vāk cauṣṭyasaṅkramaṇam paramā bindubbhairavi | (Ibid.)

64. saṅkarṣaṇa tā jīveṣyā śvābhāvīnā nā kaṣṭhī pū_PACKAGE. | (Ibid.)

65. haṭhad devas tadā jīveṣyāh haṭhakesā mahābhūtah | prabhav sarvasuṃ devaḥ | sāvakaśāristānādhi | rāhasyāgrāmām aikhilam tasmāt sarvam ihotām | śripadām prabhur ānandayogasaktih krameva | hārakākhyānādādā jīveṣyāh mārunā pariṇāṃ | cvācād anayavajñānām kulasāsanaṁaparārām | gharapalikramāḥ tatra samādāḥ upavāraṇāṇām | (Ibid., 191a.)

There can be no doubt, on the basis of these statements, that the JY considers the Sixth Current to be that of the Kaṇa schools.

66. SVT, 10/95b-119.
67. tad asmat prabhaved devi vaktvā pāśañāyakṣaḥ | 68. TĀ, 8/31.
69. Quoted ibid., 8/32b-40.
70. Ibid.
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