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ENGLISH SUMMARY

rôle of the yatīm as supreme heir of the science of the imam, was the giabirian the Imam. Regarding this involvement, it is likely that the Kitāb al-māğid on the sectarian ground, the scientific community intitled to Gābir ibn Ḥayyān perhaps court as reflected in Miskawayh's reading of the giabirian corpus. Also on a refutation against the views of the great heresiarch Salmagani. Shiite trends during the time between the Smaller and the Greater Occultation of was not isolated, but interferred with its views about the intellectual and political cultural polity: the Barmakid court as it is related by Ibn al-Nadīm, and the Buyid regards the presence of the scientific knowledge among the purposes of the viziral of the court, here assumed as a formal frame of the historiographic discourses as can evaluate its participation to the intellectual discussions through the paradigm traditional historiographic view about this school, isolated in its sectarianism, we of a general debate in Xth century philosophical circles in Bagdād. In spite of the artificial generation and the reproducibility of the intelligence are strictly related heritage of the Shiite imams into the wide range of debates among the manifold to the political views of the giabirian school. These topics are in fact the subjects production of knowledge achieved by a minoritarian scholarship. Our attention is the outcome of a scientific community, and it is taken as a tipical example of focused especially on the last collection of the corpus, in which the topics of the The alchemical corpus attributed to Gābir ibn Ḥayyān is considered here as

scientific community, which seemingly did not belong to any Shiite sect known and described by heresiography an internal dating of the last collection of treatises achieved by this Shiite These different approaches to the giabirian «question» are a contribution for

VEDIC AND TANTRIC MANTRAS

vaidikas tāntriko miśra iti me trividho makhaḥ / Bhāgavatapurāņa 11.27.7

INTRODUCTION

understanding a neglected area in Indian religious history. specific religious agenda and are therefore not purely descriptive term, but - as hope to demonstrate in the following pages - they can still help us in categories «Vedic» and «Tantric» are often subjected by Indian exegetes to a objective; some might even argue that such a distinction is artificial. True, the the use of mantras in later Hinduism seems at first sight a rather specialised An investigation of the relationship between Vedic and Tantric elements in

contradiction1 understand the historical process that has led to this apparent freedom from discussed here from the vedicized Tantric system of the \$rīvidyā, we fail to aspects in which the Tantric is in clear opposition to the Vedic. The methodological justification for such a seemingly biased approach is that converge in later «Hinduism», it is important for the historian to focus on those heterogeneous elements, and that if we start the investigation of issues like the one inclusivism in Indian religious culture has blurred the distinction between Although it is perhaps not wrong to say that Vedic and Tantric elements

philosophic angle cannot inform us about the religious function of mantras, in linguistic and on «meta»-issues. But attacking the problem from a linguistic-cum-One peculiarity of many studies on Tantric mantras is their emphasis on

selected to stand for «Tantrism» or «Śāktism», as for instance in WHEELOCK'S article on «Mantra in Vedic and Tantric Ritual» (ALPER 1989, p. 97). It is true that wide-spread misconceptions about the Nevertheless this is often done in studies on Tantric mantras. Either because they are edited, easily available or well-represented in secondary literature, works like the Mabānirvānatantra are history of Tantrism have paved the way for ahistoric approaches.

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without realizing that it is his comparative approach that excludes any such a systematic distinction between Vedic, Tantric, and other Hindu mantras»² in the Zauberflöte, hardly needs refutation3. distinction. His proclamation that «hm» is a universal mantra, which occurs even absurd results. For instance STAAL has concluded that «it is not possible to make some cases the concentration on language theory produces incorrect and even

innocuous changes in the ritual use of mantras in their historical and theological dimensions The present article attempts to fill the gap by investigating some seemingly

THE THEOLOGY OF MANTRAS

Purāṇas in this respect as independent would thus unnecessarily confuse the mantras⁵, whereas the Devībhāgavata, to be discussed below, is not. To treat distinction them. The Sivapurāṇa, for instance, is predominantly Vedic in its selection of think, important to do so without confusing the Vedic and the Tantric elements in Purānic forms of worship. We may of course talk of Purānic mantras, but it is, I the broad mainstream that is based on *śruti* and *smṛti* and therefore includes regard Tantric mantras as impure4. A problematic area is Smarta Hinduism, i.e. religious spectrum do not accept the Tantras as valid revelation and consequently knowledge that cannot lead to liberation. The Vaidikas on the other side of the Generally speaking Tantrikas consider Vedic mantras to be almost powerless, mantra is one that is derived from the Veda, a Tantric mantra from the Tantras. because they regard their source, i.e. Vedic revelation, as a lower form of Vedic and Tantric mantras are obviously defined by their source: a Vedic

there is also an important formal one in that Tantric mantras often contain $b\bar{\imath}jas$, «seed syllables», like $br\bar{\imath}m$ etc. These $b\bar{\imath}\mu$ s are not meaningful Sanskrit words, Apart from this theological distinction between Vedic and Tantric mantras,

² STAAL (1989), p. 63

⁴ Sanderson (1985), fn. 69 (Tantrāloka 13.198)

avoid constructing simple historical models. The aim of then present study is to show that «Vedic» and «Tantric» were important religious coordinates that may still sharpen our understanding of the 6 It must be emphasised that, because of the complexity of the processes involved, we should

> even if it were convenient to do so for philosophising about them. amusing, is misleading? Tantric $b\bar{\imath}jas$ can not be explained as artistic statements, term «ritualistic dadaism» therefore (inspired by the stobha «dada»), though too many stobbas in them, whereas a Tantric mantra is defined by its $b\bar{\imath}ja^8$. The since there is no necessity for a stobba in a Vedic mantra, and there are indeed not and as such are comparable to the Vedic stobbas?. But the comparison ends here,

Siddhānta are ineffective as compared with those of the Kaulas: within the Saiva revelation. For instance, the mantras used by the Saivahierarchy of mantras is more complicated, since they teach a gradation of mantras incapable of leading to liberation. However, for the esoteric monist Saivas the Tantric practice - are, for the simple reason that they are derived from the Veda, Generally speaking, all Vedic mantras - according to the proponents of

supernatural [lit.: "heavenly"] splendour and are causes for immediate Kula [scriptures], whose splendour shines naturally, appear with «All the mantras that are taught in Siddhānta-Tantras etc. are powerless, as they are devoid of the splendour of [Siva's] power. The great mantras of the

accessible to an elite, is applied to mantras (viśesa), with the implication that the «special» is more effective, but only Furthermore the division of schools into «general» (sādhāraṇa) and «special»

⁷ See STAAL in: STAAL (1989), p. 61

Gesagten. Wann need ausgrechned heids Auddo kahuddgangd wàdr, wddrmd kemà - A-a». include abbyāta-forms like «a-a» vikalpe - would show a remarkable mantric awareness with an more importantly, the sound «a», i.e. the ekākṣaraprajñāpāramitā, in eight different meanings – if we obvious propensity for bījas. See Batrische Grammatik von Ludwig Merkle, München: Hugendubel 1986, p. 195-6: «a-a (zwei normale a, abgehackt hintereinander gesprochen) = ironischer Zweitel am Otherwise the fact that even contemporary Bavarian uses «hm» in three senses, and perhaps

being struck, in this saina Purāna, by the very subordinate role played by Tantra generally and l antric *bijamantras* in particular». ROCHER (1989), p. 192. ⁵ «In contrast to the preeminence of and constant recourse to "Vedic" mantras, one cannot fail

not uncommon in later Srīvidyā, but with the distinction that here the cult is Vedāntic to the mantric mantras (the *mūlamantra* is *brīm, śrīm, krīm*, see comm. on 5.33-4) and procedures, one of its themes in the introductory dialogue is that of a purification of Tantrism. In its first chapters it claims the validity of Tantric worship, but only because Vedic mantras are ineffective in the Kali age (2.14-15). Tantric pseudo-deity. This practice, which is open to Saivas, Vaisnavas and others (3.141), has strong Vedantic overtones (saccidānandalakṣaṇaṃ 2.34d; vedāntavedyo bhagavān 2.45c), a perspective that is brahma. The mūlamantra of this «deity» is om sac cid ekam brahma (comm. on 3.41-3); its nyāsas As if to lead the reader gradually to «real» Tantrism he is first presented with a cult of the absolute fact that the Tantra teaches as its main part a Kaula adoration of a form of Kalī with the expected scientific distinction between genuine and apocryphal Tantras will be difficult to maintain. A work dby and and a brahma-gayatrī (3.105) etc. that follow are a Tantric cult, but without bijas, of a non-DERRET is right in that the Mahānirvānatantra is in many ways an anomalous product. Despite the can only be called apocryphal outside a theological context, if it is not what it claims to be. But (see GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA (1981), p. 99) is obvious, the terminology is inappropriate, because a counter example, since its $m\bar{u}lamantra$ of Brahma in the 3rd chapter is indeed without $b\bar{v}a$. But this seen, whether these ever occur outside the subordinate parts of the ritual, but the impression is that the mantras of the main Tantric deities require a bija. The Mabānirvāṇatantra would seem to be a 8 This statement needs to be qualified. There are mantras without $b\bar{\eta}as$ in Tantric ritual, like for instance in general formulas of adoration of the type om [name in the dative] namab. It remains to be recent Tantra is a special case. Although DERRET'S point in saying that it is a «well-intentioned traud»

⁹ STAAL (1989), p. 61.

kaulikās tu mahāmantrāh svabhāvād dīptatejasah // sphuranti divyatejaskāh sadyahpratyayakārakāh //, Tantrālokaviveka 29.3 10 siddhantadisu tantresu ye mantrah samudahṛtah // vīryahīnas tu te sarve saktitejojjhita yatah /

The occurrence of a bija indicates that a mantra is Tantric, and the bija may further reveal the particular cult in which the mantra is used. If we take, for instance, the five Tantric brahmamantras, we see that in the different mantric systems it is only the bija that changes. By reciting om kṣaṃ tānamūrdhne namah one indicates that one is following the mantric system of the Svacchandatantra¹¹, whereas by saying om hom tānamūrdhne namah one follows the ritual system of the Saiva-Siddhānta¹². We could therefore say that, regardless of their meaning, mantras, including bijas, make sense in a ritual context.

Above, or below, the level of ritual¹³ theological positions on mantras may differ widely. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the theology of mantras in different Tantric schools, but we may add a few points made by the non-dualist exegetes that help to elucidate the place of mantras in Tantric ritual: A mantra denotes a deity and is used in ritual to evoke its presence, to awaken the deity in the consciousness of the worshipper¹⁴. The power of the mantra is thus its ability «to make aware of something», or «to articulate» (panī-miy). For a sectarian Saiva like Abhinavagupta this is of course only the property of Saiva mantras, the parāmarśa of mantras of other schools like Vaiṣṇava etc. is impure¹⁵. Now the bījā represents this awareness (parāmarśa) more fully in that it is not limited to a specific denotation.¹⁶

But even a Tantric mantra is powerful¹⁷ only if learned from the teacher directly; a mantra taken from a manuscript is powerless¹⁸. In other words, the mantra is a sound that is transmitted through a line of teachers (*paramparā*) and has as its source the supreme deity; it is thus thought to be efficient only within this specific socio-religious context.

11 See Svacchandatantra 1.45cd-46 with Ksemarāja's commentary.

¹² See Brunner (1986), p. 93. For the pattern om plus a name in the dative case, see Tantraloka

It should be noted that despite the fact that research on Tantrism has almost exclusively concentrated on philosophy, Tantric religion is highly ritualistic and can only be understood comprehensively with that perspective. SANDERSON writes on the importance of the study of ritual manuals: «However, once one has realized that it is necessary to approach the Saiva traditions of Kashmir from an understanding of their basis in ritual, then the importance of these materials becomes obvious. For they are almost our only evidence of Saivism in the region which is not of a theoretical or prescriptive kind. They provide us with a background of reality against which to evaluate the implications of theory and to consider the degree and manner of the idealisation of actual practice that we must expect in authoritative prescription». SANDERSON (1995), p. 15.

¹⁴ tadvimar šasvabhāvā bi sā vācyā mantradevatā / mahāsanvitsamāsannety uktan śrīgamasāsane //, Tantrāloka 16.286.

¹⁵ Tantrāloka 16.253cd-256.

16 See Tantraloka 5.141, which refers to bijas and pindas.

17 That is, full of «vitality» (vīrya). For this term, see Tantrāloka 4.141 and 30.121; Śivasūtra.

¹⁸ See Tantrālokaviveka 4.66 for the idea that written mantras are ineffective except in the cases of sāmsiddbika-gurus; and the slightly obscure quotation in Tantrāloka 15.594 that one should not write down the «heart of the mantra», i.e. its bījā?

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Vedic and Tantric Mantras

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Here one might ask about the status of those mantras that are used in Tantric ritual but are ultimately derived from the Veda, like for instance the five Vedic brahmamantras¹⁹ that are used in the Tantric kalānyāsa²⁰. I have not seen an attempt to resolve this inconsistency, but it is easy to imagine a justification: for instance the aghora-mantra that is used in Tantric ritual, it might be argued, is taken by the adherents of the Āgamas from the Svacchandatantra, not from the Taittirīyāranyaka and therefore effective²¹.

This simplified description of a clear-cut division between Vedic and Tantric mantras applies to the more heterodox Tantric traditions, which we took as our starting point. As we shall see, the picture changes in the system of the later Śrīvidyā where the boundary between the Vedic and the Tantric is indeed more difficult to draw. But in order to understand the historical process of amalgamation that has led to present day «Hindu practice»²², it is important to investigate Vedic and non-Vedic elements within later Hinduism. This I wish to demonstrate by analysing such a hybrid, that is Vedic-cum-Tantric practice, namely the ritual used for the recitation of mālāmantras.

Mālāmantras.

This type of mantra recitation common in present-day Hinduism has to my knowledge never been the object of scientific analysis. In this practice a text like,

¹⁹ Preserved in the Taittiriyāranyaka. The passage occurs in Sāyana's text (The Taittiriyāranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda with the Commentary of Sāyanāchārya. Ed. Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1872 [Bibliotheca Indica]) as prapāthaka [10, anuvāka 43-47; as prapāthaka [6, anuvāka 43-47] in Bhāskara kt (The Taittiriya āranyaka with the Commentary of Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra. Ed. Mahādeva Sastri and K. Rangacarya, MLBD 1985); as Khanda 17, 1-5 in JACOB's edition; and no. 277-286 in Varennel's edition which is based on what he calls the ārādbra version, represented by the Ānandāśrama Series. Bhāskara Miśra to Vedic Exegesis, Pune: Institute for the Study of Religion 1985 [Studies in Indian Religious Texts 1]). Another source that predates the two commentators is the Pašupatasūtra, where these mantras occur divided into Sūtras. Compare also Nṛsimbapūrvatapan īyopaniṣat 1.6 for the Isānamantra, Maitrāyan īṣambti ā 2.9.10 for the agboramantra, and Kāṭbaka 17.10.11 for the latpuruṣamantra.

20 See Rauravāgama, kriyāpāda, patala 2 (p. 22-28).

²¹ According to the Jūānapaūcāsikā, a short text that is transmitted in a manuscript together with other recensions of the Kālottaratantra, Salva ritual is to be performed with mantras that were spoken by the five faces of Siva, but not with those taken from the Veda: pancavaktroābhavair mantraih stvoktath staddimaletidath / samyak yāgādi samsthāpyam nānyair vedāalicodiath //, Jūānapaūcāsikā folio 1 verso (NGMPP B 118/7). My theoretical explanation of the discrepancy does not apply to the more Veda-oriented Tantric schools, which freely acknowledge that the long brahmanantras are Vedic and are therefore not to be used by women, Sudras and other disqualified social groups (see Lšanašivagurudevapadābati, vol. 3, p. 33 and 62). That the latter work is influenced by Śrīntāyā is evident from the fact that it quotes the Prapaūcasāra quite regularly (those instances which are not formal quotations are not recorded by the editor, like for instance 1.73: prapaūcasārakathitā yathāvad tha sangabāt / atroddbriyante bījāni bijamantrāh samantrakāb//).

²² GONDA, for instance, has used the term «Hindu practice» in a rather loose sense, as applied to the mantra *bon isanamurdbne namab*. See GONDA (1976), p. 47.

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for instance, the Bhagavadgītā, or one of the various Sahasranāmastotras², is used as a single long mantra²4. This complete recitation of a text (pārāyaṇa) may be undertaken in order to promote one's religious welfare, or for very specific ends, such as curing an illness. For this purpose the text to be used is embedded in a ritual, which we shall briefly analyse. This liturgy is often only printed in recent editions or booklets for devotional use and, since the texts presented in them are popular versions, they are usually not systematically collected by libraries²⁵.

Before comparing the various elements that can appear in this preliminary recitation, we shall give the beginning of the *Bhagavadgītāmālāmantra* as an example. Fortunately this text is an exception, since it is edited in the appendix to the critical edition of the *Bhagavadgītā*²⁶.

asya śribhagavadgītāmālāmantrasya bhagavān vedavyāsa ṛṣiḥ / anuṣṭup chandaḥ / śrīkṛṣṇaparamātmā devatā / aśocyān anvaśocyas tvaṃ prajītāvādāṃś ca bhāṣase iti bījam / sarvadharmān parityaja mām ekaṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja iti śaktiḥ / aham tvāṃ sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayṣyāmi mā śucaḥ iti kīlakam / śrīkṛṣṇaprītyarthaṃ dharmārthakāmamokṣārthe jape viniyogaḥ //

Of this Bhagavadgītāmālāmantra the Rṣi is the holy Vedavyāsa, the metre is anuṣṭubh, the deity is the highest self Kṛṣṇa. [The passage] «You grieve for those not to be grieved...» [2.11ab] is the seed [of the mantra]; [the passage] «Give up all dharmas, take refuge only in me» [18.66ab] is its power; [the line] «I will deliver you from all evils, do not grieve» is its pick. [This mantra] is used in recitation for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa in order to [obtain] the four goals of life.

This is followed by the so-called *karanyāsa*, the assignment of lines from the text as mantras to the fingers²⁷, then similarly to the *aṅgas*, i.e. heart, head, top-

23 On «Stotra Literature», see GONDA (1978), p. 25-38, which however focuses on the Veda.
24 mantras are often divided into bita- ninda- and mall manutes. The literature was all the contractions of the contraction.

²⁴ mantras are often divided into bījā-, prida- and malāmantras. The Išānasivagurdevapadhati has a division into bījā-, bījāmantras, mantras and mālāmantras (1.18ff, vol. 1, p. 2), according to which the latter consist of more than twenty akṣaras. They are also correlated to the stages in life; bījās give perfection to children (!), bījāmantras to youths etc.

²⁵ Bibliographically this «bazaar literature» (GONDA) is a problem, since in some cases the text is printed without any bibliographical information.

³⁶ The text has been edited in Appendix I (p. 78) to: The Bhagavadgītā. Being Reprint of Parts of Bhīsmaparvan from B.O.R. Institute's Edition of the Mahābhārata. Ed. S.K. Belvalkar, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 1945. I have also seen a Telugu edition of the *Gītā*, which quotes two versions of this ritual. See also: WALTER SLAJE, Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften 1990, mss. 7 and 8. Furthermore I have compared an undated, probably Kashmirian Nāgarī manuscript of the text in a private collection.

private collection. ²⁷ nainam chindanti sastrāni nainam dabati pāvakah iti aigusthābhyām namah / nainam kledayanty āpo na soṣayati mārutah iti tarjanībhyām namah / acchedyo 'yam adāhyo 'yam akledyo 'socya'

knot, and weapon²⁸. Having thus prepared the body ritually the practitioner proceeds to imagine the deity with the help of the meditation verse(s) (dbyānaśloka) that contains the iconographical details. After completing this introductory ritual the recitation of the text, here the Bhagavadgītā, may be undertaken. In such a ritual preliminary to the parāyaṇa many other elements of a fully-fledged pājā may occur. One pocket edition of the Rāmāyaṇa²⁹ describes a rāmāyaṇapūjā preliminary to a pārāyaṇa in almost thirty pages³⁰. But here we shall concentrate on the simpler ritual as quoted.

First the *mantra*, i.e. the text to be recited, is mentioned and three pieces of information about this *mantra* are given: the Rsi, the «seer» of the *mantra*; then the metre; and finally the deity of the *mantra*. These are said to be indispensable for the use of Vedic mantras: the *Ārṣeyabrābmaṇa* states that one who uses a mantra without knowing these three, together with the *viniyoga*, incurs sin³1. And it is indeed only for Vedic mantras that the first two of these make sense; in early heterodox Saivism mantras have no seer, and most of them are unmetrical³2.

Then the bija, śakti and kīlaka are given. These elements are Tantric in the sense that the terms are known from Tantric ritual³³. APTE gives kīlaka in his dictionary as «the inner syllables of a mantra», but his reference to the Hamsopaniṣat is unfortunate, since the mantra «baṃsa», which is the object of this small Upaniṣat, is too short to satisfy the conditions of this pattern: according to that work the Rṣi is baṃsa, the metre avyaktagāyatrī, the deity paramahaṃsa, the bīja «baṃ», the śakti «sa», the kīlaka «so 'baṃ». In her edition and translation of the Pūjāvidhinirūpaṇa Nowotny gives another example in which bīja, śakti and kīlaka are the first, second and third word of a 3-word mantra³⁴, but, if we look at

eva ca iti madbyamābhyām namaḥ / nityaḥ sarvagataḥ sthānur acalo 'yam sanātanaḥ iti anāmikābhyām namaḥ / pasya me pārtha rūpāṇi šatašo 'tha sahasrasaḥ iti kanisthikābhyām namaḥ / nānāvidhāni divyāni nānāvamākrī mi ca iti karatalakarapr sthābhyāmnamaḥ / iti karanyāsaḥ //

28 anganyāsab / nainam chindanti sastrāņi nainam dabati pāvakab iti hrdayāya namab / nainam kledayanty āpo na soxayati mārutab iti sirase svābā / acchedyo 'yam adābyo 'yam akledyo 'socya eva ca iti sikbayai vauxat / nanāvabāni divyāni nanavarnakritni ca iti astrāya phat / iti anganyāsab //

²⁹Srīmadvalmīkirāmāyana of Maharsi Vālmīki (Along with its virtue and mode of recitation), Ed. by Shivram Sharma Vasishth, Varanasi: Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan 1982. See the Sundarakānda for a brief pājā for «Smārtas and others».

brief pūjā for «Smārtas and others».

Since most of the elements described here are also part of the Smārta pūjā, one may consult the detailed treatment of this ritual in BÜHNEMANN (1988).

See Ārṣeyabrābmaṇa 1.6. Similarly Bṛbaddevatā: niyamo 'yam jape bome ṛṣiś chando 'tha

dativatam / anyathā a cet prayanījānas tatphalāc cātra hīyate // 8.134. The passage following [in ms. A of the edition] elaborates on the same theme.

32 GOUDRIAAN writes that «the vedic sages, as has been said, continue to play an important role, but only as transmitters, nor as revealers. It should be noted that each mantra possesses its rsi who is often mentioned together with its deity, šakti, etc., and assigned to the parts of the speaker's body (rsyādānyāsa)». GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA (1981), p. 6. But this, as we shall see, applies only to vedicised

Sīrvidyā.

37 I do not know of an instance in early non-Śrīvidyā Tantrism where these terms denote parts of mantras.

34 NOWOTNY (1957).

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distinguish in this segment of the ritual a Vedic and a Tantric part. mantras and therefore better not defined in a rigid way. We may therefore more examples, we can only conclude that this pattern is adapted to a variety of

such a medical application is contained in one edition of the Sūryasahasranāma35 sandby a's text. Those must be stated before the recitation in the samkalpa. One example for This formula may also include the desak $\bar{a}loccarana^{36}$ known from $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}^{37}$ and There are also specific aims, for instance health, to be gained by reciting a

segment of later «Hinduism»39 pattern has become a standard procedure for the ritual use of mantras in a large karanyāsa), and a dhyāna, but we cannot go into details here. In any case the The liturgy is concluded by one or more ny asas (usually anga- and

The following table gives an overview of variations⁴⁰.

viniyoga				kīlakam		saktıh	bijam	devatā	chandaḥ	rsi	RŚV	
viniyogah ṛṣyādinyāsa	paramo mantraḥ	kavacam	astram	kīlakam	hrdavam	śaktiḥ	bījam	chandah	devatā	isi	VSN	
viniyogaḥ	.T					śaktiḥ	bījam	devatā	chandaḥ	ŗși	SSN	
viniyogaḥ						śaktiḥ	bījam	chandaḥ	devatā	isi	ŚSN	
viniyogaḥ				svar upam	tattvam	bījam	śaktiḥ	chandaḥ	devatā	rsi	DS	

pus tid tīgbāyu syai svaryādi i reddbi satruparājay ādinik bilakāman ās iddbaye strīs ūryanārāyanaprītaye ca sannipātajvarāgnimāmdyasirah sūlak sīnadbātvādirogānām samūlanirasanadvārā ksiprārogyasarīra According to the dictum bbaskarād ārogyam icchet the sun is the proper addressee for such a wish. śrīsūryadivyasabasranāmabbib sahasrasamkbyākāmukadravyasamarpaṇam karisye // 35 adyetyādipārvo... amukanānno mama śarīra utpannānām utpatsyamānānām vā vātapittakapha See Durgāsaptaśatī, p. 13f (pāthavidhih). iti samkalpya

ṣaḍanganyāsa ṣaḍanganyāsa karanyāsa karanyāsa

dhyānam saṃkalpa

dhyānam

dhyānam

dhyānam

dhyānam

own rst etc.41 independent texts: the Sarikākavaca, for instance, is a text of forty verses with its It should be noted that some of these elements occur also as names of

stating the rsi, the metre, deity and the mantra's application, it is standard Smārta see, considered unvedic can find nyāsas in otherwise purely Vedic manuals⁴², this practice is, as we shall practice to add Tantric elements, such as $b\bar{i}ja$, sakti and the like. Although one We have seen that, whereas the Vedic liturgy introduces its mantras by

VEDIC AND TANTRIC

subordinate to the Veda independent and competing revelations⁴³, whereas smrti is dependent on and Vaidika, Tāntrika and Smārta. Of these two the Veda and the Tantras are We have so far mentioned three areas within Hindu literature and practice:

is found in a comparatively recent text, the Dharmasindhu of Kāśinātha interesting remark that shows awareness of Vedic and Tantric elements in rituals do find records of the controversy that shed light on the process of inclusion. An alert to foreign influences. Within Smarta Hinduism, however, the inclusion of Upādhyāya (died A.D. 1805). In the context of the recitation of the gāyatrī-Tantric material may have occured more or less unnoticed by the public, but we minorities keenly aware of their religious identity and therefore most probably uncompromising Vaidikas, i.e. the Srautas, as well as the Tantrikas, were continued to be aware of the distinction. For this one must keep in mind that the elements was an issue or, indeed, whether those who performed the rituals One might now speculate whether the combination of Vedic and Tantric

³⁷ For which, see BUEHNEMANN (1988), p. 114.

dak savāmayoh stanayor api / kīlo madbye 'vinābhāvyah svavāñchāviniyogavān // sarveṣām eva mantranam esa sadbaranab kramab. dyoga etayon bhimukho bhavet / tathā bījātmako mantro mantrino 'bhimukho bhavet // bījaśaktim nyased 38 See the Sandbyā handbook published by the Gīrā Press, and VASU (1991).
39 Compare also the Srīrāmapūrvatāpiryupanisat 3.2-5a: mantro 'yam vācako rāmo vācyab syā-25 see the Sandra sanve sanvapab // yathā nāmī vācakena nāmnā yo
10 etayob / pbaladas caive sanve sanve sanv sādbakānām na sansayab // yathā nāmī vācakena nāmnā yo

Sūryasabasranāma; SSN Šīvasabasranāmastotra; DS Durgāsaptasatī. The abbreviations refer of course to the introductory liturgy given in these «bazaar editions». None of these have any bibliographical RSV Rudrasājavimocanavidhih (in: VSN); VSN Visnusahasranāmastotra; SSN

⁴¹ Devīrahasya, p. 420.
42 The Rguedīya Trikālasamdhyā, for instance, uses only Vedic mantras with the expected rsi etc., but describes an aṅganyāsa of the gāyatrīmantra. Similarly the sandhyopāsanā in: Nityakarmavidhib, p. 7ff, and in the Smārta version as practised by the Maharashtrian (Śākala) Rgvedins: Srinivasan (1973), p. 176-178 (no. 16).

cit., p. 130f.), it is obvious that the word śruti is used here in a wider sense. sources, to include the Tantras! Whichever interpretation of tantra may be correct here (see KANE, op (1968-), vol. 1, p. 127ff., secondly it would be quite unusual for a dharmasastra, when dealing with its ⁴³ An early authority on *dharma*, Hārīta, apparently started his work by saying: «śruti is twofold: Vedic and Tantric». This quotation in Kullūka's commentary on *Manusmṛti* 2.1 is very problematic. Firstly, Hārīta is too early to mention Tantrism as we know it (see DERRET (1973), p. 38f and KANE

mantra, describes the placing (nyāsa) of the constituents of this mantra on six the Rsi (here viśvāmitra), the deity (savitā), the metre and the use (viniyoga) of the parts of the body. He then remarks: mantra during the sandbyā-rite, the author, having dealt with the enunciation of

appendix to the Gṛbya[sūtra]⁴⁴ that the performance of nyāsa is unvedic. they are Tantric and therefore unvedic»45 the nyāsa of syllables, words, or quarter-verses etc. as well as the One must understand this to mean that there is no obligation [to perform] «This placement (nyāsa) on six limbs is optional, since it is clear in the performance of mudrās, or [recitations] for release from a curse etc., since

of the disparateness of its elements⁴⁷. beyond recognition. It is on the contrary plausible that sistas were always aware repeating his cautionary remarks46. Thus a de facto acceptance of a Vedic-cumcondemn such a practice, he even describes Tantric nyāsas in other places without Tantric practice does not necessarily indicate that two religions have merged As we would expect from an impartial writer on law, the author does not

be the best choice. His position is that of a Smarta who argues for a hybrid cult of Rāmesvara in the beginning of his commentary on the Parasurāmakalpasūtra will understanding the rationale behind the hybridization, the elaborate discussion by different authors and times, but for the present purpose, that is, for It would be possible to produce a collection of passages on the issue from

of the Veda»48. Summarising this negative view of the Tantras Rāmeśvara says: affected by covetousness we have obtained Tantric initiation and given up the way «Through this censure of Tantric practitioners⁴⁹ it is made clear that Tantra is not Agnipurāṇa some denizens of hell say «we burn [in hell], since with our mind Kumārila as well as passages from various Purāṇas. In one quotation from the motivated only by greed, invalid. As support for this conservative view he quotes Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, because it is Tantric and the Tantras are, since they are He starts with the question whether it is proper for a Vaidika to expound the

is based only on greed»50 Puranas too. And it is obvious that a scripture that enjoins the use of the five "m" to be trusted. For we see the same censure of Tantras frequently in many other

strict adhikārabheda: for Vaidikas only Vedic worship, for Tāntrikas only Tantric qualified, and only for them; that means, the problem is resolved by adhering to a that there are in fact two forms of valid worship, Vedic and Tantric. $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$. Then the author leads us, through a series of quotations⁵¹, to the position are valid scripture, their position on the Tantras should be the guiding line. He then adduces passages that permit Tantric practice for those who are specially Rāmesvara rejects this conservative position and argues that, since Purāṇas

the qualification for Tantra is limited to non-Vaidikas»53 not for the Vaidika. And it is possible to quote a valid statement to the effect that [i.e.] men fallen from the Veda, for the mixture of women and Sūdras[?]³² [but] concede that the Tantras are valid for persons who have special qualification, Still the opponent cannot soften his position on adhikārahheda and says: «I

«By the three higher castes all the Tantric [worship] is performed after the Vedic only practice. Thus there is an adhikarabheda, but the boundary is different. To the twice-born the following principle, quoted from the Tripurār nava, applies: practice for Vaidikas, whereas for Sūdras and other disqualified groups it is the and Tantra, or with Vedic and Tantric mantras, and presents his final position: [worship]»54. have to be combined! He quotes passages that enjoin worship according to Veda order to prepare the reader for his next step, namely that both ways of worship Adbyātmarāmāyaṇa in which Tantric $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is taught for obtaining liberation in qualification is explicitly stated, is quoted in favour of the opponent's position. Tantric worship is not for those fallen from the Veda, it is in fact an additional Rāmeśvara disagrees and eventually quotes a passage from the Then a passage adduced before, in which the principle of a division of

another important example of a hybrid ritual: the veneration of the junctures infiltration of Tantric practices into Smarta Hinduism, we have to mention Before discussing another aspect of the process of hybridization, namely the

[&]quot;This must refer to the apoctyphal Aśvalayanagrbyaparisista, where, after a description of the anganyāsa of the parts of the gāyatrī-mantra, it is stated: enam [i.e. anganyāsam] eke necchanti, sa hi vidhir avaidika iti ... Asvalāyanagrbyaparisista 1.5. See below on this text.

katvād anāvasyakatvam veditavyam // Dharmasindhu, p. 227 etenāksarany āsapadany āsapādanyāsādīnām mudrādividheh sāpavimocanādividhes ca tāntrikatvenāvaidi 6 iti sadanganyasah karyo na va karyah // nyasavidher avaidikatvad iti grbyaparisiste spastam //

⁴⁶ See p. 265, 269 etc.

⁴⁷ One Pandit whom I asked about details of his daily *pārāyana* was fully aware of the presence of non-vedic elements in its ritual, but maintained that although the *bījūs* should not really be used, unobjectionable there was no question of infringing proper conduct and, vāmācāra being ruled out, this practice was

vayam //, p. 4 tantradīkṣām anuprāptāb lobbopabatacetasā / tyaktvā vaidikam adbvānam tena dabyāmabe

⁴⁹ Lit.: «Tantric men»

⁵⁰ iti tāntrikapuruṣanindayā tantrasyāśraddheyatvam spaṣṭam / evam anyesv api bahupurāneṣu tantranindāyāḥ bahulam upalambhāt / mapañcakādaravidhāyakaśāstrasya lobhaikamūlatvaṇ suspaṣṭam

mye tantrikasaranya brahmanarajaputrayor upadista, p. 6. ⁵¹ Including an instance of a Tantric pūjā in a Purāna: tathā brahmottarakhande pradosamāhā:

both of whom are not qualified for Vedic mantras, or unlawful intermarriage (samkara) with (female) ³² The phrase strīšūdrānām samkaresu ca is not clear. One expects either «women and Śūdras»,

ttı vaktum sakyam, p. 7 adbikāra... The original runs as follows: na ca vaidikātirikte tantrasya adbikārasaṃkocapramānābbāva ⁵⁹ Lit.: «And it is not possible to say that there is an absence of a pramāna that limits the

³⁴ traivarnikair vaidikānte tāntrikam kriyate 'khilam /, p. 9.

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Vedic and Tantric Mantras

indeed standard practice to perform the Vedic Sandhya first and then the (sandbyā). In Śrīvidyā works it is, as we expect from Rāmeśvara's remarks,

Vedic sandbyā is to be performed by the practitioner of the Svacchanda-cult. such a combination, but there is a brief remark by Ksemarāja59, to the effect that a Neither is there anything in Abhinavagupta's account of the sandbyā to suggest Siva-gāyatrī⁷⁸, without indication of a Vedic part to be performed beforehand. just its Tantric part. If we look at the Somasambbupaddbati, we find a Tantric Tantric sources intended to describe the whole ritual to be performed, and not the evidence is not quite conclusive, since we cannot be absolutely sure that the hybridization, did also perform, for instance, this double sandbyā. Unfortunately whether the heterodox schools, i.e. those who unlike the Srīvidyā thought of the Veda as totally ineffective and therefore did not subscribe to this process of the Tantric part, the recitation of a Tantric $g \bar{a} y a t r \bar{t}^{57}$. The question remains, practitioner is enjoined to perform the recitation of the Vedic gāyatrī56, then, in As far as the mantras are concerned this hybrid ritual is remarkable, since the

in it⁶¹. However, with the r.syādinyāsa Tantric mantras themselves are vedicized practice neither adds to, nor detracts from their goal - unless one would believe different from that of the adherents of the combined practice: for them the performance of the Vedic cult is seen as a merely exterior compromise, whose elements; it is above all the attitude of the heterodox exegetes that is markedly be borne in mind when we discuss the combination of Vedic and Tantric common Vedic level and the special level reached by his initiation»60. This has to system (varnāśramadharmah) and its local variants (deśadharmah). The Saiva initiate therefore saw himself as subject to two levels of injunction: the general or ritual, they were still bound to conform to the rules of the Veda-based social initiation $(d\bar{\imath}k_s\bar{a})$, the Tantric rite of passage which gave them access to Saiva (saṃskāraḥ) [...] And even when they had gone through the ceremony of like all Hindus of caste they had first been purified by the Vedic rites of passage But this is not too surprising, since the Tantrics are «Vedic to the extent that

goes some way towards understanding the development of Tantrism as well as the change of main-stream Hinduism under its influence The tension created by these diverse forces of compromise, rejection and tusion practice was ultimately more important than insider theories of superiority»62 justified the seperate existence of the Tantric system. Equivalence in observable these orthodox rituals was strong enough to compromise the very beliefs which counterparts, because for those who practiced the religion «the need to match We see here a further step in parallelising Tantric ritual with its Vedic

THE PROCESS OF INFILTRATION

Purāṇas

tantricized through $b\bar{\imath}jas$, or used in a Tantric $ny\bar{a}sa$. where the rsi, metre and deity are mentioned for a mantra that is tantric, or Upanisads. We quote examples from each and shall concentrate on passages find evidence in the manuals for domestic ritual, the Puranas, and some later For the process of infiltration of Tantric material into the mainstream we

the relevant passages from the Devībhāgavatapurāṇa. amplification and redaction. As an example for this I shall briefly analyse some of accepted as valid scripture by non-sectarians, but were at the same time prone to an excellent starting point, since they, because of their status as smṛti, could be For one wishing to lift Tantric ritual into the orthodox realm, Purāṇas were

be adopted by the Vaidikas»64. Thereafter the validity of the Veda is asserght which integrates Tantric doctrines63. This [Tantric] element is never to to adopt non-Vedic practices: «In some places, sometimes, a religion is tauabout the Vedic $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ the text assures the Vaidika that there is no reason for him ever performs the wrong pūjā «falls», i.e. loses his religious status. In the section $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$. Both rituals are to be performed only by those initiated into it; whone in chapter 7.39, which touches upon the problem of Vedic versus Tantric ti, it has to degrade Tantric elements and pay lip service to the śruti. This is do-Tantric practices to orthodox Brahmins, while maintaining its authority as smr. dic domain, the contradictions in it could well be intentional, for in order to teach within a few lines. But read as a defence for including Tantric cults into the Ve se it seems to present widely diverging standpoints about Tantric worship even Devībhāgavatapurāņa has no consistent attitude towards non-Vedic cults, becau-Without the present issue in mind one might come to the conclusion that the

svaśākhoktavaidikasnānam ca vidbāyācamya...); the same principle applies to the sandbyā (vaidi-kasamdbyām samāpya tāntrikīm ārabheta) and tarpaṇa. The text will be edited in my forthcoming ⁵⁵ Also Mahānirvāṇatantra 5.44: vaidikīm tāntrikīm caiva yathānukramayogatah / sandhyām samācaren mantrī tāntrikīm srņu kathyate //. The Syāmapaddhati by Sāhib Kaul siates that the physical and the Vedic bath have to be performed before the Tantric snāna (malāpakarṣaṇaṣṇāṇaṃ shō), and the Vedic bath have to be performed before the Tantric snāna (malāpakarṣaṇaṣṇāṇaṃ shō). «Sāhib Kaul's Stotras and Paddhatis»

⁵⁷ See SANDERSON (1995), p. 28. ⁵⁶ That is *Rgveda* 3.62.10.

śaktito japet // 90 // om tanmaheśāya vidmahe vāgvišuddhāya dhīmahi tan naḥ śwaḥ pracodayāt /. ⁵⁹ Commenting on Svacchandatantra 2.6cd sandhyāyā vandanan kuryāc chāstradr stena karmanā ⁵⁸ Compare the description in the Somasambhupaddhati 90f.: śwāyārgbyāñjalim dattvā gāyatrīm

he says sastradrstena vedādisiddhena.

⁶⁰ SANDERSON (1995), p. 23

⁶² SANDERSON (1995), p. 27.

⁶³ Lit. «with a side-glance at Tantric doctrines».

⁶⁴ smrtayas ca śruter artham grhītvaiva ca nirgatāh / manvādīnām śrutīnām ca tatah prāmānyam iyyate // kvacit kadācit tantrārthakatākṣena paroditam // dharmam vadanti so 'mśas tu nawa grābyo 'sti

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ted⁶⁵, and it is stipulated that the king should expel those who adopt other dharmas from the country. In this category would be the Vāma, Kāpālika⁶⁶, Kaula [14]

Then there is a sudden shift in perspective

were produced by Siva in order to delude.

Bhairavāgama, all of which are in contradiction to śruti and smṛti, and which

to the Veda. It is never a sin for Vaidikas (2)67 to adopt these»68 outside the path of the Veda. In order to liberate them gradually Siva them some elements are taught here and there that are not in contradiction composed the Saiva-, Vaisnava, Saura, Śākta and Gāṇapatya-Āgamas. In «There are some good Brāhmaṇas, who are distressed [since they are]

sectarian Smarta religion. Perhaps the slip of the pen that follows indicates what presumably all the other groups of Agamas are in this context empty.69. the author really meant, namely Agamas composed by Siva (śańkarena); suggest that, though leaving the Vedic domain, we are still within the nonpañcāyatana that receive offerings in Smārta ritual. With this the author wants to that there are groups of scriptures related to all the five deities of the so-called would in any case lose it. To this excuse is added a list of Tantras, which signals may adopt Tantric worship wholeheartedly, and we may add that by so doing they In other words, some Brāhmaṇas who have lost their adhikāra for the Veda

kriyā are resolved in yoga and the conservative reader may calm down the dissolution of consciousness (samvillaya), which is to say that the differences in the internal is now described in the conclusion of the chapter: the internal $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is The division into Vedic and Tantric applied only to the external mode, whereas introduction to the passage distinguished an internal and an external form of $p\bar{u}j\bar{u}$. reassure the hesitant that no sin is incurred. We must add that the author had as an provide us with an excuse for those who adopt Tantric rites, namely the sapa, and Tantrikas Tantric ones. But the arguments mentioned in the previous section also adhikārabheda: in principle the Vaidikas should adopt Vedic rites and the The solution first envisaged by the Devībhāgavata in this passage is that of

invalid and the practices derived from it ineffective, the Devībhāgavata is very Compared with the early heterodox Tantric tradition that declares the Veda

their best to appear unbiased while including Tantric practices into orthodoxy. passages⁷³ we must conclude that the authors or redactors of this Purāṇa tried case of acamana of which six modes are listed72. But if we examine further give a résumé of Vedic, Tantric and other modes of worship, as for instance in the just like the Veda. As proof for this one could adduce passages that pretend to be interpreted as neutral eclecticism, in other words that the Tantras are sources seat in the Saktitantras»71. This unspecific reference to a group of Tantras might consciousness and utterly beyond them. Therefore these [five] always become my consciousness [i.e. waking state up to turyātīta], but I [Devī] am unmanifest $b\bar{a}byap\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ in detail: there the goddess is imagined as sitting on five corpses⁷⁰ These five are identical with «the five elements and the five states of advocated is Tantric. We find one indication in the chapter that describes the moderate; but elsewhere in the text it is strongly suggested that the actual practice

gāyatrībrdaya, a gāyatrīstotra and -sahasranāma. astra75. As expected, this is followed by the dbyāna of the deity and the nyāsa of parts of the mantra on the worshipper's body. The chapter concludes with a «parts» of this mantra: bīja, śakti, kīlaka, bṛdaya, śiras, śikbā, kavaca, netra, and are optional74. It then lists the rsis, chandas, and devatās; the names for the including Tantric elements. First the author states that the nyāsas to be described Devībhāgavata describes the use of the gāyatrī-mantra, but expands it by In its eagerness to build bridges for the conservative to a Tantric pūjā the

of the rsi etc. 76. are «proficient in Veda and Tantra». In the same chapter we also find the nyāsa acts, grants $(d\overline{a})$ divine knowledge and removes (kx) evil is known by those who In chapter 12.7.5 the author says that the fact that $d\vec{\imath}k_s\vec{a}$ qualifies for ritual

but an integration of heterodox elements into the orthodox domain expound different views on Tantric worship in order to get the attention of a broader public. The outcome is not a clear recommendation of Tantric worship, The technique here is, not unlike that of Ramesvara discussed above, to

⁶⁵ There is one passage on valid scripture where it is stated that *śruti* and *smṛti* are the eyes, but the Purāna is the heart. In the case of contradiction, however, the Veda is valid! (11.1.20-33).

6 «Kapālaka» is given in the text.

⁶⁷ The instrumental *vaidikaih* is odd.

tatra vedavíruddho 'mśo 'py ukta eva kvacit kvacit / vaidikais tadgrahe doso na bhavaty eva karhicit // // sawās ca vaisņavās cawa saurāh sāktās tathawa ca / gāṇapatyā āgamās ca praṇūāh saṅkarena tu // 68 dagdhā ye brābmanavarā vedamārgabahiskrīāh / tesām uddharanārthāya sopānakramatah sadā

⁶⁹ There are of course Vaisnava-Agamas, and there are traces of a lost canon of scriptures taught by Sūya, but if all are thought to be taught by Sūya, the perspective is in any case sectarian Saiva, not

⁷⁰ The list is identical with that of the five so-called kāraneśvaras in Saivism.

^{//} tato vistaratām yātāh śaktītantresu sarvadā / 7.40.11-12ab. 11 pañcabhūtātmakā hy ete pañcāvasthātmakā api / aham tv avyaktacidrūpā tadatītāsmi sarvathā

sadvidbam sruticoditam //, 11.3.1. It should be noted that here all these modes are said to be sanctioned by śruti! 12 suddham smārtam cācamanam paurānam vaidikam tathā / tāntrikam śrautam ity āhuh

For the ny āsa of brīm in a Srīvidyā manual, see Subhagodaya 3ab. passage: brīmkārajapanistbajs tu pakstvirādair nisevitā 3.3.41. namāmi brīmmayīm devīm 12.14.27 of Devī is brīm, the brllekhā (brllekhā sarvamantrānām nāyikā 7.40.28). Even in a mythological 73 For Tantric elements in others parts of the text, see the mātrkānyāsa (7,40.6); the main mantra

^{75 12.3.6-9.} ⁷⁴ ny āsān karotu vā mā vā gāyatrīm eva cābhyaset / 12.1.11.

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Domestic Ritual

Aśvalāyanag rhyapariśista, which is to be distinguished from the one edited by or rather its appendices. We have already mentioned the apocryphal domestic ritual. but also used by HILLEBRANDT and KANE for their description of details of has made its way into mainstream ritual and was not only quoted by later authors, AITHAL⁷⁷. The apocryphal work, which teaches an aiganyāsa of the gāyatrīmantra, There are traces of attempts to tantricize Vedic ritual in the Sutra literature,

body⁷⁸. Here we find a hybrid ritual, namely the *15i*, metre and deity of a mantra rudrajapa that includes the preparatory nyāsa of mantras on several parts of the that contains a *bija*. Another case is the Mānavaśrautasūtra, which contains a hybrid ritual called

obvious case is, however, a quotation of the Baudhayanagrhyaparisista in the elements»79. HARTING, while subscribing to the opinion that there is a strong Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, and other deities, and some show an admixture of Tāntric ancient Brāhmanical worship, but to the Paurānic religions, the service of Siva, Nirnayasindhu in a tantricized form, that is, with lists of $b\bar{i}jas$ inserted⁸⁰ Puranic influence, has rejected the notion that Tantric elements are present. An already by BÜHLER that «many of the newly-added rites do not belong to the The case of the Baudhāyanagṛhyaparisiṣṭa is less clear: It has been observed

validity of the Tantras by the commentator Rāmeśvara shows that he was fully Srīvidyā manual with a pseudo-Vedic title. The long introductory passage on the aware of this discrepancy. A further, but quite different instance is the Parasurāmakalpasūtra, which is a

Sectarian Upanisads

Srīrāmapūrvatāpinyupanisat quoted above, the Ganapatyupanisat, and the anga- and karany āsa. Compare also the Daksinamūrtyupanisat, the Upanisads. We find in the Hamsopanisat the rsi etc., bija, śakti, kīlaka, as well as Sarasvatīrahasyopanīsat. One could also quote examples from another Vedic genre, namely the

pribiwitativah brahmarup aya hrām pascimavakirāvāhane viniyogah «sadyo jātah pascimavakirāya nama See PARAMESHVARA AITHAL: Asvalāyanagrbyapari si sia, ALB XXVII, Adyar 1963, p. 230f.
 sadyo jāta ity asya sadyojāta r sir brabmā devatā tristup chandab baņsavāhanah pascimavaktrab.

CONCLUSIONS

ritual83 dātilaka⁸². All of these works, except the one by Sivānanda teach the hybrid muccaya by one Nāgabhaṭṭa, the Subhagodaya by Sivānanda and the Sāraaccessible ones are: the Prapañcasāra, attributed to Sankara, the Tripurāsārasaetc. not necessarily in scripture itself, but in ritual manuals. Of those the more the hybridization to be late, since we would expect the information about the r, s_i Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava and the Yoginībṛḍaya. This is perhaps not enough to prove also absent from the earliest scriptural sources of the Srīvidyā itself, i.e. the Tantrāloka and the Somaśambhupaddhatt^si do not use the hybrid ritual and it is accounts of Saiva ritual that predate any Srīvidyā influence, namely the What are the conclusions to be drawn from these observations? The early

about Siva being the author of all scriptures, in order to show that the Veda is as valid as the Agamas⁸⁴ series of cults (Veda, Saiva, Vāma, Kaula, Trika), but then he carefully finds in his sources. He deliberately misunderstands the statements in the Trika downgrades all statements about a conflict between Veda and Agama which he inconsistencies: on the one hand he quotes the Trika's doctrine of an increasing sources as well as from the Smarta Prapañcasāra show. This position leads to strongly influenced by the exegetical terminology of the Pratyabhijñā, but his position with regard to the Veda is more compromising, as quotations from Vedic One can only speculate about the reason for Sivananda's omission. He is

paraphrase of Pratyabhijñāh rdaya 186. The author is explicitly eclectic in that he background, but with many quotations from Siddhanta authors such as Bhatta is an unusual mixture of Srīvidyā elements, not with the expected Pratyabhijñā Rāmakaṇṭha II. One reference to the Kashmirian non-dualists that I noticed is a mantras is the Is anasivagurudevapaddhatr83. But this is of no help, since the work One other ritual manual that regularly mentions the Rsi etc. for Tantric

avābayami» //, Manavasrautasūtra, p. 238. 79 Quoted in HARTING (1922), p. xvii.

⁸⁰ See HARTING (1922), p. xxiii

⁸¹ The same holds true for Aghorasiva's Kriyākramadyotikā, as far as one can judge from the passage translated in SURDAM (1984). The text of this important work is unfortunately not accessible

⁸² The Prapañcasāra and the Tripurāsārasamuccaņa are quoted in Sivānanda's Rjuvimaršinī.

⁸¹ Tripurāsārasamuccaya 2.18. Prapancasāra 6.2. Sāradātilaka 1.5.

imagine that his doctrinal position forces him to reinterpret. position, and also statements from the *Tantrāloka* that could at first sight mean that, since Siva is the author of the Vedanta, i.e. the Upanisads, they are equally valid; this, by the way, is not Abhinavagupta's position. Since it is unlikely that this has escaped the attention of Sivananda, I ⁸⁴ In his Rjuvimarsinī p. 25 he quotes Sivastotrāvalī 2.7 as if it supported his relativistic

necessity of Rsi etc. is reiterated (9.87, vol. 1, p. 88). 85 See, for instance, the nyāsas in 1.66ff; also the description of the Vedic Sandhyā, where the

^{...} citih svatantrākhilasiddhihetuh /... vol. 3, p. 25.

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mentions the incorporation of Śrauta and Smārta elements⁸⁷. The compromise with Vedism is made clear in the quotation from a Svāyanbhuvatantra, which states that the Veda is valid, since it is, like the Āgamas, authored by Śiva⁸⁸. Instead of establishing a superior position for the Āgamas, the author seems more concerned with adducing arguments in order to defuse possible objections from the Mīmāṃsakas, such as: if Śiva is the author of the Veda, then the Veda is not beginningless. But the contradiction is only apparent, because Śiva is beginningless!⁸⁹.

Other manuals, like the *Śaradātilaka*, regularly teach the hybrid mantras. Verse 1.5, for instance, enjoins the use of mantras «together with the seers, metres and deities» and the commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa supplies us with arguments in support of this rule. He quotes several non-Tantric sources to the effect that a mantra is not effective without them.

It would be simple to adduce further instances of the hybrid ritual throughout later literature%, but what are the conclusions?

One fundamental problem remains, namely the judgement of the scope of our sources: does a certain liturgy cover the whole ritual or only part of it, that is the part that is modified? In the present study one could of course argue that the omission of an element in a ritual, like the rsi etc., may mean no more than that its performance was taken for granted. But if, on the other hand, it was clear to the heterodox Saivas that the rsi etc. belonged to Vedic mantras only – and we have reason to believe this – no explicit prohibition of the practice of reciting the rsi, metre and deity can be expected. If we take into consideration the internal logic of the Tantric systems, the hybrid practice appears as an important modification of the core of Tantric ritual which aims at bringing it in line with Vedic orthodoxy. And this fits perfectly with the observation that the hybrid ritual is a feature only of the Śrīvidyā tradition. It could have been introduced in the process of an alliance with the orthodox Śańkarite tradition⁹¹ in order to present the originally heterodox Śrīvidyā⁹² as compatible with Vedicism.

The preceding analysis is perhaps unspectacular in itself, but can be usefully applied. For instance, the fact that the *Rauravalantra* teaches such a practice⁹³ in its *kriyāpāda* is an additional argument to exclude the possibility that it is part of the old *Rauravasūtrasamgraba* printed with it.

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 $^{^{87}}$ 10.188; vol. 1, p. 96. On the work, see Goudriaan and Gupta (1981), p. 128 88 Vol. 3, p. 7

⁸⁹ Vol. 3, p /.

⁹⁰ Śivāidyanātha Dixita's Smṛtimukhāphalam, Āhnikakānda, Part II, ed. J.R. Gharpure, Bombay 1938 (teaches nyāxa with bījas). Nityācārapradīpah by Narasimha Vājapeyī, Vol. II, Calcutta 1928 (Bibliotheca Indica CLV) (teaches nyādinyāxa). One could add other Tantras, like Kulānavatantra 4.15.

Si Compare the prominent position of the śrīcakranirmāṇa in the 65th chapter of Anandagiri's

⁹² See SANDERSON (1990), p. 156-58.

⁹⁵ śwapańciale saram hy etad istanadyadhidawatam / anustubādichāndāmsi anādyā 1 ṣayaḥ smṛṭāḥ // 3.4.

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