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STUDI IN ONORE DI RANIERO GNOLI
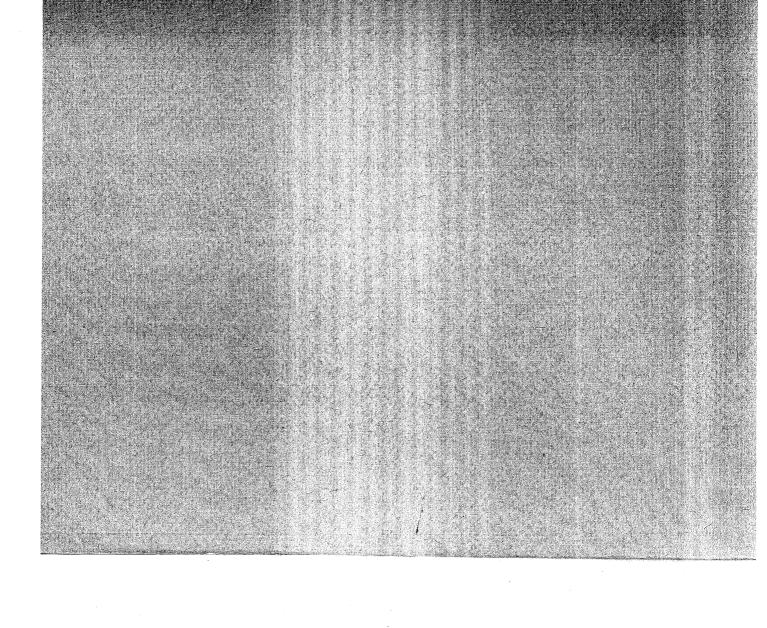## NEL SUO 70° COMPLEANNO

A cura di RAFFAELE TORELLA

con la collaborazione di CLAUDIO CICUZZA, MARINO FALIERO,
BRUNO LO TURCO, FRANCESCO SFERRA, VINCENZO VERGIANI

e la partecipazione di ALVAR GONZÁLEZ-PALACIOS

ESTRATTO

JÜRGEN HANNEDER, Weimar

SĀHIB KAUL'S PRESENTATION OF PRATYABHIJÑĀ PHILOSOPHY IN HIS *DEVĪNĀMAVILĀSA*

PRATYABHIJÑĀ AND ŚRĪVIDYĀ

The Pratyabhijñā system[1] is situated on the border between a more o sect-neutral philosophy, described as such in the *Sarvadarśanasamgr* and one segment of sectarian Śaiva religion that is represented by the dualist Kashmirian Śaiva cults, of which the Trika and the Krama ar most prominent[3]. The Śrīvidyā[4] originated on the fringe of the same c of heterodox scriptures[5], but radically changed its religious affili through the course of centuries into a Veda-congruent type of Tan that is still practised as part of the non-sectarian Smārta tradition[6].

For the Śrīvidyā exegetes the Pratyabhijñā is part of the old tradition of Kashmir, which is, at least in the opinion of Śivānanda, als land of origin of the Śrīvidyā[7], and it uses this philosophical infra-str as part of its own exegetical repertoire. There are traces of personal between these two Śaiva groups, the most important being Jayarath famous commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* who is als

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[1] See Torella 1994: xii-xL.

[2] The relevant chapter is treated in Torella 1979: 361 ff.

[3] See Sanderson 1990: 160-169.

[4] The system is also called Tripurādarśana or Saubhāgyasampradāya.

[5] See Sanderson 1990: 156-158.

[6] See Padoux 1994: 7: "But, having been adopted by the Śaṅkarācārya of Śṛṅg Kāñcīpuram, it evolved into a common form of non-dualist Śaivism, losing most tantric characteristics. Indeed, vedantised, tracing its *guruparamparā* to Śaṅkara ins the Tantric founders of the tradition (who were probably from the North, possibly Ka it has turned into an altogether different – a deviant and bowdlerised – form of the Tripurasundarī".

[7] *sampradāyasya kaśmīrodbhūtatvāt*; see Padoux 1994: 11.

author of the commentary on the earliest Śrīvidyātantra, the *Nityā-ṣoḍaśikārṇava*, and Kashmirian exegetes like Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja are in varying frequency quoted as support by several Śrīvidyā authors[8]. Among the works cited the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* [PrHṛ] stands out, since it has not only influenced later Śaiva exegesis in different schools of thought[9], but also Śaiva[10] as well as Vaiṣṇava Āgamas[11]. In this setting we would not expect a critical treatment of the acclaimed Pratyabhijñā works by Śrīvidyā authors, and, as a matter of fact, most references are too brief to be indicative[12]. But we imagine that if such an

[8] See, for instance, Śivānanda's *Rjuvimarśinī*, where Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta and many other works of that tradition are often quoted.

[9] In the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* it is quoted five times (see index to Dvivedi's edition); for example ad 1.84b sūtra 2 is quoted under the name *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* for the interpretation of *siddhi* in the sense of *utpatti*, *sthiti* and *saṃhāra*. The PrHṛ is quoted in *Nandikeśvarakāśikā* 12, in the *Guptavatī* (Bhāskara's commentary on the *Durgāsaptaśatī*), p. 3, etc. etc.

[10] The *Yoginīhṛdaya* was certainly influenced by esoteric Kashmirian Śaiva exegesis; it uses its terminology (*spanda* 2.18, *sphurattā* 1.9-10, *cidānandaghana* 1.13) and concepts (*prakāśaparamārthatvāt* 1.11, *parā vāk* 1.36, *bhāsanād viśvarūpasya* 1.41, *idantāhantayor aikyam* 3.107; 3.199) when expounding its own philosophy. A direct influence of the PrHṛ is more difficult to prove, but conceivable in 1.9 (*yadā sā paramā śaktiḥ svecchayā viśvarūpiṇī* III.9II *sphurattām ātmanaḥ paśyet...*) and plausible in 1.56: *cidātmabhittau viśvasya prakāśāmarśane yadā karoti svecchayā...* [roughly corresponding to PrHṛ 1]. See Sanderson 1990[a]: 158; Padoux 1994: 10 and Khanna 1986 [unpublished]: 7I.

[11] Sanderson has recently demonstrated that the *Lakṣmītantra* is dependent on the PrHṛ. To mention only one striking parallel: in *Lakṣmītantra* 6.34-44, which corresponds to PrHṛ 4,5 and 7, the word *saptapañcaka* (LT5.39c/PrHṛ7) is an obvious quotation (Alexis Sanderson, *History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras* [unpublished lecture typescript], fn. 42I).

[12] One slanted interpretation in Śivānanda's *Rjuvimarśinī* on *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava* 1.9 is worth noting. There he states that Āgama is twofold: relating to the three castes, i.e. the Veda, and relating to all castes, that is, the Tantras (p. 25). He then quotes Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta as support for the idea that the authors of the "Vedāgama" and the "secret Āgama" are identical. The first quotation is *Śivastotrāvalī* 2.7, in which Śiva is called author of the Veda and at the same time opposed to it. We find a similar *virodhābhāsa* in *Stavacintāmaṇi* 71 (quoted in *Mālinīvijayavārttika* 1.119-120). The important detail not mentioned by Śivānanda is that the background of this statement is the hierarchical model of revelation in Tantric and, especially, Abhinavagupta's philosophy, according to which Śiva is the source, not only of the Āgamas and the Veda, but of all knowledge. This, however, is not a statement of validity. The lower knowledge/scripture remains valid only if it is not contradicted by the higher; there is no theological inconsistency here: Śiva is the direct source of the lower, but his motive in creating lower scriptures like the Veda is not to provide a means for liberation, but merely to maintain the world (*sthiti*). Śivānanda

instance could be found, the tension between the heterodox cult of that is at the centre of the Pratyabhijñā and the trend towards orthodoxy that was promoted by many Śrīvidyā exegetes would be only too apparent. For that reason the adaptation of the whole of the in one work of the 17th century Kashmirian Śrīvidyā author Sāhib deserves special attention.

THE THIRD CHAPTER OF THE *DEVĪNĀMAVILĀSA*

Sāhib Kaul's *Devīnāmavilāsa* (DNV) is a sophisticated po interpretation of the *Bhavānīsahasranāma* and was completed, acc to the last verse of the work, in 1666[13]. In the first five chapters the story of the *Bhavānīsahasranāma*, which relates the introductory di between Śiva and Nandikeśvara, is expanded into a complex *kāvya* of than 600 verses. Chapters six to fifteen explain the thousand name one verse per name, and the sixteenth chapter contains the *phalaśruti*

The third chapter of the DNV is a continuation of a *stotra* addres Śiva by Nandikeśvara that started in 2.52[14]. But whereas the remain chapter 2 consisted merely of vocatives addressing Śiva, cha describes Śiva's nature in philosophical terms and as such incl paraphrase of the whole of the PrHṛ. An analysis of this chapter sho the part corresponding roughly to sūtra 8 (*tadbhūmikāḥ sarvada sthitayaḥ*) takes up almost half of the space, but this – as we will see b is the ideal point for including the Śaiva pantheon in this *stuti* of Ś the two penultimate verses, i.e. 122-124 (*prṣtaṃ tvayā nandika sādhu...*) Śiva acknowledges the preceding monologue of Nandik and vs. 125 is Sāhib Kaul's concluding verse.

Before discussing some of the verses relevant to our topic I give a parallels except for the part corresponding to sūtra 8 (37-96). The aim at identifying parallels that are perhaps not obvious and provide in brackets for orientation. With some verses problems of interpr

introduces these quotations in a context which suggests that the Vedic and the Ta but parts of one valid knowledge (*āgama*), and in this light his frequent quotati Vedic sources are a departure from the clear heterodoxy of his predecessors.

[13] For the author, see the introduction to my forthcoming edition of his *sto paddhatis*.

[14] *stotuṃ samādher viratam patiṃ svam prakākrame praṣumanaḥ prasannaị śiveṣa śambho...*

remain, but limitations of time and space did not allow a translation and detailed discussion of the whole chapter, which would have to include the surviving manuscripts of the DNV.

OVERVIEW

DNV 3	PrHr	Notes
2a	1:8 (*iha*)	
2c	2:3 (Sūtra 1)	
3a	2:8-9	
3b	2:11-13	see below
3cd	2:10	see below
4ab	2:11-13	
5ab	3:1-3	*nimeṣatatvonmiṣie = nivṛttaprasarāyām*
5c	2:10	
5cd	3:9-10,4:2	
9	4:6-9	
10	4:9-5:1	for *upahāra*, see below
11ab	6:4	sūtra 2
11cd	5:15-16	
12	6:10-13	sūtra 3 (*ādāyaka = grāhaka!*)
13	7:1-3	*nityaśiva* (13c) = *sadāśiva*
14ab	7:5-6	*īśāna* (14a) = *īśvara*
14cd	7:7-9	(*vidyātatva*)
15	7:10-13	(*vijñānākala*)
16ab	7:14-8:1	(*pralayākala*)
16cd	8:1-3	(*sakala*)
17	8:3-4	
18	8:5-7	
19	8:7 (na)-10	(-*vimātho* unclear)
20	8:14-9:3	*māir-ādi* 20b = *sadāśivādi*
21	9:3-4	*bhavabhūtideha* 21c "whose body is the riches of creation" = *viśvaśarīra*
22acd	9:4-7	
23cd	10:3-5	
24ab	11:4-6	
25	11:13-12:4	
26	12:4-9	
27	12:9-10	(sūtra 5)
28ab	11:10-11	
28c	12:13-14	
29a	13:7	*vikalparūpā* 29a = *vikalpadaśāyām api tātvikasvarūpasadbhāvāt rvadarthānusarodyatasya* 29b = *ye paramārthānusāriṇaḥ teṣāṃ*
29bc	13:10-11	

DNV 3	PrHr	Notes
30ab	13:14-14:1	read *dehādikāc* 30a (corrigenda)
30cd	14:1-3	
31-32a	15:3-6	(ad sūtra 6) see below
32b-d	15:6-9	(Śiva is *dvidhā*)
33	(15:9-10)	(*tridhā* through *mala*, no direct correspondence)
34ab	15:10-16:1	(*caturdhā*)
34cd	16:4-6	(*pañcadhā*)
35a	–	(*ṣoḍhā*, Sāhib Kaul's addition)
35b	16:3-4	(*saptadhā*)
35c-36b	–	(*aṣṭadhā-daśadhā*, Sāhib Kaul's addition)
36cd	16:1-3	(36 *tattvas*)

The following section (vv. 37-96) deals with sūtra 8, but with numerou additions, some of which will be discussed below; verse 97 leads back t the main thread by rephrasing sūtra 8.

DNV 3	PrHr	Notes
98	18:15-17	
99	19:1-2	*āgraha = abhimāna*
100	19:3-5	
101	19:13-16	
102	19:16-20:3	
103	20:4-7	
104	21:3-6	*na tādṛśo 'pi* 104d = *asaṃkucitā api*
105c	21:7-9	
105abd	22:7	
106ab	22:12-13	(sūtra 10)
106cd	24:13-14	(sūtra 11)
107ab	26:7-8	(sūtra 12)
108ab	32:11-13	(sūtra 13) *upāttasaṃjñān* 108a = *tatparijñāne*
109abc	34:3-5	(sūtra 14)
109c	34:14	
110ad	35:6-7	(sūtra 15)
110c	35:12-13	
111	36:12-14	(sūtra 16)
112abc	39:8-10	(sūtra 18)
112d	39:11	
113ab	37:11-12	(sūtra 17)
114	46:1-3	(sūtra 19)
115	48:5-8	(sūtra 20)

The praise of Śiva in the third chapter of the *Devīnāmavilāsa* starts with an introductory verse of adoration that contains the word *namaḥ* six times in two pādas. With v. 2 the paraphrase of the PrHr commences:

mahādvaye darśanarājarāje
prasiddhasiddhāpratimaprabhāvaḥ |
citiḥ svatantro 'khilasiddhisiddhiḥ
pūrṇo 'pi śūnyo jayasi svabhātaḥ ||2||

In this [system of] encompassing (*mahā-*) non-duality, which is the overlord among philosophical systems, [You] are the consciousness (*citi*), [your] matchless brilliance is well-known and established [by reason], [you are] independent and the accomplishment of all *siddhis*, [you are] empty despite being replete, and you surpass (*jayasi*) [everything] because of your own light (*svabhātaḥ*).

Here Śiva is addressed and described according to the system of "supreme *advaita*", an expression that occurs in the Pratyabhijñā at least since Abhinavagupta[15] and which implies that non-duality is not conceived as an anti-thesis of duality, but as integrating duality and [normal] non-duality. This may even be intended as an explanation of the *iha* that starts the PrHr, and which is to be understood as an explanation of the *iha* that starts the PrHr, and which is to be understood as *iha śāstre*. Pāda c is obviously a quotation of the first sūtra of the PrHr (*citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhihetuḥ*), but with the attributes in grammatical congruence to Śiva, who is addressed, rather than with *citi* as in the source.

aṅgīkṛte[16] tatprasare prasāram
upaiti viśvaṃ tad idaṃ na vānyat |
anyad yathā tvayy abhilīyate ca
nimeṣatattvonmiṣite viśeṣe ||3||

This is a summary of *asyāṃ hi prasarantyāṃ jagat unmiṣati vyavatiṣṭhate ca, nivṛttaprasarāyāṃ ca nimiṣati* (p. 2). The last pāda includes

nimeṣa and *viśeṣa* just for poetical reasons, but what is confusing at f sight is that *nimiṣati* (PrHr) corresponds to *tvayy abhilīyate*, but *nimeṣa tvonmiṣite* to *nivṛttaprasarāyāṃ*. Most of the changes are introduced order to produce a poetical effect, as the *yamaka* in pāda a (*-pras prasāram*) and the *anuprāsa* in pāda d.

anyasya kasyāpi na vāira śaktir
bhinnasya tasyāsty api nātmabhānam |
abhinnabhāvo viṣayatvam eti
viśeṣaśānyā svavidis tavaiva ||4||

Nothing else has the power to effect [appearance and resorption]: t is no appearance of a self of that which is distinct [from Śiva]. [Y undivided nature becomes an object, [while] your knowledge (remains free from attributes.

This example is unusually elliptic. 4a summarises 2:11-13 (*anyasy māyāprakṛtyādeḥ ... na kvacid api hetutvam*), whereas 4b is in explan of *citiprakāśabhinnasyāprakāśamānasyāsattvāt* (2:12-13).

kāladayas tvatkalayā vibhātas
tvāṃ sarvakālaṃ kalituṃ hi nālam |
atrānubhūtyekapade na māryam
mānaṃ vimānaṃ na ca vopapannam ||5||

Time and other [limiting factors] appear through your power (*kalā*), are not capable of differentiating you, who are the destroyer of everyt Here, in the state that can only be experienced[17], neither the object knowledge of it, nor wrong knowledge (*vimānaṃ*) is appropriate.

The correspondences in pādas a and b can be analysed as follows:

DNV	PrHr
kāladayaḥ	*deśakālākārāḥ*
tvatkalayā vibhātas	*etatsṛṣṭā etadanuprāṇitāś ca*
sarvakālaṃ	*naitatsvarūpaṃ*
kalituṃ hi nālam	*bhettum alam*

This line realises what Sāhib Kaul must have intended in this ch By using synonyms and with only few changes he succeeds in prese

404

15 For the concept, see Hanneder 1998.
16 *aṅgīkṛte tat-* is my conjecture for *aṅgīkṛtaitat-*.

17 Lit.: "the state, which is only experience".

most of the sense of the original, while adding a distinctive poetic note[18]. That this poetic intention dominates his approach to the text is indirectly expressed at the end of his introduction to the frame story[19], where he portrays himself as the "Lord of Rasas, since he [embodies the nine *rasas* in that he] is full of love for his own philosophical system, laughs at the world, is compassionate to those devoted to him, is heroic in felling egoity, violent[ly opposed] to the multitude of delusions through mental acts, awe-inspiring[20], full of aversion to wrong, wonderful through the playful identity of everything, [but] radiant through his pacified nature"[21]

But to present a poetically sophisticated version of the PrHr was only one objective; the DNV is also a statement of superiority of the Śākta Śrīvidyā tradition. Before dealing with these wider implications we shall summarize some of the techniques used for reformulating the text of the PrHr.

An analysis of the parallels gives the impression that one objective in paraphrasing the DNV was to infuse poetical life into the philosophical style and to remain at the same time as faithful as possible to the original. This was sometimes achieved simply by using synonyms: *abhimānaṃ grāhitāḥ* (PrHr 19:2) becomes *grāhitā agrahaṃ* (v. 99c). One longer example is the rendering of PrHr 15: 3-6 *nirmitādṛśā cidātmā śivabhaṭṭāra-ka eva eka ātmā na tu anyaḥ kaścit prakāśasya deśakālādibhiḥ bhedayogāt jadasya tu grāhakatvānupapatteḥ* as:

nirñīta evaṃ śiva eva sākṣāt
sa cetano grāhakatābhimānī |
bhedāyujas tasya vibhedakārair
anyasya tattvānupapattio 'pi ||3||

Only Śiva described in this way is evidently consciousness (*cetano* for *cid* in PrHr) that considers itself to be the perceiver; because he is not

18 This is accomplished through the assonances produced by derivations of the verbal root *kal*. Another example that is very close to the PrHr is v. 20.

19 His introduction to the *Bhavānīsahasranāma* ends in the beginning of chapter 6. In 6.1 the *ṛṣyādi* of the Sahasranāma is mentioned, in 6.2-9 Sāhib Kaul introduces briefly his poetical rendering of the BSN. He says that Śiva composed the thousand names of the goddess and that he, Sāhib Kaul, has furnished them with verses that indicate the sense (*vṛttair arthaṃ lakṣayadbhiḥ*) of these names (6.2).

20 Lit.: "a source of fear".

21 *śṛṅgārī svamatau hasañ janagatiṃ bhakteṣu kāruṇyavān, vīro 'haṃkṛtipātane bhra-matau raudro manaḥkarmaṇāṃ | bhīter hetur asajjugupsanaparaḥ sarvaikyalīlādbhutaḥ, sāhibkaularaseśvaro vijayate śāntātmabhāsvaraḥ ||6.8||*

divided (*bhedāyuj*)[22] through the factors that produce diversity and because nothing else can attain to reality.

Sometimes it was necessary to elaborate on an abbreviated expression. The śāstric phrase *saṃkocaprādhānye tu śūnyādipramārtā* (12:9-10) becomes:

kadāpi saṃkocam amuṃ prasāda-
pātraṃ vidhāyātmadhiyā pradhānaṃ |
saṃvit sphuranty asti yadā tadāpi
śūnyapramātṛtvam upaiti siddhaṃ ||27||

The tension between these two aims of composition, that is, to provide a close paraphrase, and to produce a poetic rendering of the original, is evident in verses like the following:

dehādibhāmāv api pūrvapūrva-
pramātṛtāvyāptivimarśasārām |
vidur vinā te paraśaktipātaṃ
na kimcanākiṃcanagāṃ svavittiṃ ||100||

The first three pādas are perhaps as close as metrically possible to PrHr 19:3-5 *yena dehādiṣu bhūmiṣu pūrvapūrvapramātṛvyāptisāratāprabhāyāṃ api uktarūpāṃ mahāvyāptiṃ paraśaktipātaṃ vinā na labhante*, but the last line gives the impression that Sāhib Kaul suddenly realized that there were, to his taste, not enough *śabdālaṃkāras* present, so that a reformulation of "*mahāvyāpti*" was necessary. And we may add that often these insertions are very difficult to interpret[23]

Sāhib Kaul also tries to retain some similarity in *śabda* even when the *artha* is thereby changed: *citir eva* (sūtra 5) becomes *evaṃ citiḥ* (28a); sometimes he introduces assonances by force: *ubhayasaṃkocasaṃkucitā* (12:13-14) becomes *dvayābhisaṃkocanaśocanīyā* (28c); he also adds examples of his own; for instance in the quotation from the *Tatvagarbha-stotra* (PrHr 13:10-11) "those who follow the supreme reality, do not, [even

22 The edition is ambiguous here; it prints *bhedāyujaiya naitasya*, which could mean that the mss. read the text in brackets, whereas *-jaita* is conjectural – or vice versa. But the corrigenda list tells us to read simply *bhedāyujaitasya*. In any case we should consider reading *bhedāyujas tasya* as a more convincing paraphrase of *prakāśasya bhedāyogāt*.

23 In the verse just quoted the attribute of *svavittiṃ*, i.e. *kimcanākiṃcanagāṃ*, is obscure.

in the state of *vikalpa* (Kṣemarāja's explanation)] lose the luminosity of their own nature", he adds: "just like a king does not lose his kingdom when he is distracted" (29d)[24].

The text is sometimes slightly reordered: instead of starting with sūtra 5, which would in any case become clear only after having read the commentary, Sāhib Kaul starts with the explanation and places the sūtra as a summary at the end; in other cases the sūtra itself needs no separate paraphrase, since all its constituent parts have been described already, as in the treatment of sūtra 7; or, explanations given in the commentary are inserted in the paraphrase as in sūtra 2 (vs. 11). Furthermore there are additions and minor changes: the sequence of numbers in sūtra 7 is augmented in DNV 35acd and 36ab; 36cd differs slightly from 16:1ff; sūtras 17 and 18 are transposed (vs. 112), but this would in any case be the logical order.

In one instance the variant reading adopted by Sāhib Kaul is noteworthy:

manovapurnīlasukhādikasya
mānopahārakramataḥ parasmin |
āveśa etasya paro 'py upāyas
tvajjñaptaye mātari satsukhena ||10||

The immersion (*āveśa*) into the supreme Knower (*mātṛ*) through the method (*krama*) of offering the perceptions (*māna*) of the mind, body, [external perceptions like] blue, [internal perceptions like] joy etc. is the supreme method for knowing You through the bliss of existence.

The relevant portion of the PrHr is: *api ca viśvaṃ nīlasukhādehaprāṇā-di, tasya yā siddhiḥ pramāṇopahārakrameṇa vimarśamayapramātrāveśaḥ saiva hetuḥ parijñāne upāyo yasyāḥ.* (4:10-12)

Whether *upahāra* was the only reading available to him is of course unknown; the editors of the PrHr accepted *upāroha*, and relegated the variant *upahāra* to the apparatus[25]. But in fact *upahāra* makes perfect sense and could well be the original reading, since in a Krama context the "offering" of perceptions is well known[26], while the phrase *pramāṇopāroha* might stem from a very well-known text, the *Bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* 1.9.

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24 Compare also 33cd for another comparison with the king and his kingdom.
25 The readings are: *upāroha* kha, ṅa, Ms Stein Or. f9 (Bodleian Library, Oxford); *upāhara* ka, *upāharaṇa* ga, IOL San Ms 2528; *upaharaṇa* BORI No. 467 of 1875-76 (New No. 28); finally *uparodha* and *avaroha* as documented in the four South-Indian mss.
26 See *Mālinīvārttika*, 1.145-46.

THE RANKING OF OTHER SCHOOLS

As stated before Sāhib Kaul uses sūtra 8 to add material that he deemed appropriate for a *stotra* of Śiva. The eighth sūtra of the PrHr states that the tenets of all religious and philosophical systems are but roles assumed by Śiva, which can be hierarchically ordered on a "*tattva*-scale" according to their specific aims and their concepts of ultimate reality.

In the DNV Sāhib Kaul does not mention the *tattvas*[27]. He increases the number of schools and philosophies[28] and rephrases the description so as to fit an adoration of Śiva[29].

The slight changes in sequence and the inclusion of other schools do not misrepresent Kṣemarāja's intention, since it is only the fact that others can be ranked in that way and thus inclusivistically included that matters, and not their actual sequence. But in the last set of three items there is a fundamental change. In the PrHr these are:

viśvottīrṇam ātmatattvam iti tāntrikāḥ | viśvamayaṃ iti kulādyāmnā-yaniviṣṭāḥ | viśvottīrṇaṃ viśvamayaṃ ca iti trikādidarśanavidaḥ |

According to the Tāntrikas the reality of the self is all-transcendent. These, who have settled on the traditions of the Kula etc. hold it to be all-inclusive[30].

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27 Verse 37 is a free paraphrase of Sūtra 8, verses 38-59 are a summary of Kṣemarāja's commentary, verses 60-96 are Sāhib Kaul's addition.
28 Kṣemarāja mentions by name the following: Cārvākas, Naiyāyikas, Mīmāṃsakas, Buddhists, Vedāntins, Abhāvabrahmavādins, Mādhyamikas, Pāñcarātrikas, Sāṃkhyas, "other Vedāntins", Grammarians, Tāntrikas, adherents of the Kulāmnāya and of the Trika. Many of these items have an *ādi* added and this does indeed invite speculation about where to include others. Sāhib Kaul lists the following: Lokāyatas (38d), "others *kecana*" (39a), Tīrthyas (40d), "others" (41d, 42d, 43d), Buddhists (44d), Mādhyamikas (45d), Jainas (46d), Digambaras (47d), Tārkikas (48d), adherents of the Vaiśeṣika (*kanādvāda* 49c), Bhāṭṭa-Mīmāṃsakas (50d), Prābhakara-Mīmāṃsakas (51d), Pāśupatas (52d), Pāñcarātras (53d), adherents of the Patañjala-Yoga (54c), the Sāṃkhya (55d), Dhvanipaṇḍitas (56c). The remaining items are discussed below.
29 For example the Buddhists, who are described by Kṣemarāja as *jñānasamāna eva tattvam iti saṅgatā buddhivṛttiṣu eva paryavasitāḥ* (p. 17) are now polemically said to remember Śiva, the true Lord of attentiveness, as forgetfulness:

jñānārthavṛttikṣamanirvikalpa-
vikalpakādipratibhāsvarūpam |
kṣaṇaṃ kṣaṇaṃ lolam api smṛtīśaṃ
tvāṃ saṅgatā asmaraṇaṃ smaranti ||44||

30 Lit.: "consisting of everything."

The knowers of the Trika system and others maintain that it is all-transcendent and all-inclusive.

This ranking of Śaiva schools has caused some confusion and led Rastogi to conclude that the terms Tantra and Kula are here not used in their normal sense[31]. Before proposing a solution to this problem we must deal with one of Rastogi's presuppositions, namely his interpretation of the term *tantraprakriyā* defined as *ṣaḍardhakramavijñāna*[32]. He concludes that the compound implies that the Trika (*ṣaḍardha*), Krama and the Pratyabhijñā (*vijñāna*) are part of the *tantraprakriyā*[33].

For a correct interpretation we must refer to three related passages in the same text:

(1) The background for Jayaratha's *ṣaḍardhakramavijñāna* is *Tantrāloka* 1.14, where Abhinavagupta states as the motive for composing the work the fact that not even a single *paddhati* exists for the "*anuttaraṣadardhārthakrama*". Gnoli translates: "Per la scuola del Senza Superiore, per il Trika e per il Krama non ve n'è tuttavia neppure uno." He notes: "Probabile allusione alla scuola Kula [...]. Il composto può anche essere tradotto: 'Per i metodi concernenti il Trika, cioè la scuola Senza Superiore'.[34]

31 "According to this statement all the three schools viz., the Tantra, Kula and Trika, stand on different footings and propagate divergent views with regard to the nature of the ultimate reality [...] This view of Kṣemarāja, apparently, comes in conflict with the stand adopted by Abhinavagupta that the word Tantra Prakriyā is comprehensive enough so as to include all the varying shades of Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā within its ambit. It is very strange that all the editions of the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya and their respective editors are silent on this point – in fact it does not seem to bother any one of them. It, however, appears to the present author that Kṣemarāja does not use the word Tantra and Kula in the same technical sense as is used by Abhinava. For, the views ascribed to the Tantra and Kula systems by him are not exactly those as they are known to have held on the basis of the available literature. So far as the concept of the ultimate reality is concerned, all the systems – those which are assigned under Tantra-prakriyā and those which are not [...] – unreservedly take it to be both, transcendent as well as immanent. This view is essentially one which has been ascribed by Kṣemarāja to the adherents of the Trika and its like systems (note the word 'ādi' in Trikādi). It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the words Tantra and Kula as used by Kṣemarāja do not stand for their counterparts within the fold of Kashmir Śaiva Monism, instead they represent alien forces". (Rastogi 1979: 35).
32 The passage in question is *nikhilaśāstropaniṣadbhūtasya ṣaḍardhakramavijñānasya traiyambakasantānāvatāreṇa avatārikaṇvād Tantrālokaviveka* on 1.9, vol. 1, p. 28.
33 Rastogi 1979: 32ff.
34 Gnoli 1972: 69.

(2) Jayaratha, obviously referring back to 1.14, says in his introduction to 1.17 that the author had "promised in general to produce a [handbook for] the methods in the Trika system"[35].

(3) Finally, Jayaratha explains *ṣaḍardhārthakrama* as the sequence of a multitude of doctrines within the Trika[36].

The obvious solution is that the compound in question does *not* refer to the Krama and Pratyabhijñā, but to the variety of levels within the Trika. The Trika can be divided into two ritual modes, a more general *tantraprakriyā* and an esoteric *kulaprakriyā*[37]. Another distinction is that between different types of cults within the Trika (*anuttara* etc.)[38]. For that reason Gnoli's second translation is the most convincing, and Rastogi's far-fetched interpretation can be dismissed.

Once this distinction is established, Kṣemarāja's ranking becomes much clearer. The word *tāntrikāḥ* refers to those who practise the *tantraprakriyā*, *kulādyāmnāya* to *kulaprakriyā*, while the Trika subsumes both and thus, following the logic of hierarchical inclusion, takes the top position. Problems remain with the identification of the "other" traditions referred to by -*ādi*. Plausible candidates would be the Kaula (as distinguished from the Kula), Mata, Krama and Spanda, but their precise position in the philosophy of Kṣemarāja is a matter of conjecture[39].

Returning now to the *Devīnāmavilāsa* we see that Sāhib Kaul, like Kṣemarāja, lists three items after the grammarians (*dhvanipaṇḍita*). The first is:

anādyavidyānubhavena kartṛ-
bhāvādibhāvyaṃ sakalaikabhāvam |
śrutyantasaṃvādanakhelalolā
brahmādvayaṃ tvānubhavanti santaḥ ||57||

Some good people who are longing for the play of agreeing with the Vedānta, experience the non-duality of the Absolute (*brahma*), which is the one being (*bhāva*) of everything and which will become (*bhāvya*) an agent [only] through the experience of a beginningless ignorance (57).

35 *sāmānyena trikadarśanaprakriyākaraṇaṃ pratijñāya... Tantrālokaviveka*, p. 35.
36 *anuttaraṣaḍardhārthakrama ity anena sākṣād abhihitas ca parāparāparāmati-dinā bahuprakārās trikārthas tāvad abhidheyāḥ. Tantrālokaviveka*, p. 52.
37 Compare *Tantrālokaviveka* 1.7 (p. 24): *ataś ca vakṣyamāṇaśāstrasya kulatantrapra-kriyātmakatvena dvaividhye 'pi ...*
38 See Sanderson 1990b: 32.
39 See Sanderson forthcoming.

The formulation in 57c is ambiguous: are the "good people" those who agree with the Vedānta, perhaps only on important points, but not themselves Vedāntins? Could this refer to Smārta Śaivas? On the other hand 57c could merely be a poetical periphrasis for adherents of the Vedānta. In both cases the inclusion of the Vedānta shows that there is a fundamental departure from the pattern in Kṣemarāja's PrHṛ.

Verse 58, i.e. the second item, is obscure, but seems to be a play of words on the description *viśvottīrṇaṃ* and *viśvamayaṃ*[40].

The last item too is problematic:

taduttaraṃ tanmayam ajñaguhyayaṃ
pūrvaṃ sadāpūrvam imaṃ svatantram |
kecin mahārthaikanayāḥ prapannās
trilokatālokaviiokalokam ||59||

Some who have the Mahārtha as their only system approach [Śiva?] as transcending the world and consisting of the world, him, the primordial (*pūrvaṃ*) who is always without anything preceding him[41] and independent, who should be concealed from ignoramuses and is the world in which the light (*āloka*) of the nature of the three worlds (i.e. of manifestation) is perceived (*viloka*).

This is in explicit contradiction to the PrHṛ. Whereas Kṣemarāja reserved this position for "Trika and others", Sāhib Kaul explicitly states that those who have the Mahārtha, i.e. the Krama, as their only system fall into this category. It is, however, difficult to infer his motives in doing so. Perhaps he only wished to state the obvious, namely that the PrHṛ evinces, despite its title, more interest in the Krama than in the Pratyabhijñā.

Following the last item in *Devīnāmavilāsa* 51 there is a set of verses (60-96) which follows the pattern of the previous section. It is an adoration of Śiva, but not by adherents of different religions, but by deities and semi-divine beings, i.e. Nāgas, Ṛṣis, Siddhas, etc.[42].

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40 The text runs as follows:
viśvottaro viśvakaro balaiko
niveśito 'syātmabale paraiś ca |
viśvatra viśvena ca viśvaviśvaṃ
tvāṃ te vidur viśvamatottarajñāḥ ||58||
41 I take this as *sadā-apūrvam*.
42 The transition is not so apparent, since the passage starts with *māheśvaras* (60d), which might just be another type of Śaivas.

THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Because of the fact that large parts of the third chapter of the DNV are virtually uninterpretable without the PrHṛ[43] we must assume that the DNV was written with an audience of (Kashmirian) *śiṣṭas* in mind. To put Kṣemarāja's work in the mouth of Nandikeśvara is at first sight an homage to the Pratyabhijñā tradition, but the second look reveals that the frame story given in the *Bhavānīśahasranāma*, which must have been known to the Kashmirian readers and which is also contained in the DNV, implies that the position of the PrHṛ, and thus the earlier Kashmirian Śaiva non-dualism, is ambiguous. The passage in question run as follows[44]:

kailāsaśikhare ramye devadevaṃ maheśvaram |
dhyānoparataṃ āsīnaṃ prasannamukhapaṅkajam ||
surāsuraśiroratnaraṅjitāṅghriyugaṃ prabhum |
praṇamya śirasā nandī baddhāñjalir abhāṣata ||
śrīnandikeśvara uvāca
devadeva jagannātha saṃśayo 'sti[45] *mahān mama |*
rahasyam ekam icchāmi praṣṭuṃ tvāṃ bhaktivatsalam ||
devatāyās tvayā kasyāḥ stotram etad divāniśam |
paṭhyate 'viratam nātha tvattaḥ kim aparaḥ paraḥ ||

In response to this inquiry after "another deity that is higher than You [Śiva]" (*tvattaḥ kim aparaḥ paraḥ*) and which is the object of Śiva's constant *stuti*, Śiva says that *stuve parāparāṃ śaktiṃ mamānugrahakāri-ṇīm*[46]. He then discloses the "secret that has to be concealed even to Skanda", namely the predominance of the Śakti – most evident in the fact that the Śakti, after being worshipped with the thousand names, had

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43 A good example is 30cd: *na cānusandhānam ihānyathā syān māyāpramātā khalu tanmayo 'tah ||*. "Otherwise there would not be a synthetic awareness; therefore the *māyāpramātā* consists of the [mind]". Here the source not only clarifies the sense, but also explains the choice of words: *anyathā tato vyutthitasya svakartavyānudhāvanabhā-vah syād iti cittamaya eva māyīyah pramātā* I (14:1-3). Compare also the rendering of Sūtra 3 in v. 12.
44 Edition [1], (see bibliography): p. 2. Unfortunately the edition has quite a few (easily recognisable) misprints, while the manuscripts reproduced by Lokesh Chandra has a fairly correct text. This ms. starts with *akulakula...* (third verse in the edition).
45 Misprint in the edition: *saṃśayo 'ti*.
46 Page 3 (line 7). Compare the parallel in DNV 5.1, where Śiva, having described the goddess in detail in chapter 4, says: *tapraṣādam adhigaya bhakitah stuami tān...*

entered Śiva. Then, after mentioning the *nyāsas* preliminary to the recitation[47], he eventually recites the *Sahasranāma* of the goddess.

In the DNV Nandī concludes his summary of the PrHŗ by saying "Such is the conclusion that I have drawn on my own only through the tiny grace of beholding you ... "[48]. This implies that the mere *darśana* of Śiva brings the knowledge of the Pratyabhijñā, but that Nandī is interested in what, as it were, Śiva himself practises. The verse from the frame story of the BSN quoted above is eventually alluded to in DNV 120:

sā devatā kāsti parā tvayāpi
yasyāḥ stavaḥ śaṅkara rājarāja |
saṃcintyate cetanacetanena
tvattaḥ kim aryo 'sti paraḥ parasthaḥ ||120||

This implies that whatever Nandī has to say about Śiva as the highest deity, is afterwards contradicted by Śiva's admission that he is utterly dependent on his Śakti. The Pratyabhijñā as a Śaiva system is therefore included only as a preliminary level to a Śākta viewpoint. On the other hand the PrHŗ itself can be seen as a Śākta work, and from this perspective Nandī, by using the PrHŗ, already expresses Śiva's dependence. This ambiguity is of course contained already in the frame story, since there Nandikeśvara had noted that Śiva continuously recites a Stotra to another deity.

Proceeding further in this direction, we could say that the reader was to understand that the PrHŗ contains the truth philosophically, but that it is as such only preliminary to the concrete cult of the goddess it describes as the *cicchakti*, a cult that is expressed, for instance, in the *Bhavānīsahasra-nāma*. In order to make the PrHŗ contain this truth Sāhib Kaul has made an innocuous, but important change[49]. in his rendering of sūtra 17 (*madhyavi-kāsāc cidānandalābhaḥ*) *cidānanda* becomes *saccitsudhānanda* (113a)A. As far as I can see, the exegetes of heterodox Śaivism never use *saccidānanda*, since it is an obvious reference to the Vedānta, which, as we saw, is a system of thought placed rather low on the *tattva*-scale. But in the works of

[47] The *ṛṣyādi* in the BSN is: *asya śrībhavānīnāmasahasrastavarājasya mahādeva ṛṣiḥ, anuṣṭubh chandaḥ, ādyā śaktiḥ bhagavatī bhavānī devatā, hrīṃ bījam, śrīṃ śaktiḥ, klīṃ kīlakaṃ, āmano vāṅmanaḥkāyopārjitapāpanivāraṇārthaṃ amukakāmanāsiddhyarthe pāṭhe home vā viniyogaḥ* | This corresponds to DNV 6.1.

[48] 116ab: *etāvatīṃ svānumitiṃ gato 'haṃ, tvaddarśanānugrahaleśamātrāt* | The edition reads *svānumatiṃ*.

[49] There are of course minor changes and additions: 22b *viśvaikarūpo 'pi na viśvarī-paḥ*. Śiva is called *viśvarūpa, viśvamaya* etc. In the PrHŗ, the emphasis on *viśvaikarūpa* seems to be Sāhib Kaul's.

Sāhib Kaul we discern a tendency to harmonise with Vedism. In his *Śyā-māpaddhati* he explicitly combines Vedic and Tantric parts of the ritual[50], a feature which, although taught in various Śrīvidyā texts[51], is missing in comparable *paddhatis*[52].

It is, however, difficult to determine Sāhib Kaul's exact position with regard to the Vedic religion[53]. Understandably few authors feel prompted to make their opinion in this sensitive matter public, one exception is Bhāskararāya, who pays tribute to Śaṅkarācārya as the guru of all gurus[54]. There is to my knowledge only one other passage in Sāhib Kaul's works that gives a clue to his view of the relation between Vedānta and Śrīvidyā, namely in a *stotra* called *Citspharasārādvaya*[55]:

śrotavyaḥ śrutisāravākyanivahād aśrāntam ātmā paro
mantavyaś ca dṛḍhopapattibhir atha svātantryaharṣarddhimān |
dhyeyaḥ saṅgam apāsya śāntamanasā nityaṃ prakāśātmakaḥ
sarvasthasya ca vismṛtasya hi bhavet tasyetthaṃ īkṣā svataḥ ||7||

śambhur nityavimuktabuddhavimalaḥ satyaḥ svatantro 'dvaya
iryādau śrutisārataḥ suśukhadaḥ saṃyag ya ākarṇitaḥ |
viśvaṃ tanmayam eva tathyam akhilaṃ bhātīti sapratyayāṃ
matvā so 'smi vicitraśaktir iti taddhyānāt paraṃ prāpsyasi ||8||

Unweariedly one should hear about the self through the many statements that are the essence of the Veda, and should think about it with firm arguments, then constantly meditate on it – with a calm mind that has discarded attachment – as being endowed with the magnificent bliss (*harṣarddhi*) of independence, [and] as being light. In this way the

[50] Sandhyā: *vaidikasamdhyāṃ samāpya tāntrikīṃ ārabheta tara pūrvavad ācamya*. Tarpaṇa: *itthaṃ sandhyācatuṣṭayam kṛtvā vaidikaṃ tarpaṇaṃ samāpya tāntrikaṃ ārabhet* | For details, see my forthcoming edition of this work.

[51] See, for instance, Rāmeśvara's commentary on the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (p. 10), and Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* 15.6 *atha gṛhyoktavidhinā baihyasnānam samācaret* | etc.

[52] Several *paddhatis* in the appendix of the *Devīrahasya* are obviously closely related to the *Śyāmāpaddhati*.

[53] In the later Śrīvidyā the rapprochement to the Vedic religion was cemented, and its heterodox roots effaced, by the ascription of a multitude of Tantric works to Vedānta authors. For instance the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Saundaryalaharī* are attributed to Śaṅkara, the *Śrīvidyāratnasūtras* to Gauḍapāda, the commentary on them to Vidyāraṇya.

[54] See his *Guptavatī*, introductory verse 1: ... *śaṅkarācāryaṃ śiṣyacatuṣṭayena sahitaṃ vande gurūṇāṃ gurum* ||

[55] An edition and translation of it is forthcoming, the mss. consulted so far have no variants in the two verses quoted.

knowledge (*īkṣā*) of this omnipresent, [but] forgotten self arises spontaneously (*svataḥ*) (7).

Having heard in the right way, from the essence of the Śruti, that [the self] grants complete bliss, [that is, from statements like] "Śiva is eternal, free, awakened and pure, true, independent and without duality", having thought [about it] through the right perception "the whole world, which is identical with him [Śiva], appears as real (*tathyam*)", you shall attain the supreme through the meditation on him as "I am of manifold powers" (8).

Verse 17 alludes to the three steps in Vedāntic soteriology, i.e. *śravaṇa, manana, nididhyāsana*, and we would usually understand the "statements that form the essence of the Veda" as the *mahāvākyas*, but since mention is made of the "independence" and the "forgotten" self, one is lead to assume a Pratyabhijñā context. In v. 18 the Vedāntic labels are then explicitly filled with a Śaiva content: the essence of the Śruti is nothing but the doctrine of a non-dual Śiva. This is an elegant reinterpretation of *sāra*, which may in a Śaiva context denote the more "essential", i.e. esoteric levels of a set of doctrines or rituals. Similarly the last two items are no more compatible with Vedānta: the reality of the world-appearance conceived as identical with Śiva is a concept to be found in the Pratyabhijñā/Śrīvidyā, and the content of the *dhyāna*, i.e. *so 'smi vicitraśaktiḥ*, is in fact an assertion of identity with Śiva as the Lord of all Śaktis. One further point to be noted is the context of this *stotra*, which is a dialogue between a disciple desperately seeking for enlightenment and the teacher. Here the inclusion of Vedāntic concepts may not even be a modification of his own doctrine, but merely a didactic adaptation to the addressee's background.

Does this mean that our author was preaching in an environment dominated by adherents of the Vedānta whom he wished to draw into Śrīvidyā? If this hypothesis could be substantiated then his inclusion of the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* in the *Devīnāmavilāsa* could be seen as an attempt to balance different objectives, namely to locate himself within the Kashmirian Śaiva tradition, while recognizing and eventually attracting the attention of the Vedāntins. If so it would be misleading to talk of a influence, however superficial, of Vedānta in his works, but rather of a reaction to a socio-religious environment that may have been dominated by Vedāntins/Smārtas. All this is of course only a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the process of a vedāntisation of the Śrīvidyā from literary evidence, the next step must be an edition of Sāhib Kaul's works.

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