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THE  
CONTINUUM  
COMPANION TO  
HINDU STUDIES



EDITED BY  
**JESSICA FRAZIER**  
FOREWORD BY **GAVIN FLOOD**



# The Continuum Companion to Hindu Studies

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# The Continuum Companion to Hindu Studies

Edited by

Jessica Frazier



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Goddess and theorizing the relationships between bhakti and tantra; and critically analysing the interconnections of bhakti among Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism, Islam, Śūfism and Sikhism in history and today.

## **Tantric Traditions**

*Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson*

Starting from about the sixth century of the common era,<sup>85</sup> initiatory religions, claiming authority for scriptures called Tantras, and promising liberation as well as various worldly and supernatural goals through the power of mantras, came to the fore in South Asia. That these Tantric traditions were not marginal can be seen not just from the huge quantity of textual material that their followers produced, but also for instance from the importance which Tantric gurus played in the life of kings and of the court (cf. Sanderson, 2005). Nor did they remain confined to the subcontinent; as Sanderson has also recently emphasized (2004), among the Indian religious traditions that spread across Indonesia and the South-East Asian peninsula, it was particularly the Tantric forms of Buddhism and of the theistic schools of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that predominated. In East Asia, Tantric forms of Buddhism grew in popularity not long after their appearance in India; in Japan at least they continue till today to hold their own next to non-Tantric Mahāyāna. In Tibetan Buddhism, of course, it is the Tantric that is completely predominant.

But much of the literature of these influential religious traditions was relatively long neglected by scholarship, and at the beginning of the twentieth century the corpus of Tantras and associated compositions was virtually unknown. Starting in 1911, the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (KSTS) began gradually to unveil to scholars a number of Śaiva Tantric works that had been transmitted in Kashmir, particularly philosophical works composed in the Kashmir valley between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. But the scriptures of the Tantric current that appears in this period have dominated the Śaiva religion across most of the Indian subcontinent and beyond, namely the Śaivasiddhānta, remained relatively neglected.

A century later, Tantric Studies is now a rapidly emerging field; of no other area of Indian religions has our knowledge changed as much over the last fifty years or so. This blossoming has been possible in the first place because vast quantities of source material, especially hitherto unpublished texts, have been becoming gradually more easily available.

In recent centuries, the Tamil-speaking south is the only area where a vast corpus of Sanskrit texts of the Śaivasiddhānta has continued being copied and so

transmitted to the present day. When, therefore, in 1956 Jean Filliozat secured a foothold there, in Pondicherry, for French Indological research, he created an ideal institutional base for setting about the study of a forgotten chapter in the religious history of Asia. Gradually, the largest specialized manuscript collection of texts relating to the Śaivasiddhānta was amassed in the French Institute of Pondicherry (IFP), now recognized (2005) by UNESCO as a 'Memory of the World' collection (entitled 'The Śaiva Manuscripts of Pondicherry').<sup>86</sup>

At the other end of the subcontinent, the cool climate of Nepal has preserved ancient manuscripts of texts of virtually every branch of Indian learning, even those which have not been actively studied and transmitted in recent centuries. Much of the early history of tantrism – Śaiva, Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava – is thus preserved in the vast archive of Nepalese manuscripts microfilmed over more than three decades by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). The latter project has ended, but has given place to the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), run from Hamburg and from the NGMCP's base in Kathmandu, the Nepal Research Centre (NRC), under the direction of Harunaga Isaacson.

The scholarly study of Vaiṣṇava Tantric material began in the early years of the twentieth century (Schrader, 1916) and a handy survey of extant sources was prepared by Daniel Smith, (1975–1980). But Diwakar Acharya has recently discovered hitherto unknown materials that are evidently earlier than the canonical sources studied till date and these give a rather different picture of the origins of the Pāñcarātra, in particular because of the close dependence on Śaiva models they reveal.

The same scholar has also uncovered what appears to be a sole surviving solar Tantra, a scripture teaching a religion centred round the worship of the Sun, though this work, the *Saurasaṃhitā*, rather than being one of the canon of solar scriptures (of which a list is preserved in Takṣakavarta's *Nityādisaṃgraha*, edited in Hanneder, 1998, pp. 246–7), presents itself as a recension of the Śaiva *Kālottara*, and indeed, as Diwakar Acharya has noticed, has many formulations that are calqued upon the *Kālottara* (see also Sanderson, 2009, pp. 55–6).

Although Buddhist Tantra is not the subject of this article, the Tantric traditions are so closely related, indeed intimately interwoven, that it will inevitably be necessary to refer to Buddhist traditions at several places below. Here too the amount of primary material available has grown exponentially, especially since the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath took up the task of publishing Buddhist Tantric texts with great energy in the mid-1980s. Japanese scholars, of whom in the period with which this overview deals Toru Tomabechi has been perhaps the most prominent (see for example Tomabechi and Mimaki, 1994; Tomabechi, 2007; Tomabechi, 2008; Tomabechi, 2009; Luo and Tomabechi, 2009), have also made numerous contributions, both through editions and through the publication of studies, so that this area of scholarship can be said to

have flourished in parallel (surely not coincidentally) with the blooming of studies of Tantric Hinduism.

Of course the availability of plentiful primary material alone cannot lead to progress. The advances that have been made are due above all to individuals who took on the daunting task of reading and trying to make sense of as yet unstudied and often very difficult texts. Tantric Studies today would be completely different, certainly would have made far less progress, and might well not be on the scholarly radar (and included in a volume such as this one) at all, had it not been for the accidents that brought H el ene Brunner to take up, with unwavering purpose, the study of the  aivasiddh anta, and those which led Alexis Sanderson to study the Tantric traditions with unparalleled depth and breadth.<sup>87</sup> The latter has had a tremendous impact also through teaching, with more than a dozen doctoral theses having been prepared under his supervision, many of which are important contributions (several monographs referred to in this article originated as such theses).

Some of the research that has thrown most light on the origins of Tantric  aivism has not been primarily about tantrism proper (the Mantram arga, or ‘way of mantras’), but about the non-Tantric P asupata religions from which the Mantram arga sprung: the Atim arga. The most substantial contribution in this area is an article of Sanderson that appeared in 2006 under the title ‘The L akulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between P a nc arthika P asupatism and  Agamic  aivism’. For it is in this article that it is demonstrated that there is a remarkable doctrinal continuity, particularly in the cosmographic conceptions that are set to work in the context of religious initiation, between the Atim arga and what is arguably the earliest known  aiva Tantra (about which more below). Other recent articles have furnished inscriptional evidence of Atim arga schools that can be married with what we now know about their cosmography (Bakker, 2000), or revealed continuities between the Atim arga and the Mantram arga in the ritual domain (Acharya, 2005, 2007). The work of Peter Bisschop (2005 and 2007) has helped further to refine our understanding of the best known of the Atim arga traditions, that of the P a nc arthika P asupatas.

We have spoken of ‘continuity’, but what characterizes the shift from Atim arga to the Mantram arga? How does the latter set itself apart? The new Tantric religion for the first time placed strong (perhaps equal) emphasis on two goals: liberation (*mukti*) and the enjoyment of supernatural powers (*bhukti*). Both goals were attained through the power of spells (*vidy a*, *mantra*), the propitiation and use of which required a ritual technology of considerable complexity and both required initiation (*d ik s a*). Now there may seem to be nothing very new here: initiation is required for the Atim arga too, and indeed for Vedic sacrifices, while the use of mantras for magic is also not an innovation. And liberation, after all, is the goal of the Atim arga. But these elements have been reconfigured and, in some cases, reinterpreted: the spells of the Mantram arga

are with five exceptions (the five *brahmamantras*) not Vedic, and initiation (*dīkṣā*) is no longer simply a necessary rite of entrance into a new religion, as it had been for at least the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas, but has become instead a transformative rite. Liberation is no longer brought about, as in the Atimārga, through a lengthy progression of post-initiatory practice, but is conceived of as being essentially the result of the cutting of bonds by Śiva, acting through the guru and with mantras as his instruments, at the time of initiation. Furthermore, this liberation, conceived of both as release from suffering and at the same time as the realization of omniscience and omnipotence, was offered not only to brahmin males, as in the Atimārga, but to those of all *varṇas* and, in some cases, to both sexes.

This combination of innovations may have been a factor in the powerful appeal which the Mantramārga evidently had, and in its ability to attract a wide base of followers.<sup>88</sup> A similar nexus of notions – *mantras* as both magical and soteriological instruments, to be wielded only by practitioners who have received a certain initiation (*abhiṣeka*) – seems to make its appearance slightly later in Buddhist sources than in Śaiva ones;<sup>89</sup> and the continuities which can be traced between the Mantramārga and the Atimārga, and often further back within the brahminical traditions, suggest to us that the Śaiva Tantric tradition was, at least in its origins, not influenced by Buddhist Tantra, though this does not preclude the possibility of influence on it in some respects at least of earlier non-Tantric forms of Buddhism. But the origins of these two traditions, and the manner in which they influenced each other as they grew, are matters of vigorous debate (see for example, Ruegg, 1964; Sanderson, 1994; Davidson, 2001; Sferra, 2003; Ruegg, 2008; Sanderson, 2009).

One text deserves special mention here, since it links together a number of the Tantric and non-Tantric traditions that we have discussed. This is the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, of which what appears to be a ninth-century Nepalese manuscript survives. Various scholars have drawn attention to it in the past (Hara Prasad Śāstri, 1905, p. lxxvii and pp. 137–40, Goudriaan and Gupta, 1981, pp. 33–6), and a critical edition is now well under way (see Goodall and Isaacson, 2007). The work, which is divided into five books that appear not all to have been written at the same time, contains first of all descriptions of two non-Tantric (and perhaps we may here say pre-Tantric) Atimārga religions that provide strong evidence of continuity between the Atimārga and the Mantramārga which the Niśvāsa preaches, particularly in the realm of the complex cosmography used in a salvific initiation (*nirvāṇadīkṣā* is the term used in the parts of the *Niśvāsa* that expound the Mantramārga). This continuity between pre-Tantric and Tantric Śaiva soteriology is the subject of an article of Sanderson's referred to above (2006). Secondly, the last (and probably the latest or second latest) of the five books, the *Guhyasūtra* provides evidence of common ground with the non-soteriological Tantric magic of Buddhist *kriyāTantras*. For, like the

*Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa*, it contains a grimoire of recipes in prose for attaining magical *siddhis*. The recipes of both are couched in extremely similar language, with many identical elements identically phrased, and there is at least one entire recipe that is the same in almost every detail: an effigy made of salt (and smeared with blood, according to the *Niśvāsa*) is to be cut up into pieces and one thousand and eight oblations are to be performed,<sup>90</sup> after which one may control the person (of whom the effigy was made), whether it be a woman or a man.<sup>91</sup>

Another shared feature that recurs frequently in both sources is the notion that three levels of *siddhi* may be attained by following a given recipe, the level attained being heralded by the manifestation of heat, smoke or flames. A recipe given in *Guhyasūtra* 10.27ff., for instance, concludes: 'With oblation one thousand and eight times, power, which is of three [possible] grades, arises: if there is heat, power to cover great distances fast on foot [is attained]; if there is smoke, the power to disappear; if there are flames, the power to fly.'<sup>92</sup> These three levels of *siddhi* are also to be found in other Buddhist Tantric works, such as the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, but the classification is extremely rare in Śaiva literature outside the *Niśvāsa*.<sup>93</sup>

So the *Niśvāsa* may be linked both to pre-Tantric Śaiva soteriology and to non-Śaiva non-soteriological Tantric magic found in Buddhist sources. It is also linked to some of the Tantric literature that was drawn on by Kashmirian exegetes of Śaiva non-dualism, for a large number of its verses, more than a thousand, were adopted and adapted to become part of the widely transmitted *SvacchandaTantra* commented on by Abhinavagupta's disciple Kṣemarāja in the eleventh century, and the *SvacchandaTantra* in turn was itself cannibalized in a similar fashion by another large esoteric Tantra, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a text we will have occasion to mention again below. Once again, cosmography forms a considerable part of what was adopted, but *mantras* and yogic material have also migrated. The wide influence of the *SvacchandaTantra*, a Bhairava-Tantra of the southern stream (*dakṣiṇasrotas*), can be gauged also from its wide dissemination (plentiful manuscripts survive today from Kashmir, Nepal and the Tamil-speaking south) and the absorption of its ideas into many ritual manuals.

Furthermore, the *Niśvāsa* is an ancestor not only of such Tantras, but also of the relatively orthodox and Veda-congruent Śaivasiddhānta (whose scriptures some erroneously refer to as 'South Indian āgamas'). For although the work makes no reference to different schools within the Mantramārga, and therefore may well predate a split into Śaivasiddhānta, Dakṣiṇasrotas, etc., it includes what is probably the earliest surviving list of a canon of 28 scriptures (in which its own name features), now known as the canon of the 28 principal SiddhāntaTantras. In other words, it came to be seen as belonging to the Śaivasiddhānta when that school came into existence.<sup>94</sup>

From the inclusions and omissions in this voluminous work, we can tease out a picture of an early stage of development of what appears, judging from



inscriptions and surviving literature, to have become by the tenth century the dominant strand of Tantric Śaivism in and beyond the Indian subcontinent. As might be expected, a certain social dimension of the Mantramārga appears to be missing: we find no reference here to monasteries, or to the hierarchy of initiates – *ācārya*, *sādḥaka*, *putraka*, *samayin* – familiar from the seventh-century *Svāyambhuvāsūtrasaṅgraha* onwards,<sup>95</sup> and no reference to distinctively Śaiva forms of life-passage rites. Even in later Śaivism, of course, the brahminical life-cycle rites continued to be observed as part of a required social religion, but distinctively Śaiva funerary rites soon developed,<sup>96</sup> and these too are missing in the *Niśvāsa*.<sup>97</sup>

The focus of the religion as presented by the *Niśvāsa* was already the performance of ritual initiation through the use of non-Vedic mantras for non-brahmins as well as for brahmins. The structure of initiation, however, is rather different from the ‘classical’ standard expounded in the eleventh-century *Somaśambhupaddhati* (expounded at length in Brunner, 1977): in the *Niśvāsa* we find repeated throughout the text instructions for a pair of initiations, namely *vidyādīkṣā* and *nirvānadīkṣā*, the former apparently qualifying the initiate for the cultivation of special powers (*sādhana*) through the mastery of spells (*vidyā*) and the latter for liberation (*nirvāṇa*). These are the familiar Tantric goals of *bhoga/bhukti* and *mokṣa/mukti*. In doctrine, there are some surprises: the problem of choosing between dualism (the solution of the classical Śaivasiddhānta) or non-dualism (the solution of the now more famous Kashmirian exegetes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as Abhinavagupta) appears not yet to have been formulated, and the notion of an innate impurity (*mala*, *āṇava-mālā*) that condemns every soul to bondage in *saṃsāra*, a notion ubiquitous in other Śaiva Tantric literature, is nowhere mentioned in the *Niśvāsa*. It had apparently not yet been conceived. The description of the cosmos in terms of thirty-six constitutive principles of increasing subtlety (*tattva*), which similarly is sometimes thought of as a defining feature of Tantric Śaivism, had not yet evolved, and we can see it begin to do so in the course of the redaction of the *Niśvāsa*.<sup>98</sup>

Attempts to understand the *Niśvāsa* and its significance build, of course, on the work of many other scholars, in particular of Alexis Sanderson and of those scholars who were attached to the Pondicherry Centre of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient and the French Institute of Pondicherry and who were pioneers in the study of the Śaivasiddhānta, such as Jean and Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, N. R. Bhatt and his team, Bruno Dagens and Héléne Brunner-Lachaux. They produced numerous first editions of Śaiva works and, in the case of the last mentioned, an invaluable body of annotation, of gradually increasing sophistication and complexity, to the best known and most widely transmitted Śaiva Tantric manual, the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (Brunner, 1963, 1968, 1977, 1998). When work began on the Śaivasiddhānta in Pondicherry, it seems to have been generally assumed that the corpus of literature studied was South Indian and that the

'Āgamas of the South' formed a corpus quite distinct from the 'Tantras of the North'. Even Somaśambhu, pontiff of a monastery between the Narmadā and the Ganges (Brunner, 1998, p. xliv), was at first supposed to be a southerner. But Brunner was constantly re-examining her ideas, and she came gradually to realize how close some 'Northern Tantras', such as the *SvacchandaTantra* and *Netra-Tantra*, in fact were to the corpus on which she was principally focused. It now seems clear that early Saiddhāntika scriptures are very much part of the Śaiva Tantric corpus and none of them has been proven to be southern.

There is however a distinct South Indian body of what may be called 'Śaiva Temple Āgamas' which probably began to be composed in the twelfth century. These include the surviving works that bear the titles *Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa*, *Ajita*, *Suprabhedā*, *Dīpta* and *Sūkṣma*. Unlike the earlier scriptures, none of these are transmitted in Nepalese or Kashmirian manuscripts, and none are identifiably quoted by twelfth- and pre-twelfth-century authors.<sup>99</sup> Whereas earlier SiddhāntaTantras have as their principal themes the attainment of liberation through initiation and the subjects that individual initiates need to know or to practise (theology, yoga, regular worship and other rituals), this new body of Temple Āgamas attempted to prescribe every detail of life in a South Indian Śaiva temple.<sup>100</sup> A distinction between Tantras and these particular South Indian Temple Āgamas does therefore make some sense. In their subject-matter, and therefore quite palpably in their vocabulary, these Śaiva South Indian Temple Āgamas have arguably less in common with such pre-tenth-century SiddhāntaTantras as the *Kiraṇa*, *Mataṅga*, *Parākhyā* and *Mrgendra* than they have with Vaiṣṇava South Indian Temple Āgamas of comparable date, in other words, such Pāñcarātra scriptures as the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* and *Īśvarasaṃhitā*.<sup>101</sup>

For those interested in the dissemination of Indian religious aesthetics and ideas to South-East Asia, therefore, this South Indian corpus is unlikely to be of direct relevance: it is simply too late and too plainly regionally specific. And so it is rather to the scriptures transmitted in early Nepalese manuscripts (and often also in southern sources too) that we should now turn, such as the *Sarvajñānottara* and the above-mentioned *Niśvāsa*, to have an idea of what might have been transmitted 'abroad'. Both those works, since they are actually mentioned by name in Cambodian inscriptions (Sanderson, 2001, pp. 22–3, fn. 28 and pp. 7–8, fn. 5), are a promising starting point, and editions of both are underway, the *Sarvajñānottara* being edited by Dominic Goodall with a twelfth-century commentary by the South Indian theologian Aghoraśiva (fl. 1157 AD).

What we should like to see in the coming years would be editions of some of the temple-related scriptures surviving in Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts, in other words the *pratiṣṭhāTantras* such as the *Piṅgalāmata*, the *Mayasaṅgraha*, the *Mohacūḍottara* and the *Devyaṃata*.<sup>102</sup> These are plainly pre-twelfth-century and not South Indian, but when they were written and where they come from

remains to be discovered by study. Our understanding of iconography has for too long depended too much on the same largely post-twelfth-century South Indian materials used by Rao in his (at the time pioneering) *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1914). Efforts to link earlier Saiddhāntika literature with South Indian temple sculpture (notably, Goodall et al., 2005 and Goodall, 2009) have so far tended to confirm Brunner's conclusion (1990, p. 28), that there is remarkably little overlap between the divinities which Saiddhāntika accounts of *pūjā* or *pratiṣṭhā* would lead us to expect to find installed in any given temple and the sculptures that we actually see. Advances have been made, however, particularly in more esoteric Tantric iconography, by Bühnemann (e.g. 2000, 2001 and 2003).

Another body of text that seems certain to reward exploration is that formed by the many surviving recensions of the *Kālotṭara*. This work seems to have had a particularly large influence in the development of Tantric ritual: as Sanderson has shown (2004, p. 358), the still unpublished 200-verse recension served as the core for all the surviving Saiddhāntika *paddhatis* with one exception, and it is possible that the unpublished 6,000-verse recension, first cited by twelfth-century authors, served as a vehicle for the importation of non-Saiddhāntika ideas into the *paddhati*-tradition, since it was itself a conflated document (see, for instance, Sanderson, 2001, pp. 38–41) and yet was regarded as being of the same family of scriptural revelation as the 200-verse recension.

Turning from the Siddhānta, there is one other current of Śaiva Tantras which might rival even the *Niśvāsa* in its antiquity. This is that of the Vāma-Tantras, teaching the cult of a form of Śiva called Tumburu, accompanied by his four sisters. Sanderson (2009, pp. 50–1 and p. 129 n. 301) has recently discussed in some detail the evidence, which is plentiful, that shows that this tradition must be early and must once have been of great influence. The only scripture belonging to this current that appears to be extant today is the *Vīṇāśikhā Tantra*, yet another treasure that has been preserved to us (in a single palm-leaf manuscript, of which there is also a recent apograph) in Nepal. The edition and translation by Goudriaan of this work (1985) was thus an extremely valuable contribution.<sup>103</sup> If there is one Tantra known to us that could be older than the *Niśvāsa*, this is probably it. An important recent discovery is that, made by Sanderson and Vāsudeva (and reported in Sanderson, 2009, pp. 50–1, especially n. 22), of two folios of a learned non-scriptural work on the Tumburu cult, in Āryā metre, surviving among the famous (and almost entirely Buddhist) Gilgit manuscripts. Sanderson and Vāsudeva assign these folios on palaeographical grounds to 'around the middle of the sixth century' (Sanderson, 2009, p. 50). The publication of this fragment is keenly awaited, and we hope that some scholar will take up the task of producing a fresh study of what is known and what can be inferred about the Vāma Tantras, reflecting advances in our knowledge since Goudriaan's pioneering work.<sup>104</sup>

The other main division of Śaiva scriptures is that of the BhairavaTantras. Research on these texts, in which ferocious deity forms and practice involving antinomian aspects predominate (in contrast with the generally mild deities and 'purer' practice of the Siddhāntas), and which include the more goddess-oriented Tantras, has also made great strides in the last thirty years.

The Trika, the tradition within which Abhinavagupta wrote his most celebrated works, has long attracted interest; but until rather recently, only one of its principal scriptures, the *MālinīvijayottaraTantra*, had been published (in the KSTS, edited by Madhusudan Kaul Śāstri). In a path-breaking paper on 'The Doctrine of the MālinīvijayottaraTantra' Sanderson (1992) demonstrated that the Tantra which Abhinavagupta presents as the core-text of the Trika, and hence as the essence of the non-dualist Śaiva traditions is, on the contrary, clearly dualist. Even more recently, a re-edition of several chapters of the Tantra, accompanied by a detailed study, has made an important contribution to the study of Tantric Śaiva yoga (Vāsudeva, 2004, a revised Oxford DPhil thesis).

One of the other principal Trika scriptures, the *Siddhayogēśvarīmata*, was the subject of another Oxford thesis (Törzsök, 1999) which still awaits publication, though some parts of her edition have already been made more widely available (Törzsök, 2000, 2006). The other major Trika scripture which has survived in Sanskrit, the *TantrasadbhāvaTantra*, has not yet been published in the usual manner, but an electronic transcription, said to have been 'partially and provisionally edited by Mark Dyczkowski', was one of the first of many extremely useful e-texts to be made available by the Muktabodha digital Library. Thanks to this e-text, the *TantrasadbhāvaTantra* has begun to be drawn on more extensively by students of Śaivism; but a critical edition and study of (any part of) this large scripture remains a very urgent desideratum.<sup>105</sup>

The principal non-scriptural work that may be assigned to the Trika is Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, a huge and highly sophisticated work which has fascinated, but also baffled, several generations of scholars since its publication by Madhusūdan Kaul Śāstri, between 1918 and 1938. The only complete translation is still that of Gnoli, a thoroughly revised second edition of which was published in 1999 (the first edition appeared in 1972). Other recent studies of parts of the *Tantrāloka* that merit mention here are the translations of Chapters 1–5 by Silburn/Padoux (1998) and of the famous twenty-ninth chapter, on Kaula ritual, by Dupuche (2003). These works are certainly useful, especially for those not yet able to take on the challenge of studying the *Tantrāloka* independently; but we think that it is high time for an entirely fresh treatment of Abhinavagupta's masterpiece – one which does not rely solely on the KSTS edition, laudable pioneering attempt though it is, but makes use of the plentiful manuscript material that is available, some of which was not at the disposal of the editor and his assistants.<sup>106</sup> As an example of what might be possible, and of how

rewarding a more thorough-going unpacking of the richness of Abhinavagupta's writing is, we can refer to Sanderson's remarkable commentary (2005b), covering 60 pages, on the three opening verses of the *Tantrasāra*.

Outside the Trika, but still within the larger area of the BhairavaTantras, the *Picumata Brahmayāmala* is an early work whose importance is becoming more clear. In his brilliant overview of the Śaiva traditions, Sanderson (1988, p. 672) had already drawn attention to this Tantra as exemplifying 'the first level of the ascent of Śakti to autonomy'. The first dedicated book-length study of the work, including an edition and translation of several chapters, is Hatley, 2007\*; this doctoral thesis is as yet unpublished but has already begun to be used and cited by many scholars working in the field.<sup>107</sup> In spite of its strongly transgressive character, combining the mortuary paraphernalia of Kāpālikas with sexual ritual and a use of sexual fluids reminiscent of the Kaulas, and a scatological pre-occupation that is perhaps uniquely its own, the *Brahmayāmala*, which Hatley dates cautiously to 'the sixth to eighth centuries' (2007\*, p. 211), was no minor or marginal text. This may be seen from the fact that it is one of the Śaiva Tantras which has been drawn on in the redaction of some Buddhist Tantras,<sup>108</sup> from its importance, although not a Trika Tantra, to Abhinavagupta,<sup>109</sup> and, one might perhaps argue, from a striking similarity (in matters which range from details of magical ritual to shared linguistic abnormalities) to the *Nisōvasatattovasaṃhitā* and to some early Buddhist Tantric material. Studies of the *Brahmayāmala* by Hatley and by Csaba KISS, some in the context of the 'Early Tantra' project (see below), continue and are awaited eagerly.

A BhairavaTantra tradition which has received rather more attention than others in the last thirty years is that of the so-called 'Western Transmission' (*paścimāmnāya*). Somewhat at random, it seems, the Tantras of this tradition were selected as a research topic by a team of scholars at the Instituut voor Oosterse Talen of the State University at Utrecht in 1972. Decades of patient study, mainly of Nepalese manuscripts filmed by the NGMPP, led to several significant publications, among which should be mentioned in particular the edition of the first six chapters of the *Ṣatsāhasrasaṃhitā* (Schoterman, 1982) and the edition of the entire *KubjikāmataTantra* (Goudriaan and Schoterman, 1988), the latter with a detailed, useful discussion of the non-standard Sanskrit of the Tantra. The mantle of Goudriaan and Schoterman was taken up, for a while at least, by Doris Heilijgers-Seelen, whose study of the system of five cakras (Heilijgers-Seelen, 1994), including a revision of the text as edited in Goudriaan and Schoterman, 1988 and an annotated translation, was a step towards a better understanding of an important section of the *KubjikāmataTantra*. That mantle can perhaps now be said to have passed from the Dutch to Mark Dyczkowski, who followed a survey of the canonical literature of the *paścimāmnāya* (1988) almost two decades later with what is probably the largest single edition and annotated translation of a Tantra – the *Kumārīkākhaṇḍa*, one of three *khaṇḍas*

making up the *Manthānabhairava* – ever to have been completed. This last is certainly a staggering achievement, even if the doubts raised by Sanderson (2002, apropos of Goudriaan and Schoterman, 1988) as to the advisability of singling out from the mass of unpublished Tantras the *KubjikāmataTantra*, rather than one of the earlier and more fundamental scriptures on which it draws, seem to be even more relevant for the *Manthānabhairava*. Nonetheless, the importance of the *paścimāmnāya* in Nepal, which is reflected in the exceptionally large number of manuscripts of the texts pertaining to this tradition preserved there, and which arguably continues to the present (or very nearly), is such that the student of Hindu Tantrism certainly cannot complain about the fact that a relatively large amount of progress has been made in editing this literature.

Even more famous than the Kubjikā cult of the *paścimāmnāya*, and still widespread and vigorous today, is the Śrīvidyā, the system of worship of the goddess Tripurasundarī, which Sanderson (1995, p. 47) has called ‘the most influential and widespread of the Tantric traditions in medieval and modern India’. Present-day practice falls outside the scope of our survey; but this system has a long history too. Given Śrīvidyā’s popularity, that history has not been entirely neglected, but we feel that a fresh, detailed, historically sensitive study is still a desideratum. Important contributions, once again, have been made by Alexis Sanderson, though he has devoted only relatively few pages to this topic (see especially, Sanderson, 2007a, pp. 383–5, and Sanderson, 2009, pp. 47–49). Useful recent translations and studies of individual texts of this tradition include that of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* and the commentary *Dīpikā* thereon by Amṛtānanda by Padoux (1994), and that of the *Paraśurāmakaḥśāsūtra* by Weber (2010); a translation of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* together with the commentary thereon by Jayaratha has been offered by Finn (1986; the caution expressed in Brunner, 1992 should be noted).

Yet another important tradition, that of the Tantras of Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī, still awaits more extensive attention. The largest of this group of Tantras, and indeed, apparently the largest surviving Tantric scripture of any tradition, the *Jayadrathayāmala* (in four *Ṣaṭkas*, each of about 6,000 verses), has been drawn on regularly by Sanderson, since his earliest publications; in an appendix to Sanderson, 2005, as a part of an investigation into the provenance of the *NetraTantra*, evidence is presented for the second, third and fourth *Ṣaṭkas* being Kashmirian. Olga Serbaeva-Saraogi has also studied the *Jayadrathayāmala*, especially in her as yet unpublished doctoral thesis (2006). Preliminary electronic editions of some of the smaller Tantras of this cult, such as the *Kramasadbhāva* and the *Devīdvayardhaśataka*, have been made available by Mark Dyczkowski through the Muktabodha Digital Library; but there is a great deal of basic work remaining to be done in this area.

Several of the books mentioned already are studies chiefly of Śaiva Tantric yoga (Vāsudeva, 2004, Heilijgers-Seelen, 1994). This is a vast area which certainly demands much further study. Work by Mallinson (2007) and by Kiss (2009) has done much to clarify the relation between Tantric yoga and *hathayoga*, and the emergence of the latter. An attempt at a wide-ranging history of Tantric yoga has recently been made by White (2009), but his provocative thesis – that its original and fundamental character is that of a practice in which the yogin exits his own body and may enter that of another – seems to us to be based on a rather selective and one-sided reading of sources. Flood (2006) also gives an ambitious treatment of Tantric practices related to the body, placing much emphasis on the notion of entextualization, which he owes to anthropology; but an attempt of this sort to move beyond Indology to a ‘post-foundational understanding of text as infinitely interpretable’ (p. 16) seems perhaps premature, when foundations are still so weak.

Advances have been considerable in the study of the more philosophical writings. Once again, much more primary material has been made available, most importantly perhaps, numerous commentaries of the two most significant systematizers of the dualist theology of the mature Śaivasiddhānta, namely Sadyojyotiḥ, whose commentary on the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (Filliozat, 1994) may be the earliest surviving prose commentary on a Tantric work (for his seventh- to eighth-century date, see Sanderson, 2006b), and the Kashmirian Rāmakaṇṭha, a contemporary of Abhinavagupta who exercised a formative influence over twelfth-century South Indian exegetes such as *Aghoraśiva*. Commentaries of his on more philosophical works (*Nareśvaraparikṣā* and *Mokṣakārikā*) were known from the first half of the twentieth century, but not those on the *Sārdhatrisatīkālottara* (edited in Bhatt, 1979), *Matāṅgapārameśvara* (ed. Bhatt, 1977, 1982), *KiraṇaTantra* (edited and translated in Goodall 1998) and *Tattoatrayanirṇayavivṛti* (edited and translated in Goodall, Kataoka, Acharya and Yokochi, 2008). A philologically solid study of Rāmakaṇṭha’s philosophy, Watson, 2006, focusing on his response to Buddhist attacks upon the notion of the ‘self’, may go some way towards establishing the reputation of the greatest of the Saiddhāntika theologians as an original thinker.

The non-dualist philosophical tradition has been the focus of scholarly interest for much longer than the literature discussed up to this point in part. This is because of the intellectual magnetism of Abhinavagupta, and in part because Utpaladeva’s aesthetically appealing ‘doctrine of recognition’, expounded in the *Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikā* and in the voluminous commentarial literature upon it, can be read as a philosophical system independent of the Tantric scriptures (long regarded as less respectable and less worthy of study) from which it drew inspiration and authority. We may mention only a few major recent publications in this area: Hanneder, 1998, a series of important

studies of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta by Torella (2002, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d), and several articles of Isabelle Ratié that are among the best publications on the Pratyabhijñā (2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010). A new critical edition by John Nemeč of the seminal work of this tradition, Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi*, has been announced as forthcoming soon (extensively revised from Nemeč, 2005, an unpublished doctoral dissertation in which the first two chapters of Somānanda's work had been edited and translated).

The Pāñcarātra, openly more orthodox and Veda-congruent, has also escaped being thought of as suspect because of being 'Tantric', and so editions, translations and scholarly studies of this Vaiṣṇava tradition were published much earlier, and often from research institutions in different parts of India (rather than from religious societies, such as the Devakottai-based Śaivasiddhāntaparipālanasaṅgha, which produced the majority of publications of the Śaivasiddhānta before the advent of the French research institutions in Pondicherry). Thus the Adyar Library and Research Centre published the *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā* in 1916 (revised edition: Kṛṣṇamacharya, 1966); the *LakṣmīTantra* in 1959 (Kṛṣṇamacharya, 1959), of which a translation appeared just over a decade later (Gupta, 1972); and the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* in 1969 (Kṛṣṇamacharya 1969). The *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* appeared in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in 1925 (Ganapati Śastri, 1925); and the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* appeared in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in Baroda in 1931 (Kṛṣṇamacharya, 1931). (This is of course by no means a comprehensive list.) Recent book-length studies focusing on particular *saṃhitās* include Matsubara, 1994; Rastelli, 1999 and 2006; Bock-Raming, 2002; Czerniak-Drozdowicz, 2003, and a short *paddhati* claiming to be based on the *Pādma[-saṃhitā]* appears as an appendix to *Tripaṭhi*, 2004. None of these take into account the eagerly awaited publication of scriptures discovered in early Nepalese manuscripts by Diwakar Acharya, which we have alluded to above.

Philosophical works of the Pāñcarātra, too, have not been neglected. A long series of publications authored or edited by Oberhammer over the past decade and a half have explored various aspects of the relationship between the Pāñcarātra and the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta tradition; suffice it to mention here the papers collected in Oberhammer (2002) and in Oberhammer and Rastelli, 2007. The sophisticated apology for the Pāñcarātra scriptures by Yāmuna in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* has been studied by Mesquita (e.g. 1980), and, together with the arguments put forward for the same purpose by Veṅkaṭanātha in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, by Rastelli (2008). These authors are southern; in Kashmir we have evidence of a Pāñcarātra with a different doctrinal slant. The most remarkable work of this tradition is a non-dualist hymn to Viṣṇu by Vāmanadatta, rooted in the tradition of the *Sāvatasāṃhitā*,<sup>110</sup> but often quoted with approval by Kashmirian Śaiva authors (particularly non-dualists) as well as by Pāñcarātrikas. This hymn, referred to commonly in secondary literature as the



*Samvitprakāśa*,<sup>111</sup> is being studied by Torella (1994), who has promised a critical edition and English translation.

Finally, a word or two about the minor Śaiva or Śaivised traditions. We have alluded above to the discovery of a surviving solar (or rather Śaiva-solar) scripture: the *Saurasamhitā*, but have not yet mentioned the BhūtaTantras and GāruḍaTantras, that is to say the exorcistic scriptures and those related to snake poison. These must once have been of considerable importance – for one thing, each of these branches of Śaiva scriptures is assigned to one of the five faces of Sadāśiva in a very widespread conceptual scheme (see for example Hanneder, 1998, 17ff. and 195ff.) – but have hitherto been almost entirely neglected in modern scholarship. Michael Slouber’s research (2007 and <http://www.garudam.com/page/Home.html>) has however begun to explore what survives of this material, while at the same time combining the careful study of textual material with the exploration of the evidence of related contemporary practices in a way that promises to be more fruitful (because more soundly grounded) than most attempts at inter-disciplinary approaches to Tantra have proved.

General surveys must be tentative while the flood of texts being published continues to wash around us. The growth of electronically searchable e-texts certainly helps – the riches that can be downloaded free from the websites of the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indic Languages, from the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute, from the French Institute of Pondicherry and from the Centre for Tantra Studies have changed the way most scholars study – but caution is required, for ‘grepping’ is no substitute for reading, and e-texts, with some laudable exceptions, tend to have many more errors than printed editions.

Among such surveys, mention should perhaps first be made of a short encyclopaedia article with the ambitious (though absolutely fitting) title ‘Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions’ (Sanderson, 1988), which gives a magisterial, if tantalizingly brief (and unannotated), overview of one important part of our subject based to a large extent on primary material which was then unpublished (as a good part remains till today). Among general accounts of ‘Hinduism’, Gavin Flood’s (1996) stands out as one that attempts to give the Tantric traditions their due and is much more than usually up-to-date and well informed on them. The Wiesbaden series *A History of Indian Literature* contains two volumes that cover two overlapping sections of our field: *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature* (Goudriaan and Gupta, 1981) and *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit* (Gonda, 1977). The latter is intended to include both the Pāñcarātra and the ‘Āgamas’ of the Śaivasiddhānta, but a few early Saiddhāntika works (the *Niśvāsa*, pp. 33–6, and the *Kālottara* and *Sarvajñānottara*, pp. 38–9) have been treated in the former, thus illustrating how difficult it is, as we have remarked above, to separate cleanly the Śaivasiddhānta from other early Śaiva Tantric traditions. More up-to-date, but again confined to Śaivism, and focused on a particular tradition, is *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition* (Dyczkowski,

1988). For those who read Hindi, the annotated list of text-names prepared by Gopinātha Kaviraja (1972) is dated, but still useful, and there is the recent survey of Vrajavallabha Divedi (2001). A very substantial article by Sanderson covers 'The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir' (2007a); an even longer and more recent one, 'The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period' (2009) is far wider in scope yet (more so than the title might at first suggest) and can be recommended as perhaps the best single starting place for a student wishing to familiarize himself with the Tantric traditions. Geoffrey Samuel's *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra: Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century* (2008) promises a broad overview, but it is one which is unfortunately based on secondary rather than primary sources, and suffers in consequence. The reader *Tantra in Practice* (ed. White, 2000) offers gobbets in translation from a really vast range of literature that extends well beyond the limits that we have defined in this article. The very latest book-length survey of Tantric Hinduism that of André Padoux (2010), benefits from drawing on that scholar's long and deep experience in the study of, especially, Śaivism. A detailed bibliographical survey of recent research on Śaivism, referring to much more secondary literature than we are able to here, has very recently been given by Shaman Hatley (2010).

The maturity of a field of research may often be judged by the reference works that it has produced. Until the end of the twentieth century, a really helpful dictionary of Tantric Hinduism could not be found (despite the existence of numerous misleadingly titled works such as the *Āgama Kośa*, a semi-organized miscellany of gobbets in 12 volumes recently revised and republished under the title *The Āgama Encyclopaedia*, ed. Ramachandra Rao, 2005). In 2000 the first volume of the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* was published, followed in 2004 by the second; a third may be expected to appear in 2011, with two more volumes to follow. This tool has been increasing in richness from volume to volume, and now goes far beyond what might be expected of a dictionary, with articles which provide references to unpublished as well as published primary sources, and in many cases advance our knowledge of a topic considerably by discussions of diachronic development.

Though the individual traditions of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist Tantra have each received by now some attention from scholars, they are usually studied in what Strickmann (1996, p. 24) called 'isolement hermétique'. Strickmann called for specialists in Buddhism to make use in their studies of the body of Śaiva Tantric literature available in Sanskrit,<sup>112</sup> but his prediction that those specialists would resist doing so, preferring to remain within the confines of what they defined as Buddhist, has by and large proved correct. The value of a broad approach, studying Tantric Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism together, has been shown in exemplary fashion in three trail-blazing articles of Sanderson's (1994, 2001 and 2009). The first demonstrates certain relationships between parts of the Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric canons, and the second shows an even wider

range of interrelationships, as its self-explanatory title declares: 'History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist YoginīTantras'. In the third, the book-length 'The Śaiva Age', Sanderson examines the factors that led to the rise of Śaiva tantrism, and shows in much greater detail than in his earlier papers, drawing on a very wide range of sources and materials, not only textual, how other religious traditions reacted to this rise, often by adoption and development. A small, but growing, number of other scholars have also demonstrated that this strategy of studying the Tantric traditions together is a fruitful one (see for example Tomabechi, 2007). Inspired by, in particular, a remark in Sanderson 2001,<sup>113</sup> the authors of this article have launched a Franco-German project entitled 'Early Tantra: Discovering the Interrelationships and common Ritual Syntax of the Śaiva, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Saura Traditions', and expect to present the first results of this collaboration between an international group of specialists in various areas of tantrism soon.<sup>114</sup>

Sanderson demonstrates by example that all evidence from the various Tantric traditions should ideally be taken into consideration. For the period to which we restrict ourselves in this survey, the material is predominantly textual (most of it being in Sanskrit). Many of the relevant texts, moreover, are either unpublished or printed with corruptions that make them very difficult indeed to interpret without adducing further manuscript evidence.<sup>115</sup> One of the most urgent research tasks, therefore, is to edit more Tantric literature from manuscripts. This is not merely a labour of mechanical, philological drudgery. Students of Tantric Hinduism must indeed, we aver, be philologists, that is to say, careful and critical readers, sensitive to language, capable of reading manuscript sources accurately and above all equipped with sound judgement; but they must also be able to use other sorts of primary sources (sculptures and inscriptions, for instance) and have an understanding of religious and cultural history and the problems and methods of their study. For it is not possible to edit a Tantric work without an understanding of the context in which it was produced and sensitivity to historical developments. The huge philological undertaking of editing (and translating and annotating) Tantric literature is therefore not merely subservient to the 'higher' task of charting the history of Tantrism.<sup>116</sup> The two endeavours are simply inseparable.

## Hindu Philosophical Traditions<sup>117</sup>

*David Peter Lawrence*

To first skirt around some historical and political controversies: in what follows, the terms 'Hindu' and 'Hinduism' will be used to refer to the broad stream of

- Performance of song: Kelting, 2001, Pechilis, 2006, Narayanan, 2007, Shukla-Bhatt, 2007a. Performance of dance: Pati 2010. Ritual: Venkatesan 2010.
83. Detailed studies of interactions among Śūfism and bhakti, documented or possible, such as Behl's are needed. Useful but less provocative are studies that present the two as parallel developments (e.g. Iraqi, 2009).
  84. I am grateful to Sthaneshwar Timalsina for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
  85. Following on Placide Tempel's studies of the Bantus, a predominant academic approach has endeavoured to identify the 'ethno-philosophy', understood as the communal and unreflexive worldview, of African tribal cultures. Such characterizations, however, may be understood as largely generated in a circular manner by the very ethnographic methods employed, of searching for items of consent within groups. In opposition to such approaches, the Kenyan scholar, Henry Odera Orika, *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), has argued for the presence of 'philosophical sagacity' in non-literate tribal cultures, practiced by individuals who freely and critically question their inherited beliefs and practices, and speculatively arrive at their own.
  86. We should explain at once that, in this short article, we will be saying nothing about tantrism (or 'Tantra') in the colonial and post-colonial period, and within the pre-colonial period our emphasis lies mainly on the period covering the origins of tantrism to 1300 or so, that period being of the greatest interest to us. Because of the vast increase in the quantity of scholarship in this field in the last thirty-five years or so, we have been forced to be even more selective. Our coverage is fullest for the decade and a half from 1995, though we have tried to mention some of the most important publications of the two decades preceding that period. We are grateful to Professor Shaman Hatley for reading an earlier draft of this article and making many useful suggestions.
  87. For a brief account, see the booklet prepared by Muller and Goodall (2005).
  88. For H el ene Brunner's scholarly biography see Padoux (2007). Sanderson (2007b) has himself written about his early studies, and about his teacher Swami Lakshman Joo. The latter was himself a figure who, though a guru rather than an academic, profoundly influenced the course of Tantric Studies in the West through the teachings he gave to many scholars, including Lilian Silburn and Raniero Gnoli, who visited him in Kashmir.
  89. For a very detailed treatment of other factors involved in the success of the Mantram arga, see Sanderson 2009, especially pp. 252–303.
  90. The earlier Buddhist tantric sources that are classed as Kriy atantras, such as the *Ma nju r yam ulakalpa*, display rather little interest in soteriology.
  91. In the N isv asa, the mantra involved is V amadeva, for the recipe is found in the *V amadevakalpa*, the manual of rites to be performed with that mantra.
  92. Compare N isv asa Guhyas utra 14.65: *atha lavanamayim pratikrtim krtv a rudhiren bhya-ajya tiksna strenotkrtya p adau prabhrti chitv a stasahasram juhuy a striy a puru asasya v a sa va syo bhavati.* with *Ma nju r yam ulakalpa* chapter 55 (G p. 673): *lavanamayim pratikrtim chitv a chitv a juhuy ad a stasahasram. yam icchati sa va so bhavati stri v a puru o v a.*
  93. *a stasahasrahomena trividh a siddhir bhavati (10:31). u sme p adaprac arik am, dh um ayam ne 'ntardh anam, joaliten k asagamanam (10:32).*
  94. See Goodall and Isaacson 2007:5. 10. The earliest attestation of the label appears to be in the eighth-century inscription round the base of the principal shrine in the Kail asan tha temple in Kancheepuram, the pertinent verse of which is discussed by Goodall 2004:xix, fn.17.

95. That the Svâyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha must be seventh century or earlier can be determined because Sadyojyotiṅ, whom Sanderson judges to have been active between approximately 675 and 725 (2006:76), has written a commentary on its opening chapters.
96. A recent doctoral thesis by Nina Mirnig (2009\*) has been devoted to this theme.
97. A single half-line, however, appears to allude to an inversion of a ritual sequence in the context of antyeṣṭi: *Gulhyasūtra* 11.38ab.
98. See Goodall, forthcoming.
99. For further evidence and discussion, see Goodall 1998:xxxvi ff. and 2004:xiii ff.
100. Numerous publications have appeared in recent years that focus on this (in our view) twelfth- and post-twelfth-century literature: Brunner's posthumously published French translation of the Parārthanityāpūjāpaddhati (1999); the French translation of the *Rauravāgama* (of which only the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* is ancient, according to Goodall 2004:xliv–xlvi) by Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000); the re-edition and complete English translation of the *Ajita* by Bhatt, Filliozat and Filliozat (2005); the first edition of the *Dīpta* by Barazer-Billoret et al. (2004, 2007, 2009); a translation and study of the *Mahotsavavidhi* attributed to Aghoraśiva (Davis 2010); and the first volume of an edition of the *Sūkṣma* (Sambandhaśivācārya and Ganesan 2010).
101. A developing tool that demonstrates this is the Tāntrikābhidhānakośa, the dictionary of 'Hindu' tantric terminology being prepared by a team assembled by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, currently under Marion Rastelli and Dominic Goodall. Entry after entry concerning temple rituals and festivals suggests that these post-twelfth-century Śaiva and Pāñcarātra scriptures belonged to the same thought-world.
102. The iconographical section of the last mentioned of these, also known as the Nīśvāsākhya mahātāntra, has recently been the focus of work by Anna Ślāczka, as announced in the 14th World Sanskrit Conference in Kyoto in 2009, and an Oxford doctoral thesis by Elizabeth Mills on the *prāsādalakṣaṇa* sections of these and other early Śaiva works is far advanced.
103. We would recommend that it be read together with the exceptionally long and rich review by Brunner (1988). A fresh edition and translation would be welcome.
104. A dozen years before his edition of the Vīṇāśikhātāntra, and indeed before he was aware that that tantra was extant in Sanskrit, Goudriaan (1973) had already given a useful survey, ranging over South-East Asian as well as South Asian material, of what could then be known about the cult of Tumburu and the sisters.
105. In his review article on the edition by Goudriaan and Schoterman of the Kubjikāmatatantra, Sanderson has suggested that among the goddess-oriented traditions, the *Tantrasadbhāvatāntra* is one of the most fundamental scriptures, and should be given priority in study over later works, such as those of the Paścimāmnāya to which the *Kubjikāmatatantra* belongs (Sanderson 2002, p. 20).
106. Of course for several other works of which editions were published in the KSTS, including the large and rich commentaries by Abhinavagupta's pupil Kṣemarāja, there is in our opinion the same need to approach the text afresh on the basis of the extant manuscripts. One may add that the manuscripts in the important Srinagar collection, which had been inaccessible to scholars for decades, have recently been digitized by the National Mission for Manuscripts at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. The efforts of Mrinal Kaul to make the treasures of this collection available to scholars should also be mentioned here.
107. We may remark here in passing that Hatley's work also contains, in its second and third chapters (Hatley 2007\*, pp. 31–189) a valuable study of the yoginī cult in early tantric literature. This covers much of the same ground as a monograph by White (2003), but does so in a considerably sounder fashion.

108. See Sanderson 2001, pp. 42ff.; Hatley 2007\*, pp. 176ff. There may still be a possibility that the Śaiva source drawn on by the Buddhists was not the *Brahmayāmala* itself, but some now lost tantra which has been cannibalized in the *Brahmayāmala*. But the *Brahmayāmala*, whose own textual history no doubt is very complex (cf. Hatley 2007\*, pp. 200–11), is no less important for the fact that some of the material it contains may have been taken over from yet earlier scriptures.
109. For Abhinavagupta's citations of and references to the *Brahmayāmala* see Hatley 2007\*, pp. 211–13 (especially n. 57) and p. 237 nn. 1 and 2.
110. See Sanderson 2007a, p. 280. On other Pāñcarātra scriptural sources of Vāmanadatta see Sfera 1998.
111. Sanderson (2007a, p. 280) points out, however, that this appears to be the title only of the first section of the hymn, which he prefers to call \*Viṣṇustuti, with the asterisk indicating that this title is not attested in the manuscripts or in references to the work by Sanskrit authors.
112. In the same passage (1996:24) Strickmann Avers 'Je suis convaincu que les āgama du Śivaïsme et les tantra du bouddhisme médiéval représentent simplement différentes versions, différentes rédactions d'une seule et même chose.'
113. 'The ritual systems taught in the Śaiva and Pāñcarātrika Samhitās resemble each other so closely in morphology and syntax that they have the appearance of two dialects of a single "Tantric" language' (Sanderson 2001:38, n. 50).
114. The project, jointly financed by the French and German national funding agencies (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Agence Nationale pour la Recherche), runs from 2008 to 2010. Annotated editions (or partial editions) of several of the texts referred to above are the primary fruits of this project, and a volume of studies by several participants is shortly to appear as a special issue of the journal *Tantric Studies*.
115. In some instances, whole chapters, such as 59, of the South Indian edition of the *Kiraṇatantra*, for example, which is based on only a handful of Southern manuscripts, are unintelligible.
116. As is often stated or implied; cf. for instance Larson (2009), for whom 'serious philological research is the beginning of most important research in South Asian studies', but should, he suggests, be relegated to appendices.
117. I am grateful to Sthaneshwar Timalina for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
118. Following on Placide Tempel's studies of the Bantus, a predominant academic approach has endeavoured to identify the 'ethno-philosophy', understood as the communal and unreflexive worldview, of African tribal cultures. Such characterizations, however, may be understood as largely generated in a circular manner by the very ethnographic methods employed, of searching for items of consent within groups. In opposition to such approaches, the Kenyan scholar, Henry Odera Orika, *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), has argued for the presence of 'philosophical sagacity' in non-literate tribal cultures, practiced by individuals who freely and critically question their inherited beliefs and practices, and speculatively arrive at their own.
119. Cf. the yet narrower definition of philosophy as a search for foundations in David Peter Lawrence, *Rediscovering God with Transcendental Argument: A Contemporary Interpretation of Monistic Kashmiri Śaiva Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 11–12. In the present context, a programmatic definition is offered that would encompass both foundationalist and anti-foundationalist philosophies.
120. Of course, there is no pure cosmopolitanism, and there are always limits to the acceptance of diversity and the intellectual challenges it poses.

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