From the Sequence of the Sun-Goddess (bhānāvikrama) to Time-Consumption (kālagrāsa): Some Notes on the Development of the Śākta Doctrine of the Twelve Kālīs

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Abstract The doctrine of the twelve Kālīs is one of the earliest developments of the Śākta tradition of the Kālīkula/Kālīkrama/Mahānaya and it is well known in the later exegetical works of Abhinavagupta (10th–11th c.), Kṣemarāja (11th c.), and Maheśvarānanda (13th–14th c.). Although the twelve Kālīs have been treated to some extent in secondary literature, a systematic study of the development and reception of this doctrine has not been undertaken yet. This is mainly due to the fact that most of the Kālīkula scriptures are available in manuscript form, and methodical analysis of their contents remains a desideratum. In this article, I intend to examine selected tantric scriptures teaching the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs, focusing on the development of the constituent elements of this doctrine, as they appear in different tantric sources. This article traces the origins of the twelve Kālīs to the esoteric teaching of the Sun-Goddess, linked to the tradition of the Skeleton of Kālī (kālīkāṅkāla/kāṅkāla). It will argue that in the subsequent phase of the doctrine’s development the solar context gradually diminished and an emphasis on the twelve goddesses’ function as the destroyers of time became more and more pronounced. This tendency, in turn, influenced the codification of the twelve Kālīs as the fully-fledged doctrine of time-consumption (kālagrāsa), popular in the Trika and the Trika-inspired Krama sources.

Keywords Śāktism · Krama · Sun-Goddess · Kālagrāsa · Twelve Kālīs · Abhinavagupta · Goddess worship
Introduction

The doctrine of the twelve Kālīs has been traditionally referred to as the “arising of the sequence of the wheel of Kālīs” (kālīcakrakramodaya) and recognized as the core teaching of the northern tradition (uttarāmnāya/uttaragharāmnāya) of Śaivism. The Kashmiri exegetical writers often refer to the twelve Kālīs collectively as the ‘wheel of consciousness/energies’ (saṁviccakra, ciccakra or śakticakra). For the tenth–eleventh-century polymath Abhinavagupta, the founder of the Trika, the twelve Kālīs represent the “arising of the wheel of consciousness” (saṁviccakramodaya) unfolding in the wheel of the inexplicable (anākhyacakra) and they are described as such in detail in chapter IV of his Tantrāloka.1 Abhinavagupta’s disciple Kṣemarāja, in his commentary (nirṇaya) on the first verse of the Spandakārikā, identifies the twelve Kālīs—called the ‘ray-goddesses’ (marīcidevīnām)—with the ‘wheel of powers’ (śakticakra), which he glosses, in cosmological terms, as the cause (hetu) of the creative evolution of the universe (vibhava) that goes through the four stages of exertion, manifestation, relishing, and dissolution.2 Kṣemarāja, probably drawing on Abhinavagupta’s Kramastotra,3 also adds theological interpretation to the understanding of the twelve Kālīs when he associates them with Manthānabhairava, the ancient god of the Jayadrathayāmala, who resides amidst the twelve goddesses as the lord of the wheel (cakresvara).4

Among the later adaptations of the twelve Kālīs, one has to mention the concept of kramamudrā attested, for example, in the Pratyabhijñāḥrādayam, which teaches the practice of assimilating into one’s own self the sequences of emission, permanence, and dissolution.5 These formulations represent, however, later versions of the kālīcakrakramodaya, and are the outcome of the development that occurred in connection with philosophical, theological and ritualistic changes the doctrine underwent.

This article aims to examine some aspects of this development by focusing on the doctrinal changes, and, in some cases, intertextuality existing between earlier and later tantric texts attesting the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs. My analysis intends to demonstrate that the changes displayed by those sources have a double focus. On the one hand, it shows that earlier texts contributed to the set of core ideas that had a

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1 For the explanation of the twelve Kālīs as the saṁviccakra in Abhinavagupta’s Tantrāloka, see Sanderson (1986, pp. 197–204; Sanderson, 1995, pp. 70–75; Silburn, 1975).
2 Kṣemarāja, Spandanirṇaya (p. 7): Śakticakravibhavaprabhavam iti –saṁkīnāṃ srṣṭiraktādi marīcidevīnām cakram dvādaśātmā samuhas tasya yo vibhava udyogāvahāsanacarvanavilāpanātmā krīḍādambaras tasya prabhavam hetum/
3 In Abhinavagupta’s Kramastotra (v.28), the worship of the twelve goddesses in the form of rays of consciousness (saṁvidraśmi) is conceived as the means of worshipping Bhairava. In this way, the practitioner himself becomes Manthānabhairava churning his twelve energies as the possessor of power (śaktimān) and recognizes the single-taste of the entire universe (jagadekarasa).
4 Kṣemarāja, Spandanirṇaya (p. 7): etā hi devyāḥ śrīmanmanthānabhairavam cakreśvaram āliṅga sarvadaiva jagatāsarādrīkrīḍām sampūdādayanty ity āmnāyaḥ/Sanderson (2007a, p. 356) mentions that the source of this concept may be the Kalpa of the Mahālakṣmitra that is found at the end of the fourth śaṭka of the Jayadrathayāmala. For the Sanskrit text of this passage, see Sanderson (2007a: 356, fn. 413).
5 See Kṣemarāja’s commentary on the Pratyabhijñāhrādayam, v. 19, p. 104.
direct influence on the development of the doctrine in later texts. On the other hand, doctrinal modifications call our attention to the fact that those concepts, which provided different emphases in the formulation of the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs, were directly affected by the type of discourse that appear to have been dominant at the time when a particular text was composed. With this in mind, I argue that the development of the doctrine proceeded from a more esoteric Kula/Kaula phase to a more philosophically oriented Trika-Pratyabhijñā phase. As the twelve Kālīs drifted away from their early Kula/Kaula orientations—deeply rooted in the teaching of the Sun-Goddess (bhānavikrama)—, they became enveloped with a new philosophical outlook that combined the Krama notion of the four-fold sequence 6 with a Trika notion of the cognizer, the cognition, and the cognizable, under the concept of anākhyaakra. This process of ‘rationalization’ reached its peak in Abhinava-gupta’s formulation of saṃviccakrodaya where the key metaphysical concepts associated with the twelve Kālīs, such as ‘fire of time’ (kālāgni) or ‘great time’ (mahākāla), became equated with the different levels of the cognizer borrowed from the Pratyabhijñā system. Due to the abundance of textual material, most of which has not yet been edited, this study can only provide a preliminary outline of the development mentioned above, and also point to some new lines of inquiry about this understudied tantric doctrine.

The Twelve Kālīs and the Sun-Goddess in the Kālikākramapañcāsikā and the Jayadrathayāmala

The doctrine of the twelve Kālīs has its roots in the esoteric teachings of the Sequence of the Sun-Goddess (bhānavikrama) or the Kula of the Sun-Goddess (bhānavikula) propounded by Niśkriyānanda. Niśkriyānanda was one of the early Krama siddhas and the preceptor of the Higher Krama of the Oral Instruction (Sanderson, 2007a, p. 333), who transmitted the teachings to his spiritual son, and the sidhā whose appearance was that of a tribal (śabara), by the name Vidyānanda or Vidyāśabara. 7 Both Niskriyānanda and Vidyānanda feature as the earliest ‘human’ teachers of the Krama tradition in the Devīpaṇcaśatā. 8 The exposition of the bhānavikrama attributed to Niśkriyānanda and transmitted to Vidyānanda is found in the Kālikākramapañcāsikā, one of the two texts comprising the tradition of the *Uttaragharāmnāya (Sanderson, 2007a, p. 252). The Kālikākramapañcāsikā is

6 Depending on the tradition, the krama, or the method of liturgy in which the deity is worshipped through the sequence is either fourfold, i.e., arranged as srṣṭi (emission), sthiti (permanence), saṃhāra (dissolution), anākhya (inexplicable), or fivefold, with bhāsā (luminosity).

7 CMSS 7.181-183: Vidyānanda dwelled in the cremation grounds and practiced nocturnal vigilance through the sequence is either fourfold, i.e., arranged as srṣṭi (emission), sthiti (permanence), saṃhāra (dissolution), anākhya (inexplicable), or fivefold, with bhāsā (luminosity).

8 The third paṭala of the Devīpaṇcaśatā refers to the worldly lineage (manvogha) of the Krama which begins with Niśkriyānanda and his wife Jñānapīṭā. The transmission follows through Vidyānanda and Raktā, Śākyānanda and ends with Śivānanda, who might have been Jñānanetra.
found in chapter seven of the twelfth century Cîncinîmatasârasamuccaya. Despite the rather late date of this scripture, internal evidence indicates that the Kâlikâkramaapañcâsikā is likely to contain some early material on the doctrine of the twelve Kâlíś, for it aligns on critical points with the Jayadrathayâmala, as will be shown below. Unlike other Kâlikuṭa/Kâlîkrama scriptures and exegetical works, the Kâlikâkramaapañcâsikā does not place the twelve Kâlíś in the anâkhyaârâka, but treats them independently as the central teaching of the bhânavikrama. The names of the twelve Kâlíś¹⁹ worshipped as part of the pûjâkrama correspond to those given in the Devîpañcâsataka, known also as the Kâlikulapañcâsatake, with the exception of the thirteenth Kâlî in the middle, who is substituted by the goddess Kumârî. While the twelve Kâlíś should be worshipped with the mantra hrîṁ śrîṁ, Kumârî should be worshipped at the end of the twelve (dvâdaśânta),¹⁰ i.e., at the end of the worship of the twelve Kâlíś and at the symbolic location of the yogic body that is twelve inches above the head (the place of the praśânta). The latter, sometimes identified with the rise of the kuṇḍalînî, is the place where the mantra becomes the most subtle (beyond any perception in uccâra).

The goddess of the Kâlikâkramaapañcâsikā is called Sûryakulâkrâsodârî and her name points to the early Kâlikula’s association with the Saura tradition that has already been mentioned by Sanderson.¹¹ She is defined in Nâgârjunian terms as being ‘empty of inherent existence’ (niḥsvabhâva). From her own nature, a wheel arises, which is established in the solar course of consciousness, consciousness being identified with the sun.¹² The wheel manifests (lit. “shines”) as the reflection (pratibimba) eager only to devour the mirror.¹³ The text gives the following definition of the kâlikâkrama (The Sequence of the Kâlíś): “Kâlikâkrama is the tradition of the twelve”.¹⁴ In another passage, we read: “Kâlî, the terrible one, she, who is black as collyrium, is the Sun-Goddess (bhânavî) of the twelve risen suns.”¹⁵

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¹⁹ CMSS 7.244–249: These are, (1) Sûṭikâlî, (2) Shitikâlî, (3) Saṁhârakâlî, (4) Raktakâlî, (5) Sukâlî, (6) Yamakâlî, (7) Mûtyukâlî, (8) Bhadrâkâlî, (9) Paramârâkâlî, (10) Mahâmârântâkâlî, (11) Rudrâkâlî, and (12) Mahâkâlî.

¹⁰ CMSS 7.249: madhye tu paramâ devî kumârî kulabhâkṣaṇi/ dvâdaśânte tu sampûjyâ pûrvotvidhim vallabhé/

¹¹ Sanderson (2009, p. 57) has already argued that the existence of strong solar elements in the early Kâlikula scriptures can be explained to be either the result of borrowing by the Sâktas an independent Saura tradition that was known to have had their own canon of scriptures, or an independent development within the Saiva-Sa¯kta fold. The Sâktas worshipped the Sun under the name of Vîra or Vîresvara, often accompanied by the goddess Bhâragasîkî. These names also employed in the Saiva and Smâra Kashmirian scriptures in reference to the sun-god and his consort at the Mârtândatîra.

¹² CMSS 7.171cd-172ab: Sà cid â niḥsvabhâvatvât sûryakulâkrâsodarû/ tatsvarûpôditañ ca krâma cîdbhânavarkaâtîsithîm/

¹³ CMSS 7.172cd: pratibimbaṁ ivâbhâti bimbâgrâsikalampaṭanâ/ The employment of the mirror metaphor to describe the relationship between the main Kâlî and the other twelve Kâlíś is also attested in the Tantrarâjâtantrâvatârotsotra by Vîsvârta, where the sâtikacakra is compared to “a single face reflected in [twelve] mirrors” (Sanderson 2007a, p. 257). The same simile is found in the Śrîkâlîkâstotra of Jâânânetrânâtha (see below).

¹⁴ CMSS 7.160: śrînu devî pravakyâmi kâlikâkramam uttamaṁ/ dvâdaśâyâ param bhadre sampradâyanâm vadamyâ aham//.

¹⁵ CMSS 7.205ab: kâlî kâlîni bhîmâ dvâdaśôdita bhânavi/.
The solar symbol is also employed to denote the epistemological goal of the bhānavikrama, namely the “sun of knowledge” (jñānārka, bodhahāskara). In one passage, a more elaborate description of the practice that leads to this goal is given:

When the act of abandoning and grasping [the perceptions], [which takes place] through the distinction of giving up and taking, has been dissolved, then the one who knows the [true] reality, seeing the sun of knowledge, may make it manifest.\(^{16}\)

In another passage of the Kālikākramapañcāśikā, bhānavikula is compared to the wheel of destruction that is imagined, in cosmological terms, as the devouring fire of consciousness (grāsaghasmara) that consumes the three worlds.\(^{17}\) This fiery image, often termed as the fire of time (kālāgni) will persevere in other Krama sources and Trika scriptures and will be commonly employed to designate the all-consuming function of the twelve Kālīs.\(^{18}\)

Among other features of the goddess Sūryakulakṛṣṇodārī that seem to form an important part of the bhānavikrama teaching is her association with the process of sensory experience. In this regard the goddess is identified with Kaulinī Śakti/Kuleshī, which points to the Kula/Kaula roots of the Kāli kula.\(^{19}\) Kaulinī Śakti is primarily the enjoyer of all sensory experience (sarvabhogabhuk). The process of sensory experience is conceptualized, in phenomenological rather than theological terms, as one of withdrawal (saṃhāra), in which the obtainment of the object of perception (i.e., sound, touch, etc.) generated through the bliss of relishing (rasanā) becomes dissolved in the activity of the sense-organs; once this activity ceases, the supreme wonder arises.\(^{20}\) In order to explain the actual practice that helps to achieve “the supreme wonder”, the Kālikākramapañcāśikā seems to allude to the Kaula method of sexual intercourse as follows:

Having united the sexual organs in the course of reciprocal rite, when, upon abandoning one mental state, the mind (citti) does not grasp another, which

\(^{16}\) CMSS 7.234: hānādāñavibhedena tyāgagraha parikṣayel nirīkṣaṇānas tatvavaiñjo jñānārkam samprakāśayet//.

\(^{17}\) CMSS 7.213.

\(^{18}\) The image of the great fire will be retained by Abhinavagupta in the Tantrasāra (chap. 5, ed. Śāstrī, 1918, pp. 36–37) in his description of dhvāna in the ānavopāya during which the adept is instructed to visualize, as vividly as possible, the Great Fire of Bhairava in the form of the twelve flames of energy (i.e., śakti-jvalā-dvādasaka as the twelve Kālīs). This fiery conflagration proceeds from the visualization of the three constituent parts of the cognitive process symbolized by fire, sun, and moon going through the phases of sṛṣṭi, sthitī, samhāra, and viśrānti in relation to the external objects.

\(^{19}\) Indeed, Matsyendranātha, known also as Minanātha, whom Jayaratha identifies as the avatāraka of the Kula teachings in the piṭha of Kāmarūpa (Sanderson, 2007a, p. 264) appears in the mythical lineages of the Krama teachings (siddhakrama) of the Kāliyuga in the Devīpaṇcaśatāka, where he is accompanied by his consort Koṅkāmba and worshipped in the sṛṣṭikrama. The anonymous Khapaṇcaśastotra also considers Matsyendranātha to be the teacher of the Kāliyuga.

\(^{20}\) A very similar practice is quoted as the passage of the Mahānayaprapakāsa (which however could not be identified in the texts available to us at present) in the Mahārthamaṇjarīparimala (v. 35, p. 81): Bhāsavṛttiṣu tās citte cittam saṃvīdi sā pare/ vyonmy astam gamito yatra krama ullaṅganāmakāh//.
immediately arises, then, the supreme reality, which is one’s own true nature, manifests. 21

One has to notice that the practice of focusing attention on an interval between the two perceptions, similar to the one described above, also features in a number of Trika and Spanda texts, such as Abhinavagupta’s commentary on the Parātrīśikāvī-varaṇa 22, the Spandakārikā (v.41), 23 and the Vijñānabhairava (v.62). Another point worth noticing is that the Kālikākramapañcāsīkā considers the bhāṇavīkrama to be a part of the tradition of the Skeleton of Kālī (kālikaṅkāla), of which we unfortunately know nothing about. In this regard, the Kālikākramapañcāsīkā avers thus:

O goddess, [I will tell you] the tradition of the Skeleton of Kālī 24, the one taught by the guru, its single characteristics being one’s own perception, the supreme plane of the inexplicable (anākhya). Listen, o goddess, I will tell you the supreme sequence of the Kālīs. O Bhadra, I will tell you the supreme tradition of the twelve. 25

Importantly, the association of the solar Kālī with the tradition of the “Skeleton” is also attested in the fourth śatka of the Jayadrathayāmala, the tantra of the Bhairavasrotas where Bhairava wants to teach the goddess about the “the highest

21 CMSS 7.178-179ab: Kandendriyāṁi saṁyoja parasparavidhikrane/ hitvā bhāvaṁ na grññāti yadā bhavantaraṁ citiḥ/ tadā tatparanāṁ brahma svasabhāvaṁ pravartate./

22 Parātrīśikāvīvarana, p. 93 (trans. J. Singh) refers to the “interval between two different determinate perceptions, one that has just been terminated, and the other that is about to arise.” Abhinavagupta asserts that this interval between two perceptions is known in the tantras by various names, such as unmeṣa or pratibhā, but for him it is the nirvikalpa samvīt.

23 Kṣemarāja’s commentary on verse 41 of the Spandakārikā (p. 143) has a clear ‘Krama’ bent; for him the bliss of transcendental awareness that arises in that moment is a result of a sudden swallowing of thought-con structs that is concomitant with the dissolution of the object of thought.

24 In the Kālikākramapañcāsīkā, the goddess Kālī described through apophatic language is referred twice as the one who devours the Skeleton. For example: CMSS 7.220cd-221: rūpārūpāntaram rūpam sarvāpam rūpavarijítam/ bhāvabhāvavinirnuktam sarvāditiṣṭham sarvātmanisrūptah/ tatrotātā parā devī kālī kānkaḷabhaṅgaṁ/ “Within the form and non-form, [the one who is] the form, one’s own form, devoid of form; free of being and non-being, the undifferentiated and yet present in everything, the supreme goddess Kālī, the one who devours the Skeleton, has arisen there.” In the CMSS 7.228cd-229: tena kālīṭi vikhyāti kāṅkaḷakalabhaṅgaṁ/ bhāvabhāvasbhāvaṁ cicaṅkaricāda cārvitaṁ/ svūdāsaṁboḍhāṅgādānaṁ sphaṛuti kālīkramodyayaṁ/ “In this manner, she is known as ‘Kālī’ who devours the Kula of the Skeleton. For the inherent nature of existence and non-existence is relished by the consciousness of the wheel of consciousness (cicakara). The arising of the sequence of Kālīs manifests through the delight of the perfect knowledge of (its) taste.” In another place, CMSS 7.204, however, the goddess Kaulinti, in the supreme expansion of her own nature, is called the energy of the kaulākāṅkāla, who is the fire of devouring (itasvarūpaparamollāsviḥkāśa sphaṛuti kaulinti/ kaulākāṅkālalakalaya grāsaghasmarariṇīṁ/). We also find the reference, in CMSS 7.11, to the sky of the Kula of the Skeleton where Rudra and his energy are churned.

25 CMSS 7.160 and CMSS 7.162cd-163ab: guruvaṅkragatam devi svāmabhūtyaṅkalaṅkṣam/ kāḷīkāṅkaḷāsamaṅkṛmaṁ anākhya padam uttamaṁ/ śrīṇu devi pravakṣyāmi kāḷīkāṅkraman uttamaṁ/ dvādaśaiva paraṁ bhadre sampradāyam vadāmy ahān/.

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Kaula teaching which is concealed within the closed hand [of the teacher].”

The goddess expresses her interest in obtaining this teaching, saying:

I am satisfied, o Lord; I have truly understood the highest goal. By your favour, o Lord of all, great Śiva, I now want to hear the Kaulārnava teaching, called, the “Skeleton” (kaṅkāla) in which the goddess Kaṅkāla becomes manifest arising from the sun of consciousness (cidarka). She is the one who is located on the summit of Bhairava’s crest, and who radiates out in the form of the mass of [twelve] rays [i.e. raśmipuṇja=12 Kaṅkāla]. O you who are venerated by the foremost of gods, o Lord, I wish to know the sequence in accordance with its two aspects, external and internal.

Although no records about this tradition seems to be currently extant, the Kaṅkāla/Kaṅkāla appears to have been known to the Kaula Krama Kañkāla/Kaṅkāla practice. In the thirdṣaṭka of the Jayadrathayāmala, the wandering vratī addresses himself in the following words:

“I am a skull-bearing Kaṅkāla of the skeleton (kaṅkāla), eager to taste the fusion of the rays (of consciousness).” In the post-Jayadrathayāmala texts, references to the tradition of the kaṅkāla in the context of the Kāpālikas or the Kālīkula doctrine are rare. The only evidence I was able to find that clearly links it to the fully-fledged Krama practice of sensory experience, and thus may be a reminiscence of the Kālīkaṇkāla tradition, is Yogarāja’s commentary on Abhinavagupta’s Paramārthasāra. There we come across an explanation of the Kāpālika vow, called by Yogarāja the “skeleton posture” (kaṅkāla-mudrā). The hero (vīra) following this vṛata assumes the skeleton-posture in which he drinks the drink of the heroes (vīrapāna), i.e., the essence of all entities in the universe, from the skull of the sensory objects. The skull is held in his own hands that are glossed in terms of the Kālīkula doctrine as the ‘rays of consciousness’ (saṃvitkara). The ‘rays’ are the goddesses that are the senses, such as the eye, the ear, etc. while the sensory experience they offer to Bhairava brings about the final repose (viśrānti) in one’s own consciousness. Yogarāja’s commentary is a good example of the later
tradition associated with the exegetical works of the Kashmiri Kālīkrama,30 where the purpose of the sensory experience, as well as the goal of the cycle of the twelve Kālīs is the final repose (viśrānti) in one’s own consciousness.31

Another striking intertextual similarity between the Kālikākramapañcāśīka32 and the Jayadrathayāmala, already noted by Sanderson (2009, pp. 57–58), is attested in the exposition of the solar teaching that distinguishes between the plurality of suns that seem to correspond to the outer sense faculties, the inner cognitive faculties and the ultimate sun beyond them. In this regard, the Jayadrathayāmala avers thus:

This sun has emerged from within the sun [located] within the light of illuminator. Within this sun, is [yet another] sun, which illuminates the entire universe. The universe is overflowing with the mass [of rays] of Kaulinī, who is the sun-goddess (bhānavīkaulinī), and who embodies the Kaula absolute. It is from there that the great mantras, which are the wombs of sixty-four Bhairavas have arisen. Not located in light, nor in the void, not in one, nor in both, not in neither, the sun, all-pervading, shines, free of all obscurations […]. This sun, which is fearsome and terrible, shines at the limit of the fourth state of the sun with the rays that are ever arisen; those rays belong to the supreme sun, which is self-awareness. That person and him alone who realizes the wheel of the sun (bhācaakra), overcomes time.33

The description of the supreme sun endowed with the rays that are ever-arisen (nityodita), the knowledge of which leads the sādhaka to transcend the limits of time, is directly linked to the description of the twelve Kālīs. For the Jayadrathayāmala ‘rays’ (raśmicakra) stand for the twelve Kālīs.34 The sādhaka, insofar that he established

30 See the Mahānayaparākāśa of Śitikantha 12.4 (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, p. 133) where the object of experience is the favorite place of the goddesses of the senses (khecarīvāhadevi) who delight in consuming it (upabhoga). When the goddesses of the senses have relished the field of objectivity, they offer it to Bhairava, who is consciousness (cidbhairava), until offering themselves, then they abandon it and come to rest. This is the foundation of the enjoyment of external objects (visayabhoga). Śitikantha explains that in this way, the yogin is always content, thus having made contact with the krama (the deployment of the energies of the senses), he takes rest in the akrama. In other words, having made each individual sense experience one with its own nature and given up attachment to external things, he should transcend all. (see below).

31 For the parallel passages of the Kālikākramapañcāśīka and the Jayadrathayāmala, see Sanderson (2009, p. 75 fn.45).

32 JY 4:57r1-4: raviḥ pradīpakāloke sūryamadhyāt samutthitaḥ/ raver antargato bhānur bhāsayaty akhilam jagat// bhānavī kaulinī yā sā tatpūjābharatam jagat/ tatrotpannā mahāmantrā bhairavāṣṭāṣṭay- onayah// na prakāse na cākāse nobhayena nobhayojjhite/ sarvāmarṣitam mukto samcarvagyārāhavīr/mukto// sa raviḥ sūryaturyānte bhrājate raudraśāmarah/ svasamvitparamādityanyitoditamārañcibhiḥ// bhācaakra bhūṣitaṃ yena sa vai kālaḥjūro bhavet/. Sanskrit text quoted in Sanderson (2009, p. 57).

33 JY 4:58r5: “Thus Kāli is known to be of thirteen kinds, in accordance with the distinction of the rays” (trayodāsaśivadā kālī vijñeyā raśmiḥvedataḥ). JY 4:58v3-4: “When he is situated in the sun with the cycle of rays expanded, then he is established in the twelve signs of the zodiac, [and] becomes the bearer of the mass of rays; [when] he has fully internalized these [signs of the zodiac], then he becomes the lord of the Kula.” (raśmicakram viśāśitaṃ tadā raviḥ sthitā [for sthitah?]/ yadā dvādaśarājēśīh raśmiṣṭhādāḥ bhaveti/ tānā kālayate samyag tadā kulapātir bhavet/). The tradition of time-wheels (kālacakra) of twelve spokes representing the twelve suns, the twelve of signs of the zodiac and/or the twelve months is also attested in an early Śaivasiddhānta scripture, the Niśvāsakārikā. For example, in v.17 of the Dīkṣottaraprakaraṇa section (pp. 1062 ff.) of the Niśvāsakārikā we find the solar identity of the
himself in the twelve signs of the zodiac, is said to embody those ‘rays’. He now manifests in the form of the sun itself, the nature of which is the expansion of the domains of the sense-faculties. In that capacity he becomes the leader of the twelve Kālīs. Although the Jayadityayāmala talks about the sādhaka who embodies the twelve rays of the sun, it gives the names of the thirteen Kālīs who “emerge in the void-awareness of the rays as they begin to expand”.

Although Abhinavagupta, as we shall see below, was more interested to present the doctrine of the twelve Kālīs as the philosophical model of samvīccakra, he probably knew about the solar tradition associated with the twelve Kālīs. This is hinted at in Abhinavagupta’s commentary (vivaraṇa) on the Parātrāśikā, where he adopts the solar metaphor to assert the soteriological validity of true reasoning (sattarka), the single method applied in the sāktopāya. In the sāktopāya, whose core are the twelve Kālīs in the Tantrāloka and Tantrasāra, cultivation of correct mental representations (vikalpa-samskāra) is purported to remove the pertinacity of duality, which is nothing else but ignorance covering one’s own true self. The shedding away of ignorance is simultaneous with the self’s uncovering of its own luminous nature. In the Parātrāśikā, Abhinavagupta adopts the solar metaphor to assert the soteriological validity of sattarka as the method that enables an instant dissolution of ignorance, which like the flecks of clouds, cover the ‘sun of consciousness’:

Footnote 34 continued

zodiacal signs that are “equal to the sun”. In the rāśīsaṅcāra, the twelve spokes of the cakra are correlated with the vowels beginning with ‘a’. I thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing this out. For the similar attestations in the Krama and Trika texts, see infra fn. 54.

35 JY 4.58v: “Endowed with the rays he becomes free within the plurality of manifested world” (bhavabhāvāntaranirmukto raśmiyuk). JY 4.58r: “Now, he expands as the sun itself, as the expansion of the domain of sense-faculties.” (vṛttihāmavikāśātmā ravīr eva vijṛmbhate).

36 JY 4.58r: “Embodying the twelve, residing in the twelve, illuminating the limit of the twelve, permeating the totality of the rays of the mantras, he is the leader of the circle of Kālīs with the subdivisions of the division of the rays those [who attain this realization] shine forth” (dvādaśaśatrī dvādaśaśāntiabhāsahakaḥ mantraraṇikulakramāṇi kāliṣṭhānaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ, raśmibhedaprāphādena te sphurūnti).

37 JY 4.58r: “I will tell you that sequence as it has come down through the unbroken oral tradition. The thirteen [Kālīs] emerge in the void-awareness of the rays as they begin to expand.” (tattavam sampravaksyāmi mukhoparamparāgatam pramāṇī viniveśa raśmikacatā ca jṛmbhī eva daśātrīkaṁ). The list of their names, then, follows: (1) Sṛṣṭikālī, (2) Śītikālī, (3) Śaṃhārakālī, (4) Raktakālī, (5) Sukālī, (6) Yamakālī, (7) Mṛtyukālī, (8) Bhadrakālī, (9) Paramādityakālī, (10) Mārtandaṇkālī, (11) Kālaṅgirudrakālī, (12) Mahākālalakalakālī, (13) Mahābhairavakālī.

38 Tantrasāra, 4 (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, pp. 24–25): “The function of true reasoning (sattarka) is to break the pertinacity of duality, nothing else. Because, everything is essentially the absolute consciousness (citta), therefore, even in the ordinary experience, the manifestation of the desired form of the body and so on, and suppression of the opposing (undesired) form, takes place—this is the meaning of repeated practice. As it has been said previously, from the supreme reality nothing can be taken away. The pertinacity of duality is not a separately existing thing, but it is rather ignorance with regard to one’s own true self. Therefore, it is said that the removal of duality takes place through mental representation (vikalpa). The supreme truth is that the luminous essence of the Self, progressively shedding away the form of ignorance it assumed due to its (essential) freedom, shines forth—first in the intentionality to reveal itself (vikāśāntam), then in the act of self-revelation (vikāṣat), and finally as fully revealed (vikāśīta). This form of self-revelation constitutes the essence of the supreme Lord. For this reason, the different limbs of yoga do not constitute here (in this process of self-revelation) any direct means. Even if they aid to reasoning, it is only the true reasoning which is the direct means (of self-realization).”
Among all the lights of yoga, sattarka has been determined in the Mālānivijayottaratantra to be the blazing sun by which one is liberated and liberates others. And this [sattarka] has to be grasped and reflected upon at all times by those wise ones who, having given up the envy, so common in human beings, for a moment, want to reach the supreme. The aspirant is established in one’s own self immediately after the sattarka [ālocana], and the flecks of clouds [that cover] the sun of consciousness are dissolved at once, through the relish of one’s own true nature.39

The aforementioned passage distinguishes between the sun-like sattarka as the method of realization and the ‘sun of consciousness’ as its goal. The former is the process of purifying reflection, which suddenly disperses the clouds of ignorance or the malas; the latter represents the pure luminosity of consciousness that becomes “fully revealed” through this method. In accord with Abhinavagupta’s reformulation of liberation as consisting of enjoyment/savouring (bhogamokṣasāmarasya), the goal of this practice is the “relish of one’s own nature”. It is quite certain that by adopting the solar metaphor Abhinavagupta alludes to the Kalikula doctrine of the Sun-Goddess that formed an esoteric background of the early teaching of the twelve Kalīs, but gives it, instead, a rational outlook of sattarka.

Post-Abhinavagupta Trika authors, such as Jayaratha and Yogarāja, were aware of the solar context linked to the doctrine of the twelve Kalīs, and did not shy away from affirming its soteriological value. One example in case is Jayaratha’s commentary on Abhinavagupta’s passage of the Tantrāloka describing the three Trika goddesses (parā, aparā, and parāparā), who arise as the twelve Kalīs. According to Abhinavagupta, those twelve goddesses embody the fully expanded nature of consciousness, and those who venerate those twelve are directly established in Śiva’s nature.40 Jayaratha clearly pays heed to the earlier solar tradition by quoting from a text where the twelve goddesses constitute the supreme sun of one’s own consciousness (svasamvitparamāditya), which is the imperishable mass of light.41 Similar example is found in Yogarāja’s commentary on the Paramārthasāra, where, in accordance with the passage of the Parātrīśikā quoted above, the revelation of the “sun of consciousness” is instigated by the destruction

39 Parātrīśikā-vivarana, ed. Singh (1989, pp. 73–74); trans. Singh (1989, p. 196) slightly modified: yah sarvayogāvayaprajāśeṣu gabhasmāḥ// śripūrvaśāstre nirñīto yena muktas ca mocakah/ etat tu sarvathā grāhyam vimśyam ca parepsubhiḥ// kṣanam martyravasulabhām hitāśīyām vicaksanātiḥ/ ālocanaśeṣad ārdhvaṃ yad bhaved ātmanī sthitih/ cidarkābhralavās tena saṁśāmyante svato rasaḥ//.

40 Tantrāloka 1.107-108, (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, pp. 150–151), vol.1; (trans. Sanderson) Now, the three [goddesses] Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā mentioned above are none other than the powers of this [essential nature]. Each is manifest in emission, stasis, resorption, and the fourth. In this way, they arise as [a set of] twelve. When this [autonomous light of consciousness is experienced in the mode in which it] encompasses all of these, then it is manifest in fully expanded nature. It is this what is meant by the expression “Supreme Śiva”. So, those who venerate these twelve are directly established in that [Śiva’s nature].

41 Tāv 1.107 (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, p. 151, vol.1) quotes from unidentified source saying: dhānmāṃ trayāṇām apy esām rṣyādikramyogātah/ bhavec caturdhāvasthānam evaṃ dvādaśadhoditah// svasamvit-paramādityāḥ prakāśavapur ayyayah/ iti.
of the “veil of delusion”. A person who has reached this state shines as the “sun in the guise of Śiva”, “with his rays unhindered”, “with the host of rays of consciousness”. For such a person, liberation ensues, which is described as “the state wherein his own energies are fully deployed.” 42 This description echoes the passage of the Jayadrathayāmala referred to above where the sādhaka manifests as the sun with the ‘rays’ (i.e., the twelve Kālis), fully expanded.

The Twelve Kālis as the Kalās of Mahākāli in the Devīpāñcaśatakā

Much like the Kālikākramapañcāsikā and the Jayadrathayāmala, the Devīpāñcaśatakā—which together with the Kālikulakramasadbhāvya and the Yonigahvaratantra belongs to the groups of texts that are believed to have been revealed in the Northern Sacred Seat (uttarapīṭha) by Jñānanetra or Śrīnātha, known also as Śivānandanātha 43—knew about the esoteric teaching of the Sun-Goddess Kāli. This is attested in the seventh paṭala, where the text refers to the secret teaching of the supreme sun, which is the circle of consciousness (citimāṇḍala) located at the end of Śiva (śivānta). Unlike the Kālikākramapañcāsikā and the Jayadrathayāmala, however, the main goddess of the Devīpāñcaśatakā—who both embodies the supreme sun and is endowed with the twelve rays—is equated with the plane of repose of consciousness (cittaviśramabhūmika). In effect, an adept who knows this goddess attains the state of the sky-farer. The Devīpāñcaśatakā speaks of it in the following words:

I will tell you the secret and most excellent Kālikaśā. One should think of the supreme sun, whose nature is the abode, the supreme and all-pervading, endowed with sentience [in the form of] the circle of consciousness and radiant like a crore of moons. It has the brightness of the thousand fires at the

42 Paramārthasāra with Yogarāja’s commentary (trans. Bansat-Boudon and Tripathi 2011:221), stanza 56: “He whose veil of delusion has been destroyed now shines as the Sun in the guise of Śiva, that is, comes into evidence with his rays unhindered, with the host of rays of his consciousness (cinmarīci); and there is for him no such thing as the liberation postulated by other schools of thought, if that means going somewhere else […]. For him, there ensues only that state wherein his own energies are fully deployed, for the constriction imposed by the sheaths of māyā, etc., has vanished.”.

43 Jayaratha calls Jñānanetra the master “who brought down the doctrine of Krama to earth” (avaṭārakanātha). The mānavaugha consisted of (1) Netra (Jñānanetra), (2) Rājñī (Keyūravati), and (3) Hrasvanātha (Vāmana) MP (Ś) 9.5 (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, p. 107). Keyūravati is praised in Ārṇasiṃha’s Mahānayapradāsa as the one who has understood the wisdom born of the sacred seat and who attained the state of a sky-farer: śrīmatkeyūravatayākhya pīthajājānapuragā/ khacakraṇīṁ yeyam tām aham naumi bhaktiḥ/ MP (A) 154, (ed. Dyczkowski n.d. p. 62). According to Abhinavagupta, Keyūravati, also known as Kakārdevi, was one of the three female yoginīs (other two being Madanikā and Kalyānikā) who passed on the teachings received from Śivānandanātha to Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka. The last one is the author of the Kramastotra, quoted in Abhinavagupta’s exposition of the sāṃviccakrodaya, on which Abhinava wrote a commentary (now considered lost), called the Kramakeśi. Hrasvanātha, also called Vāmana/Vāmanadatta or Viranātha might have been the author of the Svabhodhayamaṇjarī and the Dvayāpasampattivārtika, also known as Bodhavilāsa (Sanderson 2007a, p. 276).
end of the eon and a splendid equal to the great sun. Established in [everything], from the worlds situated at the very bottom of the universe up to Śiva, it is intent on causing all beings to arise. Through the sudden dissolution of the energy (kalā), there, one should know the space [that is] the circle of consciousness, which is tranquil, pure and resembling Brahmā. It is where the goddess, who is the plane of repose of consciousness, resides. She whose nature is the supreme sun has emanated with the twelve divisions. With the twelve rays, she resembles one hundred thousands rays. […] He who knows her, immediately, in that moment, becomes a sky-farer; he measures out the whole universe, and playfully devours it again. Thus, in this world, the sādhaka has no comparison: he who abides in the three worlds, is supreme, and on the account of being the lord, he is like Īśvara.

The aforementioned passage, parts of which are also found in the Yonigahvaratantra, proves that the solar elements in the worship of the goddess Kāli were still strong in the period when the tantras of Uttarapīṭha flourished. At the same time, it is in the Devīpāncāsataka where we find, for the first time, the fully-fledged doctrine of the twelve Kālis who—as the ‘energies’ or kalās of the goddess Mahākāli—are worshipped in the anākhyakrama. Nevertheless, at this stage, the twelvefold cognitive structure of the anākhyakrama that became the key-concept associated with the twelve Kālis in later scriptures is not yet attested. Like the Jayadrathayāmala, the Devīpāncāsataka refers to the “tradition of the twelve” [Kālis] (dvādaśādāṃśa), but gives the names of the thirteen Kālis worshipped in the anākhyakrama. Those twelve constitute the essential nature (svabhāva) of Mahākāli, who, through her own capacity, brings forth destruction and terminates

44 For this translation of uḥaka, see Tantrikābhidhānakośa II (Brunner, Oberhammer and Padoux, 2004, p. 304).
45 Together with the Yonigahvara and the Kramasadbhāva, the Devīpāncāsataka understands the state of the sky-farer (khecari) as the ultimate goal of the Kālikula teachings while asserting emptiness as the foundation of reality through the process that negates everything it is not. In the second pātala, Bhairavi teaches Bhairaviya of the pervasion of emptiness (yomavyāpya) by negating its identification with all things through the rhetorical structure of ‘na X, na ca vā Y’, that closely resembles the Upanisadic neti-neti approach. Parallel examples of the same stylistic device employed to describe either the nature of the goddess or the krama are also found in the Kramasadbhāva and the Yonigahvaratantra.
46 DP 7.42cd-7.47ab: katthayāmi rahasyaṃ ca kālikākramam uttamam// cintayet paramādityam dhāmarūpaṃ paraṃ vibhum/ ciccakracetanaṣvyaṃ candrikotyavabhāsakam// kalpātān dasāsahadhāmaḥ bhūrīś-varasamaprabham/ uḥakādīśivāntastham sarvasattvātvarahyatam// kalālayena sahasaḥ pratāntam cintāman alam/ tatrākāśam vijñāṇīyaṃ nirmalam brahmasanvihitam// yatra sā maṣṭāthā devi cit-taviśrāmahāmikā/ svātaḥ dvādaśabhir bhedaḥ paramākṣarasvarūpaṁ// raśmīdvādaśabhiḥ raśmīśaḥrasaḥrasātatasannibhaḥ//. […] DP 7.48-49: yo vindati sakṛta tasyaḥ tatāśyāt khecara bhavet/ nirmāti visvam akhilam grasate līlayā punah// na tasya sādākhyasyaivaṃ upamā bhūvī vidyate/ trailokyān atiśhāte paraḥ prabhuṭamaya yatvēṣvaraḥ/.
47 DP 5.14cd-5-15ab: “She, who is single and is the supreme goddess (parā devī) is known as Brahmasvarūpa. Thus, she is [the goddess] whose essential nature is the sun with twelve divisions” (ekaiḥ ca parā devī jñeyā brahmasvarūpaṁ// evam sā dvādaśair bhedaḥ paramākṣarasvarūpaṁ). DP 5.22-23ab: “She is the end of phat, very fierce devouring Bhairavas-Īśvaras. In the middle of the sun, she is the bliss of stillness, she shines inwardly as the rays of consciousness. Listen to her tradition of the twelvefold together with their names” (phatākāntā mahāghorā graṁśi bhāriverṣivarān/ravimadhye niranandā cinmarīcyantabhāsikā// tasyā dvādaśadāṃśaṃ nīmabhīḥ saha tac chṛṇū).
the reality of time. Each of the twelve Kālīs is called the energy (kalā) and as such it belongs to the goddess Mahākālī, who embodies the supreme energy (parā kalā), called the nectar (amrta). Although Mahākālī still retains the characteristics of the Sun-Goddess, in that she is described as the absence of bliss (nirānanda), abiding in the middle of the sun, where she shines as the rays of consciousness; the tendency to refer to the goddess through the discourse of emptiness is also strongly attested. Thus, we find the expressions that have a clear sūnyavādīn orientation and define Mahākālī as the energy of emptiness, established in emptiness, made of emptiness, etc.

Further, Mahākālī is described through the epithets that point to her transcendental nature. Thus she is the unmovable place of bindu, eternal, fixed, alone, a single heroine (ekavīra), very subtle, imperishable. She is described through the use of apophatic language as “neither the object of perception, nor the object of speech, free of attributes.” The Devīpañcaśataka also draws attention to another, fierce aspect of Mahaṅkālī in which she, as the very fierce one (mahāghora) and the end of the syllable phat, devours the Lord Bhairava. This trait is also found in a number of other early and later texts, such as the Kramasadbhāva, Mahānayaprapakāsas of Arṇasīṃha and Śītikānta, and Jñānanetra’s Kālikāstotra, where Bhairava becomes unequivocally associated with the principle of time, which the goddess successfully devours.

The Devīpañcaśataka gives two alternatives for the worship of the twelve Kālīs: the samvitkrama and the pūjākrama, the distinction still retained in Jayaratha’s commentary on the Tantrāloka. In the samvitkrama, the twelve goddesses are worshipped internally as the succession of one’s own cognitive process (svasamvitā). In the pūjākrama, the instructions are given to worship the twelve goddesses in the external ritual setting as the retinue of the thirteenth goddess located in the middle. The text refers to these as follows:

48 The concept of parā kalā, although not found in the Kālikākramapaṅcāśikā, is also attested in the Kramasadbhāva and the Jayadrathayāmala, where it represents the energy of the new moon (anākālī) in the seventeen-syllable vidyā of Caṇḍyogeśvarī/Kālasaṃkārṣini, wherein the sixteen digits of the new moon (kalā) are contained. The parā kalā is called nectar (amrta) (lit. “deathless”), because it remains as a permanent, unchanging element in the cycle of waning and waxing moon. The difference is that in the Devīpañcaśataka the parā kalā represented by the seventeen-syllable vidyā should be worshipped in the form of the twelve suns, either in the heart-cakra or externally in the twelve-spoke wheel. See, e.g., the passage of the avatārakrama 4.29cd-4.33. Other scriptures revealed in the Uttarapīṭha, such as the Yonigahvaratantra and the Kramasadbhāva, untypically give the names of the sixteen or even seventeen Kālīs of the anākhyakrama, which may be explained as an endeavor to assimilate the Kālīs, in concomitance with Kālasaṃkārṣini’s vidyā as the lunar, and not the solar energies.

49 DP 5.11cd: mahākālikalākhyātā kalameṛtamayā śubhāl.

50 The reference to the goddess as nirānanda continues the tradition of Niṣkriyānanda who teaches about the condition of ‘inactivity’ (niṣkriyā) as the ultimate reality. According to the Mahānayapraṇakṣa of Arṇasīṃha (v.126), ‘inactivity’ is a characteristic feature of the śambhava state, wherein the power of mental process (citti) is suddenly (sahasā) dissolved into the great void, which is ‘without movement’ (niḥspanda) and has no abode. According to the Kramasadbhāva (3.46ab) Kālī is ‘the end of the twelve’, ‘the absence of bliss’, ‘the end of the sixteen’ and ‘mind beyond mind’: dvādaśaṇṭi nirānandā sadaśaṇṭa manomani.

51 DP 5.21ab: khasvarūpā khamadhyāstha śhacakra ca vyavasthitāl.

52 DP 5.21cd: nirānayā cāprameyā anuccāryā gunojjhitāl.

53 DP 5.22ab: phaṭkārāntā mahāghorā graṇantī bhairaveśvarānīl.
O supreme Lord, one should worship those [twelve Kālīs] at the Brahmā-lotus, which is inexplicable and complete, at the end of the sixteen, at the end of the nine, or at the of cit. O Three-eyed one, worship them with the succession of one’s own cognitive process (svasamvitti), or else, externally, on a red cloth. One should make a circle of emptiness with lapis lazuli powder. Outside of that [circle], on should place the circle of the twelve.  

Having worshipped Mahākālī in the middle, one should worship the other twelve [located] on the outside, in due sequence, beginning with the east, O one delighted in yoga. [The sādhaka] should be wearing female clothes, or be naked; he should be wise, devoid of thought-constructs, propitious, and be an expert in the ritual procedure.  

The śoḍaśāṅta, navāṇta, and cidanta are symbolic locations present in the yogic body that are often correlated with the points in the rise of kuṇḍalinī. The “End of the Sixteen” represents the location at the distance of the sixteen fingers above the head, and as such it is unknown to the Svachhandatantra, Netratantra, Śidhayaṛogeśvarīmata and rarely mentioned in the Tantrasadbhāva, and the Mālinīvijayottaratantra. Abhinavagupta never refers to the “End of the Sixteen”. For him, the “End of the Twelve” (dvādaśāṅta) is the highest point in the ascent of kuṇḍalinī, and this is a standard description borrowed from the Svachhandatantra. The “End of the Sixteen” is, however, known to the Jayadrathayāmala, and the Kramasadbhāva. In the Kramasadbhāva, Mahākālī is praised as the one established at the “End of the Sixteen”. It is clear that by mentioning the “End of the Sixteen” as the location to worship the twelve Kālīs, the Devīpāṇcaśatakā aligns with the Jayadrathayāmala and not the Kālikākramapaṅcāśikā, where the reference to the more common location at the “End of the Twelve” is found (see above).  

The Devīpāṇcaśatakā is an important text for understanding the development of the twelve Kālīs, for it reflects a transitional point between the early doctrine of the Sun-Goddess with twelve rays and the teaching of Maha¯ka¯lī with twelve kalās, intent on devouring time-Mahākālā. The text is also relevant for linking the teaching on the solar goddess with the concept of cittaviṣrāma that will be adopted as the

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54 The instructions for drawing the manaḥ ala with the central thirteenth Kālī surrounded by other twelve is also found in the fourth saṅka of the JY 4.57v4-5 (also quoted in Sanderson, 2007a, p. 257): “Having drawn the manḍala of the goddess consisting of the great twelve [Kālī]; he should make the thirteenth [Kālī] in their centre together with the vowels of a zodiac, and having drawn a square, O Goddess, he should fill it with red powder” (sāntīkhyā manḍalōn devīṁ mahādvāḍāṣasamṇitāṁ/ madhye trayodaśaṁ kāṛyaṁ rāśivarṇasamanvītāṁ/raktena rajasā devi caturlekhāṁ prapūryayet/). In the description of the Umāmāheśvaracakra of the Trika scripture, the Tantrasadbhāva (seventh paṭala, vv.11c-14), we find the solar Mārtandabhairava in the centre surrounded by the second layer (āvarana) of the cakra consisting of twelve spokes installed as the twelve rudras who are identified with the twelve solar vowels (devoid of four “eunuch/nagrmsaka” vowels, ṛ ṛ ṛ ṛ) and the twelve signs of the zodiac. I thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing this out. For the identification of the twelve Kālīs with the twelve vowels in other Krama and Trika scriptures, see below and fn.70.

55 DP 5.47-49ab: pūjyāṁ etad brahmāsvaro nīrākhya ca nīrāmaye/ so aśānte navānte vā cidante paramesvāra/ svasamvittakramenaṁkāṁ bāhye vāthā trilocana/ rājāvartena rajasā vyoṣabimbāṁ tu kāryat/ bimbavedvāsakāṁ bāhye tadrūpāṁ avatārayet/ DP 5.52-53: madhye pūjyā mahākālī bāhye ‘nyā dvādaśa kramā/ pūrva āryabhāva sarvāṁ tāṁ pūjyayed yoginandana/ strīvēśadhāṅ bhūtvāsau nagnavaśo mahāmatiḥ/ nirvikalpaṁ prasannāṁmā pūjākarmaviśāradaḥ/.

56 KS 1.12: aripe avsare garbe śoḍaśānte vyavasthite/ icchārāpasvabhāvasthe bhairaveśī namo ‘stu te/.
goal of the anākhya krama by the Mahānayaprakāśas as well as the Trika exegetical authors.

The Śrīkālikāstotra of Jñānanetra: The Twelve Kālis and the Codification of the Twelveload Anākhya

The Śrīkālikāstotra of Jñānanetra marks a shift away from the descriptions of the goddess Kāli as emptiness, prevalent in the tantras revealed in the Uttarapīṭha, to the goddess representing consciousness. Moreover, Jñānanetra’s ideas are strongly influenced by the concept of sahaja usually translated as ‘spontaneity’, ‘co-emergent’, or ‘inborn’. Sahaja was a popular notion in the Indian Buddhist tantras, such as Hevajra, and it was widely associated with the 9th century mahāśiddha Saraha, who in his spiritual songs (dohās), propagated sahaja both as the method and the soteriological goal. Jñānanetra uses the word sahaja in compounds to describe the nature of the goddess Kāli. Thus, she is the ‘supreme spontaneity’ (niruttarasahaja) that emerges from Śiva’s consciousness and assumes the form of pure will. She is the ‘spontaneity of recognition’ (sahajasamvitti) that can be attained by means of pure consciousness, devoid of any limiting adjuncts (anupādhi). She is the ‘innate spontaneity’ (sahajasvarūpa), when she divides herself thirteenthfold.57 Although Jñānanetra never mentions the twelve Kālis directly, nor does he refer to the goddess’ solar aspects, there is a sense that some of the verses refer to the doctrine of the twelve Kālis. According to Jayaratha—who in his commentary on Abhinavagupta’s exposition of samvimcacakrodaya quotes a couple of verses from the Śrīkālikāstotra—, Jñānanetra was a recipient of the doctrine of the twelve Kālis.58 He further argues that even when Jñānanetra mentions the goddess divided into thirteen forms, he actually means the twelve, and not the thirteen Kālis.59 In order to substantiate his argument, Jayaratha quotes the following verse of the Śrīkālikāstotra:

Hail to your form propelling the whirlpool of the manifestation of the universe, having made your innate nature thirteenthfold. Your own unique nature is three-fold through distinction into emission (prasara), permanence (sthiti), and withdrawal (vilaya), and that is fourfold in each case by the reason

57 ŚKS v.3, 9, and 10. For the Sanskrit text, see Silburn (1975, pp. 191–192).
58 Jayaratha (Tāv 4.173; ed. Śāstri, 1922, p. 195, vol. III) calls him the master “who brought the doctrine of Krama down to earth” (avatārakanātha). According to a lost Krama text, which Sanderson (2007a, p. 273) identified as the Kramavāmśāvahā, Jñānanetra had seventeen disciples, some of whom eventually began to initiate others, establishing their own lineages. According to Jayaratha (ibidem), the total number of disciples was nineteen. Among them were three female disciples (yoginīs): Kakārađevedī, Madanikā, and Kalyāṇīkā who passed the teachings to Govindarāja, Bhānuka, and Eraka.
59 Tāv 4.173; (ed. Śāstri, 1922, p.198), vol. III: tasmā ādiśāsadhātvam evātra vaktum abhiśāt siddhāpādānāṁ—ity avagantavyam, “Therefore it was intended by the siddha (Jñānanetra) to express here only the twelveload [nature of the goddess, when he mentioned the thirteen-fold], this is as it should be understood.” For the discussion on the twelve Kālis of the Tantrāloka and the thirteen Kālis of the Deviṉačaśataka see Sanderson (2007b, pp. 101–103).
of arising (udaya), preserving (saṃsthiti), dissolution (laya) and repose (viśrama).  

The above passage is important for it is the first time we come across the formulation of the twelvefold anākhya. Abhinavagupta clearly incorporates this very sequence into his exposition of the saṃvivacakrodaya, where he correlates each phase of the twelvefold process with the name of a specific Kāli. He also substitutes the cosmic functions of prasara, sthitī, and vilaya with their cognitive equivalents, corresponding to prameya, pramāṇa, and pramāṇa. The Cidgaganacandrikā of Śrīvatsa (12th–13th century), which according to Sanderson (2007a, pp. 297) is rephrasing Arnāsimha’s ideas in a more poetic style, adheres to the same model. There, the face of the goddess resembling the sun of consciousness consists of the aggregate of powers (śaktivṛnda) as the plane of the twelvefold sequence expanded out into the universe through the squaring of triads. These twelve reside within the abodes of the moon, sun, and fire, which are the three eyes of the goddess in the form of cognizable object, the means of cognition, and the cognizing subject.

Another concept that the Śrīkālikāstotra shares with the Cidgaganacandrikā is the identification of the twelvefold body of Kāli with the principle of time. The Śrīkālikāstotra says:

Hail to you who, having divided the body of the Kāli of Time, split twelvefold. You then shine, making that form radiant in itself.

For Jayaratha this verse proves that Kāli maintains her true identity of all-inclusive light (prakāśa) even in the external projection as time. He says further that Kāli’s ability to manifest time in the manner of the reflection in the mirror belongs to the goddess’s nature as anākhya. In another passage, Jñānanetra refers to Bhairava as the form of time, who creates the world from the [first] cause to the last insect. The
The Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇaṃśa: Devīkrama as Varṇakrama

The Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇaṃśa—one of the three texts bearing the same title—represents a later stage in the development of the twelve Kālīs doctrine, filtered, as it were, through the technical terminology present also in the Kashmirian Krama exegesis. Arṇaṃśa’s exposition of the twelve Kālīs, as revealed in the description of the anākhya-krama, is also, in many ways, dissimilar to the presentation given in the Kālikākrama-pañcāsikā or the Devīpaṇcaśatāka. The most apparent difference is the absence of any reference to the Sun-Goddess. There are also noticeable dissimilarities in the overall presentation of the doctrine. First, Arṇaṃśa develops the idea of the twelve vowels that we have already encountered in the Jayadrathayāmala (see above) and explains the process through which the twelve vowels of the previously described wheel of light (prakāśacakra) become the twelve Kālīs in the anākhya-krama. The reference to the twelve vowels—beginning with ‘a’ and ending with ‘h’, but devoid of the four neuter letters, indicates that Arṇaṃśa is referring to the Sequence of Letters (varṇakrama), one of the three modes of the Mahānaya worship. It is worth noticing that in Abhinavagupta’s exposition of the śāmbhavopāya, we also find the twelve Kālīs being referred to as

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65 ŠKS v.6ab: bhairavarīṇī kālah srjati jagatkāraṇādī kītāntam/. ŠKS v.13ab: kavalitasa kalajagat-trayavikatamahākāla kalavonalodikā/. See also the Mahānayaprakāśa of Arṇaṃśa (v. 228cd-229, ed. Dyczkowski n.d. p.75), which also identifies Bhairava with the twelvelfold time, while the goddess Kālasaṅkarṣṇī is constantly intent on devouring him with violent force (khaṭha).

66 CDC 37cd: rāśirājividhibhājitaḥ svarair lakṣitās tava hi viprāṣo ‘mbikell/.

67 CDC 220ab: dvādaśāmāravikālaghasmarī kālakāliśivabhūmikā varā/.

68 MP (A) 215ab: akāraṇavigargāntā ye sādhvasvaravargītāḥ/.

69 There exists three sequences in the Mahānaya worship, present in all the three Mahānayaprakāśas, i.e., 1) the Sequence of Abodes (dhamakrama), which relates to the particular point of concentration located in the subtle body, connected with kundalini rising through the energetic centres (cakra), 2) The Sequence of the Letters (varṇakrama) is concerned with the corresponding sequence of phonemes, 3) The Sequence of Consciousness (citkrama or samvitkrama) corresponds to the nature of cognition in accordance with the level of purification (of consciousness), available at each stage of sādhana.
the twelve vowels.\textsuperscript{70} According to Arṇasimha,\textsuperscript{71} however, in the anākhyakrama, those twelve vowels enter the process of reversion (pratyāvṛtti),\textsuperscript{72} which takes place when they, full of the relish of cognition (ciccamatkārabhārito), are withdrawn from their objects.\textsuperscript{73} Once this happens, the twelve Kālīs arise to destroy the manifested and unmanifested nature of these twelve vowels.\textsuperscript{74} At the same time, he adopts the twelvefold structure of anākhyakrama and labels it as creative imagination (kalpanā) of the thirteenth Kālī.\textsuperscript{75} Second, drawing on the Kaula terminology, Arṇasimha identifies the sequence of the goddesses (devīkakrama) with the ‘rays’ (raśmayaḥ, raśmīpuṇja), which are devoid of ego, and free of thought-constructs,
beyond the sequence and the non-sequence, and transcending any contact with the sensory experience.76 Third, the activity of destruction that those ‘rays’ instigate is described through the use of technical terms, such as ‘forceful withdrawal’ (hathasamhāra), and ‘fire of total devouring’ (alamgrāsaikaghasmara).77 In another place, Arṇṣimha also uses the term sahasā78 to refer to the process of sudden withdrawal activated by the twelve goddesses. The references to hathākarsa and grāsaghasmara are also found in Niśkriyānanda’s Kālikākramapañcāśikā, but they are not found in the Devīpañcasañataka, which only mentions the term sahasā. These terms are also found in other Mahānayapraṅkāsas79 and in the Kashmirian Trika exegesis.80 Fourth, Arṇṣimha gives additional identification of the anākhyakrama, when he correlates it with the fourth state (turīya),81 on the one hand, and with the condition of oneness (sāmarasya),82 on the other. Finally, Arṇṣimha postulates the existence of the thirteenth Kāli, who as the source of other twelve goddesses, presides over the great wheel of withdrawal of all things and is intent on emitting and devouring these twelve goddesses.83

Arṇṣimha’s exposition of the twelve Kāḷīs summarized above represents the stage in the development of the doctrine that was already drawing upon the established set of concepts, such as pratyāvṛtti, ciccamatkāra, alamgrāśa or sāmarasya found also in the Trika and the Trika-influenced Krama sources. This indicates that at the time of Arṇṣimha, the doctrine of the twelve Kāḷīs was already more or less codified and it was adopted in that form as a core of the later Kashmirian Krama exegesis. Arṇṣimha’s explanation of the twelve Kāḷīs had a great influence on Mahēśvarānanda’s formulation of the same concept in his 13th–14th century Mahārthamaṇjarī.

76 MP (A) 222-224ab.
77 MP (A) 224-225.
78 MP (A) 213. The Mahānayapraṅkāśa of Trivandrum (7.25) also refers to the practice of careful attention (avadhāna), during which the universe suddenly dissolves: “It is precisely by paying attention to one’s own reflective awareness that the presence of the universe [extending] from the Fire of Time up to Śiva suddenly dissolves into one’s own nature (svavimarṣavādhausenāpy ākālaṅginiśivāvadhiś vīśvasya bhāvah saahasā svasvarūpe vi Śvate [em. vi Śyate]).
79 See, fn. 73 above.
80 For the hathapāka, see for example, TĀ 3. 260-264.
81 MP (A) 213 where turvaceakra connotes the condition of waveless great void (niṣṭaraṅgamahāvyoma). The concept of turīya, originally found in the Śivasūtras (v.7) to describe the final state of yogic realization which pervades the three states of waking (jagat), sleep (svapna), and deep sleep (susupti), has been adopted in the concept of the twelve Kāḷīs from the Jayadrathāyāmala (4.57r4) onwards: sa raviḥ sūryaturyānte īśvājate raundradāmarah, “That sun shines at the limit of fourth state of the sun, which is fearsome and terrible.” The association of the twelve Kāḷīs with the concept of turīya reached its peak in the Mahārthamaṇjarīparimala (v.39), which clearly draws upon Arṇṣimha’s Mahānayapraṅkāśa.
82 For the association of the twelve Kāḷīs or anākhyakrama with the samarasa/sāmarasya or ekaraṇa, see CMS 7.224, TĀv 4.172, MP (Ś) 10.7.
83 MP (A) 226 quoted in the Mahārthamaṇjarīparimala (v.39, ed. V. Dvivedi 1992:101).
The Thirteen Kālis as Time-Consumption (kālagrāsa):
The Mahānayaprakāśa of Trivandrum

The anonymous Mahānayaprakāśa of Trivandrum, a post-Abhinavagupta scripture written by the 12th century and certainly influenced by the Pratyabhijnā school, is undoubtedly our most useful source to understand the philosophical foundation of the doctrine of the thirteen (and not the twelve) Kālis. The text formulates this concept in terms of the practice of anākhyakrama built upon the notion of atemporal temporality (kramākrama), or, in other words, the non-sequential sequence that belongs to the single, manifesting consciousness (saṃvit-sphurāṇa). According to the text, anākhyā has two states: on the one hand, it penetrates plurality, for it contains within itself the sequences of srṣṭi, sthiti, saṃhāra; on the other, it is established at the same time in its own state of final repose (viśrānti), beyond the reality of the sequence. This finds its theological extension in the worship of the Kālis. The Mahānayaprakāśa of Trivandrum is clearly influenced by the Kashmirian Krama exegesis, when it associates the twelve Kālis with the twelvefold cognitive process, as follows:

The single nature of one’s own nature (svasvarūpa) functions as pervading the fields of the knowable (meya), the instruments of knowledge (māna) and the knower (pramātṛ). These three, who are being one with the phases of emission (sarga), permanence (avatāra), and withdrawal (saṃhāra) become fourfold through the aspects beginning with srṣṭi, sthiti, etc. The fourfold expansion starting with the udaya, to the final moment of the kālagrāsa, has a single point of repose (viśrānti), and that is the reason why there are thirteen goddesses [worshipped in the pūjākrama].

The text briefly touches upon the subject of repose (viśrānti) represented by the thirteenth goddess:

Within any [sequence comprising of sarga, etc.], there is a final repose, which transcends the polarity of sequence and non-sequence, and which is present as the inseparable essence that cannot be penetrated by the adjunct, which is time.

The argument that in any sensory perception the non-successive aspect (i.e., viśrānti) is inherently present ensues. By way of example, the text refers to the appearance of the colour ‘blue’, which seems to be external to the perceiver, and yet is only seemingly so, for the subjective experience of ‘blue’, which results in ‘relish’, is also present non-successively. The text says:

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84 MP (T) 9.15-17: Ekāṃ svarāparāpaṃ hi meyamānapramātṛtāḥ [em. –tahu] sargāvatārasamhāramayir ākramya varmate// svasvarūpānugunyena pratyekam kalanāvaśaṭi/ srṣṭithityādibhir bhedaśi caturdhāpi tāḥ sthitāḥ// kālagrāśāntum udayač caturdhā vibhavo [em. vihito] hi yah/ tasya viśrāntir ekaiva tato devyān trayaṭaṣa [ms. devyātra-]/. Quoted with attribution by Jayaratha in his commentary on the Tantrāloka 4.125.

85 MP (T) 9.24: atrāntare ‘pi viśrāntiḥ kramākramapadojjhitā/ kālopaḍher anākramya nāntāiyatayā sthitā/.
Clearly, the manifestation [of consciousness] must be present in the [external perception of] ‘blue’ and that manifestation [of consciousness] is certainly located in the [subjective experience of] relish. If they weren’t present non-successively, there could be no perception of ‘blue’. 86

Thus, the non-successive aspect is posited as the underlying substratum for each of the cognitive sequence. Its function is to unify the sequences of cognition appearing within consciousness as its contents. The following verses expand on this issue by describing the non-successive aspect as something that must be presupposed in any sensory experience; the absence of which would result in the fragmentation of cognition into discrete phases, such as ‘blue’, ‘manifestation’, etc.:

If we first had the ‘blue’, then the ‘manifestation’, and then, the ‘relish’ mutually excluding one another, there would be no perception of ‘blue’. The sequence is declared to be of the nature of temporal succession; as a result of mutual exclusion, there would be no cognition in this way, because of the division between distinct parts. [Thus] it is [only] through the experience of the power of anākhya, which consists of the enjoyment of partless cognition accomplished in any experience, that the worldly experience is established. 87

The philosophical analysis of anākhya is complemented by a more detailed discussion of its practice. The practice of anākhya is built upon the notion of time-consumption (kāla-grāsa), whose goal is to reach the non-successive state of repose (viśrānti) suddenly. The Mahānayaparakāśa states thus: “by concentrating on the non-successive essence of time, which takes the form of coloring time” 88 by succession, there is a sudden devouring of time, and this comes about through a direct sensual experience (saṃkrama).” 89 Time is constructed with a metric symmetry as the set of moments applicable to the sequence. However, in the midst of this regularity an unexpected split comes, namely a sudden opening that causes time to be devoured by non-time. Beneath the formal logic of this passage, there is a

86 MP (T) 9.26: nīle tāvat sthitam bhānam bhānam ca kila (ms. tīla) carvane/ akramenā sthitam no cen nilasāmvin na sidhyati/.

87 MP (T) 9.27-29: ādau nilaṃ tato bhānam tataś ca yadi carvam/ anyonyaparihāreṇa nilasaṃvin na tad bhave/ kālakramāṇā katham kramāṣ ca anyonya varjanāt/ naivam kācit prātiṣṭhī syād vividhāṁsāṁnābhedataḥ [em. -abha]/ tan niramaśavidābhogamayānākhyānubhāvataḥ [em. -daṃ]/ sa ṭvānuñubhavasamsiddhau lokayātā praśṭhitā/.

88 The reference to the goddess, who although being the form of pure consciousness (saṃviti) becomes ‘coloured’ (ārūṣāt) by its association with the cognitive process represented by the twelve Kālīs is also found in Abhinavagupta’s exposition of samviveçkrodaya. See, for example TĀV 4.148 (ed. Śāstri, 1922, p. 157, vol. III), where the goddess is described as being pure (suddhā), which means “not coloured by the contracting forms of subjects and the others” (pramātādinniyatāpurāṇārūṣāt). In the description of Saṁhārakālī (TĀV 4.153, ed. Śāstri 1922, p. 168, vol. III), who represents the śṛṣṭi of the pramāṇa, we read: “For the emission of consciousness in its state of the instruments of cognition is just this, namely, it should shine as coloured by these various objects” (īyam eva hi samvīdāḥ pramānārūçatāyām śṛṣṭī—yat tattadartharūṣāt ca kāṣyād iti). See also, fn. 91, when the state of nirupādhikā is viśrānti.

89 MP (T) 9.20: akramāmaparāmarśīt kramārusanārūpiṇah/ kālasya sahasā grāsāḥ saṃkramād [em. grā(sa)saṃkramād] ittham isyate //.
conviction that liberation from temporality comes—paradoxically enough—via the use of time as the vehicle for reaching the goal of *viśrānti*. The practice of *kālagrāsa* starts with engagement in ordinary sensory experience (*saṃkrama*). The text enlarges on the *saṃkrama* as follows:

The manifestation of *anākhya* is effortlessly present in whichever object of sense the ‘rays’ penetrate. 90

The concept of the senses as ‘rays’ is reminiscent of the Kaula tradition, as it echoes the passage of Nīṣkriyānanda’s *Kālikāramapañcāśikā*, already referred to above, where *anākhya* is defined as being the basis of one’s own personal experience (*svānubhūti*). The sensory experience is structurally ascertained within the fourfold division that arises in the object (*parijñeya*), subject (*mātr*), and instruments of cognition (*māna*) as: (1) spontaneous effulgence (*akalitollāsa*), (2) sensual enjoyment of that (*tatsāṃbhoga*), (3) subjective relishing (*carvaṇa*), and (4) rest (*virāma*). In all these twelve cases, there is one repose (*viśrānti*), which is free of limiting adjuncts. 91 This twelfeifold structure is reflected in the worship of the twelve Kālīs, wherein *pūjā* is described as the reflection (*parāmarśa*) on the twelve goddesses:

Through the power of reflection on these twelve goddesses, the state of non-differentiated awareness (*nirvikalpa*), which is devoid of latent traces of cognition, clearly manifests. 92

A close affinity between this cognitive aspect of worship and its ritualistic equivalent is ascertained in the next paragraph dedicated to the description of the Kaula ritual. The text refers to the worship of the twelve goddesses through the panorama of typically Kaula ritual that includes consumption of wine, meat, and sexual enjoyment of women. Both dimensions of worship serve as the means for *kālagrāsa*. In each case, *kālagrāsa* leads to one *viśrānti*, which is the thirteenth goddess. This unique explanation that correlates the twelve Kālīs with the Kaula substances is not found in other Krama texts.

In the next part, the text turns to the exposition of *kālagrāsa* represented by the twelve Kālīs of the *anākhya* *krama*. The names of the Kālīs are derived from the semantic analysis of the root *kal*, which echoes a similar passage found in Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka*. 93 Unlike in Abhinavagupta, however, these different meanings of *kal* are correlated with the ritual ‘substances’, namely, women, wine, and meat.

90 *MP* (T) 9.21: *yasmin yasmin hi viṣaye sāmkrāmaniti māriçayah/ tatra tatra hy anāyāsād anākhya-sphuṣanam sthitam/.

91 *MP* (T) 9.31-33: *tatra meyasvarūpasya caturdhā bhedasambhavah/ ādāv akalitollāsas tatsāṃbhogas tatah param/ tato ‘pi carvaṇaṁ tatra virāmas tadanantaram/ evaṁ mānasvarūpe ‘pi caturdhā bhedasambhavah/ svaučityena parijñeyo māttrüpe tathaiva ca/ atra sarvatra viśrāntir ekaiva nirūpādhikā/.

92 *MP* (T) 9.34: *āsāṁ dvādaśadeviñāṁ parāmarśabalāt sphuṭam/ vikalpaśanāsūnyaṁ nirvikalpaṁ pravartate/.

93 *Tā* 3.352cd-53ab and 4.173 cd-175.
The first group of the four Kālīs who are intent on kālagrāsa in the field of the object (prameya) derives its name from the root kal in the sense of kṣepa, and it is applied to the enjoyment of women. Kṣepa (“casting forth” or “projection”) means here the “extroverted sensual desire” that arises through the contact with women. Therefore, those who are strongly attracted to women enter into the supportless state of kālagrāsa: some simply by seeing an attractive woman, other by touching her limbs, and other by copulation. In this way, those who are attracted to women perceive three levels of experience (i.e., akalitollāsa, tatsambhogā, and carvāṇa), but when time dissolves away, they attain the state of viṣrānti, which is free of limitations.\(^9^4\)

The second group of the four Kālīs instigates kālagrāsa in the field of the instruments of cognition (pramāṇa) and derives its name from the root kal in the sense of śabda (“to resonate”), and samkhya (“to enumerate”). Therefore, those who are addicted to wine can reach kālagrāsa merely by seeing, touching, or drinking the wine. Once the wine is swallowed, the sense of duality is destroyed. As a result, the state of blissful relish becomes firm, without any contact with the object of experience. Through the expansion of this intermediate state (between prameya and pramāṇa), which is the great experience of reflection,\(^9^5\) the four Kālīs are present resting on the field of pramāṇa.\(^9^6\)

The third and final group of the four Kālīs derives its name from the root kal in the sense of gati (“to go” or “to know”). These four Kālīs arise for those who are immersed in the enjoyment of meat insofar as they penetrate the state of inner relish whose nature is the subject (pramāṇa). Ultimately, the enjoyment of meat leads to the kālagrāsa.\(^9^7\)

Drawing upon the method of “effortless” attainment advocated in the Svabhodhayamanājari of Vāmanadatta,\(^9^8\) the Mahānayaprapakṣa asserts that the practice of kālagrāsa is easy to attain because, in reality, both time and the devouring of time represented by the twelve Kālīs are only one thirteenth goddess, who is the final repose and the point of dissolution of all cognitions, whether discursive or non-discursive:

\(^{94}\) MP (T) 9.35-40ab: ye tu yosīdvasaninas tanmukhenaiva te kramāt/ kālagrāsapade samyak praviṣanti nirāsraye//// kecid darśanamātreṇa tathāṅgasparśanāt pare/ dvīndriyotpatti taś cānye viśrāmyanti nirāsraye// itthāṃ yosīdvasanināṃ tisro ’nubhavabhūmikāḥ/// drṣyante kālavilaye viśrāntir nirūpādhiḥ// sṛṣṭisṛṣṭyādibheda catasro ’nākhyadevatāḥ// prameyabhūmin niśrita kālagrāsapaśyāḥ sthitāḥ/// kṣe-pārthasya kalerdhātora avarthāṇugamāt sutam/ kāliśabdaśa catasṛṇaṃ devinām vācakaḥ sthitāḥ/// kṣepo bhārumbhak chātmayoṣit sambhogajamāṇaı̄.

\(^{95}\) The text seems to be following the Tantrāloka (4.175), where the root kal in the sense of gatau (“to go” or “to know”) means entering into the nature of consciousness in the manner of reflection.

\(^{96}\) MP (T) 9.41-45: Evam madyayasanino ye kecijīvantava sthitāḥ// teśāṃ tadāśrayenaiva kālagrāsā ’bhidhiyate// tasyāpi darśanāspāraśāyantarāvataḥ [tā ms.] śruti/ udrektkorṣarṣat [em. udrekt kṛṣaṇa] deṛtaḥ kālagrāsasya sabhavah/ praviṣte ‘nātā śidhurase (saṃ) bhedanirharaṇamāte// sthārayum eti camakāro vinā viṣayasamāgatkā// pratībimahāmahābhogamādhiṣṭhūmīvīkṣatātah// pramāṇabhūmin niśrita catasrah kālikāḥ sthitāḥ/// śabdasaṃkhyānavṛttē ca kalerdhātoh kilārthatoḥ// sthātesṛṣṭyādibheda ca tadbhād kālikodayah///.

\(^{97}\) MP (T) 9.46-47: evam māṃsāyasanāṁ antarāśvādabhūmikām [em. bhūminām] pramāṇtrāpa [em. rāpañ] āviśya catasrah kālikāḥ sthitāḥ/// 9.46 gatiarthāsa [em. gatārthāsa] kalerdhātora arthāyanumagad imāḥ//// darśanāspārasambhogavirām udrektat [em. udrektat] matāḥ///.

\(^{98}\) For an edition and English translation of the Svabhodhamaṇjarī, see Torella (2000).
In this way, with all the phenomena of states of experience, kālagraśa is easy to attain through the Mahārtha teaching, “I venerate that structure of the self in which the bliss of the awakening of consciousness has been obtained without any effort, after having correctly examined the nature of things as having no reality of their own.” 99 In accordance with the oral teaching of the Siddhas, there is no independent reality of anything with regard to which this time, whose nature is differentiation (kalana), applies. This whole structure manifesting of and by itself is nothing but the expansion of the self. So what is this time, which is devoured by the bliss of the arising of consciousness and what are those twelve Kāliṣ, which are intent on devouring time? When these are analyzed [the conclusion is reached that], there is nothing at all. There exists only one state of repose (viśrānti), which is the supreme goddess, free of limiting adjunct, which is time. She is characterized as both consciousness and non-consciousness; bliss and non-bliss and absence of both (nīrbhoga). She is the point of dissolution of all cognitions, both discursive and non-discursive. She is the one who transcends the states of sequence and non-sequence and is the expansion of those. She is unmoving, devoid of pulsation, but she also experiences all pulsation. Although she is directly perceptible to everyone with different facets, nonetheless, she is realized by various methods such as oral instruction, worship, and direct transmission. She who is figuratively called “the thirteenth” is the ground in which the twelve goddesses dissolve. Therefore, she is present as the highest object of worship, because she is that ultimate goal to be realized.99

In the concluding verses, the text briefly refers to viśrānti as the state that comes about through the eradication of the residual traces arising from vikalpas, suggesting that kālagraśa and haṭhapāka100 lead to the same end. The conclusion also contains an idea that it is in the world of sensory experience, perceived through the prism of oral instruction, worship, and direct transmission. She who is figuratively called the state that comes about through the eradication of the residual traces arising from vikalpas, suggesting that kālagraśa and haṭhapāka lead to the same end. The conclusion also contains an idea that it is in the world of sensory experience, perceived through the prism of oral instruction, worship, and direct transmission. She who is figuratively called “the thirteenth” is the ground in which the twelve goddesses dissolve. Therefore, she is present as the highest object of worship, because she is that ultimate goal to be realized.99

99 MP (T) 9.51cd-61ab: Tadittham sarvabhāvānāṃ sarvānubhavabhāmisu// mahārthadeṣṭāṃ sugamaḥ kālagraśa pratyatnataḥ [em. apayatnataḥ] samayagvastuvicāreṇa (samyaga-) bhāvānām (-nāma-) asvabhāvataḥ // labdhabhodhayānandaṃ (-bodhho*) vande samsthānam ātmanah/ iti sid-dhamukhamānāyauktā naivāsti vastutaḥ// vastusvabhāvo yatrāyam kālāḥ syāt kalanāmakāh/ svavisphāramāyaṃ [em. –visphāra] sarvam idam samsthānam ātmanah// iti bodhayānandāt kah kālo grasyate hi yah/ tadgrāsasaṃrambahparā yāś ca dvāḍaṣaṅkāliḥ// itthām vicāryānamānāṃ na kīndiṭi niścayāt/ ekaiva cidacchigbhogabhoginirbhogalaksanā [conj. -abhoga] viśrāntih paramā devi kālāpādhi-vivirjitaḥ// savikalpāvalpaṇāṃ sarvāsīṃ samvīḍalayaḥ// kramākramapadottiryaḥ (kramā-) tadābhigūmikāpya yā/ acalā spandañāhāt sarvaspandopabhogini// pratyakṣabhūṭa sarvasvyāṣ [em. sarvasvyāṣ] tathāpya [em. apadyāpya] vividhātā mukhaḥ/ kathā [em. tathāḥ] pūjanaśaktṛmaṇāḥ [conj. -krāma] upāyair upalakṣitāḥ/ āsāṃ dvāḍaṣadeviṇāṁ svārāpanavilayāvaniḥ/ trayoṣadhiḥ yāvē kathaye hy upacārataḥ// upāyē tāyā savai paropāsa tāyā sthitā./

100 For the practice of haṭhapāka, see MP (T) 7.36-38; 7.47-49.

101 MP (T) 9.14: yathāḥṣitasya tasya atathā svarūpam upapadyate/ etatparijñānamayi jīvanmukty nigadyate// “Therefore, the nature of that [manifest reality] makes sense only as it is. Liberation in life is defined as consisting of recognition of this [fact].”

99 MP (T) 9.51cd-61ab: Tadittham sarvabhāvānāṃ sarvānubhavabhāmisu// mahārthadeṣṭāṃ sugamaḥ kālagraśa pratyatnataḥ [em. apayatnataḥ] samayagvastuvicāreṇa (samyaga-) bhāvānām (-nāma-) asvabhāvataḥ // labdhabhodhayānandaṃ (-bodhho*) vande samsthānam ātmanah/ iti sid-dhamukhamānāyauktā naivāsti vastutaḥ// vastusvabhāvo yatrāyam kālāḥ syāt kalanāmakāh/ svavisphāramāyaṃ [em. –visphāra] sarvam idam samsthānam ātmanah// iti bodhayānandāt kah kālo grasyate hi yah/ tadgrāsasaṃrambahparā yāś ca dvāḍaṣaṅkāliḥ// itthām vicāryānamānāṃ na kīndiṭi niścayāt/ ekaiva cidacchigbhogabhoginirbhogalaksanā [conj. -abhoga] viśrāntih paramā devi kālāpādhi-vivirjitaḥ// savikalpāvalpaṇāṃ sarvāsīṃ samvīḍalayaḥ// kramākramapadottiryaḥ (kramā-) tadābhigūmikāpya yā/ acalā spandañāhāt sarvaspandopabhogini// pratyakṣabhūṭa sarvasvyāṣ [em. sarvasvyāṣ] tathāpya [em. apadyāpya] vividhātā mukhaḥ/ kathā [em. tathāḥ] pūjanaśaktṛmaṇāḥ [conj. -krāma] upāyair upalakṣitāḥ/ āsāṃ dvāḍaṣadeviṇāṁ svārāpanavilayāvaniḥ/ trayoṣadhiḥ yāvē kathaye hy upacārataḥ// upāyē tāyā savai paropāsa tāyā sthitā./

100 For the practice of haṭhapāka, see MP (T) 7.36-38; 7.47-49.

101 MP (T) 9.14: yathāḥṣitasya tasya atathā svarūpam upapadyate/ etatparijñānamayi jīvanmukty nigadyate// “Therefore, the nature of that [manifest reality] makes sense only as it is. Liberation in life is defined as consisting of recognition of this [fact].”. 
The Absence of the Twelve Kālis in the Mahānayapraṇakāśa of Śitikaṇṭha

The last of the three Mahānayapraṇakāśas, which might have been written in the eleventh century in Kashmir (Sanderson, 2007a, p. 302), does not mention the twelve Kālis at all; however, its exposition of the anākhyakrama in some respects echoes the other two Mahānayapraṇakāśas. Like the Mahānayapraṇakāśa of Trivandrum, Śitikaṇṭha accepts that the Ādidevi—the goddess representing pure unconditioned consciousness—manifests in three divisions (srṣṭi, sthiti, samhāra) through her anākhyā nature, which is coloured by the reality of the sequence (kramārthaaruṣṭena). The similarity between the Mahānayapraṇakāśa of Trivandrum and that of Śitikaṇṭha is also apparent in the formulation of the concept of anākhyā as the form of repose (viṣrāntī). However, unlike the Mahānayapraṇakāśa of Trivandrum, which asserts a single repose for all the twelve moments, Śitikaṇṭha says that the anākhyakrama contains all three types of repose for each sequence, namely srṣṭyanākhyā, sthityanākhyā, and samhārānākhyā, while other sequences merely rest in their own nature and do not contain all three. This particular way of formulating the concept of anākhyā is based on Abhinavagupta’s Kramakeli, the lost commentary on Eraka’s Kramastotra, quoted in the Mahārthamañjarī of Maheśvarānanda, which is also followed by the Mahānayapraṇakāśa of Trivandrum. According to Śitikaṇṭha, however, those three separate anākhās represent the conditioned state (sopādhikā) of the fourth anākhyā, which is their ultimate ground, free of all limitations (nirupādāthikā). It is in this nirupādāthikā anākhyā, where the three conditioned anākhās are brought to the state of rest in the state of unity (sāmarasa). The understanding of viṣrāntī as the ground devoid of limiting

The highest repose, devoid of any desires, arises through the total destruction of the most latent impressions generated by various thought-constructs. In this manner, this sequence of worship (pijanakrama) [of the Kālis] is present to all people as a direct experience in all states of phenomenal experience that take place in the state of extroversion. For the wise ones, the highest consciousness blazes up brilliantly by means of those same concrete realities, which others have rejected as factors obscuring consciousness.102

102 MP (T) 9.66-68: tattadvikalpasambhūtāvāsanāvedhasamksayat/ sarvākāṅkṣāvirakātā viṣrāntir jāyate parā/ ittham vyutthānavisaye [em. utthāna-] bhāvānubhavabhibhūmiṣu/ pratyakṣaḥ sarvajāntunāṣu sthito ‘sau (sthiṭa*) pājanakramāḥ// anyair āvārakatvena [em. āvarakatvena] ye bhāvāḥ parivarjītāḥ/ tair eva jātānīm ittham jāyavitī parā citā//.

103 MP (Ś) 10.7 (ed. Śaṭṛ, 1918, p. 119). See also the MP (T) v. 9.20: akramāmaparāmarṣāt kramārāṣṭanātipaṁha and TAv 4.148 and 4.153 (fn.89 above).

104 MP (Ś) 10.7 (ed. Śaṭṛ, 1918, p. 119).

105 The quotation of Kramakeli found in the MMP v.39 (ed. V. Dvivedi, 1992, p. 100) reads: Šeṣṭi srṣṭi sthiti srṣṭi samhāra srṣṭi// Šeṣṭi sthiti sthiti samhāra sthiti// Šeṣṭi samhāra sthiti samhāra samhāra samhāra/ Šeṣṭi turīya sthiti turīya samhāra turīya//. See also MP (T) 9.38ab; 9.45cd; 9.48ab for a similar arrangement.

106 MP (Ś) 10.7 (ed. Śaṭṛ, 1918, pp. 119–120).
adjuncts is also found in the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Trivandrum.  At the same time, Śiṅkāntā echoes the *Mahānayaprakāśa* of Arṇaśīmha, when he says that the *anākhya-śramaṇa* consists of the state of unity (*sāmarasya*) through falling away of the sense of differentiation (*bheda*).

### Abhinavagupta’s Reception of the Twelve Kālis

For the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta, the founder of the Trika, the twelve Kālis represent the “arising of the wheel of consciousness” (*saṃvīcakrodaya*). This term stands for the phenomenology of the twelfold cognitive process, taking place in the wheel of the inexplicable (*anākhya-śramaṇa*). Despite the fact that Abhinavagupta considers the *Devi-paṇcaśātaka* as the authority on the doctrine of the twelve Kālis, he distances himself from the teaching of the Sun-Goddess. For Abhinavagupta Kālasaṃkārsini, out of her freedom, ideates (*kalayanta*) each of the twelve Kālis as if there were different from her, when, in reality, they are not different. The key-term employed by Abhinavagupta is *kalayanta*, which he understands primarily through the etymology of the root *kal*. It is noteworthy that this term also appears in the *Jayadrathayāmala* to refer to the activity of the ultimate, thirteenth Kāli, whose nature is the sun.  

The commentator Jayaratha, however, aligns with more traditional notion of *kālagrāsa*, repeatedly found in the Krama texts and uses it to describe the relation between Kālasaṃkārsini and the other twelve Kālis, where the supreme goddess-consciousness (*saṃviddevī*) “manifests as eager to devour the stains of the projection of time”. Jayaratha arranges the twelve Kālis into three groups of four: the first group is delighted in devouring the aspect of the object (*prameya*), the second group does the same with the means of cognition (*pramāṇa*), and the third group with the subject (*pramātṛ*). The names of the twelve Kālis given in the *Tantrāloka* are identical with that of Eraka’s *Kramastotra*, an influential work on which Abhinavagupta wrote a now lost commentary, the *Kramakeli*. Abhinavagupta rejects the order of the thirteen Kālis given in the *Devi-paṇcaśātaka*, by eliminating Sukāli. He also reshuffles the order of the Kālis by placing Rakta-śāli after Śrṣṭikāli, while other scriptures, including the *Devi-paṇcaśātaka*, place Rakta-śāli after Saṃhāraka-śāli. Jayaratha explains that Abhinavagupta did so to conceal the order of worship (*pūjākrama*) followed by other great teachers who intended to hide the true order of consciousness (*saṃvitkrama*). Instead,

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107 See fn. 91 above.

108 *JY* 4:58r5-6: *Trayodaśavidhā kāli viṣṇeyā raśmibhedaṭaḥ/ Paramārkaprabhāsānte/ sphuratsmaranādīpikā/ bharupā paramā kāli kalayanta jagatsaṁhitā/ “Thus Kāli is to be understood to be of thirteen kinds, in accordance with the distinction of the rays. She who illumines the root-mantra (*smarana*) shines forth at the limit of the radiance of the supreme sun. This is the ultimate Kāli whose nature is the sun, who is present ideating the entire universe.”.

109 *Tāv* 4. 148: *parā saṃviddevī kālakalarakalakāṅkagrasatīṣnuteyā dyotamānā*
Abhinavagupta’s order of Kālīs follows the true order, so that the samvitkrama can be accomplished.\textsuperscript{110}

Abhinavagupta’s samviccakrodaya reflects an effort to offer an integrated understanding of the twelve Kālīs from the epistemological perspectives of the Trika and Pratyabhijñā systems.\textsuperscript{111} In order to understand the conceptual ramifications of this integration, let us first look at the Tantrasāra, where a shorter version of the twelve Kālīs constituting the essential teaching of the śāktapāya is given. Here Abhinavagupta is keen to incorporate the twelve Kālīs within the Trika system. He does so by first formulating the concept of Parameśvara who in his essence (svabhāva) is the perfect fullness of consciousness (pūrṇatāsanvīt), capable of manifesting the totality of his powers. Even though Parameśvara has countless powers, there are in fact three particular powers that are capable of displaying the totality. These are the three goddesses of the Trika pantheon: parā-śakti, parāpara-śakti, and aparā-śakti. These three are assimilated (through the process of devouring) within another power, called śrīparā, which is the act of synthetic awareness (anusamdhāna) of the Lord. This assimilative yet transcendent śrīparā is renamed through the Kraça terminology as ‘the one who attracts time’ or Kālasamkarsinī, and she is equated with the essence of subjectivity (mātrāsadbhāva) of the Trika.\textsuperscript{112} Each of these four powers functions threefold in creating, maintaining, and dissolving, and in this way, they are twelve Kālīs of the samviccakra.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} Tāv. 4.149 (ed. Śāstrī, 1922, p. 161, vol. III): “Objection: How come that Śrīrakatālī and others have been named here immediately after (Srṣṭikālī), for, in this way, there would be the contradiction of scriptures. Answer: True, but in the āgama, in order to conceal the order [of Kālīs] in consciousness, they have been named in this order, scattered and disordered; just as it is also the case with the sthitikrama of the Śrīpaṇcaśātikā. And it is following that that the great teachers have introduced the pūjākrama. But here [in the Tantrāloka], he [Abhinava] has organized it in true order in order to conceal the order of worship. On the basis of which, the order of consciousness can be accomplished” (tat kathāṁ iha tadanantaram śrīrakatālīdīṁ nirdeśaḥ kṛyah, evam hi āgamavīrodhaḥ syat, satyam—kim tu āgama samvitkramagopanārtham ālānanyaṁratayayaṁ abhidhānām, yathā śrīpaṇcaśātikā sthitikrame ‘pi, yad eva cānusṛtya mahāgurubhīḥ pūjākramah prakrāntah, iha tu pūjākramagopanāyā svāsayaṁ yaiva sthāpanam, yad adhiḥṛtya samvitkramah parinīṣṭhitīṁ iyāt).

\textsuperscript{111} For the explanation of this adaptation from the point of view of the ritual structure, see Sanderson (1986, pp. 194–204 and 1995, pp. 70–75).

\textsuperscript{112} In the Tantrāloka, Kālasamkarsini is parāšīrśa, beyond the supreme goddess of the Trika (tannadhya tu parā devī daksine ca parāparā—aparā vāmaśrīdhe tu madhyāśrīdghvataṁ śṛṇu—yā sā samkarsini devī parāśīrśa vyavashtīṁ, Tāv. III.3.69–70), but in the Tantrasāra, she is thought to be both the transcendent power and the sustaining ground of other three. See also Sanderson (1986, pp. 192–193 and 197–204; 1990, pp. 58–59; 2005, pp. 101–102). The supremacy of Kālasamkarsinī is also attested in the hierarchy of cosmic principles in Abhinavagupta’s Tantrroccaya (chap. 8, trans. Sferra 1999, pp. 124–125) where she is said to be the supreme consciousness (parāsanvīt), as the thirty-eighth principle (to which one rises) having gone beyond (Bhairava, the thirty-seventh principle)—making him assume his aspect as the seat (of the thirty-eighth principle).

\textsuperscript{113} TS 4 (ed. Śāstrī, 1918, pp. 29–30): 1. Consciousness (samviddevi) initially creates the state internally (Srṣṭikālī). 2. Then, she creates it also externally, fully manifest (Raktakālī). 3. When she notices its attractiveness (rakāti), she creates further, as she desires to assimilate this state (Śhītināsakālī). 4. Then she creates doubt—the obstacle in assimilation—which she devours as well (Yakālī). 5.  The part of the state that is the devoured doubt, she creates, assimilating it within (Samhārakālī). 6. Then she creates her own nature through the ego-feeling: “the state of assimilation is only my nature” (Mṛtyukālī). 7. Then, in the process of creating her nature of the assimilator or devourer (upasāṃhārta), she creates the condition.
The reformulation of the twelve Kālīs as constituting the samvicca and thereby embodying the perfect fullness of awareness (pūrṇatāsamvīt) of the Lord enabled Abhinavagupta to introduce the concept of Paramēśvara as the lord of the wheel (cakreśvara). This, in turn, led Abhinavagupta to integrate the Trika version of the twelve Kālīs within the pan-Śaiva concept of Śiva as the Lord of Powers, prominent also in the Śivasūtras, Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam, and Spandakārikā.114 By introducing the concept of cakreśvara, he was also able to assimilate the Pratyabhijñā model of “disclosure of powers” (śaktiprakāśa)115 and “discovery of one’s own powers” (śaktyāviśkaraṇa).116 In so doing, Abhinavagupta was able to uphold the Pratyabhijñā precepts, which postulated the sovereignty of Śiva as the substratum of powers.117

An attempt to ‘clean’ the twelve Kālīs from its esoteric jargon and integrate them within the philosophical framework of the Trika and Pratyabhijñā systems is also attested in the Tantrāloka. There, some of the key metaphysical concepts associated with the doctrine that we have already encountered on previous pages, such as the ‘sun’, ‘fire of time’, and ‘great time’, became associated with the stages of the cognitive cycle and included within the Pratyabhijñā hierarchy of cognizers. Thus, the twelvefold sun loses its esoteric context of the Sun-Goddess and becomes employed to simply denote the twelve instruments of knowledge (pramāṇa), which are dissolved in the thirteenth egoity of ahamkāra, called the ‘supreme sun’.118 That supreme sun, because it is still an instrument of knowledge, gets dissolved into the agent, which is the limited subject (parimita-pramāṇa), called kālāgnirudra. That kālāgnirudra, in turn, since it is only the constructed subject (kalpita, to distinguish it from the unconstructed one, akalpita), must necessarily be dissolved in the supreme subject (para-pramāṇa), called mahākāla, which is unconditional and unconstructed. Mahākāla, who echoes the characteristics of Sadāśiva in the Pratyabhijñā system, is the perfect fullness of I-ness (paripūrṇahamāmbhāva), but since it is coloured by the experience to assimilate the objects—which are internal, that is to say, which exist as one with the subject, according to the principle of sarvasaṃvātmakam “everything is of the nature of everything else”—into one’s own

Footnote 113 continued in which one part becomes a latent trace (vāsanā) and the other becomes part of consciousness itself (Rudrakāli). 8. Then, she creates the wheel of the senses which consists of her own nature (Mārtandaṅkāli). 9. Then, she also creates the one who rules over the wheel of the senses (karanēśvara) (Paramārkaṅkāli). 10. Then, she creates the māyic subject, kalpita-pramāṇa (Kālāgnirudrakāli). 11. Then, she creates the subject who has the capacity to transcend his own limitation, enjoying his own expanded nature (Mahākālakāli). 12. Finally, she creates the fully expanded form of the subject (Mahābhairavacandograrāhorakāli).

114 See Śivasūtras 1.6., Spandakārikā 1.1., Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam, v. 20. See also Abhinavagupta’s commentary on the Prārthiṣṭakā’s verses 25-26, where a description of Bhairava as cakreśvara of the twelve ray-goddesses (raśmi-devātu-dvādaśa) is given.

115 Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā of Utpaladeva (ĪŚK) 2.3.17, see Torella (1994).

116 ĪŚK 1.1.3.

117 ĪŚK 1.3.7.

118 TA 4.160-161 (ed. Śaṅstrī, 1922, pp. 175–176, vol. III): karmabuddhyaksavargo hi buddhyanto dvādaśātmakaḥ/ prakāśatvāt śuryātmā bhinne vastuni jñābhatā/ ahamkāras tu karanām abhimānai- kasūdhanam/ avicchinnaparāmarśī liyate tena tatra saḥ/.
identity, also needs to get dissolved in the abode, which is transcendent (akuladhāma). This assimilation takes place through the processes of ‘total devouring’ (alamgrāsa) and ‘forceful maturation’ (hathapāka). In this way, the final state is reached when only the consciousness (cinmātra) as the agent of knowing and doing remains, which does not enter into the state of the object of experience of any person in particular. At this level, the consciousness is one with the dissolver, and is, therefore, perfectly full. Abhinavagupta describes this ultimate stage represented by the final Kāli, called Mahācaṇḍograghorakāli, as follows:

All the subjects, all the means of knowledge, all the knowledges in their multiplicity, and all the objects, all this is nothing but consciousness itself (cinmātra) at this level. The supreme goddess is an independent freedom of self-awareness as it adopts this diversity of forms.

This last passage shows that Abhinavagupta’s theory represents an important departure from the Krama scriptures, investigated above, where the goal of the twelve Kāliś unfolding in the anākhyaṇakrama is the plane of repose (viśrānti) of all discursive and non-discursive thoughts. For Abhinavagupta, the purpose of saṃviccakrodaya is to realize the innate freedom of one’s own consciousness as the agent of knowing and doing, as it adopts the diversity of forms. This echoes the definition of consciousness attested already in the Śivasūtras (2.1.7): caitanyaṃ sarvajñānakriyā paripūrṇa svatantrya. By placing freedom as the final goal of the saṃviccakrodaya, Abhinavagupta makes an attempt to bring the Krama process of

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119 Abhinavagupta’s usage of the term akula-dhāma to refer to the ultimate abode where the final stage of the dissolution of consciousness takes place could have been borrowed from the Deviśaṃcalasata (7.28cd). There, the goddess Kāli is referred to as paradāhanavardhiṇī “she whose form is the supreme abode”. In another passage of the same text (2.69cd) we read that she is established in the middle, as the abode of the three abodes (sun-pramāṇa, moon-prameya, and fire-pramāṇa), and is the foundation of those three (tridhāmadhānamadhyasthāṃ dhāmādhārāpade sthitāṃ). The same two aspects of the goddess’ nature as both the supreme abode (paraṃ dhāma) and the abode that pervades the three abodes of the moon, sun, and fire, is found in the Śrīkālīkāstotra of Jānānetra (v.6: Jayati saśāṅkadiśvākātapadādhaṃtarayantaravayāpi/ janani tava kim api vimalaṃ svaruḥparuḥ param dhāmaṃ). Indeed, Jayaratha quotes the passage of the Śrīkālīkāstotra (v.15) to describe the nature of the transcendent abode of Kāli as the “glory of light”, which is beyond any objectification and where the discrimination between being and non-being has been completely dissolved. One can easily notice how the concepts of param dhāma as the transcendent foundation and dhāma as the source of cognitive triad find their parallel meanings in the formulation of the concept of anākhya as nirupādhikā and sopādhikā (see fn. 88 and 91 above).

120 Compare also the description of the final Kāli in Abhinavagupta’s Kramastotra (v.26), where the last goddess represents the nameless state of the subject and luminous consciousness (prakāśākhya-saṇviti).

121 Tāti 4.171-172 (ed. Sāstrī, 1922, p. 186, vol. III): pramāṇyargava māṇaughah pramāś ca bahuḥdhā sthitāḥ/ meyaughha iti yat sarvam atra cinmātram eva tat/ iyatiṃ rūpa-vicīrīṃ aśrayantyāḥ svasaṃvidah/ svācchandyam anapekṣaṃ yat sat parā prameṣvarī/
complete reabsorption of consciousness into the Trika model of creation. In other words, he subsumes the Krama goddess Kālasaṃkarṣini, who represents the reabsorption of consciousness, under the Parā goddess of the Trika, who stands for the creation of consciousness. This, in turn, validates the Pratyabhijñā model of autonomy of action, which is freedom.

Conclusion

This article has presented preliminary evidence for the development of the doctrine of the twelve Kālis focusing on the doctrinal, and in some places, intertextual relationship existing between various tantric texts teaching it. The commonality of themes, lexical similarities, especially visible in a usage of shared technical terminology, and conceptual formulations (or lack thereof) detected in the sources presented here shows that the development of the doctrine of the twelve Kālis was the outcome of a gradual evolution that seems to have proceeded from the early Kula/Kaula phase to the later Trika-Pratyabhijñā phase. This movement brought with itself the development as well as differentiation of a set of core ideas that received different emphases in various tantras. In the first phase, the doctrine of the twelve Kālis was formulated in the context of the esoteric teaching of the bhānāvākrama, which appears to have lost its importance in later scriptures. Although references to the twelve goddesses as the ‘rays’ continue to appear in later tantras, a growing trend was to present the doctrine of the twelve Kālis as the concept of anākhya krama often formulated as the practice of time-consumption (kālagrāsa) that leads to repose (viśrānti). The first text that clearly shows this transition is the Devīpancaśatata, the tantra regarded by Abhinavagupta as an authority on the doctrine of the twelve Kālis. Another important development was to present the doctrine of the twelve Kālis or anākhya krama not so much as a practice that relies on the fullest expansion of the senses, but rather as a philosophical discussion on the dynamic process of consciousness that goes through the twelvefold cycle, a tendency started with Jñānanetra. A notable exception to this rule is the Mahānayaprakāśa of Trivandrum, which tries to integrate the philosophical structure of the twelve Kālis with the conceptual core of spontaneity

122 The vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣini consists of the samhārabīja khphrem, the heart of reabsorption, also known as the ‘lord of microcosm’ (paṅcapiṇḍānātha or piṇḍanātha). Since reabsorption is the destruction of time, Abhinava calls this mantra Kālakarṣini; cf. TĀ 15.533. In the fourth āhnika of his TĀ, Abhinavagupta writes: ‘This being (sat) [who appears] externally is first dissolved in the fire of knowledge. What remains then is what is left of the awareness, which is inner resonance. The condition of space being reached, by passing through the three energies, one attains to what is made of knowing, ultimately to dissolve in what is reabsorption’. Cf. TĀ 4.189-91, in Padoux (1990, p. 424). In his commentary, Jayaratha says that these verses give an explanation of the movement of the mind that perceives the world absorbed in the ‘emptiness’ of consciousness (kh because of kha, emptiness). In resonance (ph), this absorption occurs through the activity of fire of knowledge (r, since ra is the agnibija); through the operation of Śiva’s three major powers, icchā, jñāna and kriyā (e, since it is a trikoṇabīja), the world is then being swallowed up into the bindu (since bindu is that point where manifestation withdraws upon itself to return to the godhead) all of which results in khphrem. Ibidem.

123 The last goddess of samvīcacakrodaya represents fullness of consciousness (pūrṇa), she is called Parā, the supreme goddess of the Trika, who is represented by the syllable sauh, which is sṛṣṭibīja.
of the senses under the Kaula ritual. As a result of this process of rationalization and semantization, the key metaphysical concepts of the early Kālikula, such as the ‘sun’, the ‘fire of time’ (kālāgni), or the ‘great time’ (mahākāla), were relegated to the function of their cognitive equivalents, as seen in Abhinavagupta’s reformulation of the twelve Kālīs as the samviccakrodaya. Abhinavagupta presents the twelve Kālīs within the integrated framework of the Trika and Pratyabhijñā systems, in which the Krama goddess Kālasaṃkarṣini fuses with the Trika goddess Parā, and where the reabsorption of consciousness instigated by the twelve Kālīs leads to the realization of one’s own consciousness as the agent of knowledge and action.

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