The Constituent Principles of the World and Psychosomatic Theory in Indian Thought: With a Focus on Chapters 326 and 327 of the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan"

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1. Introduction

The *Mahābhārata* (MBh) is one of the two great Indian epics,[1] and in addition to the central narrative many other tales and so on have been inserted into the text, with philosophical doctrines being concentrated in particular in the "Mokṣadharma-Parvan" in Book 12 (MBh 12.175–339). Among these philosophical doctrines, Sāṃkhya thought in particular is expounded in several parts of the text, and it is evident that it exerted considerable influence. Sāṃkhya thought made an enormous contribution to the formation of Hindu cosmogony, and it is counted among the six traditional schools of Indian Philosophy. Sāṃkhya thought classifies the world into a fixed number of principles, with all material principles being deemed to be no more than evolved ones of primordial nature (*prakṛti*), in addition to which it posits separately a supreme soul or spiritual principle (*puruṣa*), and because Sāṃkhya thought is underpinned by these two principles of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, it is regarded as a form of dualism. But since *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are in fact inseparably interconnected and the world is considered to be evolved through the interaction between the two, Sāṃkhya thought can hardly be described as pure dualism. Its firmer influence on Hindu cosmogony can be seen rather in the fact that it linked the human body to cosmogony and subsumed the creation of the material world under the self's mental state. For this reason Sāṃkhya theory was incorporated into Hinduism, which presents a complex evolution of the world from the Supreme Being, as explaining the origins of the phenomenal world, and the relationship between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* was transposed to the relationship between a male deity and his female partner.

Among the many sects of Hinduism, it was the Pāñcarātra sect that brought together many different theories, including those of the Sāṃkhya thought, and created a grand cosmogony. The Pāñcarātra sect was one of the earliest branches of Vaiṣṇavism to emerge, and its ideas can be found in the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan" in the "Mokṣadharma-Parvan" (MBh 12.321–339). Sāṃkhya thought had an enormous influence on the formation of the cosmogony of the Pāñcarātra sect, and in the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan" it is referred to in terms suggesting that it was especially closely related to the Pāñcarātra sect. It should be noted, however, that the Sāṃkhya doctrines found in the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan" and elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* do not constitute a systemized theory, and many different doctrines are presented. These doctrines predating the systemization of Sāṃkhya thought can be found in various other works too, and those set out chiefly in the *Mahābhārata* are known as Epic Sāṃkhya and had an influence on later times that differed from the influence of the systemized form of Sāṃkhya thought. While a latter systemized form of Sāṃkhya thought is known as Classical Sāṃkhya and constitutes the central ideas of the Sāṃkhya school.

The "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan" has attracted attention as an exposition of an early form of the Pāñcarātra sect, but it would not seem to have been adequately examined from the viewpoint of Sāṃkhya doctrines. In the following, I shall accordingly focus on the section in chapters 326–327 of the "Mokṣadharma-Parvan" that explains the theory of creation and clarify its content through comparison with other doctrines of Epic Sāṃkhya.[2]

2. The Eight Principles in Chapter 327

In chapter 327, first of all the first principle is referred to as "supreme *ātman*" (*paramātman*).

> *paramātmeti yaṃ prāhuḥ sāṃkhyayogavido janāḥ /*
> *mahāpuruṣasamjñām sa labhate svena karmaṇā //* MBh 12.327.24
> People who know Sāṃkhya and Yoga called that (i.e., that which evolved at the start of the *kalpa*) supreme *ātman*. It has obtained the designation "great *puruṣa*" through its own action.

Thus, supreme *ātman* is also known as "great *puruṣa*" (*mahāpuruṣa*), and that which evolves from it is described in the following terms:

> *tasmāt prasūtam avyaktaṃ pradhānaṃ tad vidur budhāḥ /*
> *avyaktād vyaktam utpannaṃ lokasṛṣṭyartham īśvarāt //* MBh 12.327.25
> The unmanifest born from that (i.e., *paramātman*), the awakened know as that *pradhāna* (primary principle). For the creation of the world the manifest arose from the unmanifest lord.[3]

In other words, the unmanifest (*avyakta*) evolves from supreme *ātman*, and from this unmanifest there arises the manifest (*vyakta*). The unmanifest represents a state in which nothing has yet become manifest, and since it is referred to as *pradhāna* (i.e., that which is principal or primary), it is to be surmised that it refers to the root source of materiality. The unmanifest is also known as the lord (*īśvara*).

Next, the manifest is explained.

> *aniruddho hi lokeṣu mahān ātmeti kathyate /*
> *yo 'sau vyaktatvam āpanno nirmame ca pitāmaham /*
> *so 'haṃkāra iti proktaḥ sarvatejomayo hi saḥ //* MBh 12.327.26
> In the worlds it is called Aniruddha, gross *ātman* (*mahān ātmā*). And that which obtained manifestedness (i.e., Aniruddha) created the grandsire. That is said to be *ahaṃkāra*. It is made of all light.

The manifest is thus called "gross *ātman*" (*mahān ātmā*) and is also identified with the deity Aniruddha. The word *ātman* refers to the self's ultimate subject, and in view of the fact that "supreme *ātman*" mentioned in v. 24 produces the unmanifest and is also called "great *puruṣa*," it may be assumed to refer to the supreme principle or Supreme Being. It is to be surmised, on the other hand, that the "gross *ātman*" mentioned here is, judging from the qualifier "gross" (*mahat*), distinguished from supreme *ātman* and is regarded as the subject of the individual.

Further, *ahaṃkāra* emerges from this gross *ātman*. *Ahaṃkāra*, translated as ego-consciousness or egoity, is the organ that links perceived objects to the self and is one of the mental functions,[4] and it is also equated with the grandsire (*pitāmaha*). Evolution from *ahaṃkāra* proceeds in the following manner:

> *pṛthivī vāyur ākāśam āpo jyotiś ca pañcamam /*
> *ahaṃkāraprasūtāni mahābhūtāni bhārata //* MBh 12.327.27
> Earth, wind, space, water, and fire, the fifth [of the gross elements]:[5] [These] gross elements are born from *ahaṃkāra*, O descendant of Bharata!

From *ahaṃkāra* there are produced the five gross elements of earth (*pṛthivī*), wind (*vāyu*), space (*ākāśa*), water

(*āpas*), and fire (*jyotis*). It is these gross elements that form actual matter.

On the basis of the above, we can posit the following pattern of evolution: supreme *ātman* → unmanifest → gross ātman → *ahaṃkāra* → five gross elements. Since supreme *ātman* refers to the supreme principle or Supreme Being, it reminds us of Puruṣa as primeval man in the Vedas rather than *puruṣa* as the ultimate pure subject of the individual as found in Classical Sāṃkhya. Further, in Classical Sāṃkhya matter is never born directly from the spiritual principle *puruṣa*, but in the evolution of principles presented here it is clearly indicated that the unmanifest is born from *puruṣa*, which suggests a monistic tendency. The other eight principles (unmanifest, gross *ātman*, *ahaṃkāra*, and five gross elements) are presumably regarded as that which actually constitutes and produces the material world. The view that would regard these eight principles as the basis of the material world is found in various works,[6] and it is explained that there are eight primordial origins (8 *prakṛti*-s) and sixteen modifications (16 *vikāra*-s) considered to have evolved from them. It is to be surmised that this section of the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan" incorporated views that were circulating at the time.

3. Correspondences between the Principles and Deities/Sages in Chapter 327

It is found that in the above evolution of principles a deity corresponds to three of the principles. That is to say, Īśvara corresponds to the unmanifest, Aniruddha to gross *ātman*, and the grandsire (*pitāmaha*) to *ahaṃkāra*. In this case, "grandsire" refers to Brahmā, as made clear in the following verse:

> *vedān vedāṅgasamyuktān yajñān yajñāṅgasamyutān* /
> *nirmame lokasiddhyartham brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ* / MBh 12.327.30a–d
> Brahmā, the grandsire of the world, created the Vedas with the auxiliary disciplines of the Vedas and the Yajñas with the auxiliary disciplines of the Yajñas for the completion of the world.

In addition Aniruddha, corresponding to gross *ātman*, is one of the four *vyūha* gods, consisting of Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha, and Pradyumna. The theory of creation involving these four *vyūha* gods, distinctive of the Pāñcarātra sect, is already mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.[7] But only Aniruddha is mentioned in chapter 327, and there is no mention of the other gods.

The fact that deities are assigned not only to the unmanifest but also to the subject of the self and to what represents the mental organ suggests that this reflects a theory of creation that is intermingled with myth. In particular, in later times *ahaṃkāra* came to be regarded also as a cause of error, and the absence of any such negative image here can be inferred from the fact that it has been associated with a deity.

In this chapter there is posited an evolution of principles similar to the eight primordial origins and sixteen modifications, but there is no mention of the sixteen modifications themselves. There is much about the process of evolution following the emergence of the five gross elements that is unclear. First we read as follows:

> *mahābhūtāni sṛṣṭvātha tadguṇān nirmame punaḥ* /
> *bhūtebhyaś caiva niṣpannā mūrtimanto 'ṣṭa tāñ śṛṇu* // MBh 12.327.28
> [*Ahaṃkāra*] created the gross elements and then produced their *guṇa*-s. And for (*or* from?) existents eight possessing material form arose. Listen to them!

After the creation of the gross elements, their *guṇa*-s (attributes or qualities) were created from *ahaṃkāra*. It is to be surmised that *guṇa* here refers to the objects of the five sense organs, that is, smell, touch, sound, taste, and colour.[8] The thesis that the five sense objects arise from *ahaṃkāra* is also found in MBh 12.291.[9]

Next, the eight kinds of material form are given in the following verse:

> *marīcir aṅgirāś cātriḥ pulastyaḥ pulahaḥ kratuḥ /*
> *vasiṣṭhaś ca mahātmā vai manuḥ svāyambhuvas tathā /*
> *jñeyāḥ prakṛtayo 'ṣṭau tā yāsu lokāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ //* MBh 12.327.29
> [The eight are] Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha with a great soul, and likewise Manu Svāyambhuva. They should be known as the eight *prakṛti*-s on which rest the worlds.

The eight kinds of material form are here called the eight *prakṛti*-s and are each given the name of a sage. Among this sages, Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha are known as the "seven sages" (*saptarṣi*) and are regarded as spiritual sons of Brahmā.[10] Svāyambhuva is regarded as a son (or spiritual son) of Brahmā and is also considered to have been the first Manu.[11] The seven sages are also mentioned in v. 61 of the same chapter,[12] and in the *Manusmṛti*[13] ten sages are listed in connection with a theory of creation.[14] The identification of the eight sages with *prakṛti* can be seen in chapter 322 of the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan."[15]

From what are the eight kinds of material form (or eight sages) born? If the word *bhūtebhyaḥ* is interpreted as "from existents (*bhūta*-s)," then it might be supposed that the eight kinds of material form are born from the five gross elements. But I would also take into account the following statement:

> *aṣṭābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyaś ca jātaṃ viśvam idaṃ jagat //* MBh 12.327.30ef
> And this entire world was born from the eight *prakṛti*-s.

Here the eight *prakṛti*-s are posited as the principles that give rise to the phenomenal world. For this reason *bhūtebhyaḥ* in MBh 12.327.28 could also be interpreted as "for existents" rather than "from the five gross elements," in which case it could also be supposed that the unmanifest, gross ātman, *ahaṃkāra*, and the five gross elements correspond to the eight sages. Alternatively, since they are regarded as spiritual sons of Brahmā, it is also conceivable that they are born from *ahaṃkāra*, which is equated with Brahmā. It is at any rate difficult to be sure because of the brevity of the explanation.

Meanwhile, the modifications are explained in the following manner:

> *rudro roṣātmako jāto daśānyān so 'sṛjat svayam /*
> *ekādaśaite rudrās tu vikārāḥ puruṣāḥ smṛtāḥ //* MBh 12.327.31
> Rudra, having the quality of anger, was born and he himself begat ten others. These eleven Rudras are regarded as the modified *puruṣa*-s.

It is not clear from where Rudra, possessing the quality of anger, was born, but ten Rudras were born from this Rudra, and the resulting eleven Rudras are known as the modified *puruṣa*s. In the theory of eight primordial origins and sixteen modifications, the sixteen modifications are eleven organs (*indriya*)—*manas* (mind), five sense capacities, and five action capacities—and the five sense objects. Here, the eleven Rudras may represent the eleven organs.

We then read:

> *te rudrāḥ prakṛtiś caiva sarve caiva surarṣayaḥ /*
> *utpannā lokasiddhyartham brahmāṇaṃ samupasthitāḥ //* MBh 12.327.32
> These Rudras and *prakṛti* and all the divine sages were born for the completion of the world and have

approached Brahmā.

Here it is stated that the eleven Rudras, *prakṛti*, and the divine sages were born in order to effect the completion of the world. The divine sages perhaps refer to the eight sages mentioned earlier. But *prakṛti*, of which there were eight in v. 27, is here given in the singular and differentiated from the sages with whom it ought to be identified, and the intended meaning is unclear. Furthermore, in view of the fact that these constituents of the world are said to have approached Brahmā, it may be supposed that, like Brahmā, they possess the functions of creators.

Thus, although the process of evolution described in the above has similarities with the evolution of principles in the Sāṃkhya school, it includes mythical elements and is more complex than the Sāṃkhya theory. This process of evolution is set out in **fig. 1**.

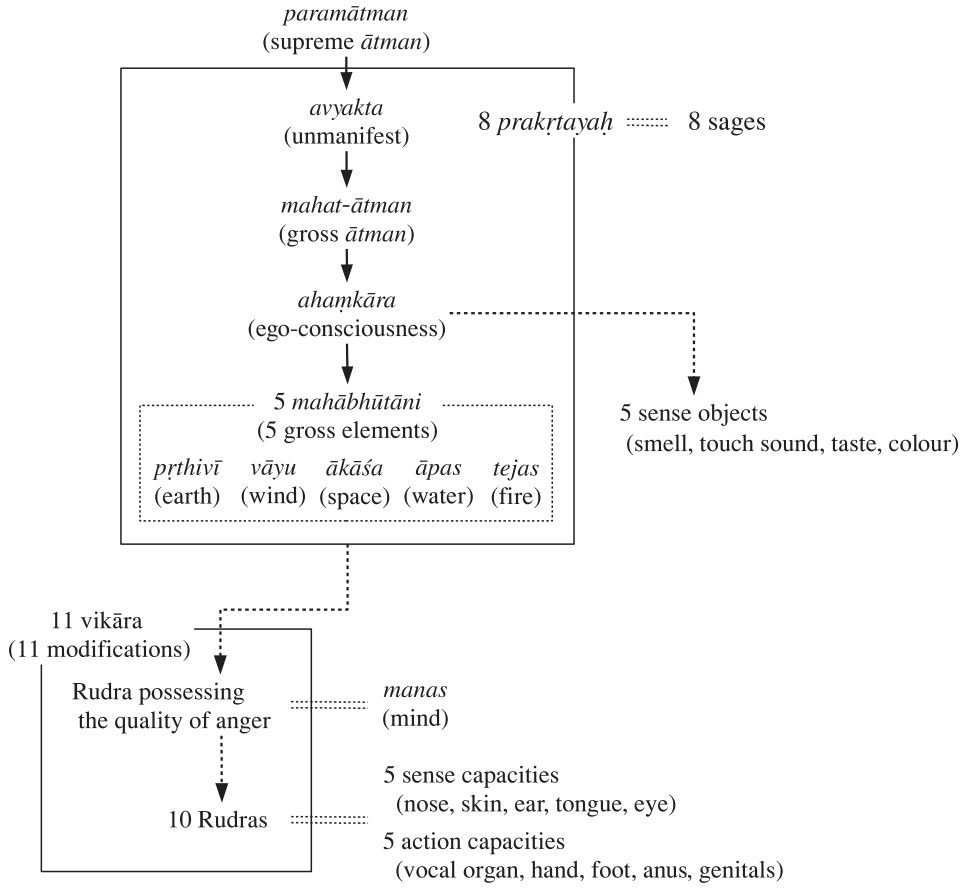

Fig. 1. The evolution of principles in MBh 12.327

4. The Evolution of Principles and the *Vyūha* Theory in Chapter 326

Vyūha means "arrangement" etc., and the *vyūha* theory is the most distinctive feature of the Pāñcarātra theory of creation, involving the manifestation of four gods called Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Saṃkarṣaṇa is also known as Balabhadra and is the elder brother of Vāsudeva, while Pradyumna and Aniruddha are Vāsudeva's son and grandson respectively. The *vyūha* gods are considered to have originated in five heroes of the Vṛṣṇi tribe, consisting of the above four figures and Sāmba, but at some stage Sāmba was excluded and the *vyūha* gods headed by Vāsudeva were formed.[16] According to later Pāñcarātra texts, these four gods manifest through combinations of six attributes. Saṃkarṣaṇa combines knowledge (*jñāna*) and strength (*bala*), Pradyumna combines sovereignty (*aiśvarya*) and valour (*vīrya*), Aniruddha combines potency (*śakti*) and splendour or might (*tejas*), and

Vāsudeva is endowed with all six of these attributes. Creation follows a specific order, and these four gods manifest in the order Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.

First, in chapter 326 it is evident from the following verse that twenty-five principles are being posited:[17]

> *dvir dvādaśebhyas tattvebhyaḥ khyāto yaḥ pañcaviṃśakaḥ /*
> *puruṣo niṣkriyaś caiva jñānadṛśyaś ca kathyate* // MBh 12.326.23
> That which is called the twenty-fifth [transcends] the twice twelve principles. It is said to be *puruṣa*, inactive, and able to be seen with knowledge.

> *yaṃ praviśya bhavantīha muktā vai dvijasattama /*
> *sa vāsudevo vijñeyaḥ paramātmā sanātanaḥ* // MBh 12.326.24
> O best of the twice-born! He into whom you enter and become liberated should be known as Vāsudeva, supreme *ātman*, and the eternal one.

This twenty-fifth principle is Vāsudeva and is also identified with *puruṣa* and supreme *ātman*. The characteristics of this supreme entity are described as follows:

> *paśya devasya māhātmyaṃ mahimānaṃ ca nārada /*
> *śubhāśubhaiḥ karmabhir yo na lipyati kadācana* // MBh 12.326.25
> Behold the god's majesty and greatness, O Nārada! He is never tainted by actions good or bad.

> *sattvaṃ rajas tamaś caiva guṇān etān pracakṣate /*
> *ete sarvaśarīreṣu tiṣṭhanti vicaranti ca* // MBh 12.326.26
> These *guṇa*-s one calls *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. They dwell and move in all bodies.

> *etān guṇāṃs tu kṣetrajño bhuṅkte naibhiḥ sa bhujyate /*
> *nirguṇo guṇabhuk ca eva guṇasraṣṭā guṇādhikaḥ* // MBh 12.326.27
> *Kṣetrajña* enjoys these *guṇa*-s, but he is not enjoyed by them. He is free from *guṇa*-s, enjoys *guṇa*-s, creates *guṇa*-s, and transcends *guṇa*-s.

Vāsudeva thus transcends *guṇa*-s and is here called *kṣetrajña*.[18] Not defiled by anything, pure, and enjoying the *guṇa*-s, he is presented as an entity who, like *puruṣa* in Classical Sāṃkhya, is merely an onlooker.[19]

Next is described dissolution into this supreme entity:

> *jagatpratiṣṭhā devarṣe pṛthivy apsu pralīyate /*
> *jyotiṣy āpas pralīyante jyotir vāyau pralīyate* // MBh 12.326.28
> O divine sages! Earth, the foundation of the world, dissolves into water, water dissolves into fire, fire dissolves into wind;

> *khe vāyuḥ pralayaṃ yāti manasy ākāśaṃ eva ca /*
> *mano hi paramaṃ bhūtaṃ tad avyakte pralīyate* // MBh 12.326.29
> Wind dissolves into space, and space into *manas*. *Manas*, the supreme existent, dissolves into the unmanifest.

> *avyaktaṃ puruṣe brahman niṣkriye saṃpralīyate /*

na asti tasmāt parataraṃ puruṣād vai sanātanāt // MBh 12.326.30

O brahman! The unmanifest dissolves into the inactive *puruṣa*. There is nothing higher than that eternal *puruṣa*.

Here one can posit the following process of dissolution: earth → water → fire → wind → space → *manas* → unmanifest → *puruṣa*. There is no mention of anything that might correspond to *ahaṃkāra* and gross ātman. *Puruṣa* and Vāsudeva are, moreover, regarded as identical, as is evident from the statement in v. 30 that there is nothing higher than *puruṣa*, a point that had already been made in v. 23. Furthermore, one can discern here a monistic theory of creation insofar that the world dissolves into this *puruṣa* equated with Vāsudeva.

Next, the five gross elements are mentioned in the following terms:

pṛthivī vāyur ākāśam āpo jyotiś ca pañcamam /
te sametā mahātmānaḥ śarīram iti saṃjñitam // MBh 12.326.32

Earth, wind, space, water, and fire, the fifth [of the five gross elements]: those gross principles (*mahātman*), coming together, are called the body.

There is no mention of the evolution of the principles, but if the process of their dissolution is retraced in the opposite direction, one can posit the evolution of the gross elements as follows: space → wind → fire → water → earth. It is, moreover, stated that these five gross elements form the body.

Meanwhile, *jīva* is mentioned as that which activates the body.[20]

na vinā dhātusaṃghātaṃ śarīraṃ bhavati kvacit /
na ca jīvaṃ vinā brahman dhātavaś ceṣṭayanty uta // MBh 12.326.34

The body does not exist anywhere without the combination of the elements (i.e., five gross elements), and without *jīva*, the elements are not even able to make [the body] move.[21] O brahman!

The body cannot exist without the coming together of the five gross elements, nor can it move without *jīva*. In addition, that which is "invisible and quick-footed" is said to enter the body.

tad āviśati yo brahmann adṛśyo laghuvikramaḥ /
utpanna eva bhavati śarīraṃ ceṣṭayan prabhuḥ // MBh 12.326.33

O brahman! That which is invisible and quick-footed[22] enters that (i.e., the body).[23] It is [that] arisen and is the mighty one that makes the body move.

Following Ganguli, "that which is invisible and quick-footed" could possibly be considered to signify Vāsudeva. But judging from the fact that it is something that has arisen and is the mighty one that makes the body move, it is probably more reasonable to equate it with *jīva*, for it is also described as follows:

sa jīvaḥ parisaṃkhyātaḥ śeṣaḥ samkarṣaṇaḥ prabhuḥ / MBh 12.326.35ab

Enumerated as [alternative names of] that *jīva* are *śeṣa* (sheath), Saṃkarṣaṇa, and *prabhu* (mighty).

Jīva is thus identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa.

tasmāt sanatkumāratvaṃ yo labheta svakarmaṇā // MBh 12.326.35cd

yasmiṃś ca sarvabhūtāni pralayaṃ yānti saṃkṣaye /
sa manaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ pradyumnaḥ paripaṭhyate // MBh 12.326.36
That which obtains the nature of Sanatkumāra from that (i.e., *jīva*) by its own action and that in which all existents dissolve at the time of complete destruction—for all existents that is *manas* and is referred to as Pradyumna.

As is clearly stated below, it is assumed that Pradyumna arises from *jīva*, i.e., Saṃkarṣaṇa. This Pradyumna is identified with *manas* and is also regarded as that into which all things dissolve at the time of the destruction of the universe.

Next, Aniruddha makes an appearance.

tasmāt prasūto yaḥ kartā kāryaṃ kāraṇaṃ eva ca /
yasmāt sarvaṃ prabhavati jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam /
so 'niruddhaḥ sa īśāno vyaktiḥ sā sarvakarmasu // MBh 12.326.37
That which, born of that (i.e. Pradyumna), is the doer, the result, and the cause, that from which everything stationary and moving in the world arises—that is Aniruddha, that is the ruler, that is the manifestation in all actions.

Aniruddha arises from Pradyumna and is that from which everything is born, and he is also referred to as "manifestation."

After having described the four *vyūha* gods, the text continues as follows:

yo vāsudevo bhagavān kṣetrajño nirguṇātmakaḥ /
jñeyaḥ sa eva bhagavāñ jīvaḥ saṃkarṣaṇaḥ prabhuḥ // MBh 12.326.38
Holy Vāsudeva is *kṣetrajña* and is by nature free from *guṇa*-s, and it is he who should be known as holy *jīva*, Saṃkarṣaṇa, and *prabhu* (mighty).

This is a highly problematic passage. It had previously been stated that Vāsudeva and *kṣetrajña* are identical and that Saṃkarṣaṇa and *jīva* are identical. But here it could be supposed that Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa are identical, which would lead to inconsistencies.[24] Here it should be understood rather that Saṃkarṣaṇa arises from Vāsudeva. Alternatively, it is perhaps being suggested that Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa are no different in essence and represent no more than different manifestations of this essence.

Next, it is explained that these *vyūha* gods correspond to the principles.

saṃkarṣaṇāc ca pradyumno manobhūtaḥ sa ucyate /
pradyumnād yo 'niruddhas tu so 'hamkāro maheśvaraḥ // MBh 12.326.39
And from Saṃkarṣaṇa Pradyumna [appears]. He is called the *manas* principle. Meanwhile, from Pradyumna he who is Aniruddha [appears]. He is *ahaṃkāra*, he is Maheśvara.

From Saṃkarṣaṇa there appears Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna there appears Aniruddha. The order of evolution is thus: Saṃkarṣaṇa → Pradyumna → Aniruddha. Furthermore, Pradyumna is identified with *manas* and Aniruddha with *ahaṃkāra*. Since it has already been stated that Saṃkarṣaṇa is *jīva*, the following process of evolution can also be posited: *jīva* → *manas* → *ahaṃkāra*. The thesis that *ahaṃkāra* arises from *manas* is found in the *Manusmṛti*.[25] There is much about this theory of creation that is unclear, and one cannot deny the possibility that the author(s) were

unable to achieve overall consistency.[26]

Chapter 326 presents a theory identifying the *vyūha* gods with the principles, and their evolution is set out in **fig. 2**. It is clear that Pradyumna is considered to be identical with *manas* and Saṃkarṣaṇa with *jīva*, and on that basis it may be possible to equate Saṃkarṣaṇa with the unmanifest. In the same way, it may be possible to equate space, Aniruddha, and *ahaṃkāra*, although it is difficult to suppose that space and *ahaṃkāra* are identical.

It may rather be the case that in chapter 326 the process of creation and that of dissolution differ, for Pradyumna is said to be that into which all things dissolve while Aniruddha is that from which they arise. In other words, during the process of creation space arises from Aniruddha, who corresponds to *ahaṃkāra*, and during the process of dissolution space dissolves into Pradyumna, who corresponds to *manas*.

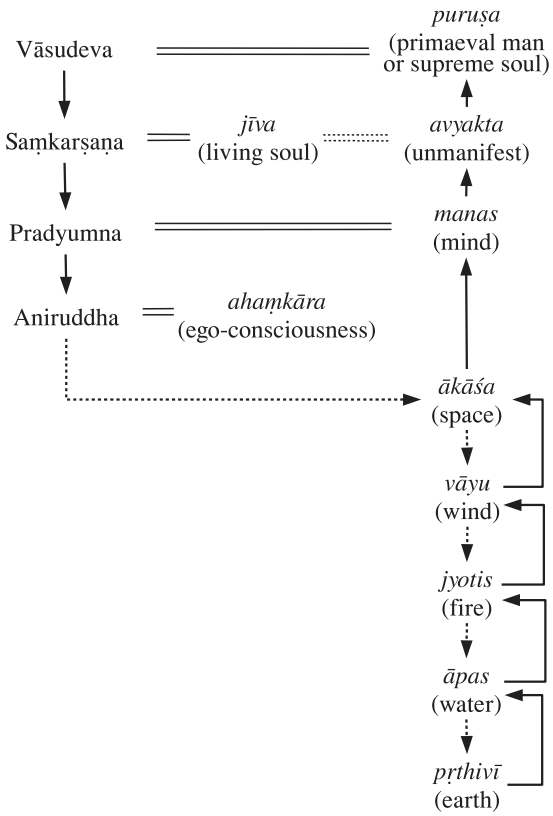

Fig. 2. The evolution of the *vyūha* gods and the principles in Mbh 12.326

5. Concluding Remarks

Chapters 326 and 327 both belong to the "Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan," but they include several differing views. On the basis of chapter 327 one can posit the following evolutionary process: supreme *ātman* → unmanifest → gross *ātman* → *ahaṃkāra* → five gross elements. In this case *ahaṃkāra* and space are treated separately. But in chapter 326 the relationship between space and *ahaṃkāra* is unclear, and it is also conceivable that *ahaṃkāra* arises from *manas*. Further, as regards Aniruddha, in chapter 327 he is identified with gross *ātman*, while in chapter 326 he is identified with *ahaṃkāra*, and the correspondences between the *vyūha* gods and the principles would not seem to be fixed.[27] Additionally, within chapter 326 the evolutionary process is not fixed either, and this has resulted in some inconsistencies.

As we have seen in the above, references are made to various theories, and there are some obvious inconsistencies. It is thus evident that these two chapters belong to a stage in which these theories had not yet been systemized. It is to be surmised that while it was all very well to incorporate various theories and try to blend them

together, in the end it proved impossible to achieve overall consistency. But there are traces of an attempt to amalgamate the *vyūha* gods and Sāṃkhya doctrine and incorporate them into a theory of creation. An attempt was made to develop a cosmogony that added mythical elements and psychosomatic theory to the process of evolution from the Supreme Being. The cosmogony of the Pāñcarātra sect became even more complex in later times through the incorporation of still more diverse theories, and the course of creation from the Supreme Being to the phenomenal world required a long process. One can probably detect in this a way of thinking distinctive of Indian thought, whereby a sect of thought would seek to establish the superiority of its own views by incorporating past ideas. It may be supposed that this way of thinking was one of the reasons behind the formulation of a cosmogony that blended together various different theories. In this article I have been able to undertake only a limited discussion of the issues, and in order to analyze the cosmogony of the Pāñcarātra sect in greater detail, it will be necessary to take up and elucidate a wide range of later works too.

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Notes

1 The *Mahābhārata* is divided into 18 books and an addendum and consists of approximately 215,000 verses. *Mahābhārata* means "great (*mahā*) Bharata tribe (*bhārata*)," and it is the "tale of the great Bharata tribe." While it is centred on the tale of a war within the tribe, many other stories have been inserted into the narrative, and it could be described as encyclopaedic in content. Its authorship has traditionally been attributed to Vyāsa. The central narrative of internecine war is the oldest part of the work, and it is said to have acquired its present form between the fourth century BCE and the fourth century CE [Winternitz and Nakano 1965].

2 Among the some editions of the *Mahābhārata* I have used the critical edition [Belvalkar 1954], but in parts I have also consulted the Poona edition with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary [Miśra and Singh 1988].

3 Nakamura translates as "自在力ある未顕現" (i.e. "the puissant unmanifest") [Nakamura 1998: p. 949], Ganguli as "forth *Avyakta* (the Unmanifest)" [Ganguli 1975: p. 135].

4 *Ahaṃkāra* is mentioned already in the Upaniṣads. For example, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 7.25.1 refers to its function of connecting to the self, while in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 5.8 and *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.5 it is mentioned together with

buddhi and *manas* as a mental function or organ.

5 Same verse is found also in MBh 12.187.4ab and MBh 12.298.11ab.

6 It can be seen for example in MBh 12.203, 291, 298; *Carakasaṃhitā* 4.1; and *Buddhacarita* 12. It should be noted, however, that these differ in details. The *Bhagavadgītā* (MBh 6.29.4) also lists eight principles, but there is no mention of the unmanifest, and *manas* is counted.

7 See section 4 below.

8 In MBh 12.203 the relationship between the five gross elements and the five sense objects is explained in the following manner:

> *tadvat somaguṇā jihvā gandhas tu pṛthivīguṇaḥ /*
> *śrotraṃ śabdaguṇaṃ caiva cakṣur agner guṇas tathā /*
> *sparśaṃ vāyuguṇam vidyāt sarvabhūteṣu sarvadā //* MBh 12.203.32
>
> Likewise in all existents may it always be known that the tongue (tasting) is the attribute (*guṇa*) of [the element] water, smell is the attribute of [the element] earth, the ear (hearing) is the attribute of [the element] sound, the eye (sight) is the attribute of [the element] fire, and touch is the attribute of [the element] wind.

Although the correspondences are not fixed, it is evident that the five sense objects correspond with the *guṇa*s of the gross elements. This correspondence is also found for example in MBh 12.187.8–10ab, as well as being expounded in Classical Sāṃkhya. If one takes into account the thesis presented in chapter 203, the *guṇa*s mentioned in chapter 327 may include the sense organs, but their correspondence with the eleven Rudras is unclear.

9 *bhūtasargam ahaṃkārāt tṛtīyaṃ viddhi pārthiva /*
ahaṃkāreṣu bhūteṣu caturthaṃ viddhi vaikṛtam // MBh 12.291.23
Know the creation of existents from *ahaṃkāra* as the third. O son of Pṛthā! Know that modified one (*vaikṛta*) in existents [born from] *ahaṃkāra* as the fourth.
vāyur jyotir athākāśam āpo 'tha pṛthivī tathā /
śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca raso gandhas tathā eva ca // MBh 12.291.24
Wind, fire, space, water, and earth are indeed [respectively] sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell.
evaṃ yugapad utpannaṃ daśavargam asaṃśayam / MBh 12.291.25ab
Thus without doubt a tenfold set was born simultaneously.

10 [Mani 1975: p. 691].

11 [Mani 1975: p. 779].

12 *marīcir aṅgirāś cātriḥ pulastyaḥ pulahaḥ kratuḥ /*
vasiṣṭha iti saptaite mānasā nirmitā hi vai // MBh 12.327.61
Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha—these seven were created as the spiritual ones (*mānasa*) [of Brahmā].

13 The *Manusmṛti* is a work belonging to the Dharmaśāstras and is thought to have been composed between the second century BCE and the second century CE. *Dharmaśāstra* means "teaching about *dharma* (law)," but these works cover a far broader range of behavioural norms than just laws [Watase 2013: pp. 449–500].

14 The ten sages are the so-called seven sages and Pracetas, Bhṛgu, and Nārada [Watase 2013: p. 26].

15 *marīcir atryaṅgirasau pulastyaḥ pulahaḥ kratuḥ /*
vasiṣṭhaś ca mahātejā ete citraśikhaṇḍinaḥ // MBh 12.322.27
Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha of great majesty—these are the *citraśikhaṇḍin*.
sapta prakṛtayo hy etās tathā svāyaṃbhuvo aṣṭamaḥ /
etābhir dhāryate lokas tābhyaḥ śāstram viniḥsṛtam // MBh 12.322.28
These are the seven *prakṛti*s, and Svāyambhuva is the eighth. The world is supported by these [seven] and the teaching (*śāstra*) issued forth from them.

16 [Rastelli 2009: p. 444].

17 In Classical Sāṃkhya the twenty-five principles are *puruṣa* (supreme soul), *prakṛti* (primordial nature), *buddhi* (intellect), *ahaṃkāra* (ego-consciousness), *manas* (mind), five sense capacities, five action capacities, five subtle elements, and five gross elements. In Epic Sāṃkhya, similar principles are enumerated, but the order in which they evolve differs, and in some cases the number of principles also differs.

18 Lit. "he who knows (*jña*) the land or field (*kṣetra*)." Another term for *puruṣa*.

19 Classical Sāṃkhya propounds a dualistic theory in which *puruṣa* (supreme soul) merely observes, as a result of which *prakṛti*

(primordial nature) is activated and the evolution of the world begins. But as was seen in chapter 327, in Epic Sāṃkhya there is also found a theory that tends towards monism, with *puruṣa* being identified with the Supreme Being and *prakṛti* being born from *puruṣa*.

20 *Jīva* is not clearly explained in Sāṃkhya doctrine. In the epics "*jīva* denotes, not the soul, but an animating principle of the nature of *prāṇa*, which passes from body to body in the course of transmigration" [Johnston 1974: p. 44]. This overlaps with the subtle body posited in Classical Sāṃkhya.

21 The Poona edition has *vāyavaś* for *dhātavaś* [Miśra and Singh 1988: p. 246]. Nakamura translates: "〔五〕風は〔身体を〕活動させることができない" (i.e. "the [five] winds are unable to make [the body] move") [Nakamura 1998: p. 932].

22 *Laghuvikrama* means "light and quick step," but Ganguli translates it as "the puissant Vasudeva" [Ganguli 1975: p. 135]. Nakamura translates it as "足の速いもの" (i.e. "one which is quick-footed") and references Ganguli's translation [Nakamura 1998: p. 932].

23 Ganguli translates this as "that combination of the five primal elements, called body," and I likewise interpret "that" as the body [Ganguli 1975: p. 135].

24 If Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa are identical, then *kṣetrajña* and *jīva* would also end up being identical. That *kṣetrajña* and *jīva* have similar functions is mentioned in MBh 12.187.7–12, while a view that clearly differentiates them is found in *Manusmṛti* 12.12–14.

25 *udbabarhātmanaś caiva manaḥ sadasadātmakam* /
manasaś cāpy ahaṃkāram abhimantāram īśvaraṃ // MS 1.14
And from himself [Brahmā] drew out *manas* composed of the existence and the non-existence, and from *manas* [he drew out] *ahaṃkāra*, which is self-consciousness and *īśvara*.

26 I have found only the above two instances of the thesis that *ahaṃkāra* is born from *manas*. In other expositions of Epic Sāṃkhya *manas* is either born from *ahaṃkāra* or else it evolves from the eight primordial origins, including *ahaṃkāra*, as one of the sixteen modifications. The creative functions of *manas* can be traced back to the Vedas and are also mentioned in Epic Sāṃkhya. But in Classical Sāṃkhya *manas* is clearly said to be born from *ahaṃkāra*, and no creative functions are attributed to it. It is to be surmised that the position of *manas* declined with the passage of time.

27 According to Hikita, considerable confusion can be seen in the identification of the *vyūha* gods with the principles. He points to chapter 6 of the *Lakṣmītantra*, where Saṃkarṣaṇa is identified with *ahaṃkāra*, Pradyumna with *buddhi*, and Aniruddha with *manas*. Further, in later times there is a tendency to regard the *vyūha* gods as controllers of these principles rather than identifying them with the principles. Initially not much importance was attached to them in the Pāñcarātra sect, but after they were taken up by Śaṅkara various associated problems began to surface [Hikita 1997: p. 61].

Keywords

Hinduism, Indian Philosophy, Sāṃkhya, Pāñcarātra, *vyūha*