

# The Ancillary Literature of the Paippalāda School Arlo Griffiths

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# The Ancillary Literature of the Paippalāda School A Preliminary Survey with an Edition of the *Caranavyūhopanisad*\*

Arlo Griffiths

# §1. Introduction

With this paper, I wish to shed light on the extent of Paippalāda ancillary literature still available in Orissa — the last remaining stronghold of this Śākhā —, mainly on the basis of material collected by me during several field-trips over the past 8 years.<sup>1</sup> The edition of the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, which forms the main part of this contribution, will serve as an example of what kind of literature the extant sources preserve, and as an introduction to one specific category of manuscripts. It will also form the basis of a comparison between what literature is still available today, and what we have reason to believe may have been extant in the past in the domain of the Paippalādins' ancillary literature. This will lead, in conclusion, to some hypotheses concerning the relationships between the textual corpora of the Paippalāda and Śaunaka schools of the Atharvaveda, as well as some proposals for further research.

The ancillary literature of this Śaunaka school is relatively well known. Brahmins of this school, abiding in western India and Benares,<sup>2</sup> have left us a Brāhmaņa (the *Gopathabrāhmaņa* [GB]), two Sūtras (the *Kauśikasūtra* [KauśS], the *Vaitānasūtra* [VaitS], with its supplement of Atharvan *Prāyaścittas* [AVPrāy]), two *Prātiśākhyas*, a large collection of Pariśiṣṭas (AVPariś), commentaries on most of the above texts, and even *Paddhatis* are available in published form.<sup>3</sup>

This enumeration shows that the difference from the sister school, the Paippalāda-Śākhā, could not be greater; because for this school, besides its Samhitā (partly), almost nothing has been published,<sup>4</sup> and next to nothing is known

<sup>\*</sup>Diwakar Acharya has read and commented on two versions of the edition of and commentary on the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, and given many suggestions for improvement. I am grateful to him, as I am to Peter Bisschop, Harunaga Isaacson and Shilpa Sumant, who have also made several suggestions for improvement of the paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The hitherto collected manuscripts of the *Paippalādasaṃhitā* (PS) have been described in GRIFFITHS 2003a. A few additional PS mss. have been obtained since 2003, and will be presented by me elsewhere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See BAHULKAR (forthc.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For information on editions and translations, see GONDA 1975 and 1977, the lengthy and valuable introduction to BAHULKAR 1977 (only very partially reproduced in the published version [1994]), and MODAK 1993; concerning the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas, see also the introduction to BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS 2003; on Śaunaka-Atharvan *Paddhatis*, BAHULKAR 2002 and 2003, DIWEKAR et al. 1972, LIMAYE et al. 1982; on *Prātiśākhya* and *Vikrtipāṭha* literature, DESHPANDE 1997 and 2002 respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Concerning the two exceptions, viz. the two *Paddhatis* published by Umākānta PAŅDĀ respectively in 2000 and 2003, see below, §2C and 2D; see also the contribution of Alexis Sanderson

about its corpus of ancillary texts. Till now, only the discoverer of the Orissa Paippalāda tradition, Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA, in his collection of lectures entitled *The Fundamental Themes of the Atharvaveda*, published posthumously in 1968, has dedicated some paragraphs to this theme, and summarized them as follows (1968: viii): "The Paippalāda [Atharvaveda] had its *Brāhmaņa* and a vast ancillary literature, a part of which has survived in Eastern India along with thousands of orthodox adherents almost unnoticed by Vedic scholars."

It has to be admitted frankly, at the outset, that the tradition in Orissa, although there are a large number of manuscripts lying in private collections, has not left us a broad variety of ancillary genres, by which I mean in this context any kind of non-Samhitā literature: I have hitherto only found manuscripts containing collections of Upaniṣads, on the one hand, and several categories of manuals for the performance of various rituals, on the other. After having undertaken several field-trips, I am not optimistic that any further genres may still be lying undiscovered. The following two sections give a survey of the available manuscript sources. These sources are admittedly limited, but nonetheless worthy of study in and of themselves, besides the fact that some of them offer important information on the history of the Paippalāda canon. Such information will be discussed further below ( $\S$ 5), after I have presented an edition of a relevant text, the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad* ( $\S$ 4).

I call my survey preliminary, because it seems to me that I am at once trying to do too much and too little, and the reader will notice that the materials collected in the survey have been treated in rather varying measure of detail. I have simply not yet had the chance seriously to investigate the contents of mss. representing some of the genres to be introduced below (KS), while for others, considerably more progress has been made, but this article did not seem to be the appropriate place to publish the findings (KP). Finally, for a third category of mss. (AK), this volume contains a separate paper (the one by Alexis Sanderson) that provides a first glimpse into the nature of the concerned genre of Atharvavedic ancillary literature.

# §2. Paippalāda Ancillary Literature: Sources

Rather differently from the text corpus of other Vedic traditions, that of the Orissa Paippalādins cannot be studied primarily on the basis of manuscripts lying in public library collections: besides the Tübingen *Paippalādasamhitā* ms. in Śāradā script, I am only aware of two Orissan mss. preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune (see §2D), and of small collections in the Orissa State Museum (see MISHRA 1973, MOHAPATRA 2002–03) and the

to this volume. Some publications in (heavily sanskritised) Oriya language and in Oriya script are also mentioned below, §2E.

Parija Library of Utkal University (see DEV 1988), both in Bhubaneswar. The Paippalāda textual traditions must in the first instance be studied on the basis of private manuscript collections. This circumstance, which no doubt holds true for other traditions historically limited to Orissa — an area poorly covered by nineteenth century expeditions in search of manuscripts, due to various (political) reasons<sup>5</sup> — has certainly contributed to the comparatively undeveloped state of Paippalāda studies.

This section offers a rapid overview of the primary sources for the study of Paippalāda ancillary literature that I have hitherto collected.<sup>6</sup> Besides four locally published books, these sources are in manuscript form, and for (future) reference to these, sigla will be proposed. Because identical sigla are found under the different lettered categories, genre acronymns are also given, to allow for unambiguous expanded sigla of the type Up/Ku<sub>1</sub>, AK/Ku<sub>1</sub> etc. Only the Upaniṣad (Up.) mss. will be described in detail, in the next section ( $\S$ 3). Due to constraints of time and space, no detailed presentation of the contents of the other sources could be provided in this article.

With the exception of  $P_1$  and  $P_2$  (§2D), all mss. are in Oriya script; with the exception of those same two mss., and the four OSM mss. listed under B and D, all mss. listed here are from private collections, and none have appeared in previous catalogs; all mss. are written on palm-leaves, bound by a single string in the middle and enclosed in cover boards.

## A. Upanisads (Up)

- 1. Gu<sub>1</sub>. Photographs only of the folios containing the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, from a ms. belonging to Veṇudhara Paṇḍā of the village Guhiāpāḷa.<sup>7</sup>
- 2. Gu<sub>2</sub>. Photographs of a ms. in pristine condition, kept by Sudhākara Paṇḍā of the village Guhiāpāḷa. Complete.
- 3. Jā. Photographs only of the folios containing the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, from a badly damaged ms. belonging to Haraprasāda Miśra of the village Jāmbhaṇi.
- 4. Ku<sub>1</sub>. Large and worn ms., received from the late Harihara Upādhyāya of the village Kurumcaini. Painting on insides of front and back coverboards.
- 5. Ku<sub>2</sub>. Smaller ms., in good condition, from the same collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See Bh. PANDA 2003: 346f. for a warmly nationalistic account.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The survey does not aim at completeness for the limited number of sources accessible in the mentioned public libraries, but includes from their collections only those mss. to which I have access in photographs or photocopies at the time of writing (March 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>For this place name, and all the other place names from Orissa (and Jharkhand) mentioned in this article, see WITZEL & GRIFFITHS 2002.

- 6. Ku<sub>3</sub>. Previously uninked ms., now inked by the author, in good condition, from the same collection.
- 7. Ni. Photographs of an extensive (composite) ms., kept by Maheśvara Miśra of the village Nirmaļā.

# B. Karmapañjikā (KP)

For preliminary information on this text, and some quotations from it, see BHATTACHARYYA 1968: 2, 23. The papers GRIFFITHS 2003b and 2004–05 contain some longer excerpts in edited form. A critical edition of this text is currently being prepared, on the basis of the following materials.

- Dh/903. Photographs of a seemingly old, worn, and incomplete ms. covering only the third secton (on Śrāddha), from the Orissa State Museum (Bhubaneswar), previously reported as lost (GRIFFITHS 2003b: 365, n. 55), but found and photographed in 2005. Listed in MISHRA 1973, ser. nr. 1077.<sup>8</sup>
- 2. Gu<sub>1</sub>. Photographs of a large, complete, but rather carelessly written ms. kept by Venudhara Panḍā of the village Guhiāpāḷa.
- 3. Gu<sub>2</sub>. Rather poorly legible photographs of a ms. belonging to Ambujākṣa Upādhyāya of the village Guhiāpāḷa.
- 4. Ku. A large ms. in perfect condition, received from the late Harihara Upādhyāỳa of the village Kuruṃcaini. The scribe of this ms. seems to be identical to that of the dated and localized ms. Up/Ku<sub>3</sub>, described in §3 below.
- 5. Ni. Photographs of a seemingly old, worn, and incomplete ms., with generally good readings, belonging to Prahlāda Upādhyāỳa of the village Nirmaļā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>This ms. does not seem to have been noticed in MOHAPATRA 2002–03, where however no mss. with serial number other than "V/" have been included. After my most recent visit to the OSM (in 2005), I found in MOHAPATRA's work (p. 50), in the description of the contents of V/126, that this PS-ms. also contains *śrīdharaviracitāyām vivāhādikarmapañjikāyām cyutavratipunarupanayanavidhih* (the colophon for the *vidhi* coming immediately before the KP portion published in GRIFFITHS 2003b, see p. 7 of that article), i.e. possibly a substantial part of the first third (*upanayana* related) part of the KP. I had failed to notice this in my own description of the ms. (see GRIFFITHS 2003a: 364). The photographs available to me do not seem to cover anything but PS material, but this may be due to my not having realized that the bundle contained important other material, when I took the photographs.

## C. Karmasamuccaya (KS)

For an early mention of this title, see BHATTACHARYYA 1968: 2. Despite the misguided information in the second sentence of the *pūrvābhāsaḥ* to PAŅDĀ [2003] (no page number), *karmapañjikā karmasamuccayo vā iti granthe*, where the *Karmasamuccaya* is confused with the *Karmapañjikā*, it is clear that only mss. attributed to the KS lay at the basis of PAŅDĀ's *Paddhati* published in 2000. The text seems to consists of (at least) three distinct parts, that are referred to by the Paippalādins as *Vratapustaka*, *Vivāhapustaka* and *Durbalakrtya[pustaka]* respectively.<sup>9</sup>

- 1. Go. Photographs of a ms. of the *Vratapustaka* kept by Raghunātha Miśra of the village Goruāla.
- 2. Gu<sub>1</sub>. Photographs of a ms. of the *Vivāhapustaka* kept by Krsnacandra Upādhyāya of the village Guhiāpāla.
- 3. Gu<sub>2</sub>. Photographs of a notebook copy of the *Vratapustaka* (beginning [p. 1] with *adhivāsa* and ending [p. 207] with *samāvartana*, to which are appended several short texts including, e.g., *vratare janmatithīra devatānka nāma* [p. 208], *pāņipādārghyavidhi* [209], *nāndimukhaśrāddhavidhi* [228–231] and three and a half verses attributed to the *Vāstusūtropaniṣad*<sup>10</sup> [unnumbered last page of the notebook]) from the collection of Venudhara and the late Vidyādhara Paṇḍā, village Guhiāpāļa.
- 4. Ku<sub>1</sub>. A fine ms. of the *Vratapustaka*, nicely written and in good condition (dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> *aṅka* of a king Rāmacandradeva), received from the

prabhāte vāñchitam puṣpam, madhyāhne phaļavāñchitam | sāyāhne devanāmam tu, rātrau tu nadīnāmakam | praśnākṣaram dvīguṇitam mātrā caturguṇam bhavet | tithivārasamāyukta ekikrtyam ca sthāpitam | muninā kurute bhāgam, śeṣam kāryye niyojayet candrāgnau kaṣṭakāryyam siddhiyugmaś ca vedake vāṇarasau śighrakāryyam śunye ca kāryyanāśanam

See the article by BHATTACHARYA in the mentioned edition, where a convincing argument is made (pp. 38f.) against the commentator's acquaintance with the PS, and hence against the authenticity of the text's attribution to the Paippalāda tradition — although BHATTACHARYA claims actually to cast doubt on the authenticity of a Paippalāda-connection of the Sūtras themselves, his strongest arguments seem rather to involve the commentator. The authenticity of the entire text has been called into question as well (see e.g. the review of the edition by Frederick M. ASHER in JAOS 104 [1984], 599f.), but the verses found in this notebook, which are not likely to have been influenced by an acquaintance with the edition, confirm at least that a text of this name has been in circulation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>In the *Āngirasakalpa* materials presented in this volume by Alexis Sanderon, we also occasionally see attributions to the KS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>I am not sure whether these verses occur in the edition of BONER et al. 1996. I transliterate:

late Harihara Upādhyāỳa, village Kurumcaini. Attributions to *Karmasam-uccaya* e.g. ff. 35r, 65v, 76v, 79r, 129r. Begins with *adhivāse śālāropaņavidhi*, ends with *nāndimukhaśrāddhavidhi*.

- 5. Ku<sub>2</sub>. Another ms. in pristine condition, covering the same text, from the same collection.
- 6. Kk. Another ms. of the *Vratapustaka* (beginning with *adhivāsa* and ending with *samāvartana*) in reasonable, though uninked, condition, received from Praphulla Upādhyāya of the village Kukurājujhā.
- 7. Publication Paippalādavivāhādisamskārapaddhati (PAŅDĀ 2000).
- D. Āngirasakalpa (AK)

BHATTACHARYYA (1968) mentions and quotes some stanzas from the AK on pages: 2, 23, 35, 37. On this last page, it becomes clear that he had access to only one ms.

- 1. As. Photographs of a ms. kept by Dāmodara Miśra, village Asimiļā,<sup>11</sup> which served as the basis of the last item in this list.
- Ku<sub>1</sub>. An old ms. received from the late Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kurumcaini, with very fine writing and illustrations of yantras at the back. Concerned with rituals involving Nrsimha.
- 3. Ku<sub>2</sub>. A younger, extensive ms. from the same collection.
- 4. Ku<sub>3</sub>. A small sized ms. from the same collection.
- 5. Ni. Photographs of a ms. kept by Maheśvara Miśra, village Nirmalā.
- 6. P<sub>1</sub>. Photocopies of the ms. 960 (1887–91) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Devanāgarī, but most likely copied from an Oriya exemplar, because Oriya marginalia are found occasionally, and the folio numbering is largely in Oriya numerals.<sup>12</sup> For details of this manuscript's contents, see Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume, pp. 210–216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The connection of this village with a transmission of the  $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$  was already suggested by VASU (1911: x–xi, n. 1), which places it among the first modern Paippalādin villages to have appeared in Indological literature, several decades before the famous discoveries of Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>At the time of writing (March 2007), my photocopies of this and the following BORI ms. were still in the custody of Alexis Sanderson. The codicological facts are mentioned here from memory, but no greater detail can be given. Although BAHULKAR (1987: 576) notes that the BORI records report these two mss. "to have been collected by R. G. Bhandarkar from some place in Maharashtra during 1887–91", he also concludes, although on other grounds, that "they belong to the Paippalāda recension prevalent in Orissa" (p. 579). BAHULKAR provides some codicological details for both mss., and refers to the descriptive catalog of BORI mss. (vol. XVI, pt. II, 1976, ser. nos. 16 and 17, pp. 18–25).

- 7. P<sub>2</sub>. Photocopies of the ms. 959 (1889–91) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. Devanāgarī, but most likely copied from an Oriya exemplar (on the same grounds as  $P_1$ ). For details of this manuscript's contents, see the same contribution to this volume, 217-224.
- 8. Sa. Photographs of a ms. from the collection of the late Vaidyanātha Pandā of the village Sankhāmari, now kept by his son Mrtyuñjaya Pandā. Contents (partially) shared with Ku<sub>3</sub>.
- 9. T/121. Photographs of a ms. from the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar (OSM). Listed in MISHRA 1973, ser. nr. 197.
- 10. T/187. Photographs of a ms. from the OSM. Listed in MISHRA 1973, ser. nr. 198.
- 11. V/124. Photographs of a ms. from the OSM. Listed in MISHRA 1973, ser. nr. 17. This being one of the Atharvanic "V/" mss. from the OSM collection, details of its contents are given by MOHAPATRA (2002–03: 31–34).
- 12. Publication Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati (PANDĀ [2003]).
- E. Miscellaneous
  - 1. An old, worn and incomplete ms. received from the late Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kurumcaini. The text covers various *pūjās* and *vidhis*, seemingly connected with the Śrāddha rite. A Śrāddhasūtra is apparently cited f. 53v. A Durbalakrtyapaddhati starts on f. 90r. Although it seems to be related to it in terms of genre, I have found no attribution to the Karmasamuccaya.
  - 2. Photographs of a *Grahaśānti* ms. from the collection of the late Vaidyanātha Pandā of the village Sankhāmari, now kept by his son Mrtyuñjaya Pandā.
  - 3. Photographs of a ms. from the collection of (late) Vidyādhara Pandā and his brother Venudhara Pandā of the village Guhiāpāla, containing: Abhicārikatantra, Gāyatrīkavaca, Pratyangirāmantra, Mrttikaśankaravidhi (°kāsamkara°?), Skandapurāne Śītalāstotra, Aśvatthapradaksinavidhi, Agnisvarūpakathana, Agnijvālālaksana, (Ugra)tārāstotra, Svapnādhyāya.
  - 4. Publication Atharvavedīja Nityakarmapaddhati (in Oriya) compiled by Lalita Mohana BHATTAŚARMĀ (Bhubanesvar, Khandagiri Pres 1993). Contents: Sandhyāvidhi, Nūtana yajñopavīta dhārana mantra, Bhojanavidhi, Tarpanavidhi, Vaiśvadevavidhi, Samksipta pañcopacāra pūjāvidhi, Śrī Vakratunda pūjāvidhi, Śrī Śiva pūjāmantra, Śrī Sūryya pūjāmantra, Śrī Laksmī pūjāmantra, Śrī Nrsimha pūjāmantra, Śrī Gopāla pūjāmantra, Śrī Vanadurgā pūjāmantra, Śrī Laksmīnārayana pūjāmantra, Ekoddistaśrāddhavidhi, Puņyastotram vā Somopanisad, Dīpadāna śrāddhavidhi, Aparapaksa śrāddhavidhi.

- 5. Publication Ātharvaņīÿa Pūjā Paddhati (in Oriya) compiled by Veņudhara PAŅDĀ (Kendujhara, Manamohinī Priņţim Pres 2004). Contents: Ātharvaņīÿa sandhyā praÿoga, Madhyāhna sandhyāÿām, Gāÿatrī śāpoddhāra, Om śrī śrī Satyanārāyana pūjā, Arghya samskāra, Ghaţa pūjā, Homa vidhi, Pūjā prakaranam, Āsana pramāna, Āsana śuddhi, Sāmānyarghya vidhi, Samkalpa vidhi, Śrī śrī Viśvakarmā pūjā, Rādhānka pūjā, Païtā mantra, Yajñopavīta pramāna, Sūryyanku prārthanā, Pañcāmrta śodhana vidhi, Mitādi pūjā, Asţalokapāļa mandaļe pūjaÿet, Brahmā mandaļe, Pañcagavyaśodhana vidhi.
- 6. A booklet, probably similar in contents to the preceding items, seems to have been published by Dāmodara PAŅDĀ, of the former Pāṭhaśālā in Baiśingā (WITZEL & GRIFFITHS 2002: 176), but I have not seen it yet.

# §3. Detailed Catalog of Upanisad Manuscripts

The various extant corpora of Upaniṣadic literature have attracted attention in recent years through the publications of BOUY (1990a/b, 1994, 1995). The existence of a more or less standardized collection of Atharvanic Upaniṣads (or texts styled as such), that is commonly found among the Paippalādins in Orissa, was not yet known previously, and the existing mss. have hence not been utilized in the study of this branch of literature.

As is clear from §2A above, I presently have access to (photographs of) 5 full mss. containing this collection: Gu<sub>2</sub>, Ku<sub>1</sub>, Ku<sub>2</sub>, Ku<sub>3</sub> and Ni. For the other mss. there listed, I possess only photographs of the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, the critical edition of which will be presented in §4. The five mentioned mss. will first be described in detail in this section. A number of mss. with largely identical contents is available also in two public libraries of Orissa: the Parija Library of Utkal University (see DEV 1988), and in particular the Orissa State Museum (see MISHRA 1973). MOHAPATRA (2002–03: 10–12) has drawn up an alphabetical synopsis showing which mss. from the latter collection contain each Upaniṣad.

A specific investigation of this previously unkown Atharvavedic corpus from Orissa, in continuation of BOUY's research, is beyond the scope of this article. However, the tables to be presented below, showing the contents of the five mss. that are accessible to me in their entirety, combined with MOHAPATRA's synopsis, are meant to facilitate such further research. For this same purpose, the orthography of titles has, to a large extent, been normalized in the tables. In principle, only the main part of each ms. is taken into account here, while some indication of the extra material that every bundle contains is given as part of the codicological information.

## Gu<sub>2</sub>

The description of this ms. was done from photographs, and for that reason lacks some of the detail given for other mss.

Collection Sudhākara Paṇḍā of the village Guhiāpāļa.

Photos Digital photographs are available with the author.

- Physical This entire ms., which was in good condition when I photographed it in 1998, was written by one hand, that of the current owner's grandfather, Yadunātha Paṇḍā. Dimensions not recorded. 4–5 lines per folio-side.
- Foliation 4 + 237 = 241 folios. At the head of the codex, there are four separately numbered folios, the first three of which bear the legend *sucipatra* in the left margin of the recto, and indeed contain a table of contents, although apparently of a different ms. than this one — perhaps its exemplar — because the indicated folio numbers do not match with the body of the codex. The fourth separately numbered folio (which bears both a numbering 1 and 4) contains extraneous material, partly invocatory verses.

At the back of the ms., f. 233r contains a few unidentified verses, its verso is blank. Folios 234r–237r (237v is blank) contain the text of PS 16.133–135, introduced with a marginal comment in the left margin of 234r: *khirodrakāņḍa mantrakāņḍa prthivīdohana*, which must be an almost unrecognizably misspelt reference to the so-called *kṣudrakāṇḍa* of PS, i.e. PS 16. There are two blank folios to conclude this codex.

Colophon The colophon at f. 232r1-232v4 reads: *ye vedaśāstra samāpto* yam || || bhimasyāpi raņe bhango mūner api matibhramam yadi suddhamm asuddham vā mama dosah na vidyateh || bhagnaprsthakatīgriva tulādrstir adhomukham duhkhena liksītam grantha putrapautravat pratipāļayetaķ 🏽 yathā ādrśams tathā lekhanamh lekhako nāsti dosah || śakābdāh 1855 sna 1340 sāla kakadāmāsa vaśammate di 27 ne śanivāra dina 6 cha ghadi samayare yekaśata  $\cdot\cdot$ vimsam panisata lekhā samāptamh || tailād raksam jalād raksamh draksa mām ślasnabandhamnamh pāmksūmbhyo parahastena yevam vadanti pustakamh || kāsyapagotraśrīyadunāthadevaśarmanam idam *vedapustakapanisat likhitam* || (ornament) || || *he sujñam janamāne* suņa e panisata lekhā helā puņa || mo vayasa 60 sāṭhīye jāṇa || mātrāvisargajñāna nāhim puna 🏾 āji re krsna saptami jāna 🗏 tahim re harijanma puna || nakṣatra asmini aṭaï || rocahaṇi nakṣatra pāi nā· || pāñjire jāhā ukta thilā || āmbhamāne tāhā kah bhalā || sādhumāne mo dosa na dhariba || mu ate niśce murkhajiba || murkhakulare yanma mora || vidyā abhyāsa nāhi mora || ye mate kalaïm lekhani || dosa na dharibe sujña jana || e tarapa baharāgorā || simhabhuim ate jīlā ||

maraganepaścisiļā ho guhīyāpāļa grāmare vāsa thāim  $\parallel$  nāma mohara yadunātha  $\parallel$  dayā karibe jagannātha  $\parallel$  pitā mohara dā·dara  $\parallel$  rakṣā karantu cakradhara  $\parallel$  hasti caļati pādena jihvāṭa  $\cdots$  paṇḍitāḥ  $\parallel$  (ornament)  $\parallel$  rakṣā karibe {adhama} jagannātha mahāprabhu adhama śrīyadunātha paṇḍāṅku ghara sāḥ guhīyāpāļa grāmyāvasthita  $\parallel \parallel$  śrī śubham astu sarvatraḥ  $\parallel \parallel$  (ornament)  $\parallel$  śakābdā 1855 | 1340 | śrāvana di 27 na.

Date According to the colophon, the copying of this ms. was concluded in Śaka 1855 = Sna 1340<sup>13</sup> = 1932/33 CE, on a Saturday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of the solar month Karkaṭa (ka[n]kadāmāsa), also said to be the 7<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the waning fortnight of an unspecified lunar month, Nakṣatra Aśvinī, and the 27<sup>th</sup> of the lunar month Śrāvaṇa. The various elements of the dating are in conflict with each other, so no exact date can be extracted from them — but that the copying was concluded in August 1933 seems certain.

Folios	Contain
1–6r4	Muṇḍakopaniṣad
6r5–12r5	Praśnopanisad
12v1–14v1	Garbhopanisad
14v2–16v4	Prāņāgnihotropanisad
16v4–18r3	Mahopanişad
18r3–20v1	Brahmopanisad
20v1–21r4	Brahmavidyopaniṣad
21r4–22v1	Kşurikopanişad
22v2-23v2	Cūlikopaniṣad
23v2–24v3	Anucūlikopaniṣad
24v3–29r2	Atharvaśiropanisad
29r3–30r3	Atharvaśikhopaniṣad
30r4–31r5	Amrtabindūpanisad
31r5–33v1	Amrtanādopaniṣad
33v2–34r2	Yogaśikhopanisad
34r2–34v5	Nārāyaņopaniṣad
34v5–35r4	Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad
35r5–36r2	Ātharvaņopanisad
36r2–46v3	Ātharvaņa Tāpanīya (in 5 upanisads) = Nrsimhapūrvatāpanīya
46v4–57r3	Nrsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaņdas)
57r3–59r4	Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad
59r4–60r4	Gāyatryupaniṣad
60r4–63v3	Gāyatrīhrdaya
63v3–64v5	Hamsopanisad (in two khandas?) <sup>14</sup>
64v5–66r3	Paramahamsopanisad
66r3–67v1	Āruņyopanisad
67v1–68r5	Kālāgnirudropanisad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>On this era of the Mughal emperor Akbar, see GRIFFITHS 2003a: 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>In all mss. presented here, the 1<sup>st</sup> division of this text is explicitly called *khaṇḍa*, whereas the second is closed with a simple numerical indication.

69r1-74r4Śrīrāmacandrasya Pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upanişads)74r5-77v3Átharvaņarahasye Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī77v3-79v3Átharvaņarahasye Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī79v3-83r3Śrikşnapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 sections)83r3-84r2Gārudopanişad84r2-85r5Saubhāgyakāņde Kālikopanişad85v1-86v4Somotpattyupanişad <sup>15</sup> 86v4-87r4Piŋdopanişad87r4-88r1Atmopanişad <sup>16</sup> 88v5-91r3Śrikşnaşva pūrvatāpanīye Kaivalyopanişad (?) <sup>17</sup> 91r4-98v4Kaivalyopanişad88v5-91r3Śrikşnaşva pūrvatāpanīye Kaivalyopanişad (în 6 prapāţhakas)116r4-126r5Atharvaņi Puruşasubodhinī / Pūrvatāpanī (in 6 prapāţhakas)126v1-131vDhyānabindūpanişad13r4-1342Tejobindūpanişad13r4-1342Tejobindūpanişad13r4z-139v5Śrikşnasāntopanişad (in 8 adhyāyas and 2 kāņdas)174v2-17v5Anandavallī (in 2 adhyāpas)174v2-17v5Ánandavallī (in 2 adhyāpas)179v1-183r1Caranavyūhopanişad188v5-186v2Ugrafāropanişad184v5-186v2Ugrafāropanişad184v5-186v2Ugrafāropanişad184v5-186v2Ugrafāropanişad19v4-199v2Śvetāšvataropanişad (in 6 adhyāyas)19v4-219v4Kavasantitāyām Hayagrīvaikākṣaramantravidhānam prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ201v3-202r5 Hayagrīvaşantitāyām nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyā201v3-202r5 Hayagrīvaşantitāyām nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyā201v3-202r5 Hayagrīvaşantitāyām nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyā201v3-202r5Jabalpanişad213r5-215	68r5–68v5	Mantrāh (= Vibhūtigrahanamantrāh of $Ku_1$ ?)
74t5-77v3Ätharvane Srirämacandrasyottaratāpanī77v3-79v3Ätharvane Šrirāmacandropanişad77v3-79v3Širkşnapūrvatāpanīva (in 5 sections)83r3-84t2Gārudopanişad84t2-85r5Saubhāgyakānde Kālikopanişad85v1-86v4Somotpattyupanişad <sup>15</sup> 86v4-87r4Pindopanişad87r4-88r1Ätmopanişad <sup>16</sup> 88t5-913Sirkşnapa pūrvatāpanīve Kaivalyopanişad (?) <sup>17</sup> 88v5-914Kaivalyopanişad88v5-913Sirkşnaşay pūrvatāpanīve Kaivalyopanişad (?) <sup>17</sup> 91r4-98v4Kaivalyopanişad88v5-914Atharvani Puruşasubodhini / Pūrvatāpanī (in 6 prapāṭhakas)116r4-126r5Atharvani Puruşasubodhiniyā Utaraprapāṭhaka (in 6 prapāṭhakas)126v1-131v5Nysimhatāpanīyoktabrhan-Mahopanişad (in 12 numbered sections)132r1-133r4Dhyānabindūpanişad134r2-139v5Sirkṣṣnasāntopanişad (in 8 adhyāyas and 2 kāndas)174v2-179v5Anandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)174v2-179v5Anandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)179v1-183r1Caranavyūhopanişad (in 6 adhyāyas)19v4-194v2Śvetātopanişad188v1-184v5Tāropanişad189v2-201v3Hayagrīvasanhitāyām Hayagrīvaikākṣaramantravidhānam prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ201r5-207r4Kumārabodhinī (in 4 prapāṭhakas)201r6-207r4Kumārabodhinī (in 2 prapāṭhakas)201r6-207r4Kumārabodhinī (in 2 prapāṭhakas)201r7-217v2Atharvani rahasye Gāyatīrvidyopanişad211r1-213r5Yogabodhinī (in 2 prapāṭhakas)201r4-194v5Yotāpaniṣad211r1-213r5Yogabodhinī (in 2		
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215v1-216v3Atharvani rahasye Gāyatrīvidyopaniṣad (?)19216v3-217r2Atharvani Śaunakīyaśākhāyā (!) Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad217r2-217v4Atharvani rahasye Mahākālikopaniṣad217v4-218v5Advaitopaniṣad218v5-219v2Brahmajyotyupaniṣad219v2-221r2Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)221r2-221v4Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)221v4-222v1Kalisantaranopaniṣad222v1-224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad	211r1–213r5	
216v3–217r2Atharvaņi Śaunakīyaśākhāyā (!) Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad217r2–217v4Atharvaņi rahasye Mahākālikopaniṣad217v4–218v5Advaitopaniṣad218v5–219v2Brahmajyotyupaniṣad219v2–221r2Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)221r2–221v4Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)221v4–222v1Kalisantaranopaniṣad222v1–224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad		
217r2–217v4Atharvani rahasye Mahākālikopaniṣad217v4–218v5Advaitopaniṣad218v5–219v2Brahmajyotyupaniṣad219v2–221r2Ātharvanarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)221r2–221v4Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)221v4–222v1Kalisantaranopaniṣad222v1–224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad		
217v4–218v5Advaitopaniṣad218v5–219v2Brahmajyotyupaniṣad219v2–221r2Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)221r2–221v4Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)221v4–222v1Kalisantaranopaniṣad222v1–224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad		
218v5–219v2Brahmajyotyupanisad219v2–221r2Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupanisad (?)221r2–221v4Virojāksetropanisad (= Virajā°?)221v4–222v1Kalisantaranopanisad222v1–224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopanisad		
219v2-221r2Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)221r2-221v4Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)221v4-222v1Kalisantaranopaniṣad222v1-224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad		
221r2-221v4Virojāksetropanisad (= Virajā°?)221v4-222v1Kalisantaranopanisad222v1-224r4Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopanisad		
221v4–222v1 Kalisantaranopanisad 222v1–224r4 Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopanisad		
222v1–224r4 Angiraso Sūryatāpanīyopanisad		
224r4–226r4    Daksināmukhopanisad		
	224r4–226r4	Daksiņāmukhopanisad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>The ms.: *ātharvaņe somotpatti*ņ.
<sup>16</sup>The ms.: *ātmanopanişat*.
<sup>17</sup>The ms.: *śrīkŗṣṇasya pūrvatāpanīkaivalyapaniṣat*.
<sup>18</sup>Note that this text seems to have three prapāṭhakas in Ku<sub>3</sub> and Ni.
<sup>19</sup>The ms.: *°vidyupaniṣat*.

#### $Ku_1$

- Collection Formerly in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, Kurumcaini. Now deposited in the Kern Institute, Leiden.
- Physical In the first half of the codex, most folios have lost one or two centimeters on the left side, due to wear, which has resulted in the loss of some akṣaras; in general, the ms. is in fairly fragile condition, and shows some mildew. Dimensions ca.  $40 \times 3.5$  cm on average. 4 lines per folio-side.
- Foliation 142 leaves. The codex opens with two unconnected, less stained/worn folios, partially filled with uninked text; then follow two folios of which the first — to judge by the staining of the leaves — was joined with the main part from early on; the main part starts on the verso of the second of these two leaves, which side bears the number 1. Numbering is on the right margin of the verso. Folio 18 has been flipped over, so that 18v comes before 18r; after f. 77, two fresher folios of slightly smaller dimensions, which do however carry numbering 78-79, are inserted, and the standard type of leaf resumes with 80; ff. 131–134 are in a different hand, on different (fresher, smaller) leaves, uninked and unnumbered: they have been added later, it seems. Four loose, inked but unnumbered folios, partially filled with writing by the first hand, conclude the codex.
- Colophon The codex contains the following indications about the name of a former owner, Lokanātha Kara: śrīnṛsiṃha rakṣā kara lokanātha karaṅku (f. 45v4); śrīgaṇeśa rakṣā kara arakṣita lokanātha karaṅku (f. 111r3–4). A colophon (f. 121r3–v1) reads as follows: ... ity ātharvaṇarahasye vajraśucaupaniṣat samāptā || agastyaś ca pulastyaś ca vaiśampāỳanameva {·} ca | sumanto jaỳamuniś caiva pañca ite vajravāṛṇā || 1 || śrī vīrakeśaridevaṅka 7 caitrakṛṣṇasaptamī guruvāre ekacāḷiā śāsanna mahājana kānukara {·}brahmāṅka putra idaṃ pustakaṃ likhitaṃ || bhīmasyāpi ... vidyate || ... putravat paripālayet ||. Evidently, the ms. originates from the important Paippalāda village Ekacāliā, near Bhubanesvar.
- Date According to the colophon (see above), the copying of a substantial part of this ms. was concluded in the 7<sup>th</sup> anka = 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year of a king Vīrakeśarideva,<sup>20</sup> on the 7<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the waning fortnight of Caitra. According to a geneaology of Gajapati incumbents kindly supplied to me by Professor G.N. Dash (Bhubaneswar),<sup>21</sup> this dynasty has known three kings of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>On the calculation of regnal years from *aṅkas*, see GRIFFITHS 2003a: 338.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Based on such sources as H.K. MAHATABS *History of Orissa*, Vol. II (Prajatantra Prachar Samiti, Cuttack: 1960), pp. 471f. and K.N. MAHAPATRA'S *Khurudā Itihāsa* (1969) [both unavail-

indicated name: Vīrakeśari I (1737–1793), Vīrakeśari II (1856– 1859), Vīrakeśari III (1956/7–1971). TRUHART (1985) gives "1739–1751 (dep.)" for the only Vīra Kishor Deva that is listed there (p. 1452).<sup>22</sup> The data in the colophon are anyhow not sufficient in themselves to determine which ruler of this name was intended, but (Dash's) Vīrakeśari II's reign can be excluded for it lasted less than 5 years. The ms. is not likely to be more than 200 years old, so the conclusion would have to be that the ms. dates to Vīrakeśari III's reign, i.e. to ca. 1961/2, if this did not seem equally unlikely to one who sees its physical condition.

Folios	Contain
1–6r1	Muṇḍakopaniṣad
6r1–11r1	Praśnopanisad
11r1–12v4	Garbhopanisad
12v4 - 14v4	Prāņāgnihotropanisad
14v4–16r1	Mahopanisad
16r1–18r2	Brahmopanisad
18r2–18v2	Brahmavidyopanisad
18v3–19v3	Kșurikopanișad
19v3–20v2	Cūlikopanisad
20v2–21v1	Anucūlikopanisad
21v1-25r3	Atharvaśiropanisad
25r3-26r2	Atharvaśikhopanisad
26r3-27r2	Amrtabindūpanisad
27r2–29r1	Amrtanādopaniṣad
29r1–29v1	Yogaśikhopaniṣad
29v2-30r2	Nārāyaņopanisad
30r2–30v1	Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad
30v1–31r3	Ātharvaņopanisad
31r3–40r3	Ātharvaņa Tāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads) = Nr̥siṃhapūrvatāpanīya
40r3–49v4	Nrsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaņdas)
49v4–54r3	Nrsimhatāpanīyoktabrhan-Mahopanisad (in 12 numbered sections)
54r3–55r3	Dhyānabindūpaniṣad
55r3–55v3	Tejobindūpaniṣad
55v3–56v3	Haṃsopaniṣad (in 2 khaṇḍas)
56v3–57v4	Paramahaṃsopaniṣad
57v4–58v4	Āruņyopaniṣad
58v4–59v2	Kālāgnirudropaniṣad
59v3-60r3	Vibhūtigrahanamantrāh
60r3–61r1	Gārudopaniṣad
61r1–62v2	Saubhāgyakāņde Kālikopaniṣad
62v2–63r3	Somotpattyupaniṣad
63r3-63v2	Pindopanisad

able to me], but with improvements and updating by Professor Dash.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>TRUHART's list stops with the year 1871, but gives Rāmchandra Deva III (1810–1857) and Divya Simha Deva III (1857–1871) for the period covered by Vīrakeśari II of Professor Dash's list.

63v2–64r3	Ātmopanisad
64r3-64v4	Māṇḍukyopaniṣad
65r1–66v1	Kaivalyopanisad
66v1–71r1	Śrīrāmacandrasya Pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)
71r1–74r1	Ātharvaṇarahasye Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī
74r1–75v2	Ātharvaņe Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad
75v2–78v2	Śrīkrsnapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 sections)
78v2-83v4	Śrīkŗṣṇasyottaratāpanīya
83v4-88r4	Krsnasya śāntopanisad
88v1–91r1	Tripurīprakaraņa
91r1–92v4	Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad
92v4–93v1	Gāyatryupanisad
93v1–96v1	Gāyatrīhŗdaya
96v1-103r3	Kaṭhavallī (in 2 adhyāyas, with further vallī subdivisions) <sup>23</sup>
103r3–112r2	Ātharvanīpurusasubodhinī (in 7 prapāthakas: contd. f. 124)
112r3–116r3	Gaņeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)
116r3–118r1	Hayagrīvasamhitāyām HGEAV (see Gu2) prathamo adhyāyah
118r1–118v1	hayagrīvayantravidhānam nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyah
118v1–119v1	Advaitopaniṣad
119v1–120r1	Jyotyupanisad
120r1–121r3	Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)
121v1–123r3	Tāropaniṣad
123r3–124v1	Ugratāropaniṣad
124v1–126v4	Ātharvanī Purusasubodhinī (8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> prapāṭhaka)
126v4–130r4	Ātharvaņī Purusasubodhinī 8 <sup>th</sup> prapāṭhaka (bis?)
130v1–130v6	Piņdikāpratisthā
131r1–134r5	Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad

## $Ku_2$

Formerly in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, Kurum-Collection caini. Now deposited in the Kern Institute, Leiden. Physical The codex is in excellent condition. Its dimensions are ca. 34 imes4 cm on average; 5 (rarely 4) lines per side. The codex contains 10 + 110 (-9) + 2 = 113 folios. There are Foliation 9 blank leaves at the head. The verso of the 10<sup>th</sup> contains one (partial) line. Then follow  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leaves with a *Mantrarājajapavidhi*, four lines per side, by a different scribe than the one of the main part of the codex. This texts ends on f. 1r. The main part of the codex starts on 1v, with *śrī vighnarājā*ya namah ||. There are two blank leaves at the back of the codex. Folios 48–56 are missing; numbering is on the right side of the verso of ff. 1-2, thenceforward on the right side of the recto. I have found no colophons giving extra information to be re-Colophon ported here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>The title does not seem to be mentioned in any of the colophons, but the text agrees with the one given an explicit title in ms. Ni.

Folios	Contain
1v1-6v4	Mundakopanisad
6v4–12v4	Praśnopanisad
12v4 - 12v4	Garbhopanisad
12v4 - 14v3 14v5 - 17r1	Prāṇāgnihotropanisad
$14v_{3}-1711$ $17r_{2}-18r_{5}$	Mahopanisad
1712 - 1813 18r5 - 20v3	
	Brahmopanisad Brahmavidyopanisad
20v3–21r5 21r5–22v4	Ksurikopanisad
2113–22v4 22v4–23v5	Cūlikopanisad
22v4–23v5 23v5–24v5	Anucūlikopanisad
24v5–29r2	Atharvaśiropanisad
29r2–30r3	Atharvaśikhopanisad
30r3–31r5	Amrtabindūpanisad
31r5–33r5	Amrtanādopaniṣad
33r5–33v5	Yogaśikhopanisad
34r1–34v4	Nārāyaņopanisad
34v4–35r3	Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad
35r4–40r1	Brhanmahopanisad (in 12 numbered sections)
40r1–47	Nrsimhapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upanisads) <sup>24</sup>
57r1–62r5	Nrsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaņdas) <sup>25</sup>
62r5–63r3	Ātharvaņopanisad
63r3–66v5	Gopālatāpanī (in 5 numbered sections) <sup>26</sup>
66v5–73r3	Śrīkŗṣṇasyottaratāpanīya
73r3–74r4	Gāyatryupaniṣad
74r4–77r5	Tripuryupaniṣad <sup>27</sup>
77r5–79v3	Viśvarūpākṣaprakaraṇopaniṣad <sup>28</sup>
79v3–80v3	Kālāgnirudropaniṣad
80v3–81r5	Mantrāḥ (= Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ?)
81r5–83r4	Kaivalyopanisad
83r4–84v3	Kālikopaniṣad
84v3-86v2	Tāropaniṣad
86v2-88r3	Ugratāropanisad
88r3–92r5	Śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaṇarahasye 1 <sup>st</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> upaniṣad
92r5–95v2	Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanīya
95v3–97r5	Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad
97r5–98v1	Hamsopanisad (in 2 khandas)

Date I have found no indications concerning the date of this codex.

<sup>24</sup>There is a gap of 9 folios in the ms. The 4<sup>th</sup> upanisad is incomplete, the 5<sup>th</sup> is entirely lost. <sup>25</sup>Due to the gap in the ms., khandas 1–5 are lost, 6 is incomplete, while 7–9 are complete.

<sup>28</sup>The ms.: *viśvarūpākṣaraprakaraṇa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>BHATTACHARYYA (1968: 20) mentions Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's commentary on the *Go-pālatāpanī Upaniṣad*, the text we see figuring here and in Up/Ni (below): "The work is introduced by Baladeva as a tract of the Paippalādaśākhā specially studied by the Atharvavedins of Utkala: *utkalādibhir ātharvaṇikair adhīyamānā pippalādiśākhāntaḥsthiteyaṃ gopālopaniṣat* |". The same quote had been given already by BHATTACHARYYA in 1955 (p. 2), where a reference is given to *Catalogus Catalogorum* III, 159, and another commentarial passage quoted that links this Upaniṣad rather to Brahmins residing in Gurjara and other regions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>The ms.: *tripurī*.

98v2–99v5Paramahamsopanişad99v5–103r2Gāyatrīhrdaya103r3–110r2Rudrābhişeka<sup>29</sup>110r3–110v5Siddhivināyakastotra<sup>30</sup>

## Ku<sub>3</sub>

- Collection Formerly in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, Kurumcaini. Now deposited in the Kern Institute, Leiden.
- Contents Atharvanic Upaniṣads: for details, see the list below. The bundle contains three more items. The first of these (A), by the same scribe, is separately numbered 1–13 (numbering on left margin of recto), and contains the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, *Praśnopaniṣad*, *Garbhopaniṣad* and *Prāṇāgnihotropaniṣad*; the second (B), seemingly starting off in the hand of our main scribe, then continuing in that of another, and then once again in that of the first, consists of eleven unnumbered folios, containing i.a. various *Pratiṣṭhās* (*Prāsāda*°, *Dvāra*°, *Hrdaya*°, *Dhvaja*°, *Piṇḍikā*°), the *Puruṣasūkta*, and a *Madhuparkavidhāna*; the third (C) consists of a single folio from another text (*Śaktabījākṣaranirṇaya*, part of an *Ātharvaṇīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* attributed to Śankara), probably written by the same scribe, numbered 44.
- Physical This codex, which is in excellent condition, seems to have been written by the scribe of KP/Ku (see §2B). It was previously uninked, and ink has been applied by myself: in the process, some of the unnumbered folios may have been put in disorder. Dimensions ca.  $35.5 \times 4$  cm on average. Up to f. 120, 6 lines per folio-side; thereafter 5 lines per side.
- Foliation 160 (-15) + 13 + 1 + 11 + 1 = 171 leaves. Numbering on right side of verso of ff. 1–14 (14: the recto is blank); numbering on right side of recto of ff. 15–160 (104: the verso is blank). Missing folios: 72–74, 121, 123, 126, 128–130, 149–151, 155–157; two folios are numbered 80.
- Colophon The colophon on f. 160v reads: ... ity āngirasakalpe sahaśrākṣaranṛhamantraḥ samāptaḥ | śrīnṛha rakṣā karibe adhama bhovanikaṅku ... bhimasyāpi ... vidyate || tailād ... pustakaṃ || ... samasta makundadeva mahārājāṅka 13 ṅka kumbha 25 nare āṭhagaṛa tālukā bhitara muṭhā yemādeipurasāsana{·}ra mahājana bhovanikare upādhyā ākuḷa karena lekhitaṃm i{·}daṃ pustakaṃ |. Evidently, the ms. originates from the Paippalāda village Jemādeipura.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Including Śatarudriya/Rudrādhyāya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>The ms.: *nrsimhapurānāntargataśrīsiddhivināyakastotra*.

According to the colophon, the copying of the main part of Date this ms. was concluded in the  $13^{\text{th}}a\dot{n}ka = 11^{\text{th}}$  regnal year of a king Mukundadeva, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the Naksatra Aquarius (kumbha). According to Professor Dash's geneaology of Gajapati incumbents mentioned under  $Ku_1$  (p. 152), the dynasty has known three kings of the indicated name. Professor Dash gives 1795–1817 as the dates for Mukunda II and 1878–1926 as those of Mukunda III. TRUHART (1985) gives 1659–1661 (dep.) / 1662/3-1689 for Mukunda I, 1791-1810 for Mukunda II and does not cover Mukunda III because his list stops with the year 1871. Anyhow, the data are not sufficient to determine which ruler of this name was intended. Even if we choose the most recent of these reigns, the codex would date to ca. 1898, which seems unlikely in view of its pristine physical condition. We may suspect the colophon to have been copied from an exemplar.

Folios	Contain
1v1–5r5	Muṇḍakopaniṣad (also in A, see above)
5r5–10r3	Praśnopanisad (also in A, see above)
10r3–12r1	Garbhopanisad (also in A, see above)
12r2–14v2	Prāṇāgnihotropaniṣad (also in A, see above)
14v2–15v4	Mahopanisad
15v4–17v3	Brahmopaniṣad
17v3–18r3	Brahmavidyopanisad
18r4–19r4	Kşurikopanişad
19r4–20r1	Cūlikopaniṣad
20r2-20v1	Anucūlikopaniṣad
20v2-23v6	Atharvaśiropanisad
23v6-24v4	Atharvaśikhopaniṣad
24v4–25v2	Amrtabindūpanisad
25v2–27r5	Amrtanādopanisad
27r6-27v5	Yogaśikhopaniṣad
27v5–28r6	Nārāyaņopaniṣad
28v1-28v4	Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad
28v4–29r5	Ātharvaņopanisad
29r5–37v3	Nrsimhapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)
37v3–46r6	Nrsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaņdas)
46r6–50r3	Nrsimhatāpanīyokta-Brhanmahopanisad (in 12 numbered sections)
50r4–50v5	Atharvanopanisad (not the same text as on 28v4–29r5)
50v5–53r5	Śrī-Krṣṇasya pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 numbered sections)
53r6–58r2	Śrīkṛṣṇasyottaratāpanīya
58r2–62r2	Krsnaśāntopanisad
62r2-68r2	Kathavallī (in 6 vallīs) <sup>31</sup>
68r2–69v1	Kenopanisad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>The title does not seem to be mentioned in any of the colophons, but the text agrees with the one given an explicit title in ms. Ni. The adhyāya division seems to be absent in this ms.

69v1–75r5	Śvetāśvataropanisad (incomplete)
75r5–79r2	Ānandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)
79r2–79v1	Brahmajyotyupanisad
79v1-80r1	Ātmopaniṣad
80r1-80v2	Māṇḍukyopaniṣad
80v2-80bisr5	Advaitopanișad
80bisr5–80bisv5	Jyotyupanisad
81r1-82v5	Vajraśucyupanisad
83r1-84r6	Kaivalyopanisad
84r6-85r3	Haṃsopaniṣad (in two khaṇḍas)
85r3-86r2	Paramahamsopanisad
86r2-87r1	Āruņyupanisad
87r1-88v6	Tripuryupanisad
89r1–90r5	Viśvarūpaprakarana
90r6–91r1	Kālāgnirudropanisad
91r1–92r4	Kālikopanisad
92r4–93v1	Tāropanisad
93v1-94v3	Ugratāropanisad
94v3-95r4	Gārudopanisad
95r5–96r5	Somotpattyupanisad
96r5–96v3	Pindopanisad
96v3–98r1	Hayagrīvaikāksaravidhānam nāma prathamo 'dhyāyah
98r1-98r6	Hayagrīvayantravidhānam nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ
98v1–99r4	Dhyānabindūpaniṣad
99r4–99v4	Tejobindūpanisad
99v4–103r4	Śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaņarahasye 1 <sup>st</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> upanisad
103r4–105v6	Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanīya Ātharvaņarahasya
105v6–107r3	Ātharvaņī Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad
107r3–109r5	Gāyatrīhrdaya
109r6–110r1	Gāyatryupaniṣad
110r2–113r3	Gaņeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)
113r3–115r6	Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad
115r6–?	Purușasubodhinī (incomplete)
131r1–133r1	Caraņavyūhopanisad (repeated [!], incomplete)
133r2–136r4	Tattvabodhinī (in 3 prapāthakas?)
136r4–158r1	Mahānārāyaņopanisad (in 8 adhyāyas, incomplete)
158r1–160v3	Āngirasakalpe Sahasrākṣaranr[sim]hamantra

# Ni

Collection Photos	Maheśvara Miśra of the village Nirmaļā. Digital photographs are available with the author.								
Physical	Condition fairly bad. Dimensions $41 \times 3.5$ cm, 4–6 (rarely								
	7/8) lines per folio-side. This is a composite ms. consisting								
	of parts written by two quite different hands, probably com-								
	piled from two previously separate codices, as the multiple								
	(re)numberings suggest (see below); some folios by the larger								
	hand have been damaged by rodents/insects.								
Foliation	1 + 172 + 8 = 181 folios. The folios are numbered in the right								
	margin, with different (re)numberings on recto and on verso,								

corresponding with changes from the larger to the smaller hand.

There is a separate folio numbered 102 at the front of the codex. The folio contains three uninked drawings on the unnumbered side, only one of which — the leftmost — is fairly clearly identifiable (as a rooster); on this same side we find two lines of inked writing: *ye pākha patra bhuli kari lekhī achi [line] dosa bāchiba nāhiṃ he pnamāne* || 'This side of the leaf I have written by mistake, don't mind this mistake, please, you all'. On the reverse (numbered) side, besides the number, there are only two lines of (uninked) writing: *danta kāțhi bhāngi dāmatrae* |  $\bar{a}\{r\} \dot{y}u\{bha\}r va\{\dot{y}a\}$ *laṃ yaśo varccaṃ prajā paśu vaśūni ca* | [*line*] *brahma prajñā ca me pāpaṃ tvaṃ nno dhehi vanaspate* | 1 |.

In the main part of the codex, the larger (older?) hand is found on ff. 1–10, 61–91, 94–99, 112–159; the smaller (younger?) hand on 11-60, 92-93, 100-111, 160-171; it is not clear whether the remaining folios are attributable to one of these two hands, or to a third. In this description, the continuous numbering on the verso (from 166 on the recto) is followed; there is also numbering on the recto of ff. 1–39, 51–60, but this has been crossed out; ff. 40–44, 46–48 and 50 bear numbering only on the verso, but each time the present number is the result of correction of a previously noted number, which is still identifiable throughout (order: 45, 49, 48, 47, 46, 44, 43, 42, 54); ff. 61–91 bear numbering 11-41 on the recto (11-19 crossed out); ff. 94-99 (verso) bear 44-49 (recto); ff.  $112-159^{32}$  bear 50-98.<sup>33</sup> Letter-numbering is found in the left margin of ff. 100-111, but with two mistakes: ka kha ga gha na  $ca^{34}$  cha ja  $\dot{sri}$  na ta tha da. The four folios comprising the Kumārabodhinī bear respectively the aksaras ku mā ra bodhi*nyām* in the left margin of the verso. From f. 70 onwards, the verso numbering was not inked, and arabic numbering, up to 171, has been added before photographing by the author (also on the front folio numbered '102'). There is no numbering at all on the folios that follow 171, although (if we continue counting) up to 177, they are not extraneous. There are finally two folios with unrelated material at the back of the codex.

Colophon On f. 165r6, after the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad*, in the smaller hand, there is a colophon which provides information about the scribe or his patron: *śrī nārāyaṇa uddharibe u*{*dhā*}*ddhāra karibe adhama arakhita mādhaba miśraṅka putra banamāliku* | *jāṇimā hebe sujña* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>There are two folios numbered 133 on the verso, corresponding to recto 71, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>For the last number, the ms. in fact reads '998'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>On the verso of *na*.

*janamāne* || 'Śrī Nārāyaṇa will save, will perform the saving of Vanamālī, the lowly and unprotected son of Mādhava Miśra. The intelligent people will know it'.

Date	I have:	found	no ino	dications	concerning	the	date o	f this	codex.

Folios	Contain
1–5v3	Mundakopanisad
5v3–11r4	Praśnopanisad
11r4–12v4	Garbhopanisad
12v4–14r5	Prānāgnihotropanisad
14r5–15r4	Mahopanisad
15r4–17r1	Brahmopanişad
17r1–17v1	Brahmavidyopanisad
17v1–18v1	Kşurikopanişad
18v1–19r4	Cūlikopanisad
19r4–20r2	Anucūlikopanisad
20r2-23r3	Atharvaśiropanisad
23r4-24r1	Atharvaśikhopanisad
24r1-24v3	Amrtabindūpanisad
24v4-26r2	Amrtanādopanisad
26r3–26v1	Yogaśikhopanisad
26v1–27r2	Nārāyaņopaniṣad
27r2-27v1	Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad
27v1-28r1	Ātharvaņopanisad
28r2-36r1	Ātharvaņa (pūrva) tāpanīya (in 5 upanisads)
36r2-43v1	(Nrsimhasyottaratāpanīya) <sup>35</sup> in 9 khaņḍas
43v1–46v6	Mahopanisad (in 12 numbered sections)
47r1–48v1	Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad <sup>36</sup>
48v1–50v3	Tripuryupanisad <sup>37</sup>
50v3–51v2	Hamsopanisad (in 2 khandas)
51v2–52r6	Paramahamsopanisad
52r6–55r5	Ātharvaņe Gaņeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)
55r5–56r1	Saubhāgyakāņde Kālikopaniṣad
56r2–56v1	Kālāgnirudropaniṣad
56v1–56v5	Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ
56v5–57v2	Somotpattyupanisad
57v2–57v5	Piṇḍopaniṣad
57v6–58r6	Gārudopaniṣad
58v1–59r1	Gāyatryupaniṣad
59r1–60v6	Gāyatrīhŗdaya
61r1–61r4	(struck out: end of Praśnopanisad)
61r4–64v4	Gopālatāpanī ([Śrīkṛṣṇapūrvatāpanīyaṃ], in 5 numbered sections)
64v4–71v2	Śrīkrsnasyottaratāpanīya
71v2–73v1	Atharvani Tāropanisad
73v2–75r2	Ugratāropanisad
75r3–80v3	Rāmacandrapūrvatāpanīya <sup>38</sup> (in 5 upaniṣads)

<sup>35</sup>The ms. does not give this name. <sup>36</sup>The spelling of the colophon in Ni seems to be: *viśvīpā*[+ *kṣaprakaraṇa*]*kṣopaniṣat samāptaṃ*.

<sup>37</sup>Precise spelling in Ni: *trīpuripanisat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>The colophons give more fully: *śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaņasya rahasye*.

Rāmacandrottaratāpanīya <sup>39</sup> (in 4 numbered sections)
Ātharvaņe Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad
Kaṭhavallī (in 2 adhyāyas, with further vallī subdivisions)
Krsnasya Śāntopanisad
Advaitopanisad
Brahmajyotyupanişad <sup>40</sup>
Hayagrīvasamhitāyām Hayagrīvaikāksaravidhāna (in 2 adhyāyas)
Āruņyupanisad
Ātmopanisad
Māṇḍukopaniṣad
Kaivalyopaniṣad
Brahmajyotyupaniṣad <sup>41</sup>
Jyotyupanisad
Ātharvaņarahasye Vajraśucyupanisad
Ānandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)
Jābālopaniṣad
Ātharvaņarahasye Śaunakīśākhāyā (!) Gāyatrīyantropanisad
Ātharvaņīye Saubhāgyakāņde Mahākālyupanisad
Īśopaniṣad
Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (in 6 adhyāyas)
Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad
Ātharvaņīpurusasubodhinī (in 12 prapāthakas)
Mahānārāyaņopaniṣad (in 8 adhyāyas and 2 kāṇḍas) <sup>42</sup>
Dhyānabindūpaniṣad
Tejobindūpanisad
Ātharvaņe rahasye Caitanyopanisad
Ātharvaņakumārabodhinī (in 4 prapāthakas)
Ātharvaņe Pippalādaśākhāyām Vāsudevopaniṣad
Ātharvaņe Tattvabodhinī <sup>43</sup> (in 3 prapāthakas)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>The ms.: *ātharvaņarahasye śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>The ms.: *brahmayotipanisat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>The same text occurred already above, 100r1–100r4. The ms. here: *brahmajyotaupanisat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>The colophon at the end of the text: *ity ātharvaņarahasyeti mahānārāyaņopanişadi paramasāyujyamuktisvarpanirpaņam nāmāsțamo dhyāyah* | *devadaršītyākṣatharvaṇaśākhāyām paramatve rahasyākhyātharvaṇamahānārāyaṇopaniṣadi paramamu*[*bha*]*ktimārgasvargasvarpa*{·}*nirpaṇam nāma dvitīyottarakāṇḍaḥ samāptah* ||. Note the association of this text with a non-Paippalāda-Śākhā (corr.: *devadaršītyākhyātharvaṇa*°); cf. also the *Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad* in this ms. (110r7–111r5) and Gu<sub>2</sub> (216v3–217v2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>The ms.: *ity ātharvaņe tatvodhanyāņi trtīyaprapāţhakaļi*. The correct spelling of the title is found in mss.  $Gu_2$  and  $Ku_3$ .

# §4. The Orissa version of the Atharvavedic *Caranavyūha*

## The Atharvavedic Caranavyūha

Since Wilhem SIEGLING's *Inaugural-Dissertation*, published a hundred years ago, the various recensions of the *Caraṇavyūha* appear to have sunk almost entirely into oblivion as a source on the history of Vedic Śākhās. SIEGLING's study contained only a sample edition of a small part (concerning the Yajurvedic canon) of the Yajurvedic recension of this text, but otherwise no serious study or attempt at critical edition of the Yajurvedic recension (YV-CV) is known to me.<sup>44</sup> In 1910, Herman Melville BOLLING und Julius VON NEGELEIN published an Atharvavedic recension as the 49<sup>th</sup> Pariśiṣṭa of the Śaunakīya Atharvaveda.

After passing through materials concerning respectively the Rgveda, the Yajurveda, and the Sāmaveda, this *Caraṇavyūha* depicts in some detail the extent of the Atharvavedic Mantra-collection, discusses the former and extant size of the Atharvavedic *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, and cites a verse listing the five Kalpas of this Veda — the *Kauśikasūtra* alias *Saṃhitāvidhi*, *Vaitānakalpa* (presumably = °*sūtra*), the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, *Śāntikalpa*, and *Āngirasakalpa*. The resources developed for the correct transmission of the Saṃhitā, viz. the so-called Lakṣaṇagranthas, are also mentioned. The text gives two — only partially overlapping — lists of Atharvavedic Upaniṣads, surveys the collection of 72 Paralipomena (Pariśiṣṭas), which it itself forms part of, the final piece of the Śaunakīya canon, before closing with a list of 18 *vratas* said to be specific to the Atharvaveda. In short, the text offers a kind of catalog of Atharvavedic primary and ancillary literature, and may therefore be considered of indirect relevance to the topic of this contribution, despite its association with the Śaunaka school.<sup>45</sup>

It is not generally known that the Atharvavedic *Caraṇavyūha* (AV-CV) not only exists as part of the corpus of Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas, but is also to be found among the Paippalāda brahmins in Orissa, transmitted in their Upaniṣad manuscripts under the title *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*. This text, by virtue of its association with the Paippalāda school, is directly relevant to my investigation. Making use of the mss. described above, I will first (§4.1) present an edition of the 'Upaniṣad' with some text critical commentary (§4.2), and will then (§5) analyze its contents mainly insofar as these contents throw light on the canon of Paippalāda ancillary texts.

#### Two recensions?

Although mention has been made by me elsewhere of the Caranavyūhopanisad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>For the complete text, I use the edition by Pt. Anantarām DOGĀRĀ ŚĀSTRI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>This *Caranavyūha* has drawn attention in relatively recent years because of the two Upanisad-lists it contains in the BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN edition, which, according to BOUY (1994: 31, 65–67), are of importance to the determination of the chronology of some medieval Upanisads.

(CVU) as a second Atharvavedic recension of the *Caraṇavyūha*,<sup>46</sup> now, after studying the text, I think I should not have suggested so casually the existence of two Atharvavedic recensions, because there are few differences that cannot be ascribed merely to the very poor care that seems to have been taken in transmitting the Orissan Paippalāda (CVU) and the Śaunaka (AVPariś) versions of the text, and there are many common errors that suggest a descent from a common source.

On the other hand, this same poor transmission is perhaps one of the main reasons due to which WITZEL (1985: 288 n. 35) had to observe: "Obwohl weitgehend mit AV-Par. 49 übereinstimmend, kann die letztlich gujaratische Tradition der AV-Par. und die von Or[issa] nicht auf einen gemeinsamen (schriftlichen) Archetyp zurückgeführt werden". There is one major difference between the two versions — namely in the listing of Atharvavedic Upaniṣads — which indeed demonstrates some redactional intervention at some stage, and justifies speaking of two versions, if not recensions.

My basic aim here is to restore the archetype only of the Orissan version  $(CVU_A)$ , from which I believe all the presently extant Orissan mss. to descend. In other words, I am not taking the further step of reconstructing the Ur-AV-CV on the basis of systematic critical comparison of the CVU with AVPariś 49 (WITZEL's "common (written) archetype"), because there are too many cases where no criteria for making a choice between the two seem to be at hand. However, I have not tried to keep my text wholly free of the positive influence that can be had from the AVPariś version, and have at times emended precisely on that basis, where I felt that bringing out the intended meaning of the text was more important than keeping the two versions distinct. My edition thus constituted is therefore, admittedly, somewhat hybrid. Important differences between the two versions have been pointed out in my commentary (§4.2).

#### About the edition

For this edition of the CVU, I use four of the mss. described in §3 (Ni, Ku<sub>1</sub>, Ku<sub>3</sub>, Gu<sub>2</sub>) plus two extra mss. photographed in the village Guhiāpāļa: the ms. Gu<sub>1</sub>, belonging to Veņudhara Paṇḍā, plus a ms. Jā, belonging to Haraprasāda Miśra of the village Jāmbhaṇi, who had brought it from there to show it to me in Guhiāpāḷa. Only the folios containing the CVU were photographed of these last two mss., and no descriptive notes were taken.

The text is found on the following folios in each ms.: Ni 120r1–123v1 (= pr. m. 58–61), Ku<sub>1</sub> on 4 unnumbered/uninked leaves (7 sides) immediately following

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>See BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS 2003: 317, n. 8. Since writing that footnote, where I referred to the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad* as a second recension, I have managed to obtain an electronic file of Christa BASTIAANSEN's MA thesis that I also mentioned, through the kind offices of Michael Witzel. The file does not contain a title page or a date, and the thesis that it contains does not offer an edition of the text, which was known to BASTIAANSEN only in one recent paper copy of a ms. from Baiśingā. The only published information I am aware of is the short note by WITZEL 1985: 288 (n. 35), and the excerpt from the text on pp. 274f. of that article.

f. 131, Ku<sub>3</sub> 113r3–115r6, Gu<sub>1</sub> 153r2–155v1, Gu<sub>2</sub> 179b1–183r1. The numbering in Jā has been lost due to wear of the right side of every folio; I have made no attempt at precision in indicating the extent of the lacunae in this ms. Several variants make it clear that Gu<sub>2</sub> is a copy from Gu<sub>1</sub>: e.g., at 3.3, the Gu<sub>2</sub> scribe has misinterpreted a correction in Gu<sub>1</sub> concerning *sad bhedā*, which has led him to write *sad bhedo*; at 4.1, Gu<sub>1</sub> marginally inserts *saubhagāḥ*, but this is found as part of the text proper in Gu<sub>2</sub>.

The division of the text into paragraphs is mine, and follows that in the edition of AVPariś 49, for ease of comparison: this also entails some gaps in the CVU numbering, because this version does not contain every paragraph that is found in the Atharvavedic *Caraṇavyūha* of AVPariś 49. The CVU mss. do not make any subdivisions in the text above the daṇḍa-level. The punctuation of my edition to a large extent obeys the placement of dandas in the manuscripts.

My apparatus is not fully positive, as variants judged to be insignificant have been omitted from it: among such insignificant variants figure prominently the presence or absence of visarga in prose context where the scribes often seem consciously not to apply sandhi, in order to make case endings explicit. In the absence of other errors, my critical apparatus does not report variants of punctuation (including confusion of h and | in Gu<sub>1</sub> and Gu<sub>2</sub>); errors involving sibilants; variants involving doubling around r (rnn, rtt, rddh etc.) and y (ddhy); variants/errors involving the signs  $r/\bar{r}/ru/r\bar{u}$ ; absence of avagrahas inserted into the edited text for the sake of clarity. Typically Oriya spellings with l and  $\dot{y}$ are maintained when a variant is quoted for other reasons, but are not counted among variants in and of themselves. For those passages where the evidence from ms. Jā is lost due to lacuna, the apparatus has not been subjected to the above limitations, but has been given in full. Some other variants that could stricly speaking be considered insignificant have also been retained, in order to demonstrate particular irregular phenomena in the mss.

I use the following editorial signs and symbols:

- A single raised dot represents an illegible akṣara. If a vowel follows, this means that the consonantal (basic) part of the sign is illegible, but that its vowel component is clear.
- [[...]] Editorial observations on the preceding reading(s) appear in double square brackets.
- $\{\ldots\}$  Curly braces enclose akṣaras or vowel elements thereof deleted by the scribe.
- (...) Angle brackets enclose akṣaras wholly or partially lost due to damage suffered by the palmleaves. The number of intervening raised dots (·) is an approximate reflection of the number of lost akṣaras.
- [...] Square brackets with open bottom enclose material appearing interlinearly or *in margine*. The sign + marks marginal additions. The sign  $\rightarrow$  signals corrections: the marginal or interlinear material replaces the preceding material that appears in the actual line of writing. Both additions

and corrections are frequently followed by a number referring to the line in which the correction is to be made.

- (...) The same  $\rightarrow$  sign is used to mark other scribal corrections, where the corrected reading appears in parentheses.
- *om.* The word(s) in question is/are omitted in the following mss.
- em. The reading has been established through emendation.
- $\Sigma$  All collated mss.
- ms.<sup>ac</sup> The *ante correctionem* reading in the ms. concerned.
- ms.<sup>*pc*</sup> The *post correctionem* reading in the ms. concerned.
- *sec. m.* Material written *'secunda manu'*: in these mss., this often merely means that the correction or addition has been made after the ink was applied to the manuscript.

### §4.1. Edition of the Caranavyūhopanisad

atha caraṇavyūhaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ || 1.1 ||

tatra catvāro vedā bhavanti || rgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmavedaḥ || 1.2 ||

rgvedasya śāstraveda upavedaḥ | yajurvedasya dhanurveda upavedaḥ | sāmavedasya gāndharvaveda upavedaḥ | atharvavedasyāyurveda upavedaḥ | 5 divyasāmpadaprāyaścittīyābhicārikāḥ || 1.3 ||

rgvedasyātreyagotraḥ | gāyatrī chandaḥ | agnir devatā || yajurvedasya 7 kāśyapagotraḥ | traiṣṭubhaṃ chandaḥ | vāyur devatā || sāmavedasya bhāradvājagotraḥ | jagatī chandaḥ | viṣṇur devatā || atharvavedasya vaikhāyanagotraḥ | 9 ānuṣṭubhaṃ chandaḥ | brahmā devatā || 1.4 ||

rgvedah pītavarņena padmapatrākṣah suvyaktagrīvah kuñcitakeśaśmaśruh 11 supratisthitajānujanghāpramāņena | so 'pi visthitah pañca || 1.5 ||

rgvedasya sapta śākhā bhavanti || tad yathā | āśvalāyanā-śāṅkhāyanā- 13

1

3

<sup>1</sup> caranavyūham] em., °vyuham Ni<sup>pc</sup>, °vyūhavidhi Ku<sub>1</sub>, ranavyuhavidhi Ku<sub>3</sub>, °vyuhavidhi Ni<sup>ac</sup>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, caranavyuhavidhim Jā 2 tatra] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, tatah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 rgvedasya] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, rgvedesya Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 śāstraveda upavedah] Ni, śāstravedo upa° Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, śāstravedopa<sup>°</sup> Jā 4 dhanurveda upavedah] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, dhanurvedo upavedah Ku<sub>3</sub>, dhanurvedopavedah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, dhanurvedopa $\langle veda \cdot \rangle$  Jā 5 sāmavedasya] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, śāmavedasya Ku<sub>3</sub>, sāmavedo Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 5 gāndharvaveda] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, gāndharvavedo Ku<sub>3</sub>, gāndharvavedah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā  $5^{\circ}$ vedasyāyurveda upa°] Ku1, °vedasya āyurvedo upa° Ku3, °vedasya āyurveda upa° NiGu1Gu2, °vedasyāyurvedopa° Jā 6 °cittīvābhi°] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, °cittāÿabhi° Ni, °cittābhi° Ku<sub>3</sub>, °citā'bhi° Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 8 vāyur] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, vāryu Gu1Gu2; lost in lacuna Jā 8 devatā] NiKu1Ku3Gu2, devatāh Gu1; lost in lacuna Jā 8 sāmavedasya] NiKu1Ku3, śāma° Gu1Gu2, (…ve)dasya Jā 9 vaikhāyana°] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, 11 rgvedah] Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, rgveda{sya}h Ni, rgvedasya Ku<sub>1</sub>, rgveda Ku<sub>3</sub> vaiksāÿana° Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 11 °śmaśruh] °śmaśru Ni, °smaśruh Ku<sub>1</sub>, °smaśru Ku<sub>3</sub>, °smaṣmrh Gu<sub>1</sub>, °ṣaṣmr Gu<sub>2</sub>, ° $\langle$ s $\cdot\cdot\rangle$  Jā 12 °janghāpramāņena] NiKu1, °jaghapramāņena Ku3, °yaghanapramāņenah Gu1Gu2; almost the entire compound (except °mānena) is lost in lacuna in Jā 12 'pi] om. NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, pi 12 visthitah] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, visthitamh Ni, nisthitah Ku<sub>3</sub>, vistitam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>  $Gu_1Gu_2$ 

- 1 sādhyāyanā-śākalā-bākalā-audumbarā-māņdūkyāś ceti || 1.6 || tāsām adhyayanam
- 3 rcām daśa sahasrāni rcām pañca śatāni ca | rcām aśītih pādaś cety etat pāranam ucyate || 1.7 ||

5 tatra yajurvedasya caturviņšatiķ šākhā bhavanti || tad yathā | kanvā-madhyandinā-jābālā-šāpeyā-śvetā-śvetatarā-tāmrāyanīyā-paurnarasā-

- 7 āvaţikā-paramāvaţikā-aukṣyā-bodhā-śāndikā-āhvarakā-carakā-mitrāyanīyāhāritakarnā-śālābalīyā-marcakathā-prācyakathā-kapisthalakathā-upavanā-
- 9 tittiriyāś ceti || 2.1 || tāsām adhyayanam
- 11 rcām dve sahasre śatam nyūne mantre vājasaneyake | ślokena paramam khyātam brāhmaņam caturguņam || 2.2 ||
- 13 astādaša sahasrāņi bhavanti | tāny eva triguņam adhītya kramapāro bhavati | sapta sthāvarāš ceti || 2.3 ||
- 15 śākhās tisro bhavanti | pārāmsarvāpārah samaśi pārakramajatam kramapāraš ceti || 2.4 ||
- 17 șad angāny adhītya sadangavid bhavati

166

<sup>1</sup> sādhyāyanā] NiKu1Ku3Jā, sāddhyāyanāh Gu1, sādhyāyanāh Gu2 1 śākalā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, sākalā Ku<sub>3</sub>, śākalyāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 bākalā] NiKu1Jā, bājalā Ku3, bākalyāh Gu1Gu2 2 adhyayanam] NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, adhyayanah Ku<sub>1</sub>, adhyayana Jā 3 ca] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, cah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 aśītih] Ku1, aśibhih Ni, aśittih Ku3, aśībhi Gu1Gu2; lost in 4 cety etat] *em.*, ce{tye}tratra Ni, ceyetatra Ku<sub>1</sub>, cetitatra Ku<sub>3</sub>, cetatra Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lacuna Jā 4 pāraņam] em., pārāyaņam NiKu<sub>1</sub>, parāyanyam Ku<sub>3</sub>, pārāyanyam lost in lacuna Jā 6 kanvā] *em.*, kanvā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, kānyāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, gayanyam Jā 6 madhyandinā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, ma{kṣya}dhyandinā Ni, mārdhyandināh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 6 jābālā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, yābālā Ku<sub>3</sub>, sākalāh bākalāh kābālāh Gu<sub>1</sub>, sākalyāh bākalyāh kābālāh Gu<sub>2</sub> [[Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> inserted from 6 tāmrāyanīyā] em., tāmrāksaniyā Ni, tāmrāksanīyā Ku1, tāmbrā | ksaniyā Ku3, RV] tāmbrāhýuniýāh Gu1Gu2, tāmrā | ksaniýā Jā 7 auksyā] auksā NiKu1Ku3Jā, auksāh Gu1, 7 bodhā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, boddhā Ni, bodhāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, bo $\langle \cdot \rangle$  Jā auksyāh Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 śāndikā] 7 āhvarakā] em., āhurakā NiKu<sub>1</sub>, āharakā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, sāndikāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā Ku<sub>3</sub>, āhvūrakāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 7 carakā] Ku<sub>3</sub>, carakā | {hvarakā} Ni, carakāhvarakā Ku<sub>1</sub>, carakāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 8 marcakathā] NiKu<sub>3</sub>, marcikathā Ku<sub>1</sub>, maricikathāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, marcika{ta}thā Jā 8 prācyakathā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, [+ prācyakathā] Ni, *om.* Ku<sub>3</sub>, prācyakathāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 10 adhyayanam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, adhyayana Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 11 nyūne] nyūne | NiJā, nyūnam || Ku<sub>1</sub>, nyun(+ e)m | Ku<sub>3</sub>, nyuno Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 11 vājasaneyake] *em.*, vājaśanityeke NiKu<sub>3</sub>Jā, vājaśanītyeke Ku<sub>1</sub>, vā $\{ja\}$ śa[+ ta 2]nityekah Gu<sub>1</sub>, vā[line]śanityekah 12 khyātam] *em.*, khyāto  $\Sigma$  12 caturgunam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, caturgunamm Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $\langle c \cdots \rangle$ Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 ||] *om*. NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lacuna Jā 13 astādaša] NiKu1Ku3Gu2, astādasa Gu1; lost Iā in lacuna Jā 13 sahasrāni] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sahani Ku<sub>3</sub>, śahaśrāni Gu<sub>1</sub>, sahaśrāni Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 tāny eva] *em.*, tāne NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, tāneva Ku<sub>3</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 triguņam adhītya] *em.*, triguņam adhītyā NiJā, tiguņa(+ ma)dhītyā Ku1, triguņam adhityā Ku3, triguņam adhyātma  $Gu_1Gu_2$ 14 sthāvarāś] NiKu1Ku3Gu1Gu2, sthāvaroś Jā 15 bhavanti] *em.*, bhavati  $\Sigma$ 15 pārāmsarvāpārah] Ni, pārāsarvāpārah Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, pārāsarvāpāra Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 samaśi] Ku<sub>1</sub>, sama{rśa}( $\rightarrow$  sec. m. śi) Ni, samani Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, samaśī Jā

167

15

śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣam	1
itihāsapurāṇaṃ ṣaḍ aṅgāni   br̥hatsarvānukramaṇīś ceti    2.5    atha yajurvedaḥ prāṃśuḥ pralambajaṭharaḥ sthūlagalakapālena   rakto var- ṇena   prādeśāḥ ṣaḍ dīrghatvena yajurvedasya etad rūpaṃ bhavati    2.6	3
sāmavedasya śākhāsahasram āsīt   anadhyāye 'dhīyamānāh sarve te śakre-	5
ņa vinihatāḥ pralīnāḥ    3.1    tatra ke cid avaśiṣṭāḥ pracaranti   tad yathā   rāṇāyanīyā-satyamugrā-kālayā- mahākālayā-kaithimā-lāṅgalikāś ceti    3.2	7
kaithimānām api ṣaḍ bhedā bhavanti   tad yathā   rāṇāyanīyā-vātarāyaṇīyā- vainavṛthāh-prācīnā-tejasā-śaunakīyāś ceti    3.3	9
tāsām adhyayanam	11
aṣṭau sāmasahasrāṇi sāmāni ca caturdaśa   sohyāni sarahasyāṇi etat sāmagaṇaṃ smr̥tam    3.4	13

atha sāmavedaḥ suvāsāḥ sugandhī tejasvī mrduvaktā brahmaņyaḥ pralambabāhuḥ susnigdhacarmā kṛṣṇo varņena kātaro vayanena || 3.5 ||

<sup>1</sup> jyotişam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, yotişam Ku<sub>3</sub>, jyotisam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 itihāsapurānam] *em.*, itihāsapurānām Ni, itihā{śa}sapurānām Ku1, itihāsapurānām Ku3Gu1, itihāsapurānvām Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 șad angāni] NiKu1, sāngāni Ku3, śad angāni Gu1Gu2; lost in lacuna Jā 2 brhatsarvānukramanīś ceti] NiKu1Jā, brhatsā{māni}rvānukramanīśceti tha Ku<sub>3</sub>, brhatsarvānukramamśāśr(sec. m.  $\rightarrow$  str)eti Gu<sub>1</sub>, brhatsarvānukramamśāstreti 3 yajurvedah] Ku3Jā, yajurvedasya NiKu1, jaryuvedah Gu1Gu2 Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 prāmśuh] em., prāmśu NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, prāśu Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prānu Gu<sub>1</sub> 3 pralambajatharah] prālambajathara NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prāla{mya}mbajathara Ku<sub>1</sub>, pralambijathara Jā 3 sthūlagalakapālena] em., sthūlagalakapolena NiJā, sthulagalakapolena Ku1Ku3, sthūlagalakapolenah Gu1Gu2 5 sāmavedasya] Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, asya sāmavedasya 4 prādeśāh sad] *em.*, prādeśā  $\Sigma$ Ku<sub>1</sub>Ni<sup>ac</sup>, atha sāmavedasya Ni<sup>pc</sup> 5–6 śakrena] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, śakrenam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $\langle \cdot \rangle$ krena 6 vinihatāh] NiKu1, vinihitāh Ku3Gu1Gu2Jā 6 pralīnāh] NiKu1Ku3Jā, patnināmh Jā 7 cid] *em.*, cita NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, citta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, cit Jā 7 rānāyanīyā] Jā, rā{·}nāyanīyā  $Gu_1Gu_2$ Ni, rāgāyanīyā Ku<sub>1</sub>, rānāyaniyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, rānāyaniyāh vā tarāyanīyāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> [[see below]] 8 kaithimā] Jā, kai{nya}thimā Ni, kainyamā Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, kainyamānāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 kaithimānām] *em.*, kainyamānām  $\Sigma$ 9 bhedā] NiKu1Ku3Gu1Jā, bhedo Gu2 9 rānāyanīyā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, rānāyanīyāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {nārā $\dot{y}$ ā}rānā $\langle y \cdots \rangle$  Jā 9 vātarāyanīyā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, vitarāyaniyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> [[see above]]; lost in lacuna Jā 10 vainavrthāh] NiKu1Ku3, vainavrthāh Gu1Gu2; 10 tejasā] *em.*, tejah NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> lost in lacuna Jā 12 astau] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, 12 sāmasahasrāni] NiKu1Jā, sahasrāni Ku3, sāmasahaśrāni rcā astau Ku<sub>3</sub>, asto Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 ca caturdaśa] Jā, caturdaśa(+ h |) ca Ni, caturdaśa Ku1, caturdaśah Ku3Gu1Gu2  $Gu_1Gu_2$ 13 sohyāni] em., saurjyena NiKu1Gu1Gu2, saujyena Ku3, saurjyāna Jā 13 sarahasvāni etat] *em.*, māsahasrāny( $\rightarrow$  ks)etatah Ni, {sā}māsahasrānyetatah Ku<sub>1</sub>, māsāhasrānyetatah Ku<sub>3</sub>, samasahaśrānyetatah Gu1Gu2, mīsahasrānyetatah Jā 13 sāmaganam smrtam] em. [[after AVPariś]], sāmaganāh smrtāh  $\Sigma$ 14 suvāsāh] Gu<sub>1</sub>, suvāsā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, suvāsīh Gu<sub>2</sub>, suvāsī 14 sugandhī] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, sugandhah Ku<sub>3</sub>, sugandhimh Gu<sub>1</sub>, sugandhih Gu<sub>2</sub> Iā 15 varnena kātaro] varņņena kāta{r}( $\rightarrow$  n)o Ni, varņņena | kā( $\rightarrow$  jñā)taro Ku<sub>1</sub>, varņņena.jñātano Ku<sub>3</sub> [[note punctuation with full stop]], varnne $\langle na \cdot \bar{a} \rangle$ tano Gu<sub>1</sub>, varnnemnamjñātano Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 15 vayanena] Ni<sup>*ac*</sup>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, varnena Ni<sup>*pc*</sup>, na( $\rightarrow$  va)yanena Ku<sub>1</sub>, vayadena Ku<sub>3</sub>,  $\langle \cdot \rangle$ yanena Jā

- 1 șadaratnimātrapramāņavayanah smrtah || anye rṣayo brahmā sāmāni tiṣṭhanti saṃnidhau | sa bhagavān sāmavedo maheśvarabhaktah || 3.6 ||
- 3 tatra brahmavedasya nava śākhā bhavanti || tad yathā | pippalādā-pradāntāśaunakā-stodā-jājalā-jaladā-brahmavarti-devadarśi-caraņavedāś ceti || 4.1 ||
- 5 teṣām adhyayanam

rcāṃ dvādaśa sahasrāṇy aśītitriśatāni ca |

paryāyakam dve sahasre anyāms caivārcikān bahūn || 4.2 ||

tadgrāmyāraņyakāni dvādaša sat sahasrāņi bhavanti || 4.3 ||

9 tatra gopathabrāhmaņam śataprapāțhakam āsīt || tasyāvaśiṣțe dve brāhmaņe pūrvottare ceti || 4.5 ||

11 tatra șad angāni bhavanti || śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktam iti || 4.6 || tatra pañca kalpā bhavanti ||

nakṣatrakalpo vaitānakalpaḥ tr̥tīyaḥ saṃhitāvidhiḥ | caturtho 'ṅgirasāṃ kalpaḥ śāntikalpaś ca pañcamaḥ || 4.7 ||

168

7

13

<sup>1</sup> sadaratnimātrapramāņavayanah] sadaratnimātrapramāņavayana NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sadayarimātrapramāņavinaģa Ku<sub>3</sub>, śadaratnimātrapramāņavaģana [sec.  $m. \rightarrow \cdot$ ](sec. m. + h) Gu<sub>1</sub>, śadaratnimātrapramānajayavah  $Gu_2$ , sadaratnimātrepramānavana Jā 1 anye rsayo]  $Ku_1$ , any $\{e\}a(+$ ka) rsayo Ni, anyava rsayo Ku<sub>3</sub>, {··}samyak rsayo Gu<sub>1</sub>, samyak rsayo Gu<sub>2</sub>, anyakrsayo 1 sāmāni] em., samāna NiKu1Gu1Gu2, vamāmī Ku3, samānī Jā 1–2 tisthanti] Jā, Jā tisthati NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, tisthatih Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 sa] Gu1Gu2, sa(+ mi) Ni, samāna Ku1, sami 2 maheśvarabhaktah] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, maheśvarabhaktah( $\rightarrow$  vatkrah) Ni, maheśvaravaktah Ku₃Jā Ku<sub>3</sub>, maheśvaro bhaktah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 pradāntā] Ku1Ku3, {prahāntā} Ni, pradātāh 4 jājalā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, jājvaļāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, jāja $\langle \cdot \rangle$  Jā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, om. Jā 4 jaladā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, jala{kā}dā Ku3, jaladāh Gu1Gu2; lost in lacuna Jā 4 brahmavarti] Ku1Ku3, brahmavrattī Ni, brahmamvarttih Gu1, brahmavarttih Gu2; lost in lacuna Jā 4 devadarśi] devadarśī NiKu1, devadarsi Ku3, devadarsih Gu1Gu2, (··)rśī Jā 4 caranavedāś] Ku<sub>1</sub>, [+ saubhagā] caranavedāś Ni, śaubhagā | caranavedāś Ku<sub>3</sub>, [+ śaubhagāh] caranavedāś Gu1, śaubhagāh caraņavedāś Gu2, [+ śauradā 2] caraņavedāś Jā 5 adhvavanam] 6 aśītitriśatāni] aśittitreśatāni Ni, aśī{tri}titriśatāni Ku<sub>1</sub>, NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, addhyayana Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> aśītatraśatāni Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, amśitatraśatāni Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 paryāyakam] Ku1Gu1Gu2, pāryāyakam 7 anyāmś] Ku<sub>1</sub>, anvoś NiJā, anneś Ku<sub>3</sub>, anvai(sec. m.  $\rightarrow$ NiJā, pīparyāÿasīÿa Ku<sub>3</sub> au)ś Gu<sub>1</sub>, anyauś Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 caivārcikān] em., cevārcikā Ni, caivārcikā Ku1Jā, cenācilā Ku3, caivārccikā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 8 tadgrāmyāranyakāni] em., tadgrāmyārakah NiKu1, tadgamyārakr Ku<sub>3</sub>, tadgrāmyāra{nya}kam Gu<sub>1</sub>, tadgrāmyārakam Gu<sub>2</sub>, tadgrāmyārikah Jā 8 dvādaśa] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, dvedaśa Ku<sub>3</sub>, dvādasa Gu<sub>1</sub> 8 sat sahasrāni] satasaha[+ srā]ni Ni, satasahasrāni Ku1Ku3Jā, śatsahaśrāni Gu1Gu2 9 gopathabrāhmaņam] °brāhmaņe Ni<sup>ac</sup>, °brāhmana Ni<sup>pe</sup>Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, gopathobrāhmamnam Gu<sub>1</sub>, gopathobrāhmanam Gu<sub>2</sub>, go $\langle$ p····· $\rangle$  Jā 9 śataprapāthakam] NiKu1Gu2, śataprapāthak{e}am Ku3, [+ śata]prapāthakam Gu1; lost in lacuna Jā 9 āsīt] Ni, āsīta Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, āśīta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $\langle \cdots \rangle$ ta Jā 9 tasyāvaśiste] *em.*, tasyāvastisthe NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, tasyāvatisthe Ku<sub>3</sub> 9–10 brāhmane] *em.*, brāhmano  $\Sigma$ 11 tatra ... bhavanti ||] Ni adds in margine: tatra sad  $a\langle \cdot \rangle$ ny adhītya sadangavid bhavati |. Cf. 2.5 12 kalpā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, kalpā[sec. m. + ni] NiGu<sub>1</sub>, kalpāni Gu<sub>2</sub> above. 13 vaitānakalpah] Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, vaitā vanakalpah NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 trtīvah] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, trtīvakalpa Ku<sub>3</sub>, trtīva Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 14 'ngirasām] Ku<sub>3</sub>, angirasam Ni, '{·}ngirasām Ku<sub>1</sub>, angirasa Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā

tatra lakṣaṇagranthā bhavanti || caturādhyāyikā | prātiśākhyaṃ | pañca- 1 patalikā | bṛhatsarvānukramanīś ceti || 4.8 ||

tatra dvāsaptatih pariśistāni bhavanti kauśikoktāni || krttikārohinī | rāstra-3 samsargah | rājyaprathamābhisekah | purohitakarmāni | pusyābhisekah pistarātryāh kalpah | ārātrikam | ghṛtāvekṣaṇam | tiladhenuh | bhūmidānam | 5 tulāpurusam | ādityamandalah | hiranyagarbhah | hastirathah | aśvarathah gosahasradānam | hastidīksā | vrsotsargah | indrotsavah | brahmavāgah | vi-7 nāyakābhisekah | aranīlaksanam | sambhāralaksanam | yajñapātralaksanam | vedilaksanam | kundalaksanam | samidhalaksanam | sruvalaksanam | ha-9 stalaksanam | jvālālaksanam | laksahomah | kātyāyanavidhih | kotihomah | ganamālā | ghrtakambalam | anulomakalpah | āsurīkalpah | ucchusmakal-11 pah | samuccayaprāyaścittāni | brahmakūrcavidhih | tadāgavidhih | pāśupatavratavidhih | snānavidhih | sandhyopāsanavidhih | tarpanavidhih | 13 śrāddhavidhih | agnihotravidhih | uttamapatalam | varņapatalam | nighantuh | caranavyūhah | candraprātipadikam | grahayuddham | graha-15

<sup>1</sup> laksanagranthā ... caturādhyāyikā] laksagranthā bhavanti || tatra laksagra caturādhyāÿakā 1 laksanagranthā] *em.*, laksagranthā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, laksagranthā[+ ni] Gu<sub>1</sub>, Ku₁ laksagranthāni Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 caturādhyāyikā] *em.*, caturādhyāyakā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, catu{rthā}rādhyayakā Ku<sub>3</sub>, caturāddhyāyakāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 prātiśākhyam] *em.*, prītisākhyam Ni, prītimākhyam Ku<sub>1</sub>, prītisākham Ku<sub>3</sub>, prītisāmkhyamh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prītisākhyam Jā 2 brhatsarvānukramanīś] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, °sarvā'nukramaņiīś Ni [[two vowel signs: i and ī]], brhasarvānukramaņiś Ku3, °kramaņāś  $Gu_1Gu_2$ 3 tatra] NiKu1Gu1Gu2Jā, tata Ku3 3 dvāsaptatih] em., dvyāsapta{tri} Ni, dvāsaptatri Ku1Jā, dvādisapta Ku3, vyāsapta Gu1Gu2 3 pariśistāni] Jā, pariśistā NiKu1Ku3, parisistā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 kauśikoktāni] em., kauśikoktah NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, kauśikoktasa Ku<sub>3</sub>, kausikokta 3-4 rāstrasamsargah] NiKu1Gu1Gu2, rāstrasasargah Ku3; lost in lacuna om Gu1Gu2 Jā 4 rājyaprathamābhisekah] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, rājyapramābhisekah Ku<sub>3</sub>, rājyā<sup> $\circ$ </sup> Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $\langle \cdots \cdots \rangle$ ka 5 pistarātryāh] em., śisyārātrayā Ni, pisyāratrayā Ku1, śisyārātryā Ku3, śisyārātrayāh Īā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sisyārātrayā Jā 5 kalpah] NiKu<sub>3</sub>Jā, kalpa Ku<sub>1</sub>, *om*. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 gosahasradānam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, gośahaśradānah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, gosaha $\langle s \cdots \rangle$  Jā 7 hastidīksā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, hastidiksā Ku<sub>3</sub>, hastidikṣāh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 7 indrotsavah] NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, indrochavah 8 aranīlaksanam] Ku1Ku3Jā, āranīlaksanam Ni, ārnilaksanamh Gu1, Ku<sub>1</sub>,  $\langle \cdots \rangle$ tsavah Jā ārnilaksanah Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 samidhalaksanam] Ku<sub>1</sub>, sami[+ dha 1]laksanam Ni, samilaksanam 9 sruvalaksanam] śruvalaksanam NiKu1, śrīvatsalaksanam Ku3, Ku<sub>3</sub>, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 9-10 hastalaksanam] NiKu1Jā, hastilaksanam Ku3, hastalaksanamh Gu<sub>1</sub>, hastalaksanah Gu<sub>2</sub> 10 koțihomah] Jā, koțihomah NiKu1Gu1Gu2, koțahomah Ku3 11 ghrtakambalam | anulomakalpah] em., ghrtānuhomakalpah Ni, ghrtānulomakalpah  $Ku_1Ku_3Gu_1Gu_2$ , ghṛtanu' $\langle u \cdots \rangle$  Jā 11 āsurīkalpah] Ku<sub>3</sub>, āsurīkalpam NiKu<sub>1</sub>, āsurikalpah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 11–12 ucchusmakalpah] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, ucchusma° Ni, uchūsmamkalpah 12 brahmakūrcavidhih] Ku<sub>1</sub>, brahmakurcavidhih Ni, Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā brahmakuryuvidhih Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahmakūryavidhih Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12-13 pāśupatavratavidhih] Jā, °vidhi Ni, {sadyopāsanavidhih |} pāsupatavratavidhih Ku<sub>1</sub>, om. Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 snānavidhih] Jā, om. NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 14–15 nighantuh | caranavyūhah] *em.*, nirghantācara(*sec.* m.  $\rightarrow$ la)vruhah Ni,  $\{\cdot\}$ nirghandācaravruham Ku<sub>1</sub>, nirghantātaravrha Ku<sub>3</sub>, nirghantācaravrhah 15 candraprātipadikam] candraprīt{i}apadikam Ni, candraprātapadikam  $Gu_1Gu_2J\bar{a}$ Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, candrapātapradipah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 15 grahayuddham] Ni [[there seems to be a sign under *ddham*, perhaps intending to alert to a marginal note, but none is found]] Ku1Ku3, grahayuddhah Gu1Gu2; lost in lacuna Jā 169.15–170.1 grahasamgrahah] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, °graha Ni; lost in lacuna Jā

- 1 saṃgrahaḥ | rāhucāraḥ | ketucāraḥ | rtuketulakṣaṇaṃ | kūrmavibhāgaḥ | mandalāni | digdāhalaksanam | ulkālaksanam | vidyullaksanam | nir-
- 3 ghātalakṣaṇaṃ | pariveṣalakṣaṇaṃ | nakṣatragrahotpātalakṣaṇaṃ | indracāpalakṣanam | sadyovṛṣtilakṣanam | bhūmikampalakṣaṇam | gośāntih |
- 5 adbhutalakṣaṇaṃ | svapnādhyāyaḥ | atharvahrdayaṃ | bhārakī-gārgyabārhaspatyośanādbhutāni | mahādbhutāni || 4.9 ||
- tatrāṣṭādaśopaniṣado bhavanti || muṇḍaka | praśna | garbhopaniṣat | prānāgnihotra | mahopanisat | brahmopanisat | brahmavidyopanisat | ksurika |
- 9 cūlika | anucūlika | atharvaśira | atharvaśikha | amrtabindu | amrtanāda | yogaśikhā | nārayano | śrutipratyagānando | nrsimha | maho | brahmavedo |
- 11 atharvaņo | paramātmā | tatratvašāntiš ceti || 4.10 || tatra brahmavede 'stādaša vratāni carisyan || sāvitrīvratam | vedavratam |
- 13 nīlavratam | nīlotpalavratam | mrgāruvratam | rohitavratam | viṣāsahivratam | yamavratam | śāntivratam | kalpavratam | rṣivratam | śirovratam | maila-
- 15 vratam | śikhāvratam | anujavratam | dadhivratam | angirovratam | pāśupatavratam caret || 4.11 ||

<sup>1</sup> rāhucārah] Ni<sup>ac</sup>Ku<sub>3</sub>, rāhusamcārah Ni<sup>pc</sup>, rāhucāra Ku<sub>1</sub>, rāhūcārah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, (·)hucārah 1-2 kūrmavibhāgah | mandalāni] em., °vibhāgo mandāni NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, kūrmogabhāgo Īā maṇḍāni Ku3, kurmavibhāgo maṇḍāniḥ Gu1Gu2 2 digdāhalaksanam] Ku<sub>3</sub>, digbāha° NiJā, digāha° Ku<sub>1</sub>, digbāhalakṣaṇaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 vidyullaksanam] em., vidyulaksanam NiKu<sub>3</sub>Jā,  $\{\cdot\}$ vidyulaksanam Ku<sub>1</sub>, vidyulaksanah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3–4 indracāpalaksanam] Ku<sub>3</sub>, cāndro( $\rightarrow$ indra)palakṣaṇam Ni, [+ cāndropalakṣaṇam] Ku<sub>1</sub>, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 4 bhūmikampalaksanam]  $Ku_1Ku_3$ , °kampamlaksanam Ni, °kampamlaksanamh Gu<sub>1</sub>, °kampalaksanamh Gu<sub>2</sub>, 4–5 gośāntih | adbhutalaksanam] *em.*, gośāntiradbhūta° NiKu<sub>1</sub>, bhūmika(mpa····) Jā gośāntirabhūta° Ku<sub>3</sub>, gośyāntiradbhūtalaksanamh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 5–6 bhārakīgārgya-bārhaspatyośanādbhutāni | mahādbhutāni] *em.*, bhārakī | gārgyah | bārhaspatyāṣanābhūtāni {sumahābhūtāni} Ni, bhārakī | gārgyah | bārhaspatyāṣanābhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Ku<sub>1</sub>, bhārakigāgyah | bārhaspatyā anābhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Ku<sub>3</sub>, bhārantīh grā(sec. m. + r)gyah bārhasvatyāh sanābhūtānih Gu1, bhārantīh gārgyah bārhasvatyāh sanābhūtānih Gu2, bhārakī | gārgyah | bārhaspatyāsanādbhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Jā 7 mundaka] Ku<sub>3</sub>, ma(sec. m.  $\rightarrow$  u)ndakah Gu<sub>1</sub>, mundakah NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 8 brahmopanisat | brahmavidyopanisat] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, bramavidopanisat Ku<sub>3</sub>, brahmamvidyopanisatah Gu<sub>1</sub>,  $\{\cdot\}$ brahma $\{$ pani $\}$ vidyopanisatah Gu<sub>2</sub>, 8 ksurika] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, ksurikah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, ksuri $\langle \cdot \rangle$  Jā brahmavidyopanisat Jā 9 cūlika] Ku<sub>1</sub>, culika NiKu<sub>3</sub>, culikah Gu<sub>1</sub>, cūlikah Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 9 anucūlika] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, anuculika Ni, anucūlikah Gu<sub>1</sub>, om. Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 9 atharvaśira] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, °śirah 10 nrsimha] Ku<sub>1</sub>, naraśiham Ni, naraśimha Ku<sub>3</sub>, nrsimhah Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $Gu_1Gu_2$ ,  $\langle \cdots \rangle ra J\bar{a}$ narasimha Jā 10 brahmavedo] NiGu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahma{vidyo}vedyo Ku<sub>1</sub>, brahmavedoh 11 tatratvaśāntiś ceti] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, tatratvam śyāntime(sec. m.  $\rightarrow$  śce)tih Gu<sub>1</sub>,  $Gu_2$ 12 carisyan] NiKu1Ku3Jā, carismamn Gu1, carismaran Gu2 tatratvam śyāntiścetih Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 vedavratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, veda $\langle \cdots \rangle$  Jā 13 nīlavratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, nilavrantam  $Gu_1$ , nilavrattam  $Gu_2$ ; lost in lacuna Jā 13 nīlotpalavratam] Ni $Ku_1Ku_3$ , nilotpalamvrantamh Gu<sub>1</sub>, niloptalamvrattam Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 mrgāruvratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, mrgārvrantamh Gu<sub>1</sub>, mrgārvrattamh Gu<sub>2</sub>,  $\langle \cdots \rangle$ rdratam Jā 14 yamavratam | śāntivratam] all mss. except Jā insert śikhāvratam between these two vratas. 14 yamavratam] em., nāmavratam NiGu<sub>2</sub>, yamavratam | nāmavratam Ku<sub>1</sub>, vāmavratam Ku<sub>3</sub>, nāmavratamh Gu<sub>1</sub>, (nāma)vratam Jā 14-15 mailavratam] em., mailāravratam NiKu1Ku3Jā, śailavrantamh Gu1Gu2 15 anujavratam] Ku<sub>3</sub>, anu[+ du]havratam Ni, anujudavratam Ku<sub>1</sub>, anujavrantam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, anu[+ ja]vratam Jā 16 caret] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, cared vrantamh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>

krchram | atikrchram | taptakrchram | sāmtapanam | māndūkīyam | tulā- 1 purusam | mahāsāmtapanam ceti || 4.12 ||

yo vai brahmavedesūpanītah sarvavedesūpanītah || 5.1 ||

yo vai brahmavedesv anupanītah sarvavedesv anupanītah || 5.2 ||

anyavede dvijottama<br/>ḥ | brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ | sa punarupa- $_5$ ney<br/>o $\parallel 5.3 \parallel$ 

devāś ca ŗṣayaś ca || ko asmākaṃ jyeṣṭhaḥ | ka upanetā | ka ācāryaḥ || 7 brahmā uvāca || 5.4–5 ||

atharvā vai jyeṣṭhaḥ | atharvā upanetā | atharvā ācāryaḥ | atharvaṇā 9 brahmatvaṃ ceti || 5.7 ||

tad apy etad rcoktam

brahmajyeṣṭhā saṃbhr̥tā vīryāṇi brahmāgre jyeṣṭhaṃ divam ā tatāna | bhūtānāṃ brahma prathamota jajñe tenārhati

brahmanā spardhitum kah || 5.8 ||

atharvavede caturņām vedānām sāngopān<br/>gānām savākovākyānām itihāsa- $_{15}$  purānām<br/>m  $\parallel 5.9 \parallel$ 

atha brahmavedaḥ | kapilo varṇaḥ | tīkṣṇaḥ | caṇḍaḥ | kāmarūpī | viśvā- 17 tmā | jitendriyaḥ | sa bhagavān brahmaveda iti || caturmukho dvipakṣo ati-

171

3

11

13

<sup>1</sup> sāmtapanam] *em.*, śānt{i}apanam Ni, śāntipanam Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, śyāntipanamh Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, śānta $\langle \cdots \rangle$ 1 māndūkīyam] Gu<sub>2</sub>, mandukīýam NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, māndukīýamh Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā Jā 1–2 tulāpurusam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, tulāpurusamh Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 mahāsāmtapanam] em., mahāsāntapanam NiKu<sub>l</sub>lā, mahāsāntipanam Ku<sub>3</sub>, mahāsā{panam}(sec. m. svāpanam) 3 brahmavedesūpanītah] *em.*,  $Gu_1$ , mahāsvāpanam Gu<sub>2</sub> °vedesupanisat NiKu<sub>1</sub>, °vedeșupanișata Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, °vedeșupanișatah Gu<sub>2</sub>, °vedeșupanita Jā 3 sarvavedesūpanītah] em., °vedesupanisat NiKu<sub>3</sub>, °ve[+ de]supanisat Ku<sub>1</sub>, °vedesupanisatah Gu<sub>1</sub>, om. Gu<sub>2</sub>, 4 yo vai ... sarvavedesv anupanītah] om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 anupanītah] °vedesupanita Jā em., anupanīt Ni, anupanīta Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 anupanītah] em., anupanīt NiKu<sub>1</sub>, apanīta Ku<sub>3</sub>, anupanīta Jā, *om*. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 5 dvijottamah] em., dvijottamāh Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, dvivottamāh NiKu1Jā 5 brahmavedam adhītukāmah] em., brahmavedemadhītukāmah NiKu<sub>1</sub>, brahmavedemadhitukāmah Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, brahmavedama $\langle dh\bar{n} \cdots \rangle$  Jā 5–6 punarupaneyo] em., punarșayo NiGu1Gu2, punarpatyo Ku1Ku3; lost in lacuna Jā 8 brahmā] 9 atharvā] *em.*, atharva  $\Sigma$ *em.*, brahma NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahmam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 atharvā ācāryah] em., atharva ācāryah NiKu1Ku3Gu1Gu2, atharvācāryah Jā 12 brahmajyesthā] NiKu<sub>3</sub>, brahmayesthā Ku<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, brahmamyesthā Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 12 sambhrtā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sambhrtam Ku<sub>3</sub>, sambhrta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 12 vīryāņi] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, dviryāņih Gu<sub>1</sub>, 13 jajñe] yajñe NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, yajñem Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> vīryāņih  $Gu_2$ ,  $\langle \cdot \rangle$ ryāņi Jā 14 spardhitum] Ni, sparddhatum Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, sparddhamntu Ku<sub>3</sub>, syārddha(sec.  $m. \rightarrow$  sparddhi)tu Gu<sub>1</sub>, sparddhitu 15 caturnām] caturnnā NiKu1Ku3, caturvarnnām Gu1, catuvarnnām Gu2, catirnnām Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 vedānām] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, devānām Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 savākovākyānām] em., sarvāko(+ Jā nu)vākānām Ni, sarvākonuvākānām Ku1, sarvākonuvādvā·nām Ku3, sarvākonuvākānī Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sarvākovākyānām Jā 17 atha] *em.*, atharva  $\Sigma$ 17 varnah] NiKu1Ku3, varnnam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 17 tīkṣṇaḥ | caṇḍaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, tīkṣṇatāḥ || caṇḍaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, tīkṣṇacaṇḍaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 17 kāmarūpī] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, kāmarpih Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, (··)rpī Jā 18 viśvātmā] Jā, viśvātmāna NiKu<sub>1</sub>, viśva ātmā Ku<sub>3</sub>, om. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>

- 1 dharmā ativantaprājñaḥ | kṣudratvāyukrūraḥ vaikhāyanagotraḥ | brahmā devatā || 5.10–11 ||
- ya ekaikasmin vedānām nāmagotrapramāņam ca kīrtayet | sa sarvapāpaviśuddho bhavati | mrtaś ca brahmalokam sa gachati brahmalokam sa
   5 gachatīti ||

iti caraṇavyūhopaniṣat samāptā || 5.12 ||

# §4.2. Text Critical Commentary on the Caranavyūhopanisad

Since the primary focus of this article is on the ancillary literature of the (Paippalāda) AV, the first paragraphs of the text will be commented on only in a summary fashion. Variation in names of Śākhās is entirely excluded from discussion here. Three-digit textual references beginning with 49. are to the 49<sup>th</sup> Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa.

1.1. **caraṇavyūham**: I hesitantly adopt this reading, (a minimal emendation) based on the Ni<sup>*pc*</sup> reading, which is corroborated by 49.1.1 *athātaś caraṇavyūhaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. But since all mss. in fact do contain the reading *°vidhiṃ*, it seems rather likely that  $CVU_A$  read thus, although our text can be called a Vidhi with just as little justification as it can be called an Upaniṣad. Note the tendency to style every text as *°vidhi* also in other Paippalāda ancillary texts (e.g. the *Karmapañjikā* and the *Āngirasakalpa*).

1.3. 49.1.3 reads tatra rgvedasyārthaśāstram upavedaḥ | ... āyurvedopavedaḥ | abhicārakārthaśāstram ity ucyate ||. śāstraveda upavedaḥ:  $CVU_A$  had already become corrupt. Restore arthaśāstram upavedaḥ with 49.1.3, or perhaps śastravedaḥ? divyasāmpada°: The text is almost completely different at 49.1.3. The balance of the variant readings might rather be taken to support restoring °cittā abhi°, but I prefer the reading of Ku<sub>1</sub> and Jā, cf. AVPariś 3.1.10 yasyānyakulopayuktaḥ purodhāḥ śāntikapauṣṭikaprāyaścittīyābhicārikanaimittikordhvadehikāny atharva-vihitāni karmāṇi kuryāt sa tasya pratyaṅgiro bhūtvā hastyaśvarathapadātikaṃ prakr-timukhebhyo .... Could it be that the last phrase of this paragraph, if correctly preserved in CVU, associates the RV with divya, the YV with sāmpada, the SV with prāyaścittīya, and the AV — unsurprisingly — with abhicārika, i.e. with rites of those four types?

172

<sup>1</sup> ativantaprājňaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, ativataprājňaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, ativantadharma ativantaprājňaṃḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, ativantadharma ativantaprājňaḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 kṣudratvāyukrūraḥ] kṣudratvāỳukruūraḥ Ni [[two vowels u and ū marked]], kṣudratvāỳukūraḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, kṣudratvākrraḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, kṣudratvā[*sec. m.* + ·]kṛraḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, kṣudratvāỳukṛraḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 ya ekaikasmin] *em.*, ekasmin NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, yekasmin Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3-4 sarvapāpaviśuddho] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, sarvapāpoviṣuddho Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 mṛtaś ca] *em.*, mṛtaṃ sa NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, mṛtasa Ku<sub>3</sub>, mṛtasaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 6 caraṇavyūhopaniṣat samāptā] caraṇavyuha upaniṣat samāptā Ku<sub>1</sub>, caraṇavyuhapanīṣat samāptā Ku<sub>3</sub>, caraṇavyuhapaniṣatsamāptaņḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, caraṇavyuha [+ u]paniṣat samāptā Jā

1.4. **vaikhāyanagotraḥ**: Cf. 49.1.4 *brahmavedo vaitāyanasagotro*, where BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN (p. 339), however, report AETU *vaikhā*°. The same name Vaikhāyana occurs also at the end of the CVU (5.10–11).

1.5. On the allotment of a color per Veda, cf. GOUDRIAAN 1978: 176. **su-vyaktagrīvaḥ**: Cf. 49.1.5 *suvibhaktagrīvaḥ* (thus also YV-CV, p. 47 l. 6). With a different division of words, and a few other differences, it seems that 49.1.5 *'jānujanghaḥ* | *pramāņena sa vitastayaḥ pañca* has preserved the correct text here. YV-CV (p. 47, l. 7): *pramāṇaṃ tāvat tisthan vitastīḥ pañca*.

1.6. In this list and subsequent lists of  $S\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$  names, NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>J $\bar{a}$  omit visargas before all daṇḍas (here rendered by hyphens), while Gu<sub>1</sub> and Gu<sub>2</sub> omit all daṇḍas and seem to replace them by visarga. The Atharvavedic list in 4.1, with the names *brahmavarti* and *devadarśi*, which can certainly not be nom. pl. forms (as in AVPariś), and can be made into nom. sg. forms only with some good will, provides an argument for assuming long compounded lists of Sākhā-names throughout. The closing *ca* behind every list I then take to be a sign of pardonable confusion on the part of the redactor.

2.1. Between Carakas and Mitrāyaṇīyas, the Maitras, who figure there in AVPariś 49, are omitted in CVU. The Ni and Ku<sub>1</sub> insertion of *hvarakā*h after the Carakas does not seem to merit being taken seriously, as it is more likely to be due to eye-skip from the preceding Āhvarakas. Since our list thus only comprises 23 names, it seems that  $CVU_A$  had already lost the Maitras, unless the fact that the suspected eye-skip in Ni and Ku<sub>1</sub> occurs precisely at the place where the Maitras have gone missing is significant.

2.2. 49.2.2 reads: tesam adhyayanam | dve sahasre sate nyūne vede vājasaneyake | sakalam parisamkhyātam brāhmaņam tu caturguņam ||. Our version ruins themeter by inserting <u>rcām</u> (probably under the influence of 1.7 and 4.2 — the sameerror, but less widely spread, at 3.4, in ms. Ku<sub>3</sub>), and omitting*tu*. Note a similaromission in all mss. but one in the verse at 3.4 (*ca caturdasa* $<math>\rightarrow$  *caturdasa*). The CVU reading *slokena* could also be combined with a more incisive emendation after AVParis: *parisamkhyātam*. Emending the reading *khyāto* found in all CVU mss. anyhow seems unavoidable.

2.3. 49.2.3 reads aṣṭādaśa śatāni bhavanti | tāny eva ... | saptasu vīrāś ceti ||. My emendation tāny eva rests on this basis. **kramapāro**: BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN observe (p. 340) that "the text is mutilated at this point", and refer to SIEGLING, p. 32, where the Yajurvedic *Caraṇavyūha* is edited as follows: *teṣām adhyayanam* | aṣṭaśataṃ yajuḥṣahasrāṇy adhītya śākhāpāro bhavati | tāny eva dviguṇāny adhītya padapāro bhavati | ... triguṇāny adhītya kramapāro ... | ṣaḍ aṅgāny adhītya ....

2.4. 49.2.4 reads śākhās tisro bhavanti | tad yathā | vārcikam arthādhyayanīyāḥ | pāraścaryāḥ | pāraśramaņīyāḥ | pārakramavaṭaḥ | kramapāraś ceti ||.

2.5. 49.2.5 finishes the list of six Angas simply with ... *iti ṣaḍ angāni* ||. It seems that *itihāsapurānam* has entered our text under the influence of the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, AVPariś 1.15.1: *rgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmavedaḥ śikṣā* 

kalpo vyākaraņam niruktam chando jyotiṣam itihāsapurāṇam vākovākyam idāvatsaraḥ parivatsaraḥ samvatsaro daśamam śītoṣṇe ekādaśadvādaśe. Although I have no evidence yet that this Kalpa was ever transmitted as such in Orissa, there are frequent references to a nakṣatrakalpokta tantra in the ritualistic manuals (see §5.3). So we may either presume that the text was still being transmitted by Paippalādins after the separation between our two Atharvavedic Caraṇavyūha versions, or that a forerunner of the CVU-version was influenced by the Nakṣatrakalpa at an earlier medieval stage, when the ancestors of the Orissa Paippalādins still inhabited western Indian regions, along with Śaunakīya Atharvavedins. brhatsarvānukramaņīś: This same ungrammatical form is supported by all mss. in 4.8 below. It has presumably been copied here under influence from that very Atharvaveda section of the text.

2.6. 49.2.6 reads ... sthūlagalakapālo rakto ... prādešāh ṣaḍ dīrghatvena yajurvedasyaitad ... (YV-CV, p. 47 l. 9: prādešamātrah ṣaḍ dīrghatvena). I have made the slight emendation of prāmśu (thus, disregarding trivial variants, all the CVU mss.) to prāmśuh; the same error is reported for mss. ABE in 49.2.6. AVPariś mss. TU read kapola-, as do all CVU mss. The instr. form in our text is probably unoriginal (YC-CV, p. 47, l. 8: sthūlagalakapolas). All mss. read prādešā dīrgha°, but the erroneous omission is easily understandable as due to the similarity of the syllables śāḥ and ṣaḍ, and I have therefore followed the AVPariś reading in emending to prādešāh ṣaḍ dīrgha°.

3.1. BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN print *vinihatā*h | [*pravilīnās*] at 49.3.1, presumably considering *pravilīnās* superfluous after the punctuation. The CVU parallel shows the punctuation to be misplaced, and a verbal adj. in °*līnās* to form an original part of this little *itihāsa*.

3.4. 49.3.4 has no doubt preserved better readings of this verse: ... *sohyāni sarahasyāni etat* .... Since confusion of the clusters *hy* and *jy* is rampant in Orissa mss. (see ZEHNDER 1999: 15), I suppose the error may be a rather recent one, and do not hesitate to emend on the basis of the parallel text.

3.5. The reading *vayanena* here is odd, as is *kātaraḥ* svareṇeti at 49.3.5. The unanimous reading *vayanaḥ* in the next section of CVU shows that the *ante* correctionem reading nayanena in Ku<sub>1</sub> must be a learned guess — although probably a correct one (cf. YV-CV, p. 47 l. 11: *kātaranayana*); an alternative restoration would be *vacanena*. Both CVU<sub>A</sub> and AVPariś have lost the original text here.

3.6. 49.3.6 reads <u>sadaratnih</u> pramāņena ca sm<u>r</u>tah | stuvanty <u>r</u>sayo brahmā sāmāni tisthati .... It seems likely that AVPariś has here stayed close to the correct text for the first sentence, while *vayanah* entered CVU<sub>A</sub> after the preceding section had become corrupt. Diwakar Acharya suggests to me that the extant CVU and AVPariś readings may conceal an originally metrical passage, which might diagnostically be restored as follows: [tathā] sadaratnimātrah pramāņena ca yah sm<u>r</u>tah | anye <u>r</u>sayo brahmā ca sāmni tisthanti samnidhau ||. I have brought the text of CVU as close to this restoration as the mss. permit.

4.1. It is to be noted first that AVParis reads *bhedā* for CVU *sākhā*, but that

CVU, with its *teṣām* in the next section, preserves evidence that the AVPariś pairing *bhedāḥ*... *teṣām* is original; second, that most CVU mss. insert an extra Śākhā before the Caraṇavedas (mostly *in margine*), apparently called Saubhaga. Since it has no parallel in AVPariś, and would cause the list to exceed the indicated number 9, I reject it from my edition.

4.2. 49.4.2 reads *aśītis triśatāni* ... *paryāyikam*. The number of *rcs* quoted, viz. 12380, exceeds that of both extant Atharvavedic Samhitās individually, but agrees remarkably closely with the sum total of Śaunaka *and* Paippalāda mantras, if for the former we take the total of 4432 stanzas calculated by LAN-MAN for the authentic parts of ŚS (WHITNEY 1905/I: cxlvii) and for the latter the provisional figure of 7899 given by BHATTACHARYA (1997: xxii): 12331 stanzas.

4.3. 49.4.3 reads *etadgrāmyāraņyakāni ṣaṭ sahasrāņi bhavanti*, with a rather different figure. Since we do not know which units are being measured, little more can be said, except that *dvādaśa* in the CVU version may have been copied from 4.2, and that the characterization *grāmyāraņyakāni* seems to belong rather to the Sāmavedic domain, which might mean that the original Atharvavedic *Caraņavyūha* had already suffered an intrusion here.

\*4.4. No corresponding paragraph is found in CVU for 49.4.4, which lists 28 Upanisads of the Atharvaveda, a list that has been discussed at some length by BOUY (see n. 45 above). Note that BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN (p. 341) report this passage to be absent also in their mss. CTURoth, while it is placed elsewhere in their B.

4.5. 49.4.5 reads *tatra gopathaḥ śataprapāṭhakaṃ brāhmaṇam āsīt tasyāvaśiṣṭe dve brāhmaṇe pūrvam uttaraṃ ceti*. This is the basis for my emendation *tasyāva-śiṣṭe*. We might also consider emending *pūrvottare iti*, to avoid the inelegant combination of dual dvandva with *ca*.

4.6. 49.4.6 reads *tatra sad angāny adhītya sadangavid bhavati sad angāni bhavati*, *śiksā kalpo vyākaraņam niruktam chando jyotisam iti*. Our version of the Anga list seems to have been abbreviated, perhaps not erroneously, but because it has already occurred above (2.5). The AVPariś mss. BCTURoth reported by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN agree with all but one of our mss. in entirely omitting here the words *sad angāny adhītya sadangavid bhavati*.

4.7. On this verse, see n. 22 (pp. 202f.) in Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume.

4.8. I emend *lakṣaṇagranthā* on the basis of AVPariś. That version's *dantyo-sṭhavidhi* is omitted in our text. As far as I know, no one has ever attempted to prove that this text is connected only with the Śaunaka school; in fact, there seems to be some evidence against this assumption (MODAK 1993: p. 164 with n. 155). But even if we assume that this Lakṣaṇagrantha was not connected in any way with the Paippalāda tradition, this assumption cannot explain the omission in the CVU version, because the same seems to hold for the other Lakṣaṇagranthas listed here too — at least in the form they are known to us (as transmitted by Śaunakīya brahmins). AVPariś repeats *bṛhatsarvānukramaņī* 

*ceti* at the end of 49.9: the absence of this Lakṣaṇagrantha in the corresponding part of our text seems to identify it as unoriginal in the list of Pariśiṣṭas. It clearly belongs only here. We may note that the grammatically impossible form *kramaņīś*, supported by all CVU mss., has probably entered the text from the Śākhā-lists.

tulāpurusam: Note the neuter (AVPariś °*purusah*). hastidīksā | vrsot-4.9. sargah: In comparison with AVPariś, note the omission of Aśvadīksā between these two Pariśistas in our text. vināyakābhisekah: No Pariśista of this title is found in AVPariś, where we find the Skandayāga (alternative title: Dhūrtakalpa 'Practice of the Rogue') in its place. Skandayāga (AVPariś 20) 3.1 reads: samviśasva varaghantāpsarahstave yatra subhujo hi nirmitāh | samvisto me dhehi dīrgham āyuh prajām paśūmś caiva vināyakasena ||. In their apparatus (p. 133), the editors suggest that emending the obscure vināyakasena (left untranslated by GOODWIN 1893: xi) to pinākasena "would improve the metre", and is supported by the parallel with *pinākasenāya* in 20.4.2.<sup>47</sup> Peter Bisschop has pointed out to me, however, that the Sanmukhakalpa, a handbook of sorcery and thievery, contains in its §59 a vocative vināyakasenāpate which is (almost certainly) used of Skanda (see GEORGE 1991: 72f. and 133f.). This supports the authenticity of the reading *vināyakasena*, as voc. addressed to Skanda, at AVPariś 20.3.1, and on this basis Bisschop proposes to emend as follows the uniformly transmitted CVU title for the text corresponding to the Skandayāga: vināyakasenābhisekah. In AVPariś, the order of the arani° and *sambhāralaksanas* is different, which gives the sequence: *brahmayāgah* skandayāgāh | sambhāralaksanam | aranilaksanam |. laksahomah: This corresponds to AVPariś 30 (Laghulaksahoma); the following item in our list, called kātvāvanavidhi, corresponds to AVPariś 30b (Brhallaksahoma). Note at the beginning of that Parisista: atha kānkāyano bhagavantam atharvānam papraccha (30b.1.1). The editors record no variant for kānkāyano, but the connection with the name of the Parisista in CVU seems evident. ghrtakambalam anulomakalpah: Thus restored by emendation on the basis of AVPariś. tadāgavidhih: This is called *paithīnasitadāgavidhih* in 49.4.9 (cf. §6 on the name Paithīnasi). snānavidhih: With support from only one ms. (Jā) the other mss. omit it entirely - CVU lists this Pariśista before, rather than after Sandhyopāsanavidhi (as in AVPariś). naksatragrahotpātalaksanam | indracāpalaksaņam | sadyovrstilaksaņam | bhūmikampalaksaņam: In AVPariś, note the different places occupied by Bhūmikampalaksaņa and Utpātalaksaņa, for which latter our text seems to substitute Indracāpalaksana. The order there is: bhūmikampalaksanam | naksatragrahotpātalaksanam | utpātalaksanam | sadyovrstilaksanam |. Is it possible that our text preserves a trace of the correct order, in view of the mismatches between the titles and contents of Atharvavedapariśistas 61 and 63 noted by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN, pp. 395 and 403?

All in all, we seem to have a few more than the announced 72 Parisistas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>The re-occurrence of *pinākasena* in 20.7.11 would also seem to be relevant for this argument.

The three mss. Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā all omit the *Samidhalakṣaṇa*, *Sruvalakṣaṇa* and the *In-dracāpalakṣaṇa*: the agreements between these mss. here is striking, because even though they originate from two neighboring villages, Jā generally shows more signs of affiliation with the mss. Ku<sub>1</sub> and Ku<sub>3</sub>. The first two omitted Pariśiṣṭas are found quite commonly in other Paippalāda ancillary texts (cf. §5.5), and it is therefore unlikely that these three mss. have preserved an older state of the text in omitting them from the list here. Note, finally, that CVU omits at the end the words *bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī ceti* that we find in AVPariś, and in this our version probably preserves the original state of the text.

4.10. The list in this section presents stem-forms for some Upanisadnames, a form in *o*[*panisat*] for others, while still others are given fully with the element *°upanisat*. I have not tried to impose any regularity in this regard.

Instead of the list of 15 Upaniṣads that AVPariś gives in the corresponding paragraph, we find a list of 18 announced here,<sup>48</sup> while the mss. quite uniformly present a list of 23 (with possible repetition of one if *mahopaniṣad* = *maho*). Up to the 17<sup>th</sup> Upaniṣad listed here (*Śrutipratyagānanda*), the list corresponds exactly with the texts found at the beginning of the five Upaniṣad mss. described in §3, where in all cases except Ku<sub>2</sub>, the *Ātharvaṇa* follows as 18<sup>th</sup>: in our list, it comes after *nṛsiṃha-maho-brahmavedo* (where *maho* might be a spurious element). The CVU contains no direct trace of the list of 28 Upaniṣads that the AVPariś version presents, entirely out of context, in 49.4.4 — there is some overlap between the list of 28 and especially the one of 15 in AVPariś, on the one hand, and the CVU list of '18'/23, on the other, but there are considerable differences too. **tatra-tvaśāntiś ceti**: This incomprehensible conclusion seems to correspond in some way to the conclusion of AVPariś 49.4.10: *vaitathyam* | *advaitam* | *alātaśāntiś ceti*.

4.11. Note the fact that all mss. except Jā insert the *Śikhāvrata* between *Yamavrata* and *Śāntivrata*. The parallel in 49.4.11 suggests that Jā may have preserved the original state of affairs here, although there the sequence *yamavratam* | *śāntivratam* is followed by a separate *śikhivrata*. **anujavratam** | **da-dhivratam**: AVPariś here reads *marudvratam* | *adhivratam*. The readings clearly go back to the same original, but I cannot tell what it was: *anaḍudadhivratam*? *marudadhivratam*? *anaḍudvratam* (ŚS 4.11.11d) | *dadhivratam*? The CVU, as edited here, also reaches 18 *vratas*, but the ordering and names differ in several ways from the list in AVPariś. **mailavratam**: I have hesitantly made this emendation, relying for the name of the *vrata* on Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>. However, the reading *mailāra*°, found in the better mss., may conceal the pair *mailavratam* | *mailottaravratam* found in AVPariś, in which case our list would come to exceed the indicated number of 18 *vratas*.

4.12. 49.4.12 has one more element, and a slightly different order for this additional list of *vratas* (see e.g. the index to GAMPERT 1939) that the tradition has seen fit not to announce as such: *krcchram* | *taptakrcchram* | *atikrcchram* |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Peter Bisschop has suggested to me that the number 18 may have entered the CVU here from the list of 18 *vratas* in 4.11.

sarvakrcchram | maundabhāyah | tulāpuruṣaḥ | sāmtapanam | mahāsāmtapanam ceti.

5.2. 49.5.2 reads *yo vai brahmavedesv anupanītaḥ sa sarvavedesv anupanītaḥ*  $\parallel$ . The word *sa* is omitted in CVU.

5.3. **dvijottamaḥ**: Cf. 49.5.3 ... *dvijo yo brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ sa* .... The corrupt CVU reading, whose *dvijottamāḥ* I have corrected to *dvijottamaḥ*, spoils the connection between relative and main clause, which could be solved by emending still further to *dvijottamo yo*. **punarupaneyo**: The syllable *ne* had been lost already in CVU<sub>A</sub>.

5.4–5. 49.5.4–6 reads:  $dev\bar{a}s$  ca rṣayaś ca brahmāṇam ūcuḥ || ko no [smo] jyeṣṭhaḥ | ka upanetā | ka ācāryaḥ | ko brahmatvaṃ ceti || tān brahmābravīt ||. The words brahmāṇam ūcuḥ seem to have been lost in transmission before CVU<sub>A</sub>, because they are indispensable. The same must be true for *ko brahmatvaṃ ceti* (the last phrase of 49.5.5), because the next paragraph shows that this is not likely to have been an intentional omission. The other differences seem to be redactional.

5.7. **vai** ... **atharvaṇā brahmatvaṃ**: Cf. 49.5.7, which reads *atharvā vo jyeṣṭho 'tharvopanetātharvācāryo 'tharvā brahmatvaṃ ceti* ||. *vo* (omitted in the editors' ADE, read *va* in their B: see apparatus, p. 342) is clearly the better reading, *atharvā brahmatvaṃ* very likely so.

5.8. 49.5.8 only gives a pratīka: *tad apy etad rcoktam* | *brahmajyeṣtheti etayā* |, perhaps because the mantra had already been quoted in full at 46.9.21 = SS 19.22.21. The mantra is also found as PS 8.9.1. BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN report (p. 342) that their ms. T "gives AV. 19.23.30 in full, reading: prathamota." The significance of the last specification is unclear, because this is precisely the reading we expect (and find in CVU).

5.9. 49.5.9 opens with *iti tasyārhaņ brahmavedaś caturņāņ* ... (which seems somewhat more comprehensible than our *atharvavede caturņāņ* ...), and then reads *setihāsa*°, although the reading *itihāsa*° is reported for ms. T by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN: another agreement of that ms. with CVU.

5.10–11. 49.5.10–11 reads athāto brahmavedaḥ kapilo varņena tīkṣṇaḥ pracaṇḍaḥ kāmarūpī viśvātmā jitendriyaḥ | sa tasmin bhagavati durvārajvālaḥ | 10 | kṣudrakarmā sa ca bhagavān brahmavedaś caturmukho dvipakṣo dānto dharmī balavān prājñaḥ krtotthāpanīyaḥ krūraḥ ṣaḍrātrāṇi vimrśī [ṣaḍrātrāṇi ṣaḍ] vaitāyano gotreṇa. There is a free field here for various emendations of the corrupt CVU readings. To mention just one: *atibalavanta*° (with thematization not unknown in low register Sanskrit), might do in the place of *ativanta*°. BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN (p. 342) again report the reading *vaikhā*° for several mss. (YV-CV, p. 471. 17 reads *vaitānasagotraṃ*).

5.12. 49.5.12 reads ya ekaikasmin vedānām nāmavarņagotrarūpapramāņam ca kīrtayed yo vidvān jātismaro bhavati mrtah sa brahmalokam gacchati  $\parallel$ . I have restored ya ekaikasmin on this basis. All CVU mss. point to ekasmin, a reading reported by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN only for their ms. E (whether that ms. does have ya, or not, is unclear).

# §5. Paippalāda Ancillary Literature: Evaluation of the *Caraņavyūhopaniṣad* Evidence

The main purpose of the Atharvavedic *Caraṇavyūha* seems to be to give an overview of the Atharvavedic canon, and to this end it comprises a catalog of Atharvedic ancillary texts. Neither of the two known versions of this *Caraṇavyūha* specifies for which Śākhā it describes the canon of Atharvavedic literature. Since only one version was known until recently, and it seemed to correspond fairly well with the Śaunaka canon as available in mss. transmitted by adherents of that Śākhā, it was naturally assumed to be valid for, and was compared with, the literature of this school in MODAK's detailed analysis (1993: 391–399) of the 49<sup>th</sup> Pariśiṣṭa in BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN's edition, based on mss. transmitted by Śaunakīya Atharvavedins. The availability of the version styled *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad* in mss. transmitted by Paippalādins in Orissa raises the question, to which I will also return at the end of this section, whether that natural assumption was a correct one.

In CVU and AVPariś 49 alike, mention is made of several texts, among which the *Gopathabrāhmaņa*, the Vedāngas, and the typically Atharvavedic five Kalpas. Then follows first a list of the so-called Lakṣaṇagranthas and after that a list of (somewhat more than) 72 Pariśiṣṭas; finally, the CVU version of the text announces that it will enumerate 18 Upaniṣads, but when it enumerates them actually seems to give a few more than 18. Only for this last genre of ancillary literature does the CVU version differ substantially from the version that is AV-Pariś 49. The list of Upaniṣads in the CVU shows a remarkable overlap with what we actually find in the common initial parts of the Upaniṣad-manuscripts that are available in Orissa, and whose contents have been presented in detail in §3. At least for the Upaniṣads, the CVU thus seems to describe the Paippalāda rather than the Śaunaka canon.

I now propose to pursue this matter a bit further, and discuss the extent to which the other statements in the CVU can be verified directly or indirectly, if assumed to be valid for the Paippalāda school. By directly, I mean that mss. of the texts mentioned in the CVU are available among Paippalādins today; by indirectly, I mean that there is evidence that they may have been in the past, and that the CVU hence may be taken to describe a canon of which parts have subsequently been lost.

#### §5.1. The Gopathabrāhmaņa

While there seem to be no extant mss. of the text other than the ones found in western India, among Śaunakīya brahmins, and used for the available editions, there is good evidence that the Paippalādins considered some version of this Brāhmaṇa to belong to their canon. In his contribution to this volume, Kei Kataoka has demonstrated that Bhaṭṭa Jayanta was probably a Paippalāda brah-

min. If this is correct, then the elaborate quotations in the Nyāyamañjarī virtually prove that the GB was known to Paippaladins in 9<sup>th</sup> century Kashmir, and that substantial parts of the text as known to them agreed with the GB as known to us. There is further indirect evidence from the Paippalādins in Orissa: references to the GB are found in their ritual manual called Karmapañjikā, composed by Śrīdhara. I have hitherto found one passage,49 where a positively indentifiable quotation is made from the *Gopathabrāhmana*: it is GB 1.2.6, referred to as *pūrvabrāhmane*. This proves that Śrīdhara knew the same division of the text in two parts, that is found in the extant western Indian mss., and referred to in CVU. It may also mean that he still had access to the text, but this cannot be proved. The fact that he also quotes several passages as found *gopathabrāhmane*, that are not found in that text as we know it, but of which most can be identified in the collection of Atharvavedapariśistas,<sup>50</sup> could be taken to suggest the contrary. This last phenomenon of possible misattribution, also observed in other ritual manuals from Orissa,<sup>51</sup> may be compared with the observation made by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN on p. XVI of their AVParis introduction: "Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmani has also drawn extensively upon the Pariśistas, calling them either by their proper title or *Ātharvana Gopatha Brāhmana.*"<sup>52</sup>

BHATTACHARYYA (1955: 7; 1968: 24) has pointed out that Venkata Mādhava makes mention of a *paippalāda* Brāhmaņa,<sup>53</sup> and that the *Prapañcahṛdaya*, a

<sup>51</sup>Cf. the reference to AVPariś 37 (*Samuccayaprāyaścittāni*) as *Vaitānakalpa* in Bhūdhara's *Āsurī-dīpikā*, discussed in Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume, p. 209 n. 39 (end).

<sup>52</sup>These passages have been listed as an appendix, pp. 645f., in their edition.

<sup>53</sup>BHATTACHARYYA's reference in 1968 was to *Rgvedabhāṣyānukramaņī* (8.1), without specification of the edition used. In 1955 he had referred to "the *Anukramaņī* portion of the *Rgarthadīpikā*,

 $<sup>^{49}</sup>$ Ni 83v5–84r1; Ku 94r2–3; Gu<sub>1</sub> 97v4 (see §2B above, about these manuscripts).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Ni 18v5–19r1, Ku 20v4, Gu<sub>1</sub> 23v4–5: ke cit pūjanāt prāg darbhakosthīm trihparyuksanam cecchanti || tathā ca gopathabrāhmane || tasmād devatāh sarvakarmasv ādito antar udayanesu (em., °yamesu Ni Ku, °pamesu Gu<sub>1</sub>) ca hūyanta iti (em., ca hūyanta ca iti mss.) vidhānāt (unidentified — cf. GB 1.1.14d?); Ni 25v5–26r1, Ku 28v1, Gu<sub>1</sub> 31r5: gopathabrāhmane || gopuchāgrākrtir dando hastamātrapramānatah | ardhāngusthapramānena nimnam śirasi khānayed iti (cf. AVPariś 27.2.4–5: gopucchāgrākṛtir daṇḍo mandalāgra[m] śiro viduḥ | angusṭhāgrapramāṇena nimnaṃ śirasi khānayet || etal laksaṇam uddistam sruvasya phalabhedatah | gopathena yathāśāstram uddhrtam śruticodanāt | sruvena kurute karma hastenāpi tathā śrnu ||); Ni 26r2, Ku 28v3, Gu<sub>1</sub> 31r2–3: atha śruvagrahanalakṣanam || gopathe || hīyate yajamāno vai śruvasya mūladarśanāt | putrair istaphalaih pūrtaih śrutir esā purātanī || tasmāt samgopayen mūlam homakāle śruvasya ca (unidentified); Ni 26v3–4, Ku 29v1–2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 31v5– 32r1: gopathabrāhmane | adhunvan (em., dhunvan mss.) vāpi juhuyāc chruvenāsphutitāhutih (em., chruveno<sup>o</sup> mss.) | dhunvan hinasti putrāmś ca rāksasām sphutitāhutih || nānyat kimcid abhidhyāye †juhudāpatatāhutiļī† | tad daivatam abhidhyāye āhutir yasya dīyate || śruve pūrņe japen mantram uttānah śāntike karah | śāntike paustike caiva varjayet tu kanīnikām iti (cf. AVPariś 27.1.4–5, 27.2.1); Ni 32v1–2, Ku 36v1–2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 37v1–2: tathā ca gopathabrāhmaņe || kriyāpraśamsā brāhmaņam havihsamskārakam yajuh || stutipradānam mantro vai vidhānam kalpa ucyata iti (unidentified); Ni 85r3, Ku 95r4, Gu<sub>1</sub> 98v5–99r1: gopathabrāhmaņe yadā juhoti hastenetyādivākyabalāt pañcabhir angulībhir annam hutvā (cf. AVPariś 28.1.1: om yadā juhoti hastena daksinenetarena vā | tadā vaksye vidhim tasya śreyasī syād yathāhutih ||). All KP fragments quoted here and on the following pages are given in preliminary editions, without reporting most of the (rather substantial amount of) variant readings.

probably fairly late South Indian text of doubtful reliability, states this text to have had eight Adhyāyas.<sup>54</sup> WITZEL (1977: 146f.), who does not discuss the possible relevance of Veňkata Mādhava's statement, is inclined to take the *Prapañcahrdaya* evidence seriously, and to connect it with the following statement by Śańkara in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (3.3.25): *asty ātharvaṇikānām upaniṣadārambhe mantrasamāmnāyaḥ "sarvaṇi pravidhya hrdayaṇi pravidhya dhamanīḥ pravrjya śiro abhipravrjya tridhā viprktaḥ" ityādiḥ.* WITZEL convincingly demonstrates (pp. 144ff.) that the passage from which this statement is taken lists texts that Śańkara knew to find their place "near to the Upaniṣads, in the arrangement of the Veda texts of the various schools quoted by him". Hence, WITZEL concludes, this Atharvavedic pratīka, which cannot be traced in any known source, is likely to have come from a lost Brāhmaṇa (or Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad) of the Atharvaveda, which he assumes to be the lost *Paippalādabrāhmaṇa* of (Veňkaṭa Mādhava and) the *Prapañcahrdaya*.<sup>55</sup>

There is some evidence that Śankara, when using the term *ātharvaņika*, was indeed thinking specifically of a Paippalāda text. As BHATTACHARYYA also already pointed out (1955: 5; 1968: 46f.), he uses it at *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* 2.3.43 in discussing a *Brahmasūkta* with a stanza that is known only from the PS: *tathā hy eke śākhino dāśakitavādibhāvaṃ brahmaṇa āmananty ātharvaṇikā brahmasūkte "brahma dāsā brahma dāsā brahmaiveme kitavā"* [PS 8.9.11] *ityādinā*.<sup>56</sup> This fact, then, comes in support of the connection that WITZEL wants to make be-

atha ye **brāhmaņā**rthānām vivektārah krtaśramāh | śabdarītim vijānanti te sarvan kathayanty api || 10 tāṇḍake śāṭhyāyanake śramaḥ śatapathe 'pi ca | kauṣītake kāṭhake ca syād asyeha sa paṇḍitaḥ || 11 aitareyakam asmākam **paippalādam atharvaṇām** | trtīyan tittiriproktañ jānan vrddha ihocyate || 12

<sup>54</sup>Ed. MĪMĀMSAK 1987, p. 14 (Trivandrum ed. p. 21). On the uncertain date and doubtful reliability of this text, see BRONKHORST 2007: 292, n. 30; 294; 297, n. 44.

<sup>55</sup>See BHATTACHARYYA 1968: 49f. for a different explanation of the passage as referring directly to PS 1.76.4cd *prabhañjañ chatrūn prati yāhy agne krtyākrtam duṣkrtam hrdaye vidhya marmani* ||. This is not convincing because (a) the verbal correspondence is only very partial and moreover imprecise, and (b) PS 1.76.4 cannot clearly be said to be found *upaniṣadārambhe* in any sense.

<sup>56</sup>Kengo Harimoto, whom I thank for helping me with the interpretation of these passages from Śańkara's work, points out to me that *ātharvaņika* is used elsewhere in the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* only to denote the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, a fact which tends to corroborate the hypothesis that Śańkara knew the Paippalāda-Śākhā, since that Upaniṣad stands at the head of all known Upaniṣad collections associated with the Paippalādins (see the mss. described in §3, and the list of Upaniṣads in CVU 4.10). — Peter Bisschop points out to me that the fact that it also stands at the head of the supposedly Śaunakīya list at AVPariś 49.4.4 reduces the force of this last argument.

<sup>8, 1&</sup>quot;. With the kind help of George Cardona and Walter Slaje, I have been able to trace these divergent references to the text published under the title *Rgvedānukramaņī* by KUNHAN RAJA (1932), where verses viii.i.10–12 read (p. 74):

tween the lost source of the mantra(s) *sarvaṃ pravidhya* … and the Paippalāda school. We do know some Vedic texts styled °*brāhmaṇa* that consist partly or wholly of mantras, but the fact that Śaṅkara knew this particular *mantrasamāmnāya* to be *ātharvaṇikānām upaniṣadārambhe*, which must here contextually be interpreted to mean 'immediately preceding the beginning of the Upaniṣads in the Paippalāda-Atharvavedins' canon', does not seem to me sufficient evidence for assuming that this particular group of mantras stems from a lost Brāhmaṇa rather than some other kind of text that may have contained mantras. I know of no explicit evidence, besides that from Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and the *Prapañcahṛdaya*, that there was ever any Atharvavedic Brāhmaṇa, and specifically a *Paippalādabrāhmaṇa*, besides the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*.

If it were not for the information that this Brāhmaṇa had eight Adhyāyas, there would be no strong arguments at all against identifying the *Paippa-lāda*° with the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*. Since this information is found only in the *Prapañcahrdaya* — a source which, as we will see below, offers some other uncorroborated information too — I in fact consider this the most likely hypothesis.<sup>57</sup> The idea, expressed in CVU, that the two extant books of the GB would be the remainder of a text which once contained 100 *prapāṭhakas* (5 of which remain forming GB 1, and another 6 forming GB 2) may well be a fiction,<sup>58</sup> but even if it is not, neither the number nor the name of the textual divisions quoted in the CV, and found in the extant GB, match with the *Prapañcahrdaya* statement.<sup>59</sup>

#### §5.2. The Six Angas

Except the so-called *Kautsavyaniruktanighanțu* (AVPariś 48) and an *Atharvavedajyotișa* available e.g. in a BORI ms. of which I have a xerox but that I have not yet studied,<sup>60</sup> I know no evidence that could corroborate the implicit claim made in

<sup>60</sup>I refer to BORI ms. 16 of 1870–71 (see no. 247, p. 9f., in NAVATHE 1990). Two or three more mss. of this text are listed in vol. I of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. This *Catalogus* suggests that

 $<sup>{}^{57}</sup>$ Cf. the *Nyāyamañjarī* evidence presented in Kei Kataoka's contribution to this volume, and §5.6 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>BLOOMFIELD (1899: 101 with n. 2 on p. 106) expresses no opinion; neither does GAASTRA (1919: 9); PATYAL (1969: vii–viii) does take this information seriously, and uses it to explain the several attributions of verses, not found in the extant GB, to the *Gopatha* in AVPariś, and one in Pseudo-Sāyaṇa's introduction to his AV *Bhāṣya* (referred to also by GONDA 1975: 355 n. 108), but this is a false attribution (see below, n. 67). On this phenomenon, see also above, p. 180 with n. 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Kei Kataoka has pointed out to me that the Mīmāmsaka author Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, author of the *Nyāyasudhā*, a commentary on the *Tantravārttika*, refers to the Atharvaveda. Ed. MUKUNDA SHASTRI, p. 148, l. 2–3: *krītarājakabhojyānnatvasmrtimūlasya tu tasmād dīkṣitasya vijñātasya krītarājakasya bhojyam bhavatīty atharvavede paṭhyamānasya* .... This passage must be a (rather imprecise) reference to the *Gopathabrāhmaņa* (1.3.19:89.8–11): *tasyājātasyāvijñātasyākrītasomasyābhojanīyam bhavatīty āhuḥ sa dīkṣāṇām prātar jāyate somam krīṇanti tasya jātasya vijñātasya krītasomasya bhojanīyam bhavatīty āhuḥ*. Unfortunately, both the time and the place at which Bhaṭṭa Someśvara was active seem to be unknown, so the possible significance of this quotation for the historical distribution of oral or written transmission of the GB cannot be determined.

the AV-CV that the Atharvaveda had its own Angas, besides the Kalpas, to be treated in the next paragraph. In the case of the Paippalāda school, I don't even know any such Nirukta and Jyotiṣa exceptions. It seems that our *Caraṇavyūha* must not be taken literally here, in either of its two versions.

### §5.3. The Five Kalpas

On the tradition of the five Atharvavedic Kalpas, see Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume, pp. 202f. Concerning the evidence for a specific Paippalāda transmission of these Kalpas, we can state the following.

(1) The *Naksatrakalpa*. There is a text transmitted under this name that stands at the head of the Atharvavedaparisistas in the mss. of that collection; in the list of Pariśistas that we find in both versions of the AV-CV, it is called Krttikārohinī after its initial words. BAHULKAR (1984) concludes from this and other facts that the Naksatrakalpa which is AVParis 1 in fact consists of two originally separate texts, the first of which uses mantras from PS, while still showing internal signs of being affiliated to the Śaunaka school. No mss. of any version of this Kalpa seem to be extant in Orissa, and no other evidence is known to me for another transmission of a text under this name, except the fact that ritual manuals of the Paippalādins in Orissa refer very frequently to a naksatrakalpokta tantra — tantra here in the sense of ritual sequence: cf. the Atharvavedic technical terminology of pūrva° and uttaratantra (CALAND 1900: VIf.), of which the nakṣatrakalpokta tantra indeed seems to be composed.<sup>61</sup> I have not yet investigated how precisely this *tantra* is built up, but do not believe it has anything to do with the contents of the extant Naksatrakalpa. One may speculate that if any textual basis for it exists in extant literature, it may rather be in one of the other known Pariśistas, or a similar work, and that the Orissan usage may be a mistake resulting from the placement of the Naksatrakalpa, that would have taken up a large portion of the beginning of most Pariśista-codices.<sup>62</sup>

183

the text of this title is different from the *Atharvajyotiṣa* (Punjab Sanskrit Series 6) discussed by DIKSHIT (1969: 97–100). I thank Toke Lindegaard Knudsen for bringing DIKSHIT's work to my attention.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>The mss. of the *Karmapañjikā* contain a description. Ni 39v3–40v4, Ku 45r4–46v2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 45v4– 47r4: *tatra nakṣatrakalpoktam tantram nigadyate* || *avyasaś cety uktvā* | ... *etā pūrvatantram iti* || *tataḥ kartā yajamānam spṛṣtvā ayam no 'gnir iti dvābhyām mahedhmānam sakrd dhutvā* | *pūrvavan māhāvyāhrţyādibhir hutvā* | *tataḥ pradhānahomaḥ* | *athottaratantram ucyate* ... *yasmāt kośād ity ātmano hrdayābhimantranam kuryāt* | *yatrayatra nakṣatrakalpoktam tantram iti bravīti tatratatraitat karma kuryād iti* || ... *nakṣatrakalpoktam tantram samāptam*. This seems to agree quite well with the summary description of what is called the *ājyatantra* at the very end of the sixth *kaṇḍikā* in Keśava's *Kauśikapaddhati* (LIMAYE et al. 1982: 22). For an example of a reference to this *tantra*, see GRIFFITHS 2003b: 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Cf. BOLLING's speculation (1913: 267) involving a possibly similar phenomenon to explain Pseudo-Sāyaṇa's references to the second chapter of the *Śāntikalpa* under the name *Nakṣatrakalpa* in his *Bhāṣya* on ŚS: "The Chambers Codex of the Pariçiṣṭas is an edition in three volumes, containing respectively AVPar. i=the true Nakṣatrakalpa, AVPar. ii–xxxvi and AVPar. xxxvii–

#### ARLO GRIFFITHS

(2) The *Vaitānakalpa*. BHATTACHARYYA (1955: 8; 1968: 24) quotes the *Prapañcahrdaya* mention of an *Agastyaśrautasūtra* in 7 Adhyāyas.<sup>63</sup> I know of no evidence to support the veracity of this information, or for the existence of any other *Śrautasūtra* associated with the AV than the known *Vaitānasūtra*. I am not aware of any evidence that this text was ever known among the Paippalādins in Orissa.<sup>64</sup>

(3) The *Saṃhitāvidhi*. This is the traditional name for the text that western scholarship refers to as the *Kauśikasūtra*.<sup>65</sup> There is some slim evidence that the text may have been known to Śrīdhara, in the following passages that I have found in his *Karmapañjikā*, two of which refer specifically to expiations deriving from the *Saṃhitāvidhi*. (1) Ni 41v2, Ku 46v2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 48r4: end of the *saṃhitāvidhikalpoktaprāyaścittavidhi*; (2) Ni 58v1–2, Ku 66v3–4 (not traceable in Gu<sub>1</sub>): *tathā ca saṃhitāvidhau* | *pākayajñakān samāsādya* †*ekavahuṣikaḥ*†<sup>66</sup> | *ekaḥ sviṣṭakṛtaḥ kuryān nānāpi sati daivata iti* | (quotation from KauśS 6.34<sup>67</sup>); Ni 97r5– v1, Ku 108r5, Gu<sub>1</sub> 109r2: *prāyaścittavidhiṃ vakṣye yad uktaṃ saṃhitāvidhau*.

(4) On the *Āngirasakalpa*, see Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume.

(5) The *Śāntikalpa* has been published by BOLLING in two installments (1904– 13), the latter publication containing the first of the text's two Adhyāyas. According to BAHULKAR (1984: 179) this text shows internal signs of being affiliated to the Śaunaka school. I have not yet undertaken any study of this or related Śānti-literature.<sup>68</sup> As for mss. from Orissa, I believe the only possibly relevant manuscript that I have seen is the *Grahaśānti* ms. listed in §2E.

<sup>68</sup>I may mention the random collection of BORI mss. that any such systematic study should probably cover: 208/1880–81 and 209/1880–81 (NAVATHE 1994: 341–343, nos. 708 and 709); 190/1884–87 (I do not know whether this ms. has been described in any catalog).

lxxii. If we assume that Sāyaṇa had only a broken set, namely vol. ii., of such an edition, we can understand why his citations from the Paricistas are so limited and also his ignorance of the Nakṣatrakalpa. He was however familiar with the tradition of the five *kalpas*, and as the second chapter of the Çāntikalpa began with an elaborate *nakṣatrayāga*, he identified this portion of the text with the Nakṣatrakalpa of which he had no knowledge except the name".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>Ed. MĪMĀMSAK 1987, p. 23 (Trivandrum ed. p. 33).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Cf. the misattribution of a phrase known from AVPariś 37 to the *Vaitānakalpa* in the work of a Bhūdhara from Orissa, mentioned by Alexis Sanderson in his contribution to this volume (see the reference in n. 51 above).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>Cf. Sanderson's contribution to this volume, p. 203 n. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Ni, *ekadvahusikah* Ku; both mss. insert a space after *eka*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>athāpi ślokau bhavataḥ | ājyabhāgāntaṃ prāktantram ūrdhvaṃ sviṣṭakṛtā saha | havīṃṣi yajña āvāpo yathā tantrasya tantavaḥ | pākayajñān samāsādyaikājyān ekabarhiṣaḥ | ekasviṣṭakṛtaḥ kuryān nānāpi sati daivata iti ||. The second verse = ĀśvGS 1.3.10, also found as the concluding verse of MānGS (after 2.18.4). The second is unidentified, but is attributed to GB by Dārila (DIWEKAR et al., p. 32), who is followed herein by Keśava (LIMAYE et al. 1982: 20), and ultimately by Pseudo-Sāyaṇa (at the very end of the *Upodghāta* to his ŚS *Bhāṣya*), who is known to have used Keśava's *Paddhati* extensively (LIMAYE et al., pp. xxiv f.). Since the KauśS itself does not hint at a Śruti source for these verses, the attribution is likely to be fictitious.

#### §5.4. The Laksanagranthas

As noted above (p. 175), the only discrepancy between the lists of Lakṣaṇagranthas that the two versions of the AV-CV contain, is that the CVU omits the *Dantyoṣṭhavidhi*, and that too possibly as a mere accident. Among the Lakṣaṇagranthas listed we find the *Prātiśākhya* called *Caturādhyāyikā*. Now this text, as we know it, belongs without any doubt to the Śaunaka school, because it is called *Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā*. There is no evidence known to me that for any of the texts which the CVU mentions under the heading of Lakṣaṇagranthas — the *Caturādhyāyikā*, *Prātiśākhya*,<sup>69</sup> *Pañcapaṭalikā*, *Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī* —, there existed once upon a time, next to the known Śaunaka texts, also independent but parallel Paippalāda-recensions, with precisely the same titles. In any case, no mss. of texts with such titles are found today among the Atharvavedic brahmins in Orissa, nor do any of the extant ancillary text from Orissa seem to refer to them.

#### §5.5. The Seventy-two Pariśistas

I have found several cases of a reference to a Parisista in the Karmapañjikā, but none can be connected with any text known as part of AVPariś. No collection of Pariśistas as such is known to me to exist in Orissa, but several of the listed titles are found as parts of other texts: one example is the Caranavyūha, that we have seen figuring in Upanisad mss. As part of *Āngirasakalpa* mss., but also in quotations in the Karmasamuccaya and the Karmapañjikā, I have noticed that texts called Vedilakṣaṇa, Samidhalakṣaṇa, Jvālālakṣaṇa, Agnivarṇalakṣaṇa are found quoted in the Paippalāda ritual manuals, and that these show some clear correspondences with the texts known respectively as AVParis 24.1, 26, 29 and 24.2. See further n. 50 above for quotations from AVParis 27 (Sruvalaksana) and 28 (Hastalaksana), attributed to the Gopathabrahmana, and n. 39 (end) in Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume for a quotation from AVParis 37 (Samuccayaprāyaścittas), attributed to the Vaitānakalpa. Some of the Āṅgirasakalpa mss., including the ms. As that was used for PANDA [2003], contain an *Āsurīdīpikā* (attributed to a Bhūdhara) besides the actual verses of the *Āsurīkalpa* also known as AVPariś 35.70 In the ms. listed above (§2E) as item 3 under Miscellaneous Sources, I have found a text called Svapnādhyāya (cf. AVPariś 68). I expect that a specific investigation of the Orissa sources with a view to identifying Parisista texts might yield some more, and that a comparison with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Mention may be made here also of the *Varṇapaṭala*, AVPariś 47, which is a supplement to these two phonetic ancillary texts of the AV, which "do not contain the treatment of the *varṇas* which they take for granted. The purpose of the *Varṇapaṭala* is to make up for this deficiency" (MODAK 1993: 383–388). Whether this Pariśiṣṭa has any specific Śākhā affiliation has not, to my knowledge, been investigated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>See PANDĀ [2003]: 42ff., 113ff., and Sanderson's contribution to this volume, pp. 211f., items 14–29, p. 216, and p. 220, item 38; see also MAGOUN 1899.

versions of these texts as contained in the western Indian Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa collections, used by BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN for their edition, will lead to interesting text-historical findings.

Not (yet) traced in Orissa, but preserved in quotations in Hemādri's *Catur-vargacintāmaņi*, and partly reconstructed on that basis by CALAND (1893: 96f., 107f., 243f.), is a *Paippalādaśrāddhakalpa*, as well as a separate Atharvanic Śrāddha description attributed to Paiṭhīnasi (pp. 99, 110f.),<sup>71</sup> both of which correspond to a Śaunaka recension entitled *Śrāddhavidhi* or *Śrāddhakalpa*, known as AVPariś 44 (see BHATTACHARYYA 1955: 8).

#### §5.6. Evaluation

All in all, we might say that the evidence of the CVU seems to be rather misleading. Only for the category of Upanisadic texts do its indications match fairly well with the Paippalāda canon, if we define that canon as the corpus of literature transmitted by the Paippalādins of Orissa.

Now it could be that the Atharvavedic *Caraṇavyūha*, as implicitly assumed by previous scholarship, was compiled at some early period by Śaunakīya priests, to give a fitting description of *their* canon. The fact that it is found also in Orissa, in an only marginally altered version, could then mean that it was taken over for some unknown reason by the Paippalādins, was taken along by them when they settled in Eastern India, and was changed consciously only in the list of Upaniṣads. On the other hand, it seems to be the case that for many Atharvavedic ritual texts, such as the *Kauśikasūtra*, the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, the *Vaitānasūtra* with its appendix of *Atharvaprāyaścittas*, and the Pariśiṣṭas, the Śākhā-distinction Śaunaka/Paippalāda is only a vague one, because mantras are quoted in them from both Śākhās. So could it not be that these texts, although (with marginal exceptions that I have just discussed) transmitted only by Śaunakīyas, were originally in fact canonical for both Śākhās?<sup>72</sup>

In my 2004 study of Paippalāda Mantras in the *Kauśikasūtra*, I have argued that this question may be answered in the affirmative as regards the KauśS. Since writing that article, I have prepared collections of similar data concerning the GB and the AVPrāy, that I hope to publish in the future, after I have done the same for the VaitS. All of these texts show the striking phenomenon that PS mantras are sometimes quoted first in *pratīka*, followed almost immediately by their *sakalapātha*, a phenomenon on whose explanation I have speculated for the KauśS (2004: 60, n. 28). I now consider it quite likely that all of these were originally conceived as multi-Śākhā texts, and were used by Śaunakīyas and Paippa-lādins alike, during the time that they inhabited the same (western) part of India. If this is true, it is also easily imaginable that the Atharvavedic *Caraṇavyūha* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>See below, p. 187, on the Paippalāda affiliation of Paițhīnasi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>This suggestion has been made, in a slightly different form, already by RENOU (1947: 78ff.). See also BHATTACHARYYA 1955: 7, with n. 30.

was originally intended to describe the canons of both Śākhās jointly with some degree of accuracy.

An enticing piece of evidence that may support this assumption seems to lie in the indication of the total number of Atharvavedic *rcs* (CVU 4.2; AVPariś 49.4.2; see p. 175), that MODAK could not explain with reference to the Śaunaka-Śākhā (1993: 396). The only real problem for my hypothesis is posed by that small portion of the AV-CV which lists texts for which no direct or indirect evidence is known to connect them (also) with the Paippalāda-Śākhā, or to assume a separate (now lost) Paippalāda-recension besides the known Śaunaka one: the Lakṣaṇagranthas. At this stage, I am willing to keep open the possibility that a few of such separate Paippalāda Lakṣaṇagranthas did exist at one point of time. That independent Anukramaṇī-type material existed also for the Paippalāda school is in any case very likely, as we see fragments of it ubiquitously in the Rṣi-Chando-Devatā-Viniyoga-indications of the ritual manuals from Orissa.<sup>73</sup>

The fact that we cannot confidently associate with the Paippalāda-Śākhā all of the ancillary literature that the CVU mentions, I would like to explain, in short, as a result of the Paippalādins' in Orissa having transmitted only a small fragment of their original canon, that was largely shared with the Śaunakīyas. But the CVU does not only mention too much, it also mentions too little. Concerning those ancillary texts that we do have good direct evidence for, but that it ignores, we now turn to the final section of this contribution.

## §6. Ancillary Literature Ignored by the Caranavyūhopanisad

The direct evidence for Paippalāda ancillary literature ignored by the CVU comes from the sources listed in §2, particularly, once again, Śrīdhara's *Karma-pañjikā*.<sup>74</sup> I have not yet undertaken a careful collection and analysis of the evidence, but may mention here, once again (cf. GRIFFITHS 2002: 39), the elaborate quotations from a Sūtrakāra called Paiṭhīnasi, of Ślokas attributed to him, and of a *Paribhāṣā*, also composed in Ślokas, that may or may not have been authored by this Paiṭhīnasi.<sup>75</sup> A proper weighing of the evidence and attempt to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Where this habit is even taken over into Tantric materials: see Sanderson's contribution to this volume, p. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>The CV clearly does not aim to cover secondary (non-canonical) ancillary texts, like *Paddhatis* and *Prayogas*. Hence, the AVPariś version ignores Pseudo-Sāyaṇa's and Dārila's *Bhāṣyas* on the ŚS and the KauśS, respectively, as well as Keśava's *Kauśikapaddhati*; similarly, the fact that the CVU version does not mention the *Karmapañjikā* or the *Karmasamuccaya* is in no sense an omission. That the composition of the AV-CV likely predates most or all of these ancillary texts is not necessarily relevant in this connection, because we do not know when its CVU version became closed to additions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>On Paithīnasi, see RENOU (1947: 85, n. 1) and the references given there, one of which is to Pseudo-Sāyaṇa ad ŚS 2.16. It may be observed that Keśava after KauśS 6.37 (ed. LIMAYE et al. p. 22 l. 5) is the source for the *paithīnasiparibhāṣā* mentioned by Pseudo-Sāyaṇa; further refer-

place this author in the development of Atharvavedic ancillary literature will have to await a serious study of the *Karmapañjikā* and the many previously unknown quotations it transmits. The same holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, for the question whether any of the texts mentioned by Sanderson (p. 202) from AK mss. can be shown to have had a properly Atharvavedic (Paippalāda) affiliation. Not mentioned by SANDERSON is the author Nīlakaṇṭha, whose work entitled *Brahmavedoktaviṣṭāriyajñapaddhati* has been referred to by BAHULKAR (1987: 578) on the basis of the AK/P<sub>2</sub> ms., and is found also in my AK/Ni. This text seems to take PS 6.22 as its starting point, and is thus far the only text known to me that might perhaps be called a direct commentary on any Paippalāda-Sūkta. Finally, mention may be made here of the *Atharvavidhāna* belonging to the Paippalāda school reconstructed from *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (II.127) and *Agnipurāṇa* (262) by BHATTACHARYYA (1955: 8–14).

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ences by Keśava to *paițhīnasi* and a *paribhāṣā* are traceable through the index in the edition of the *Kauśikapaddhati*. Some material on Paițhīnasi has also been collected, and referred to in recent publications by S.S. BAHULKAR (2002: 148; 2003: 32ff. and n. 8 on p. 34 where a forthcoming article "On the *Paițhīnasismṛti*" is announced). See also p. 323 in the contribution to this volume by Kei Kataoka.

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